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Faces of the Reformation*

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Abstract

Some time in the second quarter of the seventeenth century the London bookseller Thomas Jenner published an engraving that shows a selection of prominent Protestant Reformers. This image was copied and adapted all over Europe into the nineteenth century. In this article a variety of adaptations of this print are placed on an approximate timeline, and it is argued that they present us with a unique visual record of the way in which the Reformation was reconceptualised in a number of national contexts and in successive periods.

Keywords

Reformation – print culture – satire

Some time in the second quarter of the seventeenth century the London bookseller Thomas Jenner, who ran a bookshop from 1623 to 1673, published an engraving that shows a selection of prominent Protestant Reformers. His composition would have a remarkably long life, in England, but also on the Continent, crossing the borders of states and confessions. In each new situation elements of the image would be changed, although the family resemblance with the original would remain. In what follows I will place a variety of adaptations of Jenner's print on an approximate historical timeline and argue that

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they present us with a unique visual record of the way in which the Reformation was not just remembered, but continually reconceptualised in a number of national contexts and in successive periods.

The print shows the Reformers grouped around three sides of a table bearing a candlestick with a lighted candle. On the near side of the table are a pope, a devil, a cardinal, and a monk. They try to blow out the candle, and the monk also tries to douse it with an aspergillum. Their efforts are in vain: the table top bears the inscription: 'The candle is lighted. Wee cannot blow out'. At the middle of the long side of the table Martin Luther is flanked by Philip Melanchthon on his right and John Calvin and Theodore Beza on his left. Leaning forward over one of the short sides of the table is John Hus, who, like his neighbor Melanchthon, seems to be making an argument, supported by gestures. At the other end John Wycliffe faces the devil and his Romish company and is sliding a closed book towards them. Standing behind the seated company are Heinrich Bullinger, Jerome Zanchius, John Knox, Huldrych Zwingli, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Jerome of Prague, William Perkins, and an unnamed worthy (Fig. 1).

The faces of all these men are true portraits, copied from the somewhat iconic representations provided in albums of portraits of famous men that were popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1] This explains the variety in clothing styles, and the somewhat stilted composition. Although the seated figures are presented in such a way as to suggest a lively discussion around the table, the faces of the others are more random, some full face, some *en profil*, facing right or left. The face of Perkins, added with a lighter touch by another hand, is unceremoniously crammed into the upper right hand corner. This action obliterates the name of the figure right below him which suggests an earlier version without Perkins, although none such is known.

1 London, British Museum, museum nr 1907,0326.31. Engraving, 26 × 37,3 cm. Cf. Myriam Yardeni, "Eruditio ancilla reformationis," in *Knowledge and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Asaph Ben-Tov, Yaacov Deutsch and Tamar Herzig (Leiden, 2013), 13–24. Simon Goulart enlarged Beza's project, and Jacobus Verheiden, Willem Swanenburg and Ian Iacob Boissard published similar, more extensive, collections. The Zurich printer Christoph Froschauer (1490–1564) who produced the books of a number of Protestant Reformers, had sixteen portraits of Reformers painted onto the interior walls of his house. Twelve survived and are now in the Zentralbibliothek Zurich, Raphael Kummer, "Reformatoren aus dem Keller befreit," www.ref.ch (23 February 2016). These, as well as the over 30 portraits of Reformers on the walls of the Bodleian Library, were painted after 'reliable' prints and paintings, M.R.A. Bullard, "Talking Heads. The Bodleian Frieze, its inspiration, sources, designer and significance," *Bodleian Library Record*, 14/6 (1994), 461–500.

FIGURE 1 The Candle is lighted, *as published by Thomas Jenner*
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With these particular Reformers, Jenner's print illustrates the then dominant position in debates about the nature of the English Church. In 1618 and 1619 King James sent a delegation of English theologians to the Synod of Dordrecht, convened over the troubles in the Dutch Reformed Church about the thorny problem of predestination. The outcome of the Synod was the condemnation of Arminianism, a controversial school of theology not only in the Dutch Republic, but also, albeit in a somewhat different form, in England. King James's support for the Synod was a blow to an anti-Calvinist current that had emerged in the 1590s, and that forcefully re-emerged under his successor, King Charles I and the then Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud.[2] We do not know when Jenner first published his print. It would fit the mood of optimistic, patriotic Protestantism of the 1620s, immediately after the opening of his shop. It might also have sold well among opponents of 'Laudian' religious policies in the 1630s, or even later, during the English Civil War, when the Puritans held sway. In any case his print argues for a Church of England as it was at the time of the Synod: Calvinist in orientation and embedded within international Reformed Protestantism.[3]

2 Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists. The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640* (Oxford, 1987).

3 Alexandra Walsham, "History, Memory, and the English Reformation," *The Historical Journal*

Besides the principal Reformers of Wittenberg, Zurich, and Geneva, the picture shows men who had some connection with Britain. It includes John Wycliffe, who taught at Oxford, with his Bohemian followers Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, who merely visited. By way of these late medieval theologians, who were considered precursors of Protestantism, the print suggests that the Reformation had originated in England long before Luther and had spread from there to the Continent.[4] Jenner selected John Knox, who had studied in Geneva before reforming the Scottish Kirk, and—although apparently as an afterthought—William Perkins, an influential, moderate Puritan. The Alsatian Martin Bucer and the Italian Peter Martyr Vermigli spent time in England assisting with the introduction of church reforms, while the writings of the Swiss Heinrich Bullinger are said to have greatly influenced the course of the English Reformation, and the others at least corresponded with the first generation of reforming English bishops. This representation of the English Church as a partner in an international Reformed alliance, recently re-affirmed in Dordrecht was, however, never uncontested.[5] Jenner, who may have been a committed Calvinist himself, must also have seen the market value of anti-Catholic and pro-Calvinist propaganda. He was the kind of publisher who sold a wide assortment of both newsworthy and utilitarian printed material, text and image, in bulk to the middle and lower classes, rather than choice artwork to an elite clientele.[6]

Jenner's print remained popular until the end of the eighteenth century, in England and abroad. The composition was imitated time and again, in printed and painted versions and even as decoration on household items. It is usually categorised as a satire, a concept that in this period covers any picture that comments on current affairs, from political and religious propaganda to the demonisation of opponents.[7] Rather than merely copied, the iconography was

55 (2012), 899–938, there 933. Jenner was in business from 1623 to 1673. Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England. An Historical Oversight* (London, 2010), dates it 'ca. 1640'. Unless otherwise indicated biographical information on British persons has been taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

4 Michael van Dussen, "Bohemia in English Religious Controversy before the Henrician Reformation," *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, 7 (2009), 42–60.

5 Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* (see above, n. 2); Anthony Milton, ed., *The British Delegation at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619)* (Woodbridge 2005), Introduction; Anthony Milton, "A Distorting Mirror: The Hales and Balcanquahall Letters and the Synod of Dordt," in *Revisiting the Synod of Dordt (1618–1619)*, ed. Aza Goudriaan and Fred van Lieburg (Leiden, 2011), 135–166.

6 Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller circa 1642–1665* (Vancouver, 1985), 1–7.

7 On the versatility of prints: *Krieg der Bilder. Druckgraphik als Medium politischer Auseinander-*

continually adapted to fit current debates in different national contexts. Jenner did this himself by adding Perkins—probably in the 1640s, with Puritanism in the ascendant in England. One thing that all versions have in common is the use of portraits by which the faces of the Reformers were known. A caption usually identifies the sitters.[8]

Earlier researchers have noticed the image, and have seen that it was repeatedly reworked. None, however, have been able to establish a satisfactory timeline for the different versions, or to contextualise it in changing debates over time and across what are nowadays national borders.[9] Consequently, the mystery remains about how it travelled, why it was so very popular and why it endured so long. Printmakers, painters, and commissioners of paintings seem to have added, left out or changed details in the original version intentionally, using the plasticity of satire to redirect its thrust and thus contributing to a pictorial conversation on the merits or demerits of varieties of Protestantism, compared with the Church of Rome.

The prints and paintings themselves are my main sources and are indeed the only ones. Except for its longevity, extraordinary variability and the remarkable number of copies that survived, nothing is known about the reception of the image. Most versions can be approximately dated through the names of

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setzung im Europa des Absolutismus, ed. Wolfgang Cilessen (Berlin, 1997); Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981); Jan van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw, van kunst tot kastpapier* (Rotterdam, 2006); Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures. Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 2008); Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London, 2009); Joke Spaans and Trudelien van't Hof, *Het beroerde Rome. Spotprenten op de paus, in een pleidooi voor een 'Nederlandse' katholieke kerk, 1705–1724* (Hilversum, 2010); Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England* (see above, n. 3).

8 On the value placed on realistic portraiture Bullard, "Talking Heads" (see above, n. 1), 470–472.

9 Einar Molland, "Reformasjonens fedre eller 'lysestaken'. Et tema i protestantismens ikonografi og dets forekomst i Norge." *Aust Agder Arv* (Stockholm, 1971–1972), 4–58; Michael Windross, "Word and Image in a group of seventeenth-century Protestant prints," in *Language and Beyond. Actuality and Virtuality in the Relations between Word, Image and Sound*, ed. Paul Joret and Aline Remael (Amsterdam, 1990), 141–153; Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550–1850* (London, 1999), 131–132; P. Tudor-Craig, "Group portraits of Protestant Reformers," in: *Art Re-formed. Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Cambridge, 2007), 87–102, and in catalogues like Emile Doumergue, *Iconographie Calvinienne* (Lausanne, 1909), 198–200 and *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblatter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 2,2, *Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Wolfgang Harms (Tübingen, 1997), 216–217.

printer-booksellers or the publication date of books in which they were used as illustrations. Paintings are by no means rare but date and context are educated guesses. The Norwegian church historian, Einar Molland, scoured museums all over Europe and described several of them, three in Norway alone.[10] None of them are signed. Most are of mediocre workmanship, amateurish even, and often in bad condition as well. Recently a canvas turned up that was actually a mutilated painting after Jenner's print, with large strips of the right side and bottom cut off, transforming the image into a simple group portrait.[11] Some faithfully copied the print prototype, while others were customised to the taste of their owners. One painting after Jenner's print replaced the Italian-born Zanchius, who worked and taught in many places but never set foot on British soil, with the famous English martyrologist John Foxe.[12] Another replaced Zanchius and Knox with Englishmen: again Foxe and William Whitaker, a Calvinist author of anti-Catholic propaganda. This painting also added a laurel-covered emperor, a king and a bishop to the pope and his companions in the foreground. Their concerted blowing causes the flame of the candle to waver. The reassuring text about the inability of the opponents to blow out the candle of the Reformers is also missing, reflecting the impact of the successes of the Catholic powers in the Thirty Years War.[13]

1 The Dutch Republic: The Reformation Questioned?

Shortly after Jenner published his print in London, it was imitated in the Dutch Republic, although in a different composition. I found six good quality, large-scale engravings, fit for use as wall-decorations, by different printer-publishers. Five of these explicitly identified themselves as being made 'after the London copy'.[14] This seems an explicit reference to Jenner's print (Fig. 2). A smallish anonymous etching with the same composition was perhaps intended for inclusion in a book. These prints reflect the debates going on at the time in the Dutch Reformed Church. In the Dutch Republic prints were a popular commodity, and produced in a wide spectrum of genres and levels of quality.

10 Molland, "Reformasjonens fedre eller 'lysestaken'" (see above, n. 9).

11 Oil on canvas, 83×126 cm. Offered for sale to Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. Correspondence and photo in Museum Catharijneconvent, which declined the offer.

12 Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, cat. nr. RMCC S00278. Oil on wood, 69,5×90 cm.

13 Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv. nr. Gm 97/24. Oil on wood, 67,5×90 cm.

14 On the exchange of iconography across the North Sea: Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689* (London, 1998), 27.

FIGURE 2 't Licht is op den Kandelaar gestelt, *as published by Hugo Allart*
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Publishers and booksellers could count on a high level of 'image literacy' among the buying public, conducive to the production of satires.[15]

All seven Dutch versions have the same composition and the same rhymed caption. The author of these verses was Hubert Bergius Nardenus, village minister of Oost-Zaandam from 1637 to his death in 1658.[16] Bergius's collaboration provides a *terminus ante quem* for dating the image. It identifies the Reformers and, playing on the light-metaphor, presents them as brighter and lesser lights. Wycliffe planted the light in England. Luther resembled the moon relieving the darkness of a starlit night, but Calvin is likened to the sun that brought forth the clear light of day. The others are graded accordingly: the medieval

15 Van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw* (see above, n. 7); Andrew Sawyer, "Medium and Message. Political Prints in the Dutch Republic, 1568–1632," in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Leiden, 2007), 168–187.

16 F.A. van Lieburg, *Repertorium van Nederlandse hervormde predikanten tot 1816* (Zoetermeer, 1996).

precursors of the Reformation were condemned to the flames for their advocacy of the light. The lesser Reformers carried its torch. Bergius ended his poem with a prayer to God, the Eternal Light, never to abandon this great work of lighting and sustaining the light but to plant and rebuild many candlesticks.

The concluding prayer in the poem by Bergius uses a metaphor derived from Revelation 2,1–7 where the seven Churches of Asia Minor are compared to candlesticks, and makes this prayer a reference to Protestant Churches destroyed by or suffering from persecution, in his time notably the Waldensians of Piedmont, the Hussites of Bohemia, Protestants in some areas of the German Empire, Poland, and Transsylvania, and increasingly the French Huguenots. Theologians took up this metaphor when they discussed churches hit by religious persecution and exile, observing how God plants his candlestick among his chosen people but can also take it away again, according to His inscrutable will. Fittingly, these prints show the candlestick of the Church placed upon a Gospel book.

The poet's—and printmakers'—preference for Calvin over Luther is also reflected in the picture: whereas Jenner gave pride of place to Luther, here Luther and Calvin share the place of honour in the centre of the image. All Dutch versions show the same sixteen Reformers, one more than Jenner, the composition of their company 'frozen' by the content of the poem. The unnamed Reformer in Jenner's print is here identified as Johannes Oecolampadius, reformer of Basel. The newcomer is Matthias Flacius Illyricus. Bergius praises his historical work that 'had given the lie to the Roman boasts to represent original Christianity'. The poses are slightly more natural than Jenner's, but remarkably Wycliffe looks backwards, away from the candle, as if to suggest that he was a precursor rather than an actual Reformer.

All Dutch prints also include a 'portrait gallery', a panel, seemingly hung on the wall of the room, bearing the portraits of six other men: Georgius, Prince of Anhalt, Johannes à Lasco, William Farel, Johannes Sleidanus, Philip Marnix of St.-Aldegonde and Franciscus Junius (the Elder). Their names and years of death are given below their portraits, but they do not figure in the rhymed legend.[17] In this form, the print more closely comments on the Dutch rather

17 A very similar portrait gallery in Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk, cat. nrs. 327 and 329. In a Dutch print on the company of principal Reformers one might expect Menno Simons. The English origin of the motif, its focus on Reformed Protestantism, and, I suspect, a widespread disdain for Mennonites in Dutch society in the middle of the seventeenth century, have excluded him. On the image of Mennonites and their (very) late adoption into the 'Protestant family' Joke Spaans, "Een herinnerd religieus landschap. Vroegmo-

than the English Reformation, while the individuals in the panel also add a markedly political and 'irenical' element to the chorus of Protestant Reformers. Aldegonde was one of the principal lieutenants of William of Orange, a scholar and a dedicated advocate of peaceful religious coexistence of Protestants and Catholics. He was also the author of the stinging satire *Biëncorf der H. Roomsche Kercke* (The Beehive of the H. Roman Church). Junius had tried to reconcile Lutheran and Reformed confessions of faith, served several congregations in exile and ended his career as professor of Reformed theology at Leiden University. Anhalt had been both a Catholic and a Lutheran priest, and as a prince and church administrator had worked on the settlement of differences between confessions. Sleidanus was a historian, whose history of the Reformation was so impartial that it satisfied few theologians. À Lasco, a Polish nobleman, worked as a church administrator in Reformed churches in the German Empire, England, and Poland, undeterred by confessional particularities. The presence of two historians, Flacius and Sleidanus, underlines the importance, strongly felt at the time, of a historical continuity between the Reformed Church and its primitive origins.

Not only the inclusion of new faces but also changes in the textual elements within the image serve to adapt the prints to a specifically Dutch market. The inscription on the table top is not a straightforward translation of the English 'The candle is lighted. Wee cannot blow out'. The Dutch prints leave out the second half, and emphasise the candlestick rather than the candle in the line '*'t Licht is op den Kandelaar gestelt*' (The Light has been placed upon the Candlestick). The etched version is completely anonymous,[18] but the engravings can be dated approximately to the second half of the seventeenth century by the known years of the activity of their publishers: C.D. (= Cornelis Danckert),[19] Hugo Allart,[20] Johannes de Ram,[21] Gerard Valk,[22] Jan Houwens,[23] and Carel Allardt.[24] Several plates were in circulation, all with minor variations.

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dern Amsterdam" (forthcoming in the series of the Vlaams-Nederlandse Vereniging voor Nieuwe Geschiedenis).

18 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, sign. RP-P-OB-78.420. Etching, 22,2×16,1 cm. Also in Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, inv. nr. OKM g00095.

19 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-78.421. Engraving, 40,5×53 cm.

20 Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, sign. RP-P-OB-78.422. Engraving, 40,8×51,5 cm.

21 Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk, cat. nr. 235. Engraving, 42,5×52 cm.

22 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Reserve QB-201 (170)-FT4. Engraving, exact size unknown.

23 Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, inv. nr. ABMg405. Engraving, 39×52 cm. Also in The Hague, Royal Library, coll. Plano's en plakkaten, cat. nr. 1056 C 5 [45].

24 Amsterdam, University Library, print collection sign. Pr. G 84. Engraving, 41×52 cm.

This period was one of heated controversy both within the public Reformed Church and about its status: the apparent popularity of the Dutch adaptation of Jenner's print can be explained within this context.

Among the four enemies of the light a massive black demon has replaced Jenner's devil represented in the shape of horned dog. The pope is shown *en profil*, rather than tilting his head far backwards. The quartet of demonic forces is larger and more lifelike than in the English prototype, and much more threatening. Moreover, they now talk back: the jets of air they blow towards the candleflame have text.[25] The monk's is '*Schynheylicheyt*' (hypocrisy), the pope's '*Valsche successie*' (false succession), the demon's '*Leugen geest*' (spirit of lies), and the cardinal's '*Verkeerde geleertheyt*' (perverted learning). The print is ambiguous here. Are hypocrisy, false succession, spirit of lies and perverted learning properties of popery, or accusations voiced by the Romish enemy against Protestants?

The print echoes a small tract published by the Catholic controversialist Arnout van Geluwe in Antwerp in 1650, entitled *Het Licht op de Kandelaar*, in which he ridiculed the Protestant argument that the medieval Church had been fatally corrupted. How could God have allowed fifteen centuries of darkness, relieved only when Luther and Calvin relighted the candle of true faith? He scorns the Protestant view of the true Church as represented in a tenuous 'succession' of true Christians, persecuted and silenced by Rome. In his eyes this kind of historiography is a 'perversion' of decent 'learning'. He denies the persecuted Christians the status of the martyrs of faith, as they had 'hypocritically' kept their ideas to themselves, instead of giving public testimony. In other words, the claims of the Reformers demonstrate their 'lying spirit'.[26]

It is impossible to determine whether Van Geluwe's book responded to the images or triggered Dutch artists and booksellers to adapt Jenner's print for a Dutch market. Either way, the apparent referencing between book and print placed the image in a debate about toleration of Catholics that had flared up in the Republic after the Peace of Westphalia. The prominent place of the pope and his minions in the Dutch engravings, when compared with Jenner's print, brought to the fore the fact that, despite the efforts of the Reformers, the Church of Rome had not been vanquished, and certainly not in the Dutch

25 This feature may be inspired on the print *Confession von Gottes Gnaden*, reproduced in *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, ed. Wolfgang Harms (Coburg, 1983), 177.

26 Arnout van Geluwe, *Het Licht op de Kandelaer ghestelt tot verlichtinghe der nieuw-ghesinden* (Antwerp, 1650).

Republic. Under the energetic apostolic vicars of the seventeenth century Catholicism was regrouping, challenging Reformed theology, and teaching its considerable flock that Protestantism was heresy.[27] For committed Calvinists, the prints pictorially bounced back Van Geluwe's accusations against Protestantism to the Church of Rome.

Moreover, the prints could be read against the backdrop of debates about the nature of the Reformed Church itself. At the time when this image gained popularity in the Dutch Republic, its public Church was rent with theological disputes over the implications for theology of Cartesian philosophy, of the new natural sciences, biblical philology and antiquarian studies, all feeding into the clashes between the rival theological schools of Voetians and Cocceians. As in the Arminian Controversies during the Twelve Years Truce (1609–1621), these threatened to become dangerously entwined in political factionalism.[28] Critics accused theologians, especially those of the Voetian school, of 'popery' for claiming authority over the emerging sciences and for advocating a puritanical reformation of manners. Moreover, the Reformed ministry all too often replicated the faults for which the Reformers had blamed the Roman clergy. Against this background, the prints can be read as ironically turning the reproaches of the Reformers against Rome back against themselves.[29]

The internal divisions within Protestantism and even within the Dutch Reformed Church were also sensitive in the Dutch context. Depicting the protagonists of different Protestant churches and individual theologies in convivial conversation around one table—the books containing their rival interpretations closed, gathered around one candlestick, symbol of the True Church, unified in their opposition to Rome—in itself could be seen as a call to tolerate a variety of interpretations within Protestantism. Adding irenicists rubbed in this argument. Several early Enlightenment authors at the time went even further and argued that no single church could lay exclusive claim to religious truth. In every age and every corner of the earth, pious people had lived

27 Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), 599–602; Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins. Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, MA, 2008).

28 Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford, 2001), 157–435; Rienk Vermij, *Calvinist Copernicans. The reception of the new astronomy in the Dutch Republic, 1575–1750* (Amsterdam, 2002); Eric Jorink, *Het Boeck der Natuere. Nederlandse geleerden en de wonderen van Gods Schepping 1575–1715* (Leiden, 2007); Jetze Touber, *Spinoza and Biblical Scholarship* (forthcoming).

29 Wiep van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza: an Essay on Philosophy in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* (Leiden, 2001), 75–83; Joke Spaans, *Newer Protestantism* (forthcoming).

exemplary lives. Religious authorities, driven by ambition and greed, had more often been a hindrance than a help to piety.[30] Christianity was no exception. Establishment by secular princes had produced the multiplicity of Protestant churches, their Confessions of Faith the result of negotiation between theologians and rulers. The work of most of the Reformers around the table had been determined to a large extent by political circumstance, as the works of the historians among them testified. The claim of the Protestant Reformers that their Churches were a re-embodiment of the primitive Church, based on purely biblical prescriptions, candlesticks resting on the Gospel, was thereby implicitly invalidated.[31]

The Dutch prints actually allow for a radical reading too. Unlike Jenner's print, where the lighted candle may stand for the light of the rediscovered Gospel, here we see candle and candlestick placed on a *closed* Gospelbook. In the 1660s two Spinozist books appeared with titles that refer to the very same light-metaphor as the prints: Pieter Balling's tract *Het licht op den kandelaar* (1662)[32] and Adriaan Koerbagh's more substantial *Een Ligt schijnende in duystere plaatsen* (A Light shining in dark places, 1668).[33] Both emphasised that the Bible was a collection of ancient texts that bore the marks of their origin and was therefore neither coherent nor easily understood. Both Balling and Koerbagh pointed out that natural reason was the only sure guide to knowledge of God and true religion: without the light of reason each Holy Book, each church or sect taught only a particular opinion. For both authors the lamentable divisions and conflicts between Christian churches and sects were caused by neglect of the dictates of natural reason in favour of ambition and greed. For them the ill winds of Hypocrisy, False Succession, the Spirit of Lies, and Perverted Learning threatened both the spirit of the Reformation and the candle flame of Natural Reason, the guide to true piety that could be practised by all people of good will.

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30 On the emergence of comparative religion above all Guy G. Stroumsa, *New Science. The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, MA, 2010).

31 In the Dutch Republic notably Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, 7 vols. (The Hague, 1657–1671), passim and Lambertus van Velthuysen, *Traktaat van Afgoderij en Superstitie* (Utrecht, 1669). Similar arguments in Romeyn de Hooghe, *Hieroglyphica* (Amsterdam, 1735), see the forthcoming dissertation of Trudelien van't Hof.

32 Pieter Balling, *Het licht op den kandelaar* (s.l., 1662); W.N.A. Klever, "De Spinozistische prediking van Pieter Balling," *Doopsgezinde bijdragen*, new series 14 (1988), 55–85 (includes text edition).

33 Adriaan Koerbagh, *A Light shining in dark places, to illuminate the main questions of theology and religion*, ed. & trans. Michiel Wielema (Leiden, 2011).

FIGURE 3 't Licht is op den Kandelaar gestelt, *as published by Carel Allard*
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Interesting in this light is the reshaping of the figure of the devil in the version produced by Carel Allardt. His version looks sloppy, with spelling mistakes in the text, notably in the name of Beza (Tueodorus instead of Theodorus), and a coarser execution (Fig. 3). Allardt's devil is ambiguous. The outline of a hood around the creature's shoulders and the cross on its back are suggestive of monkishness, but its face is flattened and the raised limbs are claws (Fig. 3). It could be intended as a caricature, conflating the images of a monk and a locust. The locust was a popular metaphor for clerical greed in anti-Catholic propaganda. Locusts were phallic symbols as well, and corresponded to allegations of clerical lechery.[34] Such a caricature, however, robs the pope and his companions of their darker, demonic qualities. Again this fits contemporary debates in the Dutch Republic. In 1691–1693 the Amsterdam minister Balthasar Bekker denied in Cartesian fashion the existence of a devil with power over the physical world—in his eyes a remnant of paganism, retained by the supersti-

34 On the comparison of locusts with Roman clergy Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoici, sive bipartiti operis e animalibus S. Scripturae* (Leiden, 1692), 2.4.1–8.

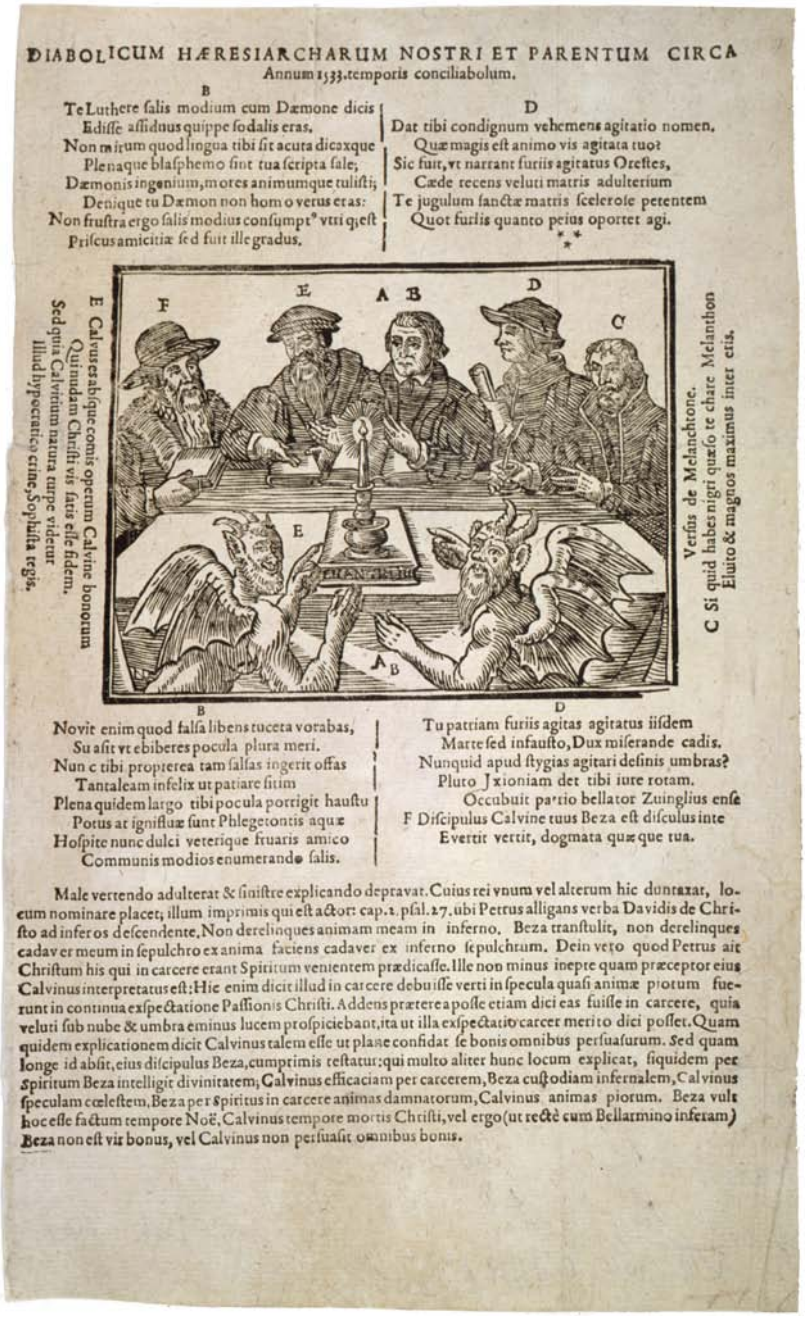
tious medieval imagination. Bekker published his unorthodox views in Dutch and caused a public furore. Carel Allardt may have wanted to modernise the image in the light of this controversy by expunging the traditional 'demonic' devil. He was the youngest of the printer-publishers who brought out this print, and the Bekker affair occurred during his years of activity.[35]

More than the English prototype that visualises what is at that moment the acknowledged identity of the English Church, the Dutch prints contain layers of meaning that allow for a variety of readings. Rather than confirming and justifying a dominant view, they invited buyers and viewers to form their own opinions on the controversies of the day. They played into the popular demand for 'portraits of famous men'. They supported the identity of Protestants at a time when the Counter-reformation was gaining force internationally. They could be read as a critique of the way the Reformed Church had turned out and as a plea for tolerance of inter-Protestant differences. They hinted at radical notions on the political nature of the Reformation, on the role of reason in theology, on philology and the reality of the devil. One and the same image could thus serve a variety of audiences.

2 The Reformation Ridiculed

The Dutch format of the composition of the Reformers around the candlestick was further adapted into an anonymous and undated, antiprotestant satire. The single leaf print bears the lofty caption *Diabolicum haeresiarcharum nostri et parentum circa annum 1533 temporis conciliabolum* (sic) (Diabolical council of the arch-heretics of our and our parents' time, held in or about 1533) (Fig. 4). It contains a small woodcut image with five of the Reformers sharing a table with two demons. The faces and upper bodies of the Reformers have been faithfully copied from the anonymous Dutch etching, down to the details of facial expressions and beards, hats and dress, and the positions of their hands. The demons—one laughing, one with a big tear running down his cheek—impersonate the ancient philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus, who were often invoked in the literature and art of this period as commentators on current affairs. The former could only laugh at the follies of mankind, the latter could only bewail the wickedness of the world. On the table we see the

35 Balthasar Bekker, *De betoverde weereld*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1691–1693); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment* (see above, n. 28), 382–405; Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe. Superstition, Reason and Religion, 1250–1750* (Oxford, 2010), 264–269.



DIABOLICUM HÆRESIARCHARUM NOSTRI ET PARENTUM CIRCA
Annum 1533. temporis conciliabolum.

B

Te Luthere ſalis modium cum Dæmone dicis
Edisse assiduus quippe sodalis eras.
Non mirum quod lingua tibi sit acuta dicaxque
Plenaque blasphemo sint tua scripta sale;
Dæmonis ingenium, mores animumque tulisti;
Denique tu Dæmon non homo verus eras:
Non frustra ergo salis modius consumpt' vtri q; est
Priscus amicitiæ sed fuit ille gradus.

D

Dat tibi condignum vehemens agitatio nomen.
Quæ magis est animo vis agitata tuo?
Sic fuit, vt narrant furiis agitatus Orestes,
Cæde recens veluti matris adulterium
Te jugulum sanctæ matris scelerose petentem
Quot furiis quanto peius oportet agi.

* * *

F E A B D C

E Calvus es absque comis operum Calvine bonorum
Quinundam Christi vis sacris esse fidem.
Sed quia Calvinium natura turpe videtur
Illud ad pocratico crine, Sophista tegis.

Versus de Melanchtone.
C Si quid habes nigri quæso te chare Melanthon
Eluito & magnos maximus inter eris.

B

Novit enim quod falsa libens tuceta vorabas,
Su asit vt ebiberes pocula plura meri.
Nunc tibi propterea tam salsas ingerit offas
Tantaleam infelix ut patiare sitim
Plena quidem largo tibi pocula porrigit haustu
Potus at igniflua sunt Phlegetontis aquæ
Hospite nunc dulci veterique fruaris amico
Communis modios enumerando salis.

D

Tu patriam furiis agitas agitatus iisdem
Marte sed infausto, Dux miserande cadis.
Nunquid apud stygias agitari desinis umbras?
Pluto Jxioniam det tibi iure rotam.
Occubuit partio bellator Zuinglius ense
F Discipulus Calvine tuus Beza est disculus inte
Evertit vertit, dogmata quæque tua.

Male vertendo adulterat & sinistre explicando depravat. Cuius rei vnum vel alterum hic duntaxat, locum nominare placet; illum imprimis qui est actor: cap. 2. psal. 27. ubi Petrus alligans verba Davidis de Christo ad inferos descendente, Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, Beza transtulit, non derelinques cadaver meum in sepulchro ex anima faciens cadaver ex inferno sepulchrum. Dein veto quod Petrus ait Christum his qui in carcere erant Spiritum venientem prædicasse. Ille non minus inepte quam præceptor eius Calvinus interpretatus est: Hic enim dicit illud in carcere debuisse verti in specula quasi animæ piorum fuerunt in continua exspectatione Passionis Christi. Addens præterea posse etiam dici eas fuisse in carcere, quia veluti sub nube & umbra eminus lucem prospiciebant, ita ut illa exspectatio carcer merito dici posset. Quam quidem explicationem dicit Calvinus talem esse ut plane confidat se bonis omnibus persuasurum. Sed quam longe id absit, eius discipulus Beza, cumprimis testatur: qui multo aliter hunc locum explicat, siquidem per Spiritum Beza intelligit divinitatem, Calvinus efficaciam per carcerem, Beza custodiam infernalem, Calvinus speculam cœlestem, Beza per Spiritus in carcere animas damnatorum, Calvinus animas piorum. Beza vult hoc esse factum tempore Noë, Calvinus tempore mortis Christi, vel ergo (ut rectè cum Bellarmino inferam) Beza non est vir bonus, vel Calvinus non persuasit omnibus bonis.

FIGURE 4 *Diabolicum haeresiarcharum nostri et parentum circa annum 1533 temporis conciliabolum* (*sic*)
© DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM, BERLIN / A. PSILLE

familiar candle in its candlestick, placed upon a closed Gospel book. The image is surrounded by Latin text, both rhyme and prose.[36]

The format of this print is almost an emblem, in the literary sense: with a motto, a picture, and a poem. The poem is cut up into stanzas, placed around the image, deriding the Reformers with puns on their names. Whereas emblems usually work by word play on well-known proverbs and expressions to sweeten their moral lesson, this one needed an extensive prose explanation to nail down its message. Beza bears the brunt of the invective: the short stanza dedicated to him portrays him as an unfaithful disciple of Calvin. The explanatory prose text that fills the lower half of the page contrasts the different ways in which he and his teacher Calvin interpreted the prooftexts of the Roman Catholic Church for the 'harrowing of hell': the doctrine that Christ, after His death on the Cross, had descended into the *limbo patrum*, the resting place of the sinless believers from Old Testament times, to admit them into heaven. Protestants saw no biblical evidence to support the notion of a *limbo patrum*, or any of the other subdivisions of hell, among them purgatory. They simply did not want to speculate on hell, about which Scripture reveals very little, and denied that Christ had been there. They were therefore extremely uncomfortable about the phrase in the Apostles's Creed where Christ's descent into hell was stated as a basic tenet of faith.

The doctrine had not been supported unanimously by all the Fathers of the Church, and Erasmus had cautiously suggested, on philological grounds, that the phrase about Christ's descent into hell in the Creed was a later addition and therefore spurious. The Council of Trent had, however, canonised it by decree, and the new Roman Catechism duly taught it to all the faithful.[37] For academic theologians the controversialist Robert Bellarmine discussed all the relevant biblical texts and the teachings of the Church Fathers, and refuted those of the Protestant theologians who had addressed this doctrine.[38] In technical theological terminology quite unlike the playful stanzas of the poem, the prose text of *Diabolicum haeresiarcharum … conciliabolum* contrasts the diverging interpretations of Calvin and Beza of the line on Christ's descent into hell with each other and with Bellarmine's. The point of this exercise was probably not to teach viewers and buyers of the print some scholastic theology on a quite recondite bone of contention between Catholics and Protestants, but rather to

36 Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, cat. nr. Gr 90/54. Woodcut and letterpress, 29,1 × 17,5 cm.

37 *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique* s.v. "Descente de Jésus aux enfers."

38 Robertus Bellarminus, *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos*, 3 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1586–1593), 1.2a Controv.4.

revive a little *syllogismus satyricus* that Bellarmine had allowed himself: Calvin expected all good men to accept his refutation of the doctrine of the *limbo patrum* and the descent of Christ into hell. Yet Beza did not follow his teacher. Ergo: Beza is not a good man.[39]

The occasion for the production of this print may have been the appearance in The Hague in 1654 of the Latin treatise on the descent of Christ into hell by the French Reformed minister Jean le Carré. The author discussed precisely the two key texts also highlighted in the prose text of the satirical print and their relationship to the problematical phrase in the Creed. Based on a thorough philological analysis of the original texts and with recourse to the works of prominent Protestant theologians, he confirmed the Protestant majority view that 'hell' should be taken as a metaphor for the agonies of Christ's Passion.[40] Le Carré's work may well have been welcomed by Reformed theologians as a final refutation of the Catholic views on hell and *limbo*. In the same year, 1654, the theology students at Leiden university held a series of disputations on the descent of Christ into hell.[41] *Diabolicum haeresiarcharum … conciliabolum* may have been a satirical rebuke of Le Carré, perhaps by Catholic seminarians or theology students in Cologne or Louvain where students from the Dutch Republic were trained for future work in the clandestine Holland Mission. They received a thorough grounding in anti-Calvinist polemical theology.[42] The print reused for polemical purposes a well-known image that had only recently entered the market to undercut the optimism of the Reformed that an awkward theological problem might now have been solved.

3 Bohemian Exiles

Like Jenner's original, the Dutch candlestick-prints yielded a crop of painted copies. A relatively large one on canvas depicts a bishop and a Jesuit priest instead of the customary cardinal. Close observation shows that the canvas was at one time folded back to remove from view the devil and the Catholic figures along the lower edge, thus leaving a straightforward group-portrait

39 Bellarminus, *Disputationes*, (see above, n. 38), 1.2a Controv.4.12–13.

40 Johannes Carreus, *Dissertatio theologica de descensu Christi ad inferos, super duobus S. Scripturas locis ex Psalmo 16 vers. 10 & Actorum 2 vers 27 et 31* (The Hague, 1654).

41 Jacobus Revius, *Disputationes theologicae miscellaneae CLX* (Leiden, 1657), nrs. 55–65.

42 F. Smit and J.Y.H.A. Jacobs, *Van den Hogenheuvel gekomen. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de priesteropleiding in de kerk van Utrecht 1683–1723* (Nijmegen, 1994).

of the foremost Reformers.[43] Another painting faithfully replicates the prints representing the company of Reformers, now gathered around their table in a room with a chequered tile floor and windows in the background, instead of the portrait gallery. Yet the anonymous painter has replaced the pope and company with an empty chair in the foreground, as if to invite the viewer to contemplate his or her own relationship with the Reformers and their legacy, or to consider the identity of the enemies of Protestantism in his or her own time.[44]

One painting, however, stands out because it has far more drastic adaptations. It is a small panel, not much larger than the original print (Fig. 5).[45] The most glaring deviation from the prototype print is the absence not only of the Roman 'forces of darkness' but also of the candle in its candlestick. On the table lies a Bible, opened at Matthew 7,15–17a, where Jesus warns his disciples against false prophets who will come to them like wolves in sheep's clothing. Six figures have joined the company around the table. Instead of the familiar six portraits on a wall panel, the painting shows the same six figures and a seventh one as living people looking down from the open windows of a gallery. Unlike the prototype print, the painting has no caption.

The one newly added person who can be identified without any doubt is a heavily armoured man on the extreme left. He is Jan Žižka, a famous general in the Hussite wars of the early fifteenth century. Žižka figures prominently in histories of Bohemia but is not usually considered a Protestant Reformer. Even so, he is not entirely out of place in the company of Hus and Jerome of Prague, for whose legacy he fought.[46] After the unsuccessful revolt of the Bohemian Estates against the Catholic Habsburgs and their defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, Bohemia was forcefully recatholicised, and reminiscences of the history of earlier revolutionary reform in Bohemia were thoroughly destroyed.[47] Only a few images survived, among them iconic and idealised por-

43 Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent cat. nr. RCMM S10. Oil on canvas, 96 × 126 cm.

44 Last owned by prof. Heinz Haushofer, Pähl, Germany, present location unknown. Photo in the documentation folders of Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht.

45 Rahjrad, Benedictine monastery. Oil on wood, inside frame 40,5 × 59,5 cm.

46 Rudolf Říčan, *The History of the Unity of Brethren. A Protestant Hussite Church in Bohemia and Moravia*, transl. C. Daniel Crews (Winston-Salem, NC 1992), 8–13; Craig D. Atwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius* (University Park, PA, 2009), 103–129. On Hussitism more generally David Zdenek, *Finding the Middle Way. The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington, 2003); Thomas A. Fudge, *Jan Hus. Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia* (London, 2010).

47 Milena Bartlová, "Renaissance and Reformation in Czech Art History: Issues of Period and Interpretation," *Umění* 14 (2011), 2–19; Mikuláš Teich, "Bohemia. From Darkness into Light,"

FIGURE 5 *Panel after the Dutch candlestick-prints, with Jan Žižka and other Bohemians*
© RAJHRAD MONASTERY, BRNO; PHOTO KAMIL TILL

traits of Hus, Jerome of Prague, and Žižka. The latter is always depicted as an armed warrior, wearing a helmet with blinkers, as in this painting, or with an eyepatch or blindfold. At the beginning of his military career he had only one eye, which he subsequently lost in battle. He never, however, lost his efficacy as commander and strategist. The invincible blind general became a legend.[48]

In the historiography of the Hussite movement, the Bohemians had been stereotyped, notably by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, in his *Historia Bohemica*, as ferocious and ugly, with dark skins so hardened by the elements that they could deflect swords.[49] The ruddy colouring of the new

in *The Enlightenment in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge, 1981), 141–163; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation. Europe's House Divided 1490–1700* (London, 2003), 496; Olivier Châline, "Frontieres religieuses: la Bohème après la Montagne Blanche," in *Frontiers of Faith. Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities*, ed. E. Andor and I. Tóth (Budapest, 2001), 55–65. For 'portraits of famous men' in Bohemia: František Martin Pelcl, *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischen Gelehrten und Kunstler*, 4 vols. (Prague, 1773–1782).

48 Fudge, *Jan Hus* (see above, n. 46), 175–208; Thomas A. Fudge, "Žižka's Drum. The political Uses of Popular Religion," *Central European History* 36 (2003), 546–569.

49 Howard Kaminsky, "Pius Aeneas among the Taborites," *Church History* 28 (1959), 281–309.

faces in this painting, Žižka's even deeply bronzed, suggests they represent Bohemians. It is quite unlikely that after 1620 a painting of Hussites among the Reformers was made in Bohemia. Rather we should look for its origin in the Dutch Republic, where the image of the Reformers around the candlestick was hugely popular. The resistance of the Hussites to the papal Church was well-known in the Republic from popular works of historical scholarship,[50] from news pamphlets about the Bohemian Revolt,[51] and from the presence of the flamboyant court of the exiled Winter King in The Hague.[52]

In the 1650s and 1660s there was, moreover, a shortlived but rather intense wave of admiration for the Bohemian Brethren among Dutch Reformed theologians. Emissaries from the exiled Brethren toured the universities and synods of their Reformed sister churches in search of financial aid. The most successful of these emissaries was their bishop Jan Amos Comenius. Several Dutch theologians personally met Comenius, on one of his tours or after he settled in Amsterdam in 1656.[53] The most eminent professors of theology at the time extolled the practices of the Bohemian churches contained in their Church Order, published in Latin in Amsterdam in 1660 with annotations by Comenius.[54] They considered the way they catechised not only children but also professing church members in a system of life-long learning, and how they engaged accomplished lay believers in various forms of pastoral work as superior to their own, less exacting, forms of religious education and church-building.[55]

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50 Marcus Zueris van Boxhorn, *Nederlantsche Historie* (Leiden, 1649) on the anti-Hussite crusades; Pavel Stránský, *Respublica Bohemiae* (Leiden, 1634), 228–230; Dutch readers could also find extensive information on the Hussite wars in (translations of) Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

51 W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 9 vols. (1889–1920; repr. Utrecht, 1978), esp. for the years 1609, 1620–1623.

52 S. Groenveld, *De Winterkoning. Balling aan het Haagse hof* (The Hague, 2003).

53 Vladimír Urbánek, "Displaced intellectuals and rebuilt networks: the Protestant exiles from the lands of the Bohemian Crown," in *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile*, ed. T. Fehler a.o. (London, 2014), 167–179; Milada Blekastad, *Comenius. Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský* (Oslo, 1969), 332–340, 559–563.

54 Johannes Lasitius, ed., *De ecclesia disciplina, moribusque & institutis, fratrum Bohemorum* (Amsterdam, 1660).

55 Herman Witz, *Twist des Heeren met sijn Wyngaerdt* (Leeuwarden, 1669), 105–106; Johannes Hoornbeeck, *Tractaat van catechisatie* (Leiden, 1654), 87, 103, 105; Gisbertus Voetius, *Politica Ecclesiastica*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1663–1674), 1: 838, 3: 478–479, 511, 515.

This painting, adapting the popular design of the prints of the Reformers around the candlestick by including generic Bohemians in an iconic muster of international Protestantism, may well have been made or commissioned by one of their Dutch admirers. The portraits of these Bohemians are most probably fictive, their dark skins the only indication they represented Bohemian Brethren. This would also explain why it does not provide the names of the sitters. The well-known image of the blinded general Žižka was the key to the presence of other Bohemians among the familiar Reformers. Yet the portrait in the upper left hand corner, next to Žižka, of the man who directly looks the viewer in the eye, could well be intended as a representation of Comenius. This face in the panel resembles the portrait drawn by Wenceslas Hollar, another Bohemian exile, in England in 1642, and subsequently engraved many times.[56] It is fairly pale, but then the scholarly Moravian Comenius was a long way from the revolutionary Hussites who founded his church.

Like the inclusion of ruddy-faced Hussites, the other alterations to the original image can be explained as references to the religious situation in Bohemia. Zwingli and Oecolampadius emphatically point up towards the open windows that have replaced the portrait gallery in the original print. This may be a pictorial allusion to the windows through which emissaries of the Emperor had been defenestrated in Prague in 1618, the event that sparked the Bohemian revolt. The replacement of the pope and company trying to blow out the candle by an open book warning of false prophets and wolves in sheep's clothing may indicate that the Bohemian churches had been threatened from within as much as from without. The defenestrated officials had been former Hussites, who had converted to Catholicism. The baron Albrecht von Wallenstein, who defected to the side of the Catholic Emperor after taking a commission from the Protestant Bohemian Estates, was a convert too.[57] The imagery of treachery is reinforced by the depiction of a tiny wolf wearing a sheepskin over his shoulders, in the company of a little black demon in the foreground, and the owl in the window in the background. In the seventeenth century the nocturnal owl, shy of the light of day, generally stood not only for stupidity, but also for malice and envy.[58]

56 Examples in Blekastad, *Comenius* (see above, n. 53).

57 Robert Rebitsch, *Wallenstein. Biographie eines Machtmenschen* (Vienna, 2010), 19–33; Golo Mann, *Wallenstein. Sein Leben erzählt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), 133–142.

58 A nice example in Georgette de Montenay / Anna Roemer Visscher, *Cent emblemes chrestiens* (ca. 1615), ed. Els Stronks and Dagmar Stiebral, on the website Digitale Bibliotheek der Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL), Emblem nr. 21.

The omission of the iconic candle in its candlestick is another veiled reference that contemporaries would have recognised. The destruction of the Bohemian churches could be described in the metaphor of Revelation 2: God had taken away their candlestick. Comenius used this same metaphor for the destruction of churches in a tract, written from exile to Brethren ministers still active in Bohemia. He exhorted them to remain steadfast in their ministry. However, when forced to leave their flocks, they should join the Protestant sister Churches abroad and preserve the heritage of the Brethren among them.[59] The panel almost exactly echoes the situation that Comenius foresaw: the Bohemian Churches have had 'their candlestick taken away' yet the Brethren have joined the brotherhood of international Protestantism. The lidded tankard that Luther holds in this picture is the kind of vessel used to present a welcoming drink to guests or cement the bond of friendship between members of guilds and societies.[60] All this makes this painting a rare visual witness of the impression the Bohemian Brethren made in the Reformed Dutch Republic.

4 New Science

The iconography of the Reformers around the candlestick was also re-used on at least one piece of earthenware. In 1692 a Delftware plate was made for Jan van Dieningen and Jannetje Wijnbergen. The front of the dish shows four Reformers: Luther, Calvin, Beza, and Wycliffe, behind the candlestick. A written key gives their names and the years in which they 'flourished'. In the foreground the pope and company are shown blowing at the candle (Fig. 6). Although it contains only a sample from the composition as a whole, the decoration on the dish faithfully reproduces the selected figures as they were depicted in the print sold by Carel Allardt, where the devil appears as a hybrid figure, half monk and half locust.[61] Delftware showing biblical scenes, copied from existing

59 Johann Amos Comenius, *Vermächtnis der sterbenden Mutter, der Brüderunität*, transl. Miloš Bič (Neukirchen Kreis Moers, 1958), 91.

60 Renate Scholz, *Humpen und Krüge. Trinkgefäße 16.–20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1978), 14–17; B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order. The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville, 2001), 103–114, 169.

61 London, British Museum, reg. nr. 1891,0224.3. Tin-glazed earthenware, diameter 32 cm. See also Alexandra Walsham, "Domesticating the Reformation. Material Culture, Memory and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69 (2016), 566–616.

FIGURE 6 *Delftware dish, front and back*
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prints, was not uncommon, but no other example of a household item with the Reformers around the candlestick is known so far.[62]

The couple whose names are on the underside of the dish lived in Amsterdam. Jan was a tailor with a workshop in Vlooienburg, an industrial neighbourhood but also home to artists and inhabited by many Jews. Both Rembrandt and Spinoza lived there for some time. Jannetje, who came from Delft, was Jan's second wife. The couple raised six children, five of their own and one from Jan's earlier marriage. Jan died relatively young, in 1695. His widow survived him for over twenty years.[63] The few available facts on their lives suggest modest artisanal prosperity. Nothing, however, indicates that 1692 was a special year for either of them. The decorations on the underside of the dish, on the curved rim around their names and the date, suggest that the occasion for which the dish was made was related to the world of work. They consist of detailed images of scissors and what seem to be implements for the manufacture of buttons.[64] Scissors were the tools of Jan's trade. He or his wife may have taken up button making as well.

Between the neat cadres containing the images of the tools, the decorator of the dish put eight scientifically exact representations of sperm cells, also enclosed within cadres. Spermatozoa were a recent discovery, and hotly

62 Tanja Kootte, ed., De *bijbel in huis. Bijbelse verhalen op huisraad in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, (Zwolle, 1992).

63 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Registration of baptisms, marriages and funerals (available online). On Vlooienburg Steven Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life* (Cambridge, 1999), 24–26.

64 The catalogue of the British Museum identifies these tools as compasses and nails, but the clearly visible 'eyelets' in both rather suggest implements for making buttons.

debated. In learned correspondence scholars grappled with the questions whether and, if so, how these tiny organisms related to the fetus that formed in the womb. The discussions touched upon controversial philosophical and religious theories. Was procreation only a 'mechanical' process, driven by the laws of nature, or was each new conception an intentional act of creation by Almighty God?[65] The discovery of living, moving *animalculae* in sperm was not entirely monopolised by academics. The most prominent microscopists of the day—the Delft craftsman-scientist Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek, the medical doctor Jan Swammerdam, and his Rotterdam collegue Nicolaus Hartsoeker—all allowed curious laymen to look through their lenses into this unknown world of the microscopically small.[66] Before being published in learned journals, the images that visualised the new knowledge were made by engravers, craftsmen who rubbed shoulders with the likes of Jan and Jannetje.[67] The dish is a silent witness to the spread of scientific discoveries into the milieu of skilled and literate artisans.[68]

Research in this specific field carried a whiff of libertinage. The use of human semen for any other purpose than procreation within the bounds of marriage was considered sinful. Van Leeuwenhoek was very squeamish about observing his own sperm cells, and in his reports to the Royal Society explicitly mentions that he harvested his specimens from intercourse with his wife.[69] The thrills

65 Johannes Duijkerus, *De Geoopende Deure tot de Heylige Godgeleerdheyd. In zig behelzende een grondige Verhandeling van Over-Natuurkundige Gedagten, afgeleyd door zuyvere Reedeneeringen, van het ingeschaapen Denkbeeld, teegen W. Deurhofz Beginselen van Waarheyd en Deugd* (Amsterdam, 1687), 173–202.

66 Edward G. Ruestow, "Images and Ideas: Leeuwenhoek's Perception of the Spermatozoa," *Journal of the History of Biology* 14 (1983), 185–224; id., *The Microscope in the Dutch Republic. The Shaping of Discovery* (Cambridge, 1996); Luuc Kooijmans, *Gevaarlijke kennis. Inzicht en angst in de dagen van Jan Swammerdam* (Amsterdam, 2007), 133–142, 191–202, 287–290, 296–298; Piet Steenbakkers, Jetze Touber and Jeroen van de Ven, "A Clandestine Notebook (1678–1679) on Spinoza, Beverland, Politics, the Bible and Sex," *Lias*, 38 (2011), 225–365, esp. 307, 354–355.

67 At least two Amsterdam engravers were sons of button-makers: Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708) and David van der Plas (1647–1704).

68 On the 'elite of the skilled' Israel, *The Dutch Republic* (see above, n. 27), 348–351; Patrick O'Brien, ed., *Urban Achievement in early Modern Europe. Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge, 2001), 287–345; Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza* (see above, n. 29), 1–9; Arjan van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten. Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480–1650)* (Amsterdam, 2009).

69 Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek, "Observationes de natis e semine genitali animalculis," with

surrounding recent discoveries about the anatomy and workings of the human sexual organs spawned urban legends about ancient heretical sects who consumed semen and menstrual blood as a sacrament. Fashionable secret societies all but adopted the ritual in their secret meetings.[70] Moreover, the final decades of the seventeenth century saw a spate of Dutch pornographic novels, some merely smutty, others clearly referring to the medical and philosophical discussions of the day. These ridiculed the moralism of the clergy and argued that sex is a natural drive, devoid of any inherent sinfulness. Scientific discoveries and their philosophical and theological implications were widely discussed outside the circles of acknowledged scientists.[71]

What therefore makes this Delftware plate the more remarkable is the combination of the well-known image of the Reformation triumphant over the forces of popish darkness, with the depiction of newly discovered sperm cells that were at the heart of controversial discussions with libertine overtones. The link between the front and back of it may well be the use of the print of Carel Allardt, where he has substituted the devil as personification of evil with, instead, a monkish locust, symbol of all-too-human clerical lechery and greed, probably inspired by the controversy over Balthasar Bekker.[72] Bekker presented his attempt to purge the earthly influence of the pagan devil, canonised by the Catholic Church, from the text of the Bible as a perfection of Protestantism. Apparently the craftsmen who commissioned, designed, and received this decorated dish could also interpret the recent advances in the life sciences as a triumph of 'rational' Protestantism over an outdated 'medieval' morality.

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illustrations, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 12, nr. 142, (1677), 1040–1046.

70 Steenbakkers, Touber and Van de Ven, "A Clandestine Notebook" (see above, n. 66), 273, 321–322; David Stevenson, *The Beggar's Benison* (East Linton, 2001); Evelyn Lord, *The Hell-Fire Clubs. Sex, Satanism and Secret Societies* (New Haven, 2008), esp. 164–178; see also David Bos, *2000 Jaar Nederlanders: geloof en seksualiteit* (Zwolle, s.a.), 980.

71 Inger Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans 1670–1700*, ([Nijmegen], 2002), cf. Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex. A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (London, 2012).

72 One pornographic novel presents a defense of this author, linking the discussions about human procreation to those about the reality of the devil, Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant* (see above, n. 71), 245–247.

FIGURE 7 The Candle is lighted, *as published by John Garrett*
© NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

5 The Threat of the Sun King

After Jenner died, the printer-bookseller John Garrett acquired the inventory of his shop, had his copperplate of the Reformers and the candlestick slightly altered and resumed the sale of the prints.[73] That it is indeed the same plate can be concluded from the ugly crack running from Calvin's fur collar to the monk's head visible in both Jenner's and Garrett's prints (Fig. 7). In the upper margin Garrett added the rhymed stanza: 'Maugre all Romish, Hellish, Spanish Spight; Truth's Candle flame shall always burne most bright.'[74] In 1680, in a competitive market, the bookseller Joshua Conyers also published a reproduction of Jenner's engraving of the Reformers and the candlestick, a somewhat crude woodcut inserted into a broadsheet. It bore the title *A true account of the Rise and Growth of the Reformation, or the Progress of the Protestant Religion* (Fig. 8).[75] Conyers replaced Knox with Martyr, and the original Martyr with Dr.

73 Sarah Tyacke, *London Map Sellers 1660–1720* (Tring, 1978), 114–116, 118; Garrett was in business ca. 1665–1721, Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688–1802* (New Haven, 1997), 7.

74 London, National Portrait gallery, cat. nr. NPG D24005. Engraving, 25,7 × 37,2 cm.

75 London, British Library, general reference collection, cat. nr. 816.m.22(36). Woodcut and letterpress. Online edition in Early English Books Online (EEBO).

A True Account of the Rise and Growth of the REFORMATION, or the Progress of the PROTESTANT RELIGION.

Setting forth the *Lives* and Dying *Speeches* of the *First* and most *Famous* Doctors of the *Protestant Church*, their constancy and stedfastness in the same to their Deaths and cruel Martyrdomes they suffered by those Bloody cruel Papists,

And now Printed and Published as a thankful Remembrance of God's goodness to all PROTESTANTS in these three Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and necessary to be set up in every house and Family.

And recommended to all persons by these Reverend Divines, Mr. *W. I.* Mr. *R. B.* Mr. *N. V.*

The Explanation of the Picture.

The Lives and dying Speeches of these Ancient Doctors of the Reformed Church.

That the Reader be not deceived by a Counterfeit sheet (full of many falsehoods) in Imitation of this, The true sheet is only Printed and Sold by *Joshua Conyers* at the *Black Raven in Duck Lane*, 1680.

FIGURE 8 A True Account of the Rise and Growth of the Reformation
© THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, NR. 816.M.22(36)

Marlorat. The font used in writing their names is different from the one used for the other sitters: this probably means that he reused and altered an existing woodblock. The face of Augustin Marlorat resembles a known engraved portrait. He was a French Augustinian monk, who converted to the Reformed faith and fled to Geneva. From there he returned to France as a Reformed preacher.

He published on the Apocalypse, which he interpreted as a prophecy of his own time, foretelling the imminent fall of the Roman Antichrist. He was executed when royal forces took the city of Rouen from its Protestant defenders in the first of the French Wars of Religion. His widow fled to London, where she found support from the local Walloon church.[76] Besides Marlorat, this image includes another martyr for Protestantism: the Englishman William Tyndale, burnt at the stake by the Inquisition in Antwerp.

The image was by now embedded in a mass of text. The caption advertises the print as a necessary wall-decoration for 'every house and Family'. A poem extolls the Reformers as bringers of Light in the darkness of popery. The lower half contains short biographies of the sitters. The addition of a poem using word play on 'light' and of biographies seems inspired by the Dutch prints. A new element, however, is that rather than as learned theologians all Reformers are presented as martyrs for their faith, and their biographies highlight miraculous occurrences surrounding their deaths. Stories of martyrdom were popular at the time.[77] More pertinent, however, may have been a growing sense of insecurity among Protestants after the alleged Popish Plot. On the Continent, the Counter-reformation was gaining force. At home, King Charles II was leaning towards Catholicism and his brother and heir James openly embraced it. The assertion that the Catholic opposition would be unable to blow out the lighted candle sounded increasingly shrill.

Meanwhile, Catholic controversialists in France produced their own version of Jenner's original print. They had it faithfully copied, in a sophisticated engraving—presenting the Reformers as obscurantists and deceivers (Fig. 9). In this French print the quartet of Roman forces at the near side of the table has been left out. The inscription on the table top now runs: '*Lumen quod in vobis est tenebrae sunt*' (The light in you is merely darkness). Whereas the original 'the candle is lighted' refers to Matthew 5,15–16, where Jesus compares his disciples to radiant lights glorifying God in heaven, the French print quotes Matthew 6,23, where the disciples are warned not to succumb to the seduc-

76 Eugène and Émile Haag, *La France Protestante, ou vies des protestants Français*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1846–1859), 7: 256–259; Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse. Geneva, Zurich and Wittenberg* (Oxford, 2000), 28–29, 61–66.

77 In England Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* was reprinted over and over, while the beheading of Charles I broadened the genre from strictly religious to religio-political martyrdom, Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge, 2003). In 1692 Philippus à Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis* triggered a spate of horror stories about martyrs of the Inquisition that would continue throughout the eighteenth century, see also n. 94.

FIGURE 9 Aux Nouveaux Catholiques de la France
© BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

tions of the world and through hypocrisy mislead the simple faithful. Again following the Dutch example, the print includes short engraved biographies, but here the Reformers are characterised as heretics lapsed from the true faith, and often in conflict with one another.

For extra piquancy, the engraver renamed the portrait of Perkins in the prototype as the controversial Italian Reformer Bernardino Ochino. Ochino, former general of the Capuchin order and a prize convert for the Protestant cause, embarrassed all Protestant establishments when he published a dialogue in which he seemed to condone polygamy, a scandal noted in the engraved text.[78] In stark contrast to the diminutive candle flame, above the heads of the company of Reformers the clouds open to show a radiant sun, reminiscent of the Sun King himself. Engraved scrolls call upon the *Nouveaux Catholiques*, the Huguenots reconciled to the Church of Rome after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, often at gun-point, to thank their King for enlightening them and delivering them from these monsters of error.[79]

6 Pietist Popery

The image of Reformers and the lighted candle was also known in the German lands. On an oil painting after the Dutch prints, the text on the table top has been rendered into German: *'Das Licht ist auff den Leuchter gestelt'*. To the Romish company in the foreground the painter added a Jesuit priest wearing vestments for Mass and holding a chalice and a paten with the Host.[80] Another German painting, in a somewhat primitive style and badly degraded, deserves special attention, because it applies the imagery of the candlestick-prints to a specifically German polemical context. It once graced the home of an East-Prussian minister and shows the familiar combination of pope, Reformers with books, and a table with a lighted candle on a candlestick—but in a radically different composition from the prints and paintings discussed so far.[81]

The three men portrayed in this group are identified in painted lettering as 'D. Luther', 'Papst Leo X', and 'Calvin' (Fig. 10). Luther and Calvin are easily recog-

78 Philip McNair, "Ochino's Apology: Three Gods or Three Wives?," *History* 60 (1975), 352–373.

79 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection Michel Hennin, cat. nr. 1301.

80 Oxford, Hertford College. Oil on canvas, 127 × 171 cm.

81 Zurich, Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, cat. nr. LM-76931. Oil on canvas, 64 × 81,5 cm. *Geschichte Schweiz. Katalog der Dauerausstellung im Landesmuseum Zürich*, ed. Erika Hebeisen and Pascale Meyer, (Zurich, 2009), 68. Cf. *Jahresbericht Schweizerisches Landesmuseum* 1997, 50.

FIGURE 10 *Satirical representation of the Pietismusstreit*
© SCHWEITZERISCHES NATIONALMUSEUM, ZURICH

nisable from their iconography, although their portraits have been simplified. The face of the pope, however, although it shows more character than those of his neighbours, does not resemble any known portrait of Leo X. Moreover, he is seated between Luther and Calvin, instead of confronting them. He wears a papal tiara, but no Catholic clerical vestments. He looks rather like Philip Jacob Spener, court minister and leading Brandenburg Pietist in the last quarter of the seventeenth century,[82] and the way in which the three figures handle fire fits the controversies surrounding the pietist movement. The papal Spener leans towards Luther with a burning candle, lighting the fuse in Luther's hand. Calvin, on his other side, cuts the wick of the candle that is placed in a candlestick on the pages of the open book in front of him. This action seems long overdue, as the candle flame already burns very high.

The image can be read as a satire on the *Pietismusstreit* in Brandenburg-Prussia from the 1680s: the controversy spawned by the complicated relation-

82 Painted portrait by Daniel Thülens, Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main.

ships between the orthodox Lutheran ecclesiastical establishment, the Calvinist ruling house, and a highly activist party of theologians who emphasised moral reform over confessional niceties. The latter enjoyed the support of the rulers, as the evangelical zeal of these so-called Pietists towards religious and moral improvement of society played into their political agenda. Presenting Spener as pope, the image criticises Pietism for its 'popish' ambitions within the state Church. Spener exercised widespread patronage, favouring pietist clergymen. His lighting of the fuse in Luther's hand refers to the fierce polemical exchanges between Pietists and Lutheran Orthodoxy.[83]

Yet in this painting Spener seems to ignore both Luther and Calvin. This may refer to the accusation of 'indifferentism' levelled against Spener and the Pietists. Spener encouraged thorough study of the Bible over the uncritical acceptance of confessional teachings. He developed a biblical hermeneutic that looked, not at prooftexts that underpinned confessional doctrine, but at the Bible as an interrelated unity of texts that together contained all the teaching necessary for salvation. This resulted in an enlightened theology that acknowledged a limited number of necessary truths and allowed considerable latitude in everything else. Texts that seemed opaque or 'dark' should be explained in the light of others that plainly proclaimed the essential truths.[84] We can read Spener's hermeneutic in the texts displayed on the pages of the open books in front of Luther and Calvin: 'Examine scripture' (*Suchet in der Schrift*) and 'We have only one Master: Christ. God is Light and in Him is no darkness' (*Einer ist unser Meister, Christus! Gott ist ein Licht und in ihm ist keine Finsternis*). Rejection of confessional theological systems in favour of independent theological research was, however, at the time considered a first step towards atheism.

The overall design of the painting seems to favour the Reformed. It suggests sympathy for a disciplined and irenical Calvinism, depicted in Calvin's responsible trimming of the candlewick, against an incendiary Lutheranism or an indifferent Pietism. Perhaps the painting was made or commissioned by one of the Huguenot refugees who found a new home in Brandenburg after the

83 Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung. Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1997); Carl Hinrichs, *Preußentum und Pietismus. Der Pietismus in Brandenburg-Preußen als religiös-soziale Reformbewegung* (Göttingen, 1971).

84 Martin Gierl, "Befleckte Empfangnis. Pietistische Hermeneutik, Indifferentismus, Eklektik und die Konsolidierung pietistischer, orthodoxer und frühaufklärerischer Ansprüche und Ideen," in *Strukturen der deutschen Frühaufklärung 1680–1720*, ed. Hans Erik Bödeker (Göttingen, 2008), 119–146.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as a satirical commentary on the religio-political realities of their place of exile. The Court was sympathetic to the French Reformed. The Lutheran establishment resented this and feared that the Elector would try to introduce a Reformed state Church, or enforce a union of Lutherans and Calvinists.[85]

7 Between Rome and Geneva

Meanwhile in England the image of the Reformers around the lighted candle came to figure increasingly in discussions about the stability of the Protestant Establishment. Rather than as a loose-leaf print, it was reused as a title print in books, and again proliferated in paintings. In these later adaptations of Jenner's original design, we find new faces substituted for some of the Continental Reformers or supplementing the original company. By the end of the seventeenth century the emphasis shifted towards the martyrs for Protestantism, more specifically English ones from the reign of Mary Tudor. Rather than commemorate their martyrdom, these pictures confront their viewers with the question of for what exactly these people had died.

This question touched upon two separate but connected aspects of the Reformation: the political question of whether England would remain Protestant in the case of a Catholic *coup* or conquest, and the more theological issue of the precise place of the Anglican Church within Reformed Protestantism. Both vexed public opinion from the 1680s until well into the eighteenth century. The Glorious Revolution secured a Protestant succession which was, however, repeatedly threatened by Catholic Stuart Pretenders. The Restoration Church after the Civil War veered away from Calvinism, by now associated with the revolutionary sects under the Commonwealth. Rather than on Continental Protestantism, the Church of England modeled itself in this period on an idealised view of its own Reformation, as it had been shaped, step by cautious step, by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer under King Henry VIII. Anglicanism was increasingly considered a 'middle way' between Catholicism and Protestantism. This compromise never satisfied everyone. Arminians and 'high Church' men on the one hand, and Puritans and Methodists on the other, claimed to represent the true heritage of the first generation of British Reformers. The only constant factor would remain a deeply ingrained hatred of the Roman Catholic Church. As a

85 Ulrich Niggemann, *Immigrationspolitik zwischen Konflikt und Konsens. Die Hugenottensiedlung in Deutschland und England (1681–1697)* (Cologne, 2008), 439–455.

consequence, successive generations of Englishmen and each theological current within the Anglican Church claimed the Marian martyrs. Their popularity as exemplary witnesses of true Anglicanism runs all through the eighteenth and even into the nineteenth century.[86]

In 1682 a simplified version of Jenner's print was used as the title print in John Shirley's *An Epitomy of Ecclesiastical History*. The book presents a history of Christianity from the death of Christ until the time of publication. The print is a small engraving, probably custom made for inclusion in this book (Fig. 11).[87] It gives pride of place to five Marian martyrs, replacing several Continental theologians. As in the broadsheet *A True Account* of two years earlier, we see Tyndale in the lower right corner holding up towards the Roman opponents a book, probably his Bible translation. Above him, the unnamed figure of Oecolampadius from Jenner's original print, figures as Bishop Nicholas Ridley. Several of the men standing in the background have been renamed as Dr. John Bradford, Bishop Thomas Cranmer, and Bishop Hugh Latimer. Interestingly, in some copies of *An Epitomy* the title print has Perkins in the upper right corner, whereas in others his face is lacking. This confirms the idea that Perkins was indeed inserted as an afterthought in a later version of the original Jenner print. The print sets the anti-Catholic tone for Shirley's history. The book consists of biographies of Christian martyrs and doctors of the Church, followed by the reforming efforts of the English kings and queens.

In another anonymous and undated print, probably also a book illustration but as yet of unknown provenance, the process of substitution has gone much further. Here only six men, all Marian martyrs—Bishop John Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, Bradford and Taylor—face the customary foursome of pope, cardinal, monk and devil (Fig. 12). The body language of the figures is closely copied from those of the sitters in Jenner's prototype. Faces, clothing and headwear have been adjusted, presenting the viewer again with true portraits. The inscription on the table top has vanished, but it is replaced by a rhymed caption with an identical message: 'Tho' Hell and Rome with all their might / Labour to put out Gospel Light / Yet their Attempts are all in vain / God

86 John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689* (New Haven, 1991); Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (London, 1992), 18–30; Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England 1688–1791* (Oxford, 1986); Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England. A Political and Social Study* (Manchester, 1993); Michael Wheeler, *The Old Enemies. Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-Century English Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), 77–82.

87 London, National Portrait Gallery, sign. NPG 23051. Engraving, 13,6 × 9,9 cm.

FIGURE 11 The Reformation
© NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

FIGURE 12 Marian Martyrs
© VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON

ever will his Truth maintain'.[88] The inclusion of Hooper gives the image a more specifically Puritan twist: he was the most Puritanical of the first generation of Protestant bishops in England, outspoken against everything not specifically commanded in Scripture, and a strict disciplinarian.

In the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, paintings made after the Jenner prototype were expanded on both sides to accommodate three more figures. At the far right they all show James Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of the Irish Church. On the left Cranmer has been added. Probably the representation of Ussher points again to the endemic fear of a recatholicisation of Britain. Ussher's earliest biographer hinted at prophetic gifts in his hero. From the 1670s into the 1710s, at moments of heightened fears, anonymous pamphlets appeared containing these prophecies, suitably framed by

88 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. nr. 29719:2, press mark GG 51. Engraving, 10,2 × 12,5 cm.

FIGURE 13 The Protestant Reformers
© REPRODUCED COURTESY OF THE GLASGOW MUSEUMS

horror stories of what could happen in a Catholic overthrow of the Protestant Establishment.[89] The audience at this period may have been more familiar with Ussher, the prophet of doom-at-the-hands-of-Catholics, than with Ussher the prelate and scholar. Therefore this version of the composition, including both Ussher and the martyr Cranmer, probably originated during these decades.

In two of three known paintings with Ussher, the face just below Perkins and a new face just below Cranmer, are not identified.[90] A third, with the same figures in the same positions around a table (Fig. 13), has a key that identifies the nameless figure below Cranmer as Latimer and the one below Perkins as 'Oldham'. He is probably supposed to be John Oldham, unlike the others not a theologian but a poet who was popular at this time, for, among other things, a satyrical anti-Jesuit work. Although apparently by different hands and varying in size and material, the three paintings show very close similarities. It suggests that this particular composition had also first been produced and sold as a print. However, the third painting does not show the pope and company trying to blow out the candle. Instead, on the table lies a scroll that functions as its

89 Ute Lotz-Heumann, "'The Spirit of Prophecy has not wholly left the World': the Stylisation of Archbishop James Ussher as a Prophet," in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, ed. Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (Manchester, 2003), 119–132; Ussher's prophecies were also published in Dutch: *Vreemde en Aanmerkelijke Voorzeggingen van de Heylige, Geleerde en Uitstekende Jacobus Usher* (London, 1678; repr. s.l., 1686 and The Hague, 1688).

90 Lewes (Sussex), Town Hall. Oil on wood, 34×88 cm; London, Society of Antiquaries of London at Burlington House. Oil on canvas, 95,3×177,8 cm.

key: it shows tiny sketches of each of the figures, with their names in very small lettering underneath.[91] The Reformers seem to discuss its contents as if it were a membership list of the True Church.

In the eighteenth century there was ample ground for debate on who should be depicted around a table with a candlestick, representing the true nature of Anglicanism. Methodism changed the face of the Anglican Church, and Calvinist Methodism, although a relatively small offshoot of the Methodist body, revived the Calvinist tendencies that had been present in the English Church from the beginning, but had been discredited under Archbishop Laud and had found a home mainly in Dissent after the Restoration. The Methodist embodiment of Calvinism faced fierce opposition in the Anglican Church. At the University of Oxford a veritable 'anti-Calvinist crusade' emerged from the late 1750s.[92] This crusade burst into open conflict in 1768, when six students of the University were expelled for attending and preaching at Methodist conventicles. The incident provoked an exchange of pamphlets, proving from the writings of the Marian Martyrs that the Church of England had either been Calvinist from the beginning or that the martyrs had died for the Arminianism that by now had become firmly entrenched.[93]

We can see this debate reflected in the title print of *England's Bloody Tribunal, or Popish Cruelty Displayed* by Matthew Taylor, published in several editions in London in the later 1760s and throughout the 1770s. Under the caption *The Primitive Reformers* this print is again an adaptation of Jenner's engraving, now in mirror-image and again with significant alterations. The table has been stretched even wider, to seat a much larger company. Pope, devil, cardinal and aspergillum-wielding monk are still the same and all those represented in the seventeenth-century prototype are present, but it also includes a number of new faces. The martyrs Ridley and Latimer have been added between Luther and Calvin, pushing Calvin and Beza towards a more marginal position. On the other side of Luther and Melanchthon sits Thomas Aquinas. This enlightened age may have valued him for his attention to natural theology. Next in line is 'Molern'. Father and son Pierre du Moulin were Huguenot minis-

91 Glasgow, Glasgow Museum Resource Centre, cat. nr. A.2004.2. Oil on canvas, 63.2 × 130,8 cm.

92 David Ceri Jones, Erin Mant White and Boyd Stanley Schlether, *The Elect Methodists. Calvinistic Methodism in England and Wales, 1735–1811* (Cardiff, 2012); Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530–1700* (Manchester, 2001), 23–24.

93 [Richard Hill], *Pietas Oxoniensis, or A full and impartial account of the expulsion of six students from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford* (London, 1768); Thomas Nowell, *An answer to a pamphlet, entitled Pietas oxoniensis*, 2nd enl. ed., (Oxford, [1769]).

FIGURE 14 The Primitive Reformers
© NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

ters who were given livings in England under James I and remained staunchly Royalist during the Civil War. With Hugo Grotius next to him and Jacobus Arminius standing behind Wycliffe, the line-up includes two of the foremost architects of Dutch Remonstrantism. On the other side of the picture 'Buxtorf' and 'Bolton' have been added. Father and son Johannes Buxtorf were famous Hebrew scholars. Bolton is most probably Robert Bolton, a godly minister with a great interest in martyrs for the Protestant faith. Tellingly, Ussher is absent. His Calvinism made him an unwelcome guest in this company, and prophecies were no longer popular at this time. In later editions of *England's Bloody Tribunal* Cranmer was squeezed in at the extreme right side (Fig. 14).[94] The faces of the Reformers are very small and the engraving is so primitive that finding any likeness to the original portraits requires a lively imagination.

Book and print apparently killed two birds with one stone. A wave of anti-Catholicism, or rather, fear of a recatholicisation accompanied by the introduction of the Inquisition, seems to have washed over the British in the wake of the

94 Engraving, 8,9 × 31,7 cm. The image was reissued by the London publisher Alexander Hogg (fl. 1778–1824), engraved by one Lodge, Bridgeman Art Library, no. XJF173673. It is still for sale from Internet sites (allposters, eu.art.com) as giclee print. Matthew Taylor, *England's bloody tribunal, or an antidote against popery* (London, 1768) was reprinted several times, and was one of a surprising number of books on the threat of the Inquisition in England in this period.

renversement des alliances of 1756. Taylor's *England's Bloody Tribunal* is a compilation of horror stories about the persecuting spirit of the Roman Church, combining biographies of English Protestant martyrs with reports about the evil doings of the Inquisition abroad. It has no references at all to the clashes between Arminian mainstream and the resurgence of Calvinism within the Methodist movement. The title print *The Primitive Reformers* may have already been in circulation, as a single leaf print or as an illustration in yet another book, before inclusion in *England's Bloody Tribunal*.[95] The captions for all its other illustrations proudly proclaim that they have been engraved especially for this book—all except the title print, the presence of which is also prominently advertised, as if it was already well-known, on the title page. Apparently it was added to bolster Protestant self-confidence in the face of perceived threat.

8 Moravian Scholars

At this point in the timeline we should once more return to the panel with the faces of Žižka and other, nameless Bohemians among the Reformers. Sometime before the end of the eighteenth century it was brought to Moravia and tampered with so as to change its meaning completely. Czechs who travelled abroad and who brought unorthodox books and artwork home with them ran a very real risk of having these confiscated by the Inquisition. Such objects, if considered valuable, sometimes ended up in monasteries.[96] By the end of the eighteenth century the panel was in the possession of Jan Petr Cerroni, secretary of the Imperial Domains in Brno, a connoisseur and avid collector of Moravian antiquities. He acquired many of his books and manuscripts from Moravian monasteries that were being closed by Emperor Joseph II. Cerroni probably bought the picture because it contained Žižka.[97] He never noticed the relationship between print prototype and painting, but instead attributed the panel to the sixteenth-century Flemish master Henri de Bles who signed his paintings with a little owl.[98] Afterwards, through Cerroni's nephew and heir

95 Molland, "Reformasjonens fedre eller 'lysestaken'" (see above, n. 9), 36, reproduces yet another version from the University Library of Geneva, that apparently is no longer there.

96 Teich, "Bohemia. From Darkness into Light" (see above, n. 47), 142–143.

97 *Oesterreichische National-Encyklopädie*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1835–1838), 1: 495. On his collecting habits, see Vidal F.M. Bartoš, *Dopisy Josefa Dobrovského s Janem Petrem Cerronim* (Prague, 1948).

98 Documentation available in Rajhrad monastery ascribes the panel to 'a seventeenth cen-

Johann Jacob Heinrich Czikann,[99] and later Řehoř Tomáš Volný OSB,[100] both prominent historians and collectors of Moravian antiquities, it came to Rajhrad monastery where it has remained ever since, with the exception of the Communist period, when it was stored with the rest of Rajhrad's collection in the Moravian Gallery in Brno.

In Moravia the painting was adjusted for its Catholic environment. Whereas the original paint layer is smooth, on parts of the red tablecloth and on the face of the wolf draped with sheepskin it is somewhat thicker and wrinkled, as if something has been painted over. Also a key was added, painted in tiny black lettering on the dark brown stove in the lower right hand corner. This key corresponds to letters and symbols painted near the faces of the Reformers. Like the wrinkly paint on tablecloth and wolf, these letters and symbols and the text of the key itself stand out in relief from the surface of the painting. In places they are so badly abraided as to become almost illegible.

The key identifies most of the figures copied from the prototype print with their original name, but not all. À Lasco's has been replaced with the meaningless 'Alhius', and St.-Aldegonde has remained entirely nameless. Moreover, Farel and Flacius in the original print are here both named 'Flaccius'. Apparently the maker of the key was unfamiliar with these men and with the prototype prints which contain their names. The key further identifies some of the new faces that were added to the print prototype, as 'Mintzer', 'Karlstadt', 'Weigel', 'Manikius' and 'Quietista'. Müntzer and Karlstadt were more radical colleagues of Luther in Wittenberg, and Weigel was a sixteenth-century theosophist. Whereas the prints and paintings presenting the Reformers around the candlestick all show portraits of known men, the remaining two new figures are labeled with the designation of movements: Manichees and Quietists, that were considered heretical in all the mainline Churches at the time. The spelling of these two last labels, as well as that of Müntzer as 'Mintzer' suggests that the key was added by someone whose native language was Czech, where the ü sounds as i.[101] All this supports the idea that this key was added after the panel came to Czechia.

The choice of names and labels seems inspired by the text shown in the open book that in the panel takes the place of the customary candlestick. Whereas

tury Dutch painter Van der Blaes'. On Henri de Bles: Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem, 1604), 219 r–v.

99 *Oesterreichische National-Encyklopädie* (see above, n. 97), 1: 653–654.

100 *Scriptores ordinis S. Benedicti qui 1750–1880 fuerunt in Imperio Austriaco-Hungarico*, (Vienna, 1881), 518–523.

101 Information provided by translator Didi van Ingen.

in a Dutch seventeenth-century context Matthew's text about false prophets referred to the enemies of the Bohemian Brethren and of Protestantism in general, in the eighteenth century Moravian reworking the Reformers themselves are identified as false prophets. The wolf in sheep's clothing, the little demon, and the owl, another creature of darkness, all fit well within this new reading of the image. Whereas the prototype version proclaimed the inclusion of the Bohemian Brethren within international Protestantism, despite the treachery of converts to the Counter-reformation, the newly added key demonises the Reformers to render the painting acceptable to a Catholic audience.

9 The Long-Lasting Appeal of the Reformers around the Candlestick

Thomas Jenner's engraving enjoyed an extraordinary reception. The simple, even 'artless' composition proved a masterstroke, not because of its artistic quality, but because it presented its viewers with an emblem of Protestantism. Originally it defined Reformed religion as it had been established in England in the first generation after the Reformation, after it had been recalibrated with Continental standards at the Synod of Dordrecht. The print proudly shows its most eminent representatives triumphant over a demonised Roman Catholicism. In the decades that followed, the Church of England would oscillate between Dordracene Calvinism and a national variety of Arminianism and face the risk of being abolished in favour of Catholicism through the vagaries of dynastic succession. All these could be expressed in variations on the prototype print. The image travelled as well, and could be adapted for use as propaganda or to provide food for reflection in a variety of contexts. Dutch Calvinism was caught up in the multifarious debates connected to its early and radical Enlightenments and faced stiff opposition from a resurgent Catholic community. Bohemian Hussite exiles sought protection under the wings of Reformed Churches and found admirers among Dutch Reformed theologians. Moreover Catholics in France and the Low Countries, as well as Huguenot refugees in Prussia, created satirical parodies. In each of these situations, friends and foes of the Reformers could quote this well-known image and adapt it for their own purposes.

Print made the composition popular, and carried it far and wide. Paintings catered to individual owners. Their existence, in large numbers, with a wide variety of adaptations produced over a long period of time, testify to the lasting appeal of the composition. What we call 'The Reformation' was a process rather than an event. It is hard to pinpoint a beginning or an end or even to decide

who were and who were not part of it.[102] Christendom was split over issues of doctrine, church order, and church-state relations. Each chip off the block of the medieval Latin Church claimed to represent the true Church. The genius of Thomas Jenner was that he gave the English Reformation a face, literally, in his group portrait of Reformers. His sitters were not chosen at random. They were not generic Protestant divines but the very men who produced the Church of England as it was defined at that specific time. Therefore the use of 'true portraits' was important. By adding or substituting others the image could proclaim a different view of true Protestantism, or probably even true Christianity. In the variety of images of the Reformers around the candlestick we therefore see the different faces of 'the Reformation'.

The use of the composition can be nicely connected to periods of heightened polemic. It is remarkable that it remained in circulation in England from the early seventeenth until the end of the eighteenth century and even beyond. It thus bears witness to the length of England's Long Reformation. In the Dutch Republic it enjoyed a tremendous popularity but for a much shorter period. In the second half of the seventeenth century it was produced by practically every publisher-bookseller with a suitable press and sound business sense. It addressed a variety of debates within a society that was highly literate, both in reading text and pictures, and prosperous enough to sustain a lively market for both. Here, however, demand for this particular image dropped off steeply at the beginning of the eighteenth century, once the States of the Provinces had firmly put a lid on public theological polemicising. Moreover, the particular make-up of the Republic made recatholisation there much less likely than in Britain.

The decisive factor in the prolonged popularity of the image of the Reformers around the candlestick was probably the role of the general public. Religious establishments all over Europe and beyond had been shaped by the force of circumstance—theological, political, and cultural. For people living in these societies, whatever their faith or lack of it, the dominant religious regime, with its privileges for those who conformed and its restrictions on those who did not, was inescapable. Especially in times of threat or tension, for theologians but also for an increasingly literate general public, Protestant religion was a matter

102 On the ongoing nature of early modern reforms in all confessions W.R. Ward, *Christianity under the Ancien Régime 1648–1789* (Cambridge, 1999); MacCulloch, *Reformation* (see above, n. 47). See also Jeremy Gregory, "The Making of a Protestant Nation: 'Success' and 'Failure' in England's Long Reformation," in *England's Long Reformation*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (London, 2003), 307–333; Peter G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation. Religion, Political Conflict, and the Search for Conformity, 1350–1750* (Basingstoke, 2012), 169–195.

for debate.[103] Vernacular pamphlets familiarised readers with the arguments of the parties involved. In the various transformations of the iconography printmakers visualised the points under discussion, for those already in the know as well as for not-so-avid or less accomplished readers. (Amateur) painters created their own customised versions.

We do not have any solid information on the reception of these images, but they certainly fit known spaces for discussion and debate in early modern public culture, from private homes to bookshops, from coffee houses to tow barges. Printers and publishers of popular material, like Jenner and the Allard family business, aimed at a wide audience, and gladly provided materials that offered food for thought and conversation and which they could sell at a profit. The success of the image of the Reformers around the candlestick shows how this debate was not confined to an elite audience but extended into the literate artisanal milieu, where people could afford prints and copied them in amateur paintings. The Delftware dish suggests that such popular conversations on religion extended into its relations with natural philosophy as well.

Engravers and painters took care to imitate known portraits. They usually identified them by name. Yet over time the very familiarity of the image allowed the composition to become iconic in itself. The individual portraits could be, and were, rendered much more schematically, and still the emblematic nature of the image enabled further improvisations on its theme. In showing the Reformers without the pope and his companions, as dark lights, as themselves popish, as heretics or as simply a company of learned men, the message was altered, while makers could still assume that viewers would recognise the import of the original composition. Satirists eagerly exploited this possibility. Although prints and paintings catered to different audiences, with prints reflecting general debates and anxieties and paintings more likely to express the religious allegiance of the individual maker or buyer, it makes sense to study them together as a continuing conversation on Protestant identity and on the many faces of the Reformation.

103 A recently started research project 'Remembering the Reformation', directed by Brian Cummings and Alex Walsham (York/Cambridge) will undoubtedly further elucidate this process.