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# Calvinism and the Arts

*Susan Hardman Moore*

In 1540 Calvin wrote to a young student to praise his devotion to study, but also to deliver a warning: 'Those who seek in scholarship nothing more than an honoured occupation with which to beguile the tedium of idleness I would compare to those who pass their lives looking at paintings.' This spur-of-the-moment remark, committed to paper as Calvin settled down to answer letters (as he did everyday), is revealing. Calvin backed up his opinion that study for its own sake is pointless with an unfavourable reference to those 'who pass their lives looking at paintings'.[1]

Calvin: austere, hostile to the arts? Calvinism: corrosive to human creativity and delight in beauty? Calvin's reputation for austerity, some suggest, stems in part from his context in Geneva, where the strife-torn citizens were too hard pressed and poor to support patronage of the arts in the style of wealthy Basle, or of the kind Luther enjoyed in Wittenberg.[2] To counter Calvin's dour reputation, scholars highlight his affirmation of the arts: 'I am not gripped by the superstition of thinking absolutely no images permissible […] sculpture and painting are gifts of God';[3] 'among other things fit to recreate man and give him pleasure, music is either first or one of the principal […] we must value it as a gift of God'.[4] Calvin's writings also show appreciation of the splendours of Creation. In the natural world, God 'shows his glory to us, whenever and wherever we cast our gaze'.[5] For Calvin, God's glorious gift of beauty shows – like his gifts of food and wine – how God gives not simply what is needed, but what will stir up 'delight and good cheer', 'gladden the heart'.[6] Calvin was in fact quite a *bon vivant* who enjoyed meals with friends and colleagues; he particularly liked fish, fresh from Lake Geneva. He gave his dining companion Laurent de Normandie (a publisher and refugee, who like Calvin came from Noyon in Picardy), a fine rock crystal cup with chased silver

rim and handles.[7] Calvin valued human artistry, the natural world and everyday pleasures as gifts of God.

The key to the value Calvin set on the arts was this: nothing should be an end in itself. As his Genevan catechism put it, 'What is the chief end of human life? That men should know God by whom they were created.'[8] Calvin's keenest desire was to stop artists subverting true knowledge of God. 'Only those things are to be sculptured or painted which the eyes are capable of seeing: let not God's majesty, which is far above the perception of the eyes, be debased through unseemly representations.'[9] Calvin took the view that fallen human beings would inevitably worship what had been created, instead of the Creator.[10] So images and idolatry went hand in hand; the arts had no place in church.

Calvin's convictions draw attention to cultural changes that accompanied the theological upheavals of the Reformation. A shift from the visual to the verbal – from eye to ear, from seeing to hearing, from images to words – is commonly said to have happened, particularly in the Reformed tradition. To explore this, it is useful to consider how Calvin and Luther diverged in their attitude to art and images, and to flesh out Calvin's thought on these matters. This will occupy the first part of what follows. Then, to see how Calvin's beliefs bedded down in Protestantism, the focus will turn to zealous Calvinists two or three generations later – seventeenth-century puritans. The culture of puritanism shows how the Reformation brought complex changes. Although images had no place in Reformed churches, images in the mind, at least, had a 'shelf life' in Reformed thought long after Calvin.

## I

The arts played a different role in the Calvinist and Lutheran Reformations. A comparison of Calvin portraits with images of Luther illustrates this. Portraits of Calvin are rare. Likenesses made in his lifetime can be counted on one hand. The most vivid, perhaps, are a student's doodles – four sketches made in the back of a book as he watched Calvin teach.[11] A central aim of the 500th anniversary exhibition 'A Day in the Life of John Calvin', at the International Museum of the Reformation in Geneva, has been to overcome the

lack of Calvin portraits and create a more realistic iconography.[12] The Museum worked with the University of Geneva to create short virtual reality films of Calvin. This 3D Calvin – like the portraits his animators have drawn on – dresses in sober robes, works with books and pen, raises his forefinger to stress a point when in mid-flow preaching or teaching. The efforts of the exhibition to picture Calvin and the Geneva of his day highlight how little about Calvin survives, visually speaking. Visitors to Geneva can see where he preached, and view his handwriting in manuscripts. In the Cathédrale Saint-Pierre stands what is reputed to be his chair (although readers in Scotland can find a nineteenth-century facsimile closer to home, at New College Library, Edinburgh).[13] The earliest portraits of Calvin – which usually show only head and shoulders, against a plain background – give little sense of context. It was left to later artists to fill out the fabric of his life, like the nineteenth-century Swiss painter Joseph Hornung, who depicted the Reformer on his deathbed, pale but alert, surrounded by Geneva's ministers and magistrates.[14] The builders of Geneva's Reformation Wall, constructed early in the twentieth century to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Calvin's birth, chose to show the tall figure of Calvin flanked by Guillaume Farel, Theodore Beza and John Knox (who loom not quite as large). Each holds a book.[15] A stress on the written word, even within pictures, is common. An evocative portrait from the seventeenth century shows Calvin in a book-lined study, consulting a text. A man of words and no pictures.[16]

The contrast with Luther is great. Fine portraits painted from life survive, and even his death mask.[17] Visual representations of the German reformer are more dynamic and varied. Right from the start, the skills of artists and engravers pressed home Luther's message – disseminated on the cheap by the new technology of printing, the web of its day. Popular portraits in the early 1520s showed Luther in monk's habit, with a saint's halo and the dove of the Spirit above his head: iconic signs that Luther was faithful to tradition, holy, divinely inspired; a 'restorer of Christian doctrine'.[18] Luther counted among his close and constant associates the painter Lucas Cranach the Elder (although Cranach, with a shrewd eye for business, continued to paint for Catholic patrons).[19] The strength of visual propaganda continued throughout Luther's career. Not long before his death in 1546, St

Mary's, Wittenberg (Luther's parish church) commissioned Cranach
to paint a striking new altarpiece, which survives to this day.[20] Three
upper panels show the sacraments: to the left, baptism; to the right,
confession; in the centre, communion. What is striking is that the
Reformers – Luther, Melanchthon and others – are pictured in the seats
of the apostles at the Last Supper with Christ. Cranach's Wittenberg
altarpiece had no scruples about showing the divine work of Christ,
although this would have been anathema in Geneva. Christ on the cross
is central to the predella (the lower panel which supports the upper
three). To the right of the cross, Luther stands in a pulpit, pointing to
Christ. To the left, members of the Wittenberg congregation look on
and listen; among them Luther's wife and children, to highlight the
Protestant message of family life as the proper sphere for living out
the Gospel. The altarpiece was dedicated in 1547, just before Catholic
troops stormed Wittenberg and the cause of reform seemed lost. In the
turmoil that accompanied the Holy Roman Emperor's crackdown on
Protestantism, a Spanish soldier attacked Cranach's work – he used
his sword to slash the image of Luther pointing to Christ.

In spite of his willingness to be painted in oils and engraved in
cheap woodcuts, Luther placed priority on the Word. In a world where
only a minority were literate – where there were vastly more hearers
than readers – Luther stressed the living word of God conveyed by
preachers: 'Do not look for Christ with your eyes, but put your eyes in
your ears'; 'the Kingdom of God is a hearing kingdom, not a seeing
kingdom'.[21]

Yet Luther did not regard the eyes as the enemy of the ears. He
thought of human beings as inherently image-makers, who needed to
form pictures in their minds to make sense of what they heard. On this
basis he valued external images, provided they were not misused to
detract from the honour due to God.

> Of this I am certain, that God desires to have his works heard
> and read, especially the passion of our Lord. But it is impossible
> for me to hear and bear it in mind without forming mental
> images of it in my heart. For whether I will or not, when I hear
> of Christ, an image of a man hanging on a cross takes form in
> my heart, just as the reflection of my face naturally appears

in the water when I look into it. If it is not a sin but good to have the image of Christ in my heart, why should it be a sin to have it in my eyes? This is especially true since the heart is more important than the eyes, and should be less stained by sin because it is the true abode and dwelling place of God.[22]

Calvin's book-bound worldview seems far removed from Luther's willingness to see the crucifix as an aid to devotion, and Calvin steered clear of pictures as a means to transmit Reformed ideas. Why? Words, preached and printed, attracted Calvin the humanist scholar and book-lover. More important, preachers and printers could put the Word into the ears and hands of simple folk. Calvin wanted to shift images from 'out there' in wood or stone or glass – 'the books of the unlearned', as Gregory the Great called them[23] – and take the Word of God into hearts and minds. Calvin's theological convictions made him deeply hostile to religious art. He joined a long line of Christian image-critics, running back through figures like Erasmus, Bernard of Clairvaux and Byzantine opponents of icons. Calvin invoked Exodus 20:4, 'You shall not make for yourself a graven image, or any likeness'.[24] Over the centuries, the Church had come to count this as part of the first Commandment (a tradition which continues among Catholics and Lutherans). Calvin's stress on this text led the Reformed tradition to realign with Jewish practice and renumber the Decalogue to count the ban on images as a separate second Commandment.[25]

From the beginning, Protestant preaching had the potential to stir up iconoclasm. Attacks on images signalled a break with the old order, often despite the best intentions of the Reformers. In Wittenberg, Andreas Karlstadt and his followers tore the town apart while Luther was in hiding after the Diet of Worms, prompting Luther to return home in 1522 dressed in his monk's habit, a sign of continuity with tradition and hostility to Karlstadt's carnage.[26] In Zurich, the severity of iconoclastic riots pressed the city council to set up an orderly process for the removal of images. Over a memorable fortnight in 1523, a team of carpenters, masons and painters, supervised by magistrates and ministers, stripped Zurich's churches of statues and paintings, and whitewashed the walls. A Catholic passing through the town entered the Great Minster and found nothing inside: 'it was hideous'. Beauty

is in the eye of the beholder: Zwingli, the city's leading Reformer, thought Zurich had 'churches which are positively luminous'.[27] In Geneva, too, the first phase of reform went hand-in-hand with revolutionary iconoclasm, as the citizens (stirred up by the preaching of Guillaume Farel) cast off the authority of their Prince-Bishop. Calvin came to Geneva just after this, and later commented: 'When I first arrived [...] there was almost nothing. They were preaching and that's all. They were good at seeking out idols and burning them, but there was no Reformation. Everything was in turmoil.'[28] Reformation iconoclasm built on the critique of late medieval religion launched by Erasmus and others, to separate the spiritual from the material. Their drive to stress the transcendence of God was a backlash against the fascination in medieval devotion with images of the Christ-child with his mother, or in the throes of death – a human Jesus.[29]

Calvin took up the cause with particular intensity, and drilled his thinking further and deeper to define the sin of idolatry. His passion was to defend the glory of God as 'entirely other', 'as different from flesh as fire is from water'. '*Finitum non capax infiniti*', the finite is not capable of containing the infinite within itself: this principle shaped Calvin's Christology, his view of the sacraments, and his understanding of God's relationship to the natural material world.[30] Early in his Genevan ministry he wrote against the cult of images and relics:

> [...] the first vice, and as it were, the beginning of evil, was that when Christ ought to have been sought in his Word, sacraments, and spiritual graces, the world, after its custom, delighted in his garments, vests and swaddling clothes; and thus overlooking the principal matter, followed only its accessory.[31]

Calvin set out a psychology of image-making. Unlike Luther, who said 'If it is not a sin but good to have the image of Christ in my heart, why should it be a sin to have it in my eyes?', Calvin imagined the unredeemed human heart as a perpetual forge hammering out idols, a vast boiling spring bubbling over with invented gods; 'just as soon as a visible form has been fashioned for God, his power is also bound to it. Men are so stupid that they fasten God wherever they fashion

him; and hence they cannot help but adore'.[32] The strength of his convictions shows in heady, insistent language:

> So innate in us is superstition, that the least occasion will infect us with contagion. Dry wood will not so easily burn when coals are put under it, as idolatry will seize and occupy the minds of men, when the opportunity presents itself to them. And who does not see that images are sparks? What! sparks do I say? nay, rather torches which are sufficient to set the whole world on fire.[33]

Calvin even compared image-lovers to a 'maistre Fifi', French slang for a sewer cleaner:

> Just as a "maistre Fifi" mocks those who hold their noses [in his presence], because he has handled filth for so long he can no longer smell his own foulness; so likewise do idolaters make light of those who are offended by a stench they cannot themselves recognize. Hardened by habit, they sit in their own excrement, and yet believe they are surrounded by roses.[34]

For Calvin, Word and Sacrament provided all that was needed to focus attention on God. Reformed churches had no need of images,

> [...] other than those living and symbolical ones which the Lord has consecrated by his Word. I mean Baptism and the Lord's Supper, together with other rites by which our eyes must be too intensely gripped and too sharply affected to seek other images forged by human ingenuity.[35]

## II

How did Calvin's convictions play out in Reformed communities? Seventeenth-century puritanism provides a good case-study.[36]

It is often said that Reformed Protestantism saw a shift from the visual to the verbal. Out went images and in came a religion of the Book. One writer has suggested 'visual anorexia' took hold in England

from the 1580s.[37] A symptom of this might be the evacuation of pictures from the Bible. The English *Geneva Bible* of 1560 had a few woodcuts, and some maps; then there were only maps; the *Authorized Version* of 1611 had no pictures, apart from an exceptionally elaborate title-page in deference to its patron, James VI & I.[38] A Bible with pictures, printed in Edinburgh to mark Charles I's visit in 1633, caused a furore. Printers, dismayed when existing (and expensive) woodcut blocks for Bible illustrations were made redundant, redeployed them to spice up cheaply-printed secular ballads, in a 'migration out of [...] holy writ'.[39] Since producing new images for books carried high costs, perhaps the print trade found it a happy coincidence (which served both God and Mammon) that pictures were less in demand.[40]

Yet the move from visual to verbal was by no means a clean break. Recent studies have shown how Reformed culture took root across Europe and in the New World – in sermon-delivery as performance, in portraiture, in architecture, landscape design and town planning. So the issue is perhaps not 'a complete rejection of the visual' but 'a new theological orientation' and a 'corresponding change' in the way culture was shaped.[41] Up to this point scholars have focussed more on visual aspects of Protestant culture – outward and material things – than on words (or, more accurately, the Word) as image-makers for the mind.[42] Here, however, the focus will be on how seventeenth-century puritans made vivid use of verbal images from the Bible to make it memorable, to drive the Protestant message home. They talked visually, spoke in pictures.

In spite of his sharp distrust of the human capacity to imagine God without making an idol, Calvin provided a rationale for the proliferation of Scripture-images, through his interpretation of the unity of the Old and New Covenants.[43] Calvin's treatment of the Old Testament as a 'shadow' of Gospel-truth opened up a vast storehouse of images to fire the Christian imagination. Reading Scripture through the lens of typology allowed ardent Calvinists to reclaim Israel's story. From the 1590s, interest in typology became ever more energetic and pervasive, in tandem with the expanding market for devotional tracts. This was as true in Scotland as in England.[44] Reformed culture came to share a vast and elaborate vocabulary of Scriptural images. By the end of the seventeenth century publishers had brought out weighty dictionaries

of 'types'.[45] The appetite for typology helps to explain interest in the Epistle to the Hebrews, on which the puritan heavyweight William Gouge preached more than a thousand sermons over thirty years.[46]

This enthusiasm for Scriptural images sheds light on two aspects of efforts to win hearts and minds for Protestantism. First, like the habit of always looking for the hand of Providence in daily life, it allowed Christians to relate every aspect of their lives to divine truth.[47] Types, icons of Scripture truth, made abstract theology accessible and satisfied readers' hunger for tracing their own Christian experience in the Bible's pages. Second, conscious (or unconscious) competition with Catholic piety may have played a part. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises* were an 'unillustrated manual […] for the inward construction of […] mental images'. Some Protestant writers borrowed heavily from Jesuit manuals on meditation.[48] Efforts by zealous Protestants to encourage mental pictures need to be seen with this borrowing and confessional competition as a foil.

How could people be encouraged to quarry the riches of the Bible? Initially, efforts focussed on putting the text into their hands, in cheap and easily readable editions. Next, early in the seventeenth century, came the rise of a new genre in print culture: aids to Bible-study, in particular, concordances.[49] William Gouge gave concordances top billing as a resource for the Christian reader: they 'much excell all Indexes, Tables, Common-places, Epitomes, Abbreviaries, and other such meaner helps, for finding out the golden mines of the Scripture.'[50] The rise in publication of Bible-study aids followed the decline in Bible-illustration. When there were no pictures to break down barriers to understanding the text, authors and the book-trade tried to meet the need in other ways.

A London draper, Clement Cotton, compiled the first comprehensive concordance to the English Bible, building on the work of the French Reformed scholar Augustin Marlorat.[51] From Cotton's work the line runs pretty directly to Alexander Cruden's efforts in the eighteenth century and to even more weighty efforts in the nineteenth. These doorstopper books are testimony to the dogged determination of compilers to make their wordlists word-perfect. The printed concordance survived, unsurpassed as a search engine until the age of Google.[52]

Alexander Cruden refers to Richard Bernard as one of the earlier writers who composed 'works of this nature'. Bernard is a little known but intriguing early seventeenth-century cleric, with a prolific output on a wide variety of subjects. In 1610 Bernard published a book called *Contemplative Pictures,* a striking text based on concordance-style analysis. He set out to nourish Protestant devotion with images: 'certaine pictures, not Popish and sensible for superstition; but mentall for Divine contemplation'. He gathered together Biblical images to paint pictures of God and the devil, heaven and hell. A book of images without images, its first page of printed text is boldly headed 'The PICTURE of GOD'.[53]

Richard Bernard's interest in creating mental pictures for 'Divine contemplation' takes us to a later figure with similar interests, John Bunyan, and his tract *Solomon's Temple Spiritualized*. Bunyan used a concordance to write the book: the preface contains his famous comment that 'My Bible and Concordance are my only Library in my writings'. The title-page promised *Gospel-Light Fetcht Out of the Temple at Jerusalem to Let Us More Easily Into the Glory of New-Testament-Truths*. Walls and windows, pillars and altars, golden spoons, flagons and cups: Bunyan interpreted 'threescore and ten' items typologically, convinced that the 'Gospel-Glory' of the Temple meant 'there was not one of them but had its signification, and something profitable for us to know'.[54]

Bernard and Bunyan both extended their interest in 'verbal icons' to compose allegories for the Gospel. Bernard wrote *The Isle of Man*, 'easily the most popular allegory' before Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. His tale of the trial of Sin in Man-shire, peopled by characters like 'Judge Conscience', 'Mistress Heart', 'Wilful Will', 'Sir Luke-Warm', 'Sir Worldly-wise' and 'Sir Plausible-civil', sold extremely well. *Pilgrim's Progress*, of course, was a runaway success; it is one of the few seventeenth-century devotional texts still in print.[55] In their allegories, Bunyan and Bernard stepped over into a freer use of Bible-images. This freedom is also apparent in Bunyan's activity as a hymn-writer. His Baptist contemporary, Benjamin Keach, shows a similar triad of interests: typology, allegory, writing hymns to supplement metrical psalms. Keach argued that hymns provided an easy and

cheap way to teach the sacred images of Scripture. In a preface to his hymnbook, he contrasted it with his earlier weighty tract on typology:

> the *Folio* I put forth some years ago, call'd *A Key to open Scripture Metaphors*, being near Twenty shillings price, comes into but a very few Peoples hands […] Now in this small Tract [of hymns], I can assure you, is contained great part of the principal things under divers Metaphors opened in that Book[56]

From Bible and concordance came verbal images for sermons and pious reading, then freer use of imagery to express 'Gospel-Glory' in story and song.

To conclude: turning the verbal images of Scripture into mental pictures was a crucial element in Reformed strategy to win people over to a new religious culture. Words might be visual (in a printed text, and in the mind) but they were not material representations (unlike images fashioned in wood or stone). Puritan interest in 'pictures, not Popish and sensible for superstition; but mentall for Divine contemplation' shows how mental imaging persisted in the culture of Reformed Christianity. Calvin's understanding of the relation between Old and New Testament opened up the language and imagery of the Bible as a rich resource. The text of Scripture set the limits for religious imagination.

In a roundabout way, we come back again to Calvin's off-the-cuff remark about study for study's sake being as foolish as spending life looking at paintings. A zealous puritan made a similar complaint about those who ignored the Bible: 'Why delve they continually in humane arts and secular sciences, full of dregs and drosse? Why do they not rather dig into the mines of the gold of Ophyr [Scripture] where every line is a vein of truth, every page leafe gold?'[57] This discussion has undoubtedly left many avenues unexplored, but if it has shown that the relation of Calvinism and the arts is more complex than might at first appear, it has achieved its aim.

## Notes

1   Calvin's letter to an unknown student, cited by Philip Benedict in "Calvinism as a Culture? Preliminary Remarks on Calvinism and the Visual Arts", in *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (ed. Paul Corby Finney; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1999), 19. For Calvin's letter-writing habits, see *A Day in the Life of John Calvin*, Exhibition Catalogue (Geneva: International Museum of the Reformation, 2009), 89–93.

2   *A Day in the Life of John Calvin*, 5–6, 10.

3   John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (2 vols.; ed. John T. McNeill; trans. F. L. Battles; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), I.11.12.

4   Epistle to the Geneva Service Book of 1542, cited by William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 135.

5   Calvin, *Institutes*, I.5.1.

6   Calvin, *Institutes*, III.10.2. Calvin asks: 'Has the Lord clothed the flowers with the great beauty that greets our eyes, the sweetness of smell that is wafted upon our nostrils, and yet will it be unlawful for your eyes to be affected by that beauty, or our sense of smell by the sweetness of that odour? What? Did he not so distinguish colours as to make some more lovely than others?' William A. Dyrness discusses Calvin on beauty: *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 72–76.

7   *A Day in the Life of John Calvin*, 99–106.

8   *Catechism of the Church of Geneva* (1545), in *Calvin: Theological Treatises* (trans. J. K. S. Reid; Philadephia: Westminster Press, 1954), 91.

9   Calvin, *Institutes*, I.11.12.

10  The argument of *Institutes* Book I is shaped by fallen humanity's confusion of creature with Creator, particularly chapters 4–5, 11–12.

11  For a collection of Calvin portraits, see the online gallery created by Deutsches Hugenotten-Museum, Bad Karlshafen, Germany:

www.hugenottenmuseum.de/hugenotten/bildergalerien/calvin. Jacques Bourgouin's sketches of Calvin teaching are reproduced in *A Day in the Life of John Calvin*, p. 86.

[12] The exhibition's intentions and vision are summarised on the flyleaf of *A Day in the Life of John Calvin.* See also www.musee-reforme.ch/english-version/the-museum/calvin-jubilee-2009.

[13]  "Calvin's chair", Geneva: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Calvin%27s_Chair.JPG.

[14] Joseph Hornung, "Calvin's Farewell", 1831, International Museum of the Reformation, Geneva. Online at www.swissinfo.ch/xobix_media/images/sri/2007/sriimg20070822_8129532_2.jpg.

[15] Images of the Reformation Wall can be found at www.picswiss.ch/Genf/GE-05-01.html, www.picswiss.ch/Genf/GE-05-02.html. Luther and Zwingli are represented by blocks of stone set in front of the wall, at the sides – forerunners to the main action.

[16] "Calvin in his study", seventeenth century, anonymous: Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris. Reproduced in Pierre Chaunu, ed., *The Reformation* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1989), 129. A nineteenth-century engraving taken from this picture (which adds a picture to decorate Calvin's study wall) can be found at www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Annodomini/THEME_13/EN/theme13-3-zoom.html.

[17] An excellent collection of images can be found in Peter Manns, *Martin Luther: An Illustrated Biography* (New York: Crossroad, 1982).

[18] Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 18–19. Andrew Pettegree presents a valuable discussion in *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 102–27.

[19] *Cranach*, Exhibition Catalogue (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008); Andrew Pettegree, ed., *The Reformation World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), 470–77; Eamon Duffy (to mark the Royal Academy's exhibition), www.guardian.co.uk/books/2008/mar/01/art.art. Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery has a 1525 Luther portrait: http://nicepaintings.org/works/87154.

[20]  Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, Oh.: Ohio University Press, 1979), 139–41, figs. 8, 9; Margaret Miles, *The Word Made Flesh. A History of Christian Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 248–51, 256–60. Numerous photographs of the Wittenberg altar can be found online via Google Images.

[21]  Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, 64. Christensen also notes (p. 220, n. 72) Luther's statement that 'we must form thoughts and images of that which is conveyed to us in words, and can neither understand nor think of anything without pictures'.

[22]  Martin Luther, *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments* (1525), in *Luther's Works*, vol. 40, Church and Ministry II (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), 99–100.

[23]  Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, 21. Calvin delivered a riposte to images as 'books of the unlearned': *Institutes*, I.11.5.

[24]  Calvin, *Institutes*, I.11.1. For earlier hostility to images, see Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 36–45; Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, 31–5; Judith Herrin, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (London: Penguin, 2008), 105–18.

[25]  Benedict, "Calvinism as a Culture?", 28–29.

[26]  Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 43–50.

[27]  Charles Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1960), 160.

[28]  Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, 49.

[29]  Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 11; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 90–91, 114–16.

[30]  Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 197–8; David E. Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology: The Function of the So-called Extra Calvinisticum in Calvin's Theolo*gy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966).

[31]  Calvin, *Inventory of Relics* (1543), cited by Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 211.

[32]  Calvin, *Institutes*, I.5.12, I.11.8, I.11.9.

[33]  Cited in Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 225 f.

[34]  Cited in ibid., 220.

[35]  Calvin, *Institutes*, I.11.13. Calvin's understanding of the Word as doctrine and sacrament is explored in B. A. Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: The Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 76–86.

[36]  This section draws on Susan Hardman Moore, "For the Mind's Eye Only: Puritans, Images and the Golden Mines of Scripture?" © 2006 *Scottish Journal of Theology*. Originally published in *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59:3 (2006), 281–96. Reprinted with permission.

[37]  Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), 119. See also Andrew Pettegree, "Illustrating the Book: A Protestant Dilemma" in Christopher Highley and John N. King, eds., *John Foxe and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 133–59; Margaret Aston, "Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560–1660", in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, eds., *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 92–121.

[38]  James Strachan, *Early Bible Illustrations: A Short Study on Some Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Printed Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 86; Ian M. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 68–71; Basil Hall, "The Genevan Version of the English Bible", in W. P. Stephens, ed., *The Bible, the Reformation and the Church* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 141–3.

[39]  Margaret Aston, "Bibles to Ballads", in Simon Ditchfield, ed., *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 130.

[40]  I owe this point to Thomas S. Freeman and Elizabeth Evenden, "'Fayre Pictures and Painted Pageants": The Illustrations of the *Book of Martyrs*'. I am grateful to the authors for letting me see

this before its publication in their *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

[41]   Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, 94; see also Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts*; Finney, ed., *Seeing beyond the Word*; Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002); and chapters on "Art", "Music", "Architecture" in Pettegree, ed., *Reformation World*.

[42]   Various studies touch on the theme: Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, 139–40, 143–47, 181–82, 305; Lori Ann Ferrell, "Transfiguring Theology: William Perkins and Calvinist Aesthetics", in Highley and King, eds., *John Foxe and his World*, 160–179. See also Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 138; Ann Kibbey, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study of Rhetoric, Prejudice, and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 65–73; Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1993), *passim*; Peter Matheson, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 174.

[43]   Calvin, *Institutes*, II.10–11.

[44]   William Guild of Aberdeen published *Moses Unveiled* (London: 1620). Samuel Rutherford, like many others, turned to the Song of Songs to express the joys of the Christian's union with Christ: Susan Hardman Moore, "Sexing the Soul: Gender and the Rhetoric of Puritan Piety", *Studies in Church History* 34 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 175–86.

[45]   Susan Hardman Moore, "Sacrifice in Puritan Typology", in S. W. Sykes, ed., *Sacrifice and Redemption* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 182–202; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 120–31.

[46]   William Gouge, *A Learned and Very Useful Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: 1655). John Owen also devoted substantial time to Hebrews: William H. Goold, ed., *The Works of John Owen* (London: Johnstone and Hunter, 1880–85), vols. 18–24. "Gouge, William (1575–1653)", "Owen, John (1616–

1683)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [hereafter *ODNB*].

47  Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

48  David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 179; Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948), 117–18; "Bunny, Edmund (1540–1618)", *ODNB*.

49  Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 103.

50  William Gouge, "To the Reader", in Clement Cotton, *A Complete Concordance to the Bible of the Last Translation* (London: 1631).

51  Clement Cotton, *The Christians Concordance* (London: 1622), followed by *A Concordance to All the Bookes of the Old Testament* (London: 1627) and *A Complete Concordance* (1631). Augustin Marlorat, *Propheticae, et Apostolicae, id est totius divinae ac canonicae Scripturae, thesaurus, in locos communes rerum, dogmatum suis divinis exemplis illustratorum, et phraseon Scripturae familiarum, ordine alphabetico digestus* (London: 1574). Brief concordances in English appeared earlier, by Thomas Gybson (1535) and John Marbecke (1550). The *Geneva Bible* included a name-index and 'table of principal things'. Cotton translated Calvin's works on Hebrews, Isaiah, and Jeremiah into English, and produced a popular abridgement of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, *The Mirrour of Martyrs* (London: 1613). He does not appear in the *ODNB*.

52  Alexander Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament* (London: 1738), "The Preface". A recent biography depicts Cruden as 'seldom less than eccentric, sometimes undeniably mad': "Cruden, Alexander (1699–1770)", *ODNB*. Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 124–29.

53  Richard Bernard, *Contemplative Pictures with Wholesome Precepts* (London: 1610), "Epistle Dedicatorie" and p. 1; Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, 139–40.

54  John Bunyan, *Solomon's Temple Spiritualized* (London: 1688), "To the Christian Reader"; title page; reprinted in Graham Midgley,

ed., *Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, VII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). "Bunyan, John (*bap*. 1628, *d.* 1668)", *ODNB*.

55   Richard Bernard, *The Isle of Man* (London: 1626); John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress* (London: 1678); Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 422–24.

56   Benjamin Keach, *Spiritual Melody, Containing Near Three Hundred Sacred Hymns* (London: 1691), Preface. Keach's work constituted most of Theodore De Laune, *Tropologica. Or a Key to Open Scripture Metaphors* (London: 1681) "Keach, Benjamin (1640–1704)", *ODNB*.

57   Daniel Featley, "An Advertisement to the Christian Reader", in Samuel Newman, *A Large and Complete Concordance* (London: 1643).