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Women's Mausoleums Imagined: Reformation, Text and Tomb *c.* 1550-1650

Eva-Maria Lauenstein

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
English and Humanities

Birkbeck, University of London

This declaration confirms that the work presented in this thesis is the candidate's own.

Abstract

This thesis argues that the funeral monument provided women with a literal and figurative place to participate in the writing of the English Protestant Reformation. Recent literary scholarship has fruitfully explored the tomb in the early modern imagination by bringing commemorative practices into dialogue with textual production. While such studies have uncovered the cultural significance of the funeral monument as a literary motif in creative encounters with remembrance and grief, and memory and posterity, little has been said about the tomb's religiosity, and how it functioned to formulate the religious break with Rome in literary and cultural productions. This study reads the written and built funeral monuments of, or to, Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, Anna Mountfort Bill, and Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle in the context of contemporary religious texts to find the ways that women's monuments created narratives of English Protestant selfhood.

The doctrinal and religious significance of the tombs of women are approached from two angles. On the one hand, the chronological framework of this thesis allows us to gain different synchronic sights of women's tombs as sites for the affirmation of religious belief at key moments when the potential for religious unity in England was seriously jeopardised. On the other, it provides a diachronic view of female tombs in the cultural imagination of the period, showing that they persistently articulated new beliefs in relation to the fabric of medieval ecclesiastical space and the religious structures that had gone before. Thus, this thesis argues that the commemoration of women played a significant role in shaping the character of English Protestantism. In turn, commemorative building allowed women to shape the religiopolitical fabric of England by bringing their own interpretations of official

government documentation, authorised bibles, sermons, conduct books, devotional texts and antiquarian writing to an audience of contemporary viewers and readers.

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Abbreviations

BB Bishops' Bible (1568)

BHO British History Online

BL British Library

CCEd Clergy of the Church of England Database

CUP Cambridge University Press

DRB Douay-Rheims Bible

ELH Journal of English Literary History

GEN Geneva Bible (1560)

KJV King James Version of the Bible (1611)

LV Latin Vulgate

MED Middle English Dictionary

MHRA Modern Humanities Research Association

NA National Archives

NADFAS National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Society

NPG National Portrait Gallery

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

OED Oxford English Dictionary

OUP Oxford University Press

PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association

SP State Papers Domestic Series

TAMO The Acts and Monuments Online

V&A Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Notes on Text

[1] Early modern spelling and formatting has been faithfully retained with the following exceptions: MHRA guidelines regarding the letters i and j, u and v, the long s, the ampersand and superscript letters in contractions are followed. All are therefore normalised according to modern spelling conventions. The titles of early modern works are given using standard capitalisation rules and have been shortened following MHRA guidelines. For quotations from plays, speech prefixes in small capitals have been inserted.

[2] As the use of italics in several primary texts in chapter three function as quotation marks to denote direct speech, the decision has been made to retain all instances of italics when they appear in primary text quotations.

[3] For primary texts that appear regularly throughout a chapter, the first reference is given in full as a footnote and subsequent references given in abbreviated form in parentheses within the text.

[4] All references to the Bible derive from the King James Version, unless otherwise stated.

[5] Whenever an authoritative translation of a foreign language quotation is available it is supplied alongside the original text. When such texts are unavailable, the translations are by the author.

[6] The first mentions of female patrons, writers and subjects are given in full, including given name, maiden name, their subsequent married name(s) and their titles (if applicable). Thereafter, they are referred to by their given names, or the surname under which they produced their works. Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk is an exception to this rule. As a patron under her own title, she will be referred to as Katherine, Willoughby or the Duchess of Suffolk.

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(photograph by the author)

Introduction

This thesis argues that the funeral monument provided women with a literal and figurative space to participate in the writing of the English Protestant Reformation. Recent literary scholarship has fruitfully explored the tomb in the early modern imagination by bringing commemorative practices into dialogue with textual production. While such studies have uncovered the use and cultural significance of the funeral monument as a concept in literature to speak about the experience of remembrance and grief, as well as memory and posterity, little has been said about the tomb's religiosity, and the ways in which it functioned to formulate the religious break with Rome in literary and cultural productions. This study reads the written and built funeral monuments of women in the context of theological and devotional texts that sought to define a collective sense of English Protestant selfhood. In doing so, this thesis argues that commemorative building was a tool for women to shape the religiopolitical fabric of England by bringing their own interpretations of official government documentation, authorised bibles, sermons, conduct books, devotional texts and antiquarian writing to an audience of contemporary viewers and readers.

Beginning in the wake of the Elizabethan Settlement and in the parish church, we explore Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk's tomb in the context of the proclamations and injunctions that sought to define the Elizabethan religious *via media*. Doing so will highlight how the funeral monument allowed Willoughby to re-write the experience of church worship according to an emerging status quo by imposing religious change spatially and through epitaphic writing. In chapter two, we move from viewing texts on monuments, to reading the monument in the textual imagination of women through the entombment of

Cleopatra in Mary Sidney Herbert's *Antonius*. We will see how enclosure and the tomb space helped Herbert modify and deploy the language of Protestant conduct-book literature on marriage to speak about female rulership under Elizabeth I. In chapter three, we turn from the female writer's use of the tomb to investigate the funeral monument in devotional texts by men who brought the deathbed utterances of exemplary Protestant women to a hearing and reading public. By bringing Martin Day's *A Monument*, a commemorative volume printed after the death of Anna Mountfort Bill, into dialogue with several funeral books of the 1620s, it will be shown that the meeting of the textual and plastic in commemorative pamphlets remembering godly women sought to reconcile a widening gulf in Protestant thinking: between those who championed the ceremonious elements of the English Church, and those who advocated for a religious landscape defined by *sola scriptura*. In the final chapter, we turn to the tomb of Margaret Lucas Cavendish's fictional character Madam Jantil in the play 'Bell in Campo' to expose how tomb building in literary text and the English landscape was understood as a tactic employed by women to impose peace, order and harmony in the wake of religious, social and political factionalism precipitated by the Civil War. Reading Cavendish's dramatic corpus alongside her writing on monasticism and the function of the church demonstrates that the religiosity of the monument continued to prove fertile in women's intervention into political and theological debates in the period defined by the Civil War and Interregnum.

As one of the most conspicuous signifiers of remembrance, the tomb allows us to consider how women may have shaped public forms of worship. The engagement of women in writing and disseminating private devotional texts is a

topic of recent scholarly interest.¹ What is more, such studies have convincingly exposed the significance of viewing women's manifestations of faith as a separate, but related category of piety from male devotion. The 'individualism and intimacy' of a Protestant reader's relation with the Word, Femke Molekamp argues, was ideally expressed through the female Bible reader.² Kate Narveson, in turn, illustrates that women's devotional writing was a powerful counterbalance to the increasing professionalisation of the clergy in the reign of Elizabeth I and important in the formulation of Protestant justifications for placing scripture in the hands of the laity.³ With a relative absence of studies that treat women's intervention into communal Protestant piety and worship, these findings still paint an overall picture of female participation in religious discourses as a private and largely domestic endeavour, removed from the public sites that shaped religious change. This study offers a way to alleviate this imbalance through the focus on the funeral monument. As objects that were meant to be seen and read by all, and that remained a common feature of the church fabric throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, tombs both real and imagined form the ideal point of departure to explore female engagement in shaping public devotion. The study of the monument in the early modern religious imagination can therefore be a starting point into further research on how women participated in shaping 'shared cultures' of the Reformation through

¹ Micheline White, 'Dismantling Catholic Primers and Reforming Private Prayer: Anne Lock, Hezekiah's Song and Psalm 50/51', in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 93-113; Susan M. Felch, 'The Backward Gaze: Editing Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Payerbook', in *Editing Early Modern Women*, ed. by Sarah C. E. Ross and Paul Salzman (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), pp. 21-39.

² Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), p. 4.

³ Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016; first published by Ashgate 2012), p. 6.

which ‘identities were constructed via a variety of textual and non-textual means’ and their interactions: via less conventionally established texts such as devotional writing and the use of ‘material forms’ to convey meaning in the public forums of the church and print.⁴

In the wake of the work of revisionist historians such as Eamon Duffy, studies of the English Reformation have begun to emphasise the central role of practicality and continuity in the period following the religious break with Rome.⁵ This is, in part, due to developments in a *longue durée* view of the Reformation.⁶ This study focusing on the funeral monument, an enduring element of church furnishing, is therefore both a product of, and a contribution to, scholarship arguing for an ‘English cultural preference for continuity.’⁷ The work of Nigel Llewellyn reveals that the period marked by the Reformation saw a surge in the creation of funeral monuments.⁸ Scholars such as Julie Spraggon locate this period between the two dips in the production of physical tombs in the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. This interval follows the initial major bouts of Henrician iconoclasm that attended the first royal injunction against images under Henry VIII

⁴ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, ‘Introduction’, in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1-23 (p. 5).

⁵ Lucy Bates, ‘The Limits of Possibility in England’s Long Reformation’, *The Historical Journal*, 53, 4 (2010), 1049-70 (p. 1049).

⁶ Eamon Duffy, ‘The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the multitude’, in *England’s Long Reformation: 1500-1800*, ed. by Nicholas Tyacke (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp. 33-70; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c. 1700* (Oxford: OUP, 2007); John McCallum, ed., *Scotland’s Long Reformation: New Perspectives on Scottish Religion, c. 1500-c. 1660* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo, eds., *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

⁷ Bates, p. 1052.

⁸ Nigel Llewellyn, ‘Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 179-200 (p. 181).

(c. 1536-8) and concluded with the renewed iconophobic sentiment that attended the Civil War and the meeting of the Long Parliament (c. 1640).⁹ Such a surge in monumental commemoration suggests that the tomb also functioned constructively in the cultural production of English Protestant writers and thinkers. This thesis covers this period of enthusiastic engagement with funerary art to explore how women were subjects and participants in this conspicuous and enduring way of developing shared cultural, social and religious norms.

In *Ancient Funerall Monuments With in the United Monarchie of Great Britaine* (1631) the antiquarian John Weever writes that the early modern funeral monument, a ‘receptacle or sepulchre, purposely made, erected, or built, to receive a dead corps’, is one type of monument among many that aided social and cultural self-definition.¹⁰ At the same time, Weever relates the slippage between material and textual in an early modern definition of the tomb:

A Monument is a thing erected, made, or written, for a memorall of some remarkable action, fit to bee transferred to future posterities And thus generally taken, all religious Foundations, all sumptuous and magnificent Structures, Cities, Townes, Towers, Castles, Pillars, Pyramides, Crosses, Obeliskes, Amphitheaters, Statues, and the like, as well as Tombes and Sepulchres, are called Monuments.¹¹

Erected and made like ‘Cities, Townes, Towers’ and ‘Amphitheaters’, funeral monuments, ‘Tombes’ and ‘Sepulchres’, conveyed the ‘memorall of some remarkable action’. To Weever, it appears they are the objects through which individuals and groups shaped ‘future posterities’. They were places where shared identities were created, reiterated and presented. Monuments are constructed and

⁹ Julie Spraggan, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 1.

¹⁰ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments With in the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1631), p. 5.

¹¹ Weever, p. 1.

material places but were also ‘written’: ‘The Muses works’ that will ‘stone-monuments out last’.¹² By suggesting that text and monument share a common function, Weever reveals the close affinity between the written word and object of commemoration in the early modern imagination. Furthermore, by placing material commemoration alongside textual production, he exposes that the monument was understood to be among one of the most powerful contemporary tools in the transmission and dissemination of ideologies and beliefs. The connections between text and tomb also inform this study’s understanding of reception. Weever’s description of monuments as objects that transmitted information suggests that early modern people understood tombs to speak to a wider audience and were therefore not only a way to preserve lineage and personal achievement, or places for family remembrance and devotion. Like the early modern manuscript and printed book, they were interventions in shared and public discourses, instruments of persuasion in the development of new ideas and devices that reinforced existing beliefs. As the monument meets textual production, it becomes a multisensory artefact, liminally positioned amidst the visual, material and the textual: an object that shapes a cultural and social consciousness through several ‘languages’, including ‘architectural framing, sculpture, heraldry and the [...] word’.¹³

Weever’s definition of the monument agrees with the findings of art historical and literary scholarship into the funeral monument. Art historical studies by Nigel Llewellyn and Peter Sherlock have shown that tombs were sites where the

¹² Weever, p. 1.

¹³ Nigel Llewellyn, ““The Happy Preserver of his Brother’s Posterity”: From Monumental Text to Sculptural Figure in Early Modern Sussex”, in *Art Literature and Religion in Early Modern Sussex: Culture and Conflict*, ed. by Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield and Paul Quinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 221-53 (p. 223). See also, Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 363-4.

social and cultural character of Protestant England was formulated. The symbiotic relationship between text and commemorative object illustrated in an early modern understanding of the monument has moved literary scholars such as Patricia Phillippy, Brian Chalk and Andrew Hui to explore the tomb's role in the writing of memory, posterity, lineage and remembrance in early modern literature, poetry and theatre.

The work of Lewellyn in *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* has been seminal in shifting scholarly attention away from traditional art historical debates surrounding the funeral monument, to highlight their social meaning. Developing the findings of Erwin Panofsky, who saw the monument in light of art historical concerns over aesthetic merit and the identity of the Renaissance artist, Lewellyn's investigation uncovers how the tomb acted as an object of church furnishing. He demonstrates that tombs 'intended to function in perpetuity within the social and cultural setting of the churches' where, he argues, 'they had a rich secular life'.¹⁴ Sherlock builds on these findings by viewing monuments as objects that 'told posterity what should be known about the past' by making claims about 'a person's heraldry, genealogy and hereditary rights'. In doing so, he contends, monuments strove to 'secure a better future by rewriting the past'.¹⁵ Furthermore, he demonstrates that 'England's tombs remained remarkably religious in the wake of the Reformation'.¹⁶ As opposed to Lewellyn, who sees the concepts of fame and lineage replace religious concerns in the iconography of the early modern tomb,

¹⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), p. 67; Lewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 1.

¹⁵ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 3-4.

¹⁶ Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, p. 4.

Sherlock convincingly argues that funeral monuments replaced the visual language that elicited prayers for the dead with one that stressed Protestant hope in the resurrection. Thereby he illustrates that tombs were ‘not merely secular or civil objects’ but places to visualise Christian doctrine.¹⁷

While Sherlock has made inroads into the study of the monument’s religiosity, his work still sees it as the ‘remarkable’ appendage to the tomb’s main function (the declaration of temporal authority, power and influence) and not as one of its inherent characteristics. This thesis argues that while monuments were exceptional expressions of artistic skill and locations of personal and familial self-fashioning, they were read within the devotional setting of the church. To do so, this enquiry draws on the interdisciplinary archaeological and anthropological ‘phenomenologically inspired interest in embodied experience’ evidenced in studies of the early modern landscape, architecture and place.¹⁸ Particularly Alexandra Walsham’s work on the durable nature of a ‘sacralized’ English landscape, and Andrew Spicer’s assertion of devotional compromise, as ‘new confessions took possession of existing buildings’, inform the ensuing reading of the tomb as an established instrument in the fashioning of shared and contested religious environments.¹⁹ Just as Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie show that the ‘privacy of

¹⁷ Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, p. 4.

¹⁸ Mark Lake, ‘Viewing Space’, *World Archaeology*, 39, 1, Viewing Space (2007), 1-3 (p. 1).

¹⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), p. 325; Andrew Spicer, ‘The Early Modern Parish Church: An Introduction’, in *Parish Churches in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Andrew Spicer (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1-29 (p. 4). See also, Hannah Cleugh, ‘Teaching in Praying Words? Worship and Theology in the Early Modern English Parish’, in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 11-30; Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

“private devotion” is a ‘moot point’, this study argues that despite the creation of narratives of the familial and private through the monument, its religiosity brought it into constant exchange with those who ‘entered’ the shared and public spaces it occupied, from parish church chancels and repurposed chapel spaces, to the printed text.²⁰

Just as scholarship on early modern devotional space suggests that the sacred nature of the landscape and the church interior affirms a thread of continuity that linked Reformation belief to its medieval past, this thesis argues that the tomb’s religiosity, though reformed and distinct from pre-Reformation belief and piety, can be understood as a refashioning of an existing and medieval use of the commemorative object in the parish church, as well as the textual imagination. This study will therefore also be informed by medieval scholarship that has grown out of the ‘spatial turn’ in the humanities, including studies into social architecture that discuss the functions of the monument in the space of public worship, and literary scholarship into the interdependency of sacred object, ritual and text in medieval devotional practice.²¹ What follows assesses the enduring afterlife of tombs as ‘intrusions’ or ‘presencing’ mechanisms that inserted the deceased into the collectively experienced church fabric.²² It does so by engaging with the findings of

²⁰ Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie, ‘Introduction: Private and Domestic Devotion’, in *Private and Domestic Devotion*, ed. by Martin and Ryrie, pp. 1-7 (p. 4). This thesis also draws on Amanda Flather’s nuanced study of sacred space that productively shows that ‘secular and sacred meanings sat comfortably together in the pew’. Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 136.

²¹ Barney Warf and Santa Arias, ‘Introduction: The reinsertion of space into the social sciences and humanities’, in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. by Barney Warf and Santa Arias (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-10 (p. 1).

²² Jonathan Finch, ‘A Reformation of Meaning: Commemoration and Remembering the Dead in the Parish Church, 1450-1640’, in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 437-49 (pp. 441-2); Simon Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the*

scholars such as Jonathan Finch, Simon Roffey and C. Pamela Graves to demonstrate that the early modern written and built monument, like its medieval counterpart, intervened in the ritual behaviour and devotional practices of its audience and readership. Drawing on the work of Ann R. Meyer, Seeta Chaganti, Robyn Malo and Cynthia Tuner Camp into the links between sacred objects and the production of devotional text, this thesis conveys how the interconnections between text and tomb voiced by Weever and his contemporaries was an extension of an existing religious strategy that sought to connect the believer to the spiritual world.²³

Recent literary scholarship has built on the findings of Lewellyn and Sherlock in demonstrating the cultural and social work that the monument does to speak about how early modern people constructed memory, literary posterity and remembrance in writing. Hui reveals how the ‘monumental detritus of antiquity’ motivated Renaissance writers to craft enduring artefacts that formulated cultural survival through textual means.²⁴ Chalk employs a broadly similar view of the function of the monument in a construction of memory and posterity to show how the English Renaissance poet and playwright fashioned the enduring afterlife of his work. He contends that the ‘broader cultural preoccupation with memorialisation’ informed how playwrights and poets sought to turn the ephemeral written word into

Afterlife (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), p. 20; C. Pamela Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief: An Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Medieval Norfolk and Devon*, BAR British Series, 311 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), p. 13.

²³ Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 1; Seeta Chaganti, *The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary: Enshrinement, Inscription, Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 1; Robyn Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 11; Cynthia Turner Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives as History Writing in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), p. 179.

²⁴ Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), p. 2.

enduring literary objects through the conceit of the funeral monument.²⁵ Phillippy reveals that the commemorative space allowed early modern people to articulate private loss through the signs and practices of a ‘religious fellowship’.²⁶ What is more, through her analysis of the *Wunderkammer*, she productively shows that the secular functions of the memorial should not be viewed as separate from the sacred object; ‘As sacred objects bleed into secular memorials, belief and superstition collaborate to attribute to secular objects an aura of the sacred.’²⁷ Thus, she brings the inherent religiosity of the monument into dialogue with its function as an object intended to fashion, display and preserve personal grief, remembrance, family lineage and a shared past. Early modern creative production consistently relied on the materiality of the commemorative object in a number of ways. From the creation of shared narratives of the past, to the formulation of personal grief, the tomb provided both a language and place for the artist and writer to shape the self, and the world around it.

By prioritising the creator’s point of view, studies that highlight the relationships between textual production and funerary art are invaluable to an understanding of how literary fame, the afterlife of the Renaissance poet and broader cultural tactics of remembrance and grief operated following the Reformation. Such a focus on how the tomb acted as a place for display, however, often neglects the experience of those who viewed and read the tomb. Through its emphasis on the devotional function of the tomb, and the monument’s role in shaping the experience of sacred and shared space, this thesis extends such approaches to shine a light on the

²⁵ Brian Chalk, *Monuments and Literary Posterity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), p. 3.

²⁶ Patricia Phillippy, *Shaping Remembrance from Shakespeare to Milton* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), p. 36.

²⁷ Phillippy, *Shaping Remembrance*, p. 132.

role of commemorative architecture in the lives of those who lacked the immediate emotional and social ties to those commemorated: those who formed the vast majority of a tomb's audience and readership. By tracing the contemporary everyday viewer and reader's sensory experience of reading the monument—their 'cognitive style'—this thesis draws on Michael Baxandall's mode of art historical enquiry, the reconstruction of the 'period eye'.²⁸ Baxandall's technique reminds us that the process of reading funeral monuments is 'culturally relative' and relies on an understanding of a contemporary viewer's unique 'experience of representational conventions' and, as argued here, cultural, religious and political norms.²⁹ As a mode of enquiry that relies on the reconstruction of contemporary ways of seeing, the 'period eye' necessitates a consistent engagement with textual evidence. This reliance on the textual makes this form of analysis ideally suited to this thesis's focus on the overlaps between the material and the written, and serves to highlight the significant interdependency of literature and commemorative object in the early modern imagination.

Drawing on Phillipps's assertion that the sacred nature of commemorative space helped to fashion forms of remembrance, it is argued that the use of the sacral also functioned to instruct a community of everyday 'consumers' in the theories and practices of their religious belief system. Understood as a lasting object housed in the church, the monument tied the creator to the sacred spaces of early modern English life and needed to resonate with the shared beliefs and rituals of these collective places. While this thesis argues that this religious function of the funeral monument provided women with a fruitful way to participate in debates on theology, devotion

²⁸ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edn (Oxford: OUP, 1988), p. 30.

²⁹ Baxandall, pp. 31, 30.

and politics, it is worth noting that little study has as yet been dedicated to the ways in which monuments for men functioned as sites for the enactment of religious change. This thesis is not intended to function as a comparative study. To provide context for the specific functions of the monuments of women, however, we will encounter a handful of monuments commemorating men as we progress through chapter one in particular. This will serve to illustrate the unique place of the female tomb in the early modern cultural imagination and remind us how women participated in a more widely accepted practice of employing the monument to intervene into the fashioning of Protestant English beliefs and customs in a distinct way.

While literary scholarship emphasises the function of the monument in the creation of early modern cultural, social and devotional character, the study of the place of women within these developments is only beginning to take hold. A growing body of scholarship reveals the substantial part women played as patrons of the funerary arts and as writers of textual monuments.³⁰ Such scholarship is primarily concerned with presenting how the creation of tombs facilitated and legitimised female literary production, how women exploited commemorative culture to participate in the fashioning of lineage and posterity, and how funeral monuments aided women in the creation of social networks. Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, for example, have demonstrated that the funeral monument of Lady Jane Bacon served to construct her social identity as a manager of her family's affairs.³¹

³⁰ Peter Sherlock, ‘Monuments and Memory’, in *A History of Early Modern Women’s Writing*, ed. by Patricia Phillippe (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), pp. 292-312.

³¹ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, “‘Prudentia ultra Sexum’: Lady Jane Bacon and the Management of her Families”, in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. by Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 100-24. See also, Helen Crawford Gladstone, ‘Building an Identity: Two

In her study of the monuments of Elizabeth Brackley and Jane Cheyne, Marion Wynne-Davies reveals how the tombs of women asserted the status and wealth of their families and served to convey their coherence by visually and textually dramatizing mutual affection within marriage.³² Phillippy, in turn, shows how the illustration of familial ties through the monument allowed women to fashion themselves as writers or authors. She convincingly argues that material commemoration enabled women's participation in 'monumental circles', networks that 'utilized the textual and sculptural components of monumental programs' to allow women 'to represent themselves and others'.³³ F. S. Newman and J. K. Newman come to a related conclusion in their article on the provenance of the Latin epitaph adorning the tomb of Sir Lawrence Tanfield. Making a case for the authorship of Tanfield's daughter Elizabeth Tanfield Cary, they propose that commemoration provided a platform for women to partake in the writing of poetry that exemplifies Renaissance tastes for a Classical literary tradition.³⁴ These article-length studies inform this thesis's contention that the monument was an accepted and

Noblewomen in England 1566-1666' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Open University, 1989).

³² Marion Wynne-Davies, ““With such a Wife ‘tis heaven on earth to dwell”: Memorialising Early Modern Englishwomen”, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 2 (2010) <<http://www.northernrenaissance.org/with-such-a-wife-tis-heaven-on-earth-to-dwell-memorialising-early-modern-englishwomen/>> [accessed 11 October 2017]. See also, Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 277-310 (chapter two entitled, ““Rome’s artists in this nature can do no more”: A Bernini in Chelsea”).

³³ Patricia Phillippy, ““Monumental Circles” and Material Culture in Early Modern England”, *Early Modern Women*, 4 (2009), 139-47 (p. 141). See also, Patricia Phillippy, ‘Living Stones: Lady Elizabeth Russell and the Art of Sacred Conversation’, in *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500-1625*, ed. by Micheline White (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 17-36; Patricia Phillippy, ““Herself Living, to Be Pictured”: “Monumental Circles” and Women’s Self-Portraiture”, in *The History of British Women’s Writing*, ed. by Mihoko Suzuki, 10 vols (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), III, 129-51.

³⁴ F. S. Newman and J. K. Newman, ‘An English Renaissance Woman: Sidelights from a Burford Tomb’, *Illinois Classical Studies*, 26 (2001), 145-61.

frequent place for female creative production. They also highlight the necessity for a lengthier and diachronic investigation of women's engagement with funerary art in their textual production.

While scholarship into the relationship between women and commemorative art exposes the significance of the tomb in female creative production, the religious function of the monument does not feature prominently in these studies. Rather than focusing on how the monument facilitated female authorship or the fashioning of lineage by women, this thesis is more directly concerned with the ways in which tombs allowed women to partake in the construction of collective experiences of devotion and shared understandings of English Protestant selfhood. By doing so, this study views the monuments of women less as an assertion of the female voice within a male textual and artistic environment, and more directly as objects that facilitated and encouraged men and women to encounter the female experience of devotion. By drawing on the ways in which the contemporary reader and viewer understood the funeral monument, this thesis evidences that the tomb acted as a space to showcase female piety in a wider religious environment. The monument was a place to shape exemplary Protestant piety for all through the female experience of the sacred.

As opposed to scholarship into the female funeral monument, studies on the writing of female grief and remembrance divulge that there was a distinct relationship between women's commemorative practices and the articulation of shared conceptions of Protestant selfhood. While the seminal work of Juliana Schiesari and Elisabeth Bronfen employs psychoanalytic theory to firmly establish the connection between gender and mourning practices, others have begun to read commemorative writing in the framework of the cultural, social and religious conditions in which these declarations of bereavement were created. In her study of

melancholia, Schiesari convincingly argues for a close association between femininity and mourning.³⁵ She contends that melancholia was understood as a masculine affliction, while feminine aspects of the condition were formulated as excessive grief characteristic of mourning, ‘insofar as it took place as a collective women’s ritual’.³⁶ Bronfen, who also employs psychoanalytic models, finds that this bond between women and the rituals surrounding death resulted from the male artist or author’s need to counteract the threat of death by the replacement of the female body through image and text. She asserts that this process fashions death into the feminine ‘other’: the ‘threatening, uncanny doppelganger’ that challenges masculinity.³⁷ In such a reading death itself becomes female, while life and artistic production are characterised as male. Scholars such as Schiesari and Bronfen productively expose the significant function of a gendered view of mortality in the construction of artistic production on the one hand, and the process of male self-definition on the other.

Theoretical scholarship into the relationships between femininity and mortality has led to more recent literary scholarship and research into the history of emotions that asserts the significance of gender in an early modern understanding of grief and mourning. Particularly the work of Phillippe and Elizabeth Hodgson illustrates the essential role of gender in cultural productions surrounding

³⁵ Juliana Schiesari, *The Gendering of Melancholia: Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 18.

³⁶ Schiesari, p. 18. In a related argument, Lynn Enterline concludes that melancholia breaks the boundaries of defined sexual difference. Lynn Enterline, *The Tears of Narcissus: Melancholia and Masculinity in Early Modern Writing* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).

³⁷ Laura Wyrick, ‘Review: Over Her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic by Elisabeth Bronfen’, *Criticism*, 36, 1 (1994), 147-51 (p. 148); Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 114.

remembrance through a contemporary historical framework. By doing so, they intimate that an understanding of aspects of the rituals of bereavement as female served to construct the character of Protestant devotion. Phillippy combines literary analysis with extensive archival research and thereby concludes that the source for the affinity between women and mourning is to be found in wider political, social and religious environments of early modern England. She employs contemporary textual and material evidence to suggest that the links between women and death were part of a ‘Protestant assault’ on female mourning that ‘conflates excessive feminine grief which unduly laments the body’s demise with Catholic mourning’, ‘liturgical excesses’ that are ‘imperfect (per)versions of reformed ceremonies.’³⁸ Hodgson argues that the position of mourner was particularly significant for female writers. She situates the writings of Mary Sidney Herbert, Aemilia Lanyer, Mary Wroth and Katherine Philips within their historical framework: in the century following the Protestant Reformation where ‘grief remained a doctrinal question and problem’.³⁹ In doing so, Hodgson finds further evidence for the relationship between the dangers of female excess in mourning, and its hazardous ties to the old Church, as ‘grief’s otherness was certainly sometimes cast in gendered terms as a hyperbolic extreme of effeminacy’, linking female mourning to the perceived extravagances of Catholicism.⁴⁰ At the same time, her research reveals that the anxiety that attended female grief and mourning functioned productively in the exhibition of the concerns that accompanied a shift in the ties between the dead and the living following the Reformation. Recent literary scholarship supports elements of the psychoanalytic

³⁸ Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 8.

³⁹ Elizabeth Hodgson, *Grief and Women Writers in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), p. 4.

⁴⁰ Hodgson, p. 7.

readings into the significance of gender in early modern conceptions of mortality that came before. However, by viewing remembrance within the wider settings of early modern cultural production, scholars such as Phillippy and Hodgson make a convincing argument for the instrumental role of such gendered perceptions of mourning in the creation of female identity and authorship, and the fashioning of English Protestantism.

This study takes inspiration from Hodgson and Phillippy by reading tombs through the textual milieus and spatial settings in which they were created. What is more, by focusing on the religious and devotional work that the funeral monument did, this thesis expands on their findings by suggesting that the writing and building of the monument, alongside other forms of commemorative text, was a way to express the importance of the female in the formulation of Protestant belief. The monument and its expression of female mourning, it is argued here, was an extension of a gendered way of speaking about how Protestantism differed from Catholicism. Women and their monuments exemplified two extremes simultaneously: the medieval, Catholic and rejected, and the early modern, reformed and authorised. While women expressed the extreme and Catholic excess of a religion that came before, their connections with an old form of belief made them the ideal examples of the transitional nature of the Reformation. Focusing on women's monuments therefore allows us to explore how the tomb acted as a significant site for the negotiation of the medieval and Catholic other, with reformed and early modern religious belief and custom.

A brief return to Weever's definition of the funeral monument reminds us that the tomb was also a site of 'transfer', a liminal place where, for a moment, past and present touch harmoniously. That tombs acted in such a capacity is further

elucidated by Queen Elizabeth I's 'A Proclamation against breaking or defacing of Monuments of Antiquitie' (1560) which was reprinted by Weever in *Ancient Funerall Monuments*:

Her Maiestie chargeth and commandeth all manner of persons hereafter to forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcell of any Monument, or Tombe, or Grave, or other Inscription and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; [...] in times past erected and set up, for the onely memory of them to their posterity in common Churches, and not for any religious honour [...] And where the covetousnesse of certaine persons is such, that as Patrons of Churches [...] they do perswade with the Parson and Parishioners to take or throw downe the Bels of Churches and Chappels, [...] they seeke a slanderous desolation of the places of prayer.⁴¹

The Queen's proclamation gives us a glimpse of the underlying unease that defined an encounter with the past in the fabric of the parish churches of the sixteenth century. At the same time, the funeral monument provides its reader with a way to reconcile the distance between an outmoded religious past and a developing Protestant present. What is more, the inclusion of 'A Proclamation' in the *magnum opus* of the poet and antiquary Weever intimates how the definition of the religious character of England through the monument was intimately linked to the textual and artistic production of Renaissance England. The proclamation's insistence that monuments serve only for the memory and posterity of 'any person deceased', and not for 'religious honour' is belied by the text's continuous insistence that tombs shaped and inhabited 'places of prayer'. The proclamation conveys how the breaking of the funeral monuments erected 'in times past' resulted in the 'slanderous desolation' of the place of worship, destabilising the very fabric of the religious community. Destroying the monument could be a powerful symbol for religious change, but its preservation provided a more enduring way of representing the

⁴¹ 'A Proclamation against breaking or defacing of Monuments of Antiquitie, being set up in Churches, or other publike places, for memory, and not for superstition', as it appears in Weever, pp. 52-4 (pp. 52-3).

triumph of new religion over an old one. Its continued existence reminded the church-goer of the transition of the English Church from erroneous pre-reform belief to rightful Protestant worship. The reconciliation of the remnants of the past with contemporary conditions through the funeral monument is therefore essential in the process of setting apart Protestantism from a medieval system of belief. As Margaret Aston concludes about the church building, tombs were therefore ‘instrumental vessels [...] standing simultaneously as proofs of achieved change and [...] future persuasion.’⁴² Taking the lead from ‘A Proclamation’, this thesis reveals that the monument, as an object in the church and an imagined place in text, continuously brokered collective religious, social and political harmony in the shadow of the seismic shifts that attended the Reformation.

The nervous tension that existed between the monument as a public communicator of contemporary beliefs and practices, and its undeniable links to a highly visual, ritual and pre-reform mode of devotion is reminiscent of the strained duality that existed between female grief and the construction of Protestant religious identities. As female mourning shaped the distinctiveness of a new English Church by representing outmoded ‘medieval’ or erroneous ‘catholic’ excess, the monument’s resilience in the face of religious iconoclasm made it the canvas on which to formulate belief through continuous contrast with what came before. It is argued in this thesis that just as female grief helped in the definition of reformed belief by symbolising a pre-reform and the subsequent catholic ‘other’, women’s monuments served to bring past religious practices into dialogue with Protestant ones. In doing so, they were important sites where opposites could coalesce and the

⁴² Margaret Aston, ‘Public Worship and Iconoclasm’, in *The Archaeology of Reformation*, ed. by Gaimster and Gilchrist, pp. 9-28 (p. 12).

English church was exhibited as coherent. The monument, in turn, allowed women to introduce conciliation into a precarious socio-political and religious climate to become active agents and instigators of doctrinal, political and social change.

The approach taken is to investigate the tombs of women as sites for the encounter with the doctrinal and religious from two angles. On the one hand, the chronological framework of this thesis allows us to construct a synchronic assessment of how the tombs of women operated as objects for the affirmation and reconciliation of religious belief at several critical stages in the development of the English Church. On the other, it provides a diachronic view of the female tomb in the cultural imagination of the period marked by Reformation change to elucidate that they were persistent and significant sites for the development of new belief against the backdrop of a medieval religious past that came before. Each chapter begins with a close reading of an exemplary textual or plastic funeral monument of one woman. In the second portion of every chapter, these finding are brought into dialogue with the wider context that surrounds the production of the chosen example. Doing so allows us to give justice to the inherent uniqueness of funeral monuments as objects that are understood as custom made, while gaining a better understanding of their religious and cultural roles as a group of objects loosely connected by their purpose and function. Each chapter uses these examples to indicate how women and their tombs negotiated critical junctures when the coherence of the English Church and government needed to be reaffirmed: Willoughby, following the ascension of Queen Elizabeth and in the aftermath of the Marian reversion to Catholicism; Herbert, in the shadow of an aging Elizabethan religiopolitical system; Bill, following the Arminian Crisis and the ascent of William Laud to political power, and Cavendish, in the aftermath of the Civil War. The structure of each chapter is

mirrored in the overall shape of the thesis. While the middle chapters reveal how women used the monument to conciliate the disparate elements of the English Church, the chapters that frame the beginning and end of this investigation place it in a wider diachronic framework to show how they reconciled medieval modes of public worship with early modern landscapes of devotion.

We begin our investigation in the years following Queen Elizabeth I's 'A Proclamation', prohibiting the 'breaking or defacing' of monuments, and with the passing of the first generation of Protestant reformers.⁴³ Through the tomb of Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, chapter one illustrates how one of the most influential early female reformers used the tomb to bring the Elizabethan religious settlement into the parish church space through the 'presencing' of monument and biblical text. Despite being one of the most active patrons of theological texts throughout the early years of the Reformation, little of Willoughby's own writings on religion remain. Her tomb, however, provides us with a rich patchwork of scripture in both Latin and English. Building out from a close reading of the tomb's inscriptions, it will be argued that Willoughby's choice to express her Protestant beliefs through the funeral monument evidences a contemporary acceptance of the tomb as a site for female participation in shaping theology and public worship. The second portion of this chapter starts from Melissa Franklin Harkrider's assertion that 'women inspired both the language and metaphors used within the reformed community'.⁴⁴ Moving from Willoughby's physical monument, to the articulation of female Protestant piety through stone in

⁴³ 'A Proclamation', p. 52.

⁴⁴ Melissa Franklin Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire's Godly Aristocracy, 1519-1580* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 61.

the writings of her extended patronage network will reveal that the figurative and literal monuments of women were symbolic sites of unity and cohesion of the reformed church. Moreover, taking a closer look at the placement of tombs, and their use of Latin scripture, will reveal how women participated in conciliating medieval modes of belief with emergent ones through commemorative building, how women implemented the tomb in the way ‘A Proclamation’ proposes: to bring order and harmony to ‘the places of prayer’.⁴⁵

In chapter two we further diversify our understanding of the female tomb’s function in the language of Protestant writers by investigating its role in the work of a female author and translator, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke. Bringing Cleopatra’s enshrinement in her funeral monument in Herbert’s *Antonius* into dialogue with authorised devotional texts and conduct-book literature reveals how the use of a language of Protestant marriage from the liminal spaces of death endowed women with social and political agency. Following scholarship that views *Antonius* as an allegory for the Elizabethan state, this chapter traces how Herbert’s iteration of the funeral monument can tell us more about the tomb’s function as a collective symbol to express the political agency and integrity of a female ruler at a critical point in Queen Elizabeth I’s reign.

The decade in which *Antonius* was published saw several ‘unsettling factors’ affect the domestic politics of England. The Kingdom was enmeshed in military conflict, including the Anglo-Spanish Wars that increased anxieties over England’s sovereignty as a Protestant nation against the backdrop of a steady rise in Catholic influence on the Continent. Its reigning monarch was advancing in age but had failed to provide an heir to the throne, leaving many to conclude that political disarray was

⁴⁵ ‘A Proclamation’, p. 53.

imminent.⁴⁶ The death of some of Elizabeth's leading councillors, and the accession of a controversial new favourite, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex threatened to destabilise the established hierarchy of the state, dominated by the political and religious attitudes of William Cecil, Baron Burghley and his son and successor Robert, first Earl of Salisbury.⁴⁷ It is argued that Cleopatra's enshrinement in her funeral monument facilitated her articulation of her love for Anthony as a marriage of loving spouses. This shift in Cleopatra's affection assured the integrity of the female ruler. Thus, *Antonius* narrated the unity and coherence of the female monarch, the kingdom and its people to an English readership that feared the breakdown of an established political and religious establishment. At the same time, it affirmed the Elizabethan state's unique marriage of church, government and monarch.

The second portion of chapter two widens our investigation by examining the monument's role in asserting the social, political and spiritual marriage between the ruler, government and church by reviewing the tombs of the female members of the Cecil family in Westminster Abbey's St Nicholas Chapel, and their appearance in the first published guide book to the Abbey, William Camden's *Reges, reginae, nobiles, et alij in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti* (1600). Doing so will divulge that the use of the commemorative object in text by Herbert grew out of a contemporary understanding of the interdependency of plastic commemoration, and the writing of a Protestant vision of the English state. Like Herbert's *Antonius*, this vision employed the female tomb to assert the continuing agency and coherence

⁴⁶ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. xii.

⁴⁷ Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), p. 3.

of the Elizabethan Church and state. Instead of creating a complex allegory of female English rule, St Nicholas chapel showcases the continuing influence of the Cecil family, the Queen's leading administrative agents. The tombs of women and their loving spouses formed the ideal space to formulate the marriage between the church, and its political and spiritual head, Elizabeth I. Marriage, formulated through the tombs of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley and Elizabeth Brooke Cecil, Countess of Salisbury, *in situ* and in print, fashioned a narrative of the Elizabethan era as a cultural, literary and artistic zenith through the coalescence of antiquarian text and physical commemorative environment. At the same time, this meeting of text and object transformed this fashioned image of high culture into an idealised vision of an enduring Protestant English nation.

With the death of Robert Cecil in 1612, the administrative continuity of the Elizabethan state started to evidence signs of wear by the 1620s. What is more, the lack of any real engagement with the grievances voiced in the Millenary Petition, presented at the Hampton Court Conference shortly after the coronation of King James I in 1603, became apparent in this later phase of the monarch's reign. As Paul Salzman argues, the lack of uniformity that defined the 1620s also led to a rapid increase and diversification in textual production: a 'widening circle of texts and performances'.⁴⁸ In the third chapter, we trace one of these rapidly expanding textual forms, the funeral book or commemorative volume. Beginning with *A Monument of Mortalitie*, a lavish funeral book commemorating the death of Anna Mountfort Bill in 1621, this chapter argues that a developing Jacobean Church used the written

⁴⁸ Paul Salzman, *Literature and Politics in the 1620s: 'Whisper'd Counsells'* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 3. On the religious and political conflict of the 1620s, and the role of pamphlet 'news' culture within it, see Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

funeral monument to assert the centrality of ceremony and collective ritual experience in the church edifice following the intensification of rifts in a Protestant consensus. In chapter two we investigate how the funeral monument aided in the expression of the structure of Elizabethan Protestantism by visually reconciling its constituent parts: believer, church, government and monarch. Instead of reconciling individual, ecclesiastical and political power, the tombs that populate devotional reading of the 1620s harmonise a purely textual experience of Protestant belief through scripture with the benefits provided by congregational worship and the sensory experience of God through church ritual. As women were the predominant and popular subjects of the funeral books or commemorative volumes of the first half of the seventeenth century, the significance of gender in these strategies will be explored and the possibility for the intervention of the real or imagined female voices into such debates investigated.

While chapter one traces the way in which the placement of the tomb provided a platform for female involvement in theological and devotional discourses of Elizabethan England, chapter four investigates the tomb's function as a 'presencing' mechanism in female interventions into mid-seventeenth-century debates on religious and political unity, peace and prosperity in the aftermath of the Civil War.⁴⁹ This chapter shows how Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle's play 'Bell in Campo' fashioned the monument into a platform from which to address the female experience of civil war by employing the contemporary visual language of her exile in Antwerp. The second part of this chapter demonstrates how Cavendish uses the mausoleum of the war widow Madam Jantil to intervene in a fractured natural landscape by repurposing the late medieval tomb's

⁴⁹ Graves, p. 13.

ability to “intrude” into the devotional rituals of the collective.⁵⁰ Focusing on Jantil’s enclosure within her monument to live a life of prayer and meditation, the role of Catholic female asceticism in Margaret’s conception of order and harmony illustrates the continued role of the tomb in negotiating and reconciling medieval forms of worship in an early modern and Protestant religious landscape. In the final section of this chapter, we bring Cavendish’s use of the monument in her textual production into dialogue with the monuments constructed by female members of her family in the landscape of Derbyshire. As we encounter the tombs built by Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick), Katherine Ogle and Christian Bruce Cavendish, we will see that the writing of the monument allowed Margaret to do remotely what other key female members of the family did locally and plastically: assert political allegiance, order and rightful rule through the intrusion of the monument into a shared English topography. This therefore helps us consider the religious and cultural work of the tomb in the century following the initial events that precipitated the Protestant Reformation. It is to the opening days of these years that we now turn.

⁵⁰ Roffey, p. 20.

Chapter 1 Katherine Willoughby: Women, Tombs and the Parish Church

Introduction

The death of Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580) was marked by the erection of a lavish funeral monument at Spilsby in Lincolnshire. The second panel of six on her tomb can be translated from the Latin as follows:

We know that our Redeemer lives, and we believe that we shall rise again out of the dust and though after our skin worms destroy our corpses, yet shall we see God in our flesh, and not another.¹

What do this and other features of the funeral monument reveal about the role of the places for the dead in establishing and maintaining church practices and ritual during the formative years of the Reformation? Furthermore, can the Willoughby monument's ability to shape devotion tell us more about how women participated in moulding the collective experience of Reformation thought and practice?

Willoughby's monument cites a well-known passage from Job 19, but by providing it in Latin, she deviates from the most usual available versions which were English translations, the Great Bible (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560) and the Bishops' Bible (1568), as well as the Book of Common Prayer (1559). The tomb's inscriptions, however, also depart from Willoughby's most readily available Latin source, the

¹ Job 19. 25-27. Translation by the author. Latin inscription reads: 'Novimus quod redemptor noster vivit et credimus posteriorem super pulverem resurrectionem et postquam vermes confoderint nostra cadavera tamen visuros esse deum carne nostra et non aliena'. The King James Bible (KJV) gives the passage as follows: 'For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day, upon the earth: And though after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shal see for my selfe, and mine eyes shall beholde, and not another, though my reines bee consumed within me.'

Vulgate. Katherine's iteration of Job 19. 26 evokes the vivid image of bodily decay through worms that devour the body of the deceased. The Vulgate glosses over the horrors of decomposition to emphasise the reunion of body and soul at the Last Judgement: '*et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea video Deum meum*', or, as translated in the Douay-Rheims Bible, 'And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I will see my God'.² While the use of Latin indicates continuity with a pre-Reformation past, the subtle differences from the Vulgate suggest an active engagement with the translation of scripture typically associated with Protestantism. This is further elucidated by the specific wording, which most closely resembles the Geneva and Bishops' Bible translations. Only the Geneva and the Bishops' Bibles translate Job 19. 26 as 'And thogh after me [sic] skin *wormes* destroy this *bodie*' and 'And though after my skinne the wormes destroy this body' respectively, making them the most immediately analogous passages.³ By seemingly translating a translation, the inscription echoes the intense influence of these particular versions of scripture that, through their inclusion of extensive notes and cross-references in the case of the former, and the ready availability and image-heavy accessibility of the latter, encouraged an active and critical reading (and writing) practice.⁴ However, by providing biblical inscriptions in Latin, the

² DRB + LV, in *drbo.org* <<http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/20019.htm>> [accessed 18 June 2018].

³ *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated According to the Ebrue and Greeke, and Conferred With the Best Translations in Divers Langages. With Moste Profitable Annotations Upon All the Lord Places, and Other Things of Great Importance as May Appear in the Epistle to the Reader* [GEN] (Geneva, 1560), sig. L14^r; *The. Holi. Bible.* [BB] (London, 1568), sig. D8^r.

⁴ Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 69. See also, Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016; first published by Ashgate 2012);

Willoughby tomb also relies on a deep-rooted and medieval form of encounter with the Word. To today's observer, the monument appears to sit on the liminal and porous boundary between the Catholic and medieval, and the reformed and early modern.

By exploring the wider implications of Willoughby's use of Latin, this chapter shows that the funeral monument was a tool in the negotiation of ingrained but disintegrating medieval devotional practice and new modes of Protestant piety. By extending the investigation from the textual to the material and spatial, we will see that the Protestant tomb's appropriation of old practices of making people read, see and experience religion served to refashion parish church ritual and devotion according to new Reformed practices. The Willoughby tomb's purpose in building collective Protestant identity is suggested by one of the most striking idiosyncrasies of the inscription: the alteration of the 'I' of the Book of Job, to the 'we' of the monument's possible viewership. By altering Job's first-person singular account into the first-person plural, the tomb converts the personal anguish of Job into the shared suffering of the assembled congregation. This shift reminds us that the inscription is part of the larger function of the tomb, creating an interrelationship between text, the materiality of the monument, the church it inhabits, and the audience to which it speaks.

Taking the lead from Willoughby's funeral monument, the initial section of this chapter investigates the interplay between the tomb's scriptural text, materiality and place to discuss the development of collective modes of Protestant devotion and ritual. Willoughby is a revealing case study of how early reformers employed

commemorative architecture to re-write belief, since she was one of the most influential and prolific literary patrons of early Protestant writing. Drawing on a variety of funeral monuments contemporaneous with the construction of the Willoughby monument, this enquiry demonstrates that elements of pre-Reformation visual and textual culture remained important in the formulation of Protestant church ritual. Thus, the chapter approaches tombs as potential carriers of new Protestant meaning, as ‘sites for writing’ ritual and belief.⁵ At the same time, it will be argued that tombs retained their pre-Reformation role as ‘presencing’ mechanisms that inserted the dead into the fabric of church ritual to shape the congregation’s devotional practices.⁶ Tombs of early Reformist figures occupied church spaces that we interpret as being in transition between medieval belief systems and the development of new ones. Their interventions into these destabilised places sought to legitimise new systems of belief through their synthesis of established modes of devotion and ritual with nascent Protestant ones. The tombs of Willoughby and her contemporaries indicate the significance of continuity, practicality and pragmatism in formulating the English Protestant Church.

Though Willoughby was one of the most significant female patrons of the early Reformation, she has left little written evidence of her theological beliefs beyond what can be inferred from her patronage network.⁷ Her funeral monument,

⁵ Patricia Phillippy, “‘Monumental Circles’ and Material Culture in Early Modern England’, *Early Modern Women*, 4 (2009), 139-47 (p. 141).

⁶ Simon Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), p. 20; C. Pamela Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief: An Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Medieval Norfolk and Devon*, BAR British Series, 311 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), p. 13.

⁷ On Willoughby’s patronage, see: Melissa Franklin Harkrider, *Women, Reform and Community in Early Modern England: Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, and Lincolnshire’s Godly Aristocracy, 1519-1580* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008); Paul F. M. Zahl, *Five Women of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001). See also Louise Horton’s forthcoming thesis on Willoughby’s

made up of no less than seventeen individual pieces of writing, is consequently an invaluable resource in tracing her interpretations of Protestant theology.

Furthermore, her decision to express her Protestant beliefs through the medium of the tomb suggests that commemorative building was a socially accepted way for women publicly to convey devotional and theological thought. The tomb's ability to articulate women's theological beliefs makes commemorative built environments a fruitful starting point for further research into women's active participation in shaping the ritual, devotion and theology that directly impacted Protestant church communities. This chapter takes inspiration from Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, who stress how the monument dedicated to a pious woman '*should* be a text to be read by observers', and how it often exceeded, 'the usual expressions of familial piety and lineage identity' to communicate complex socio-political, and as argued here, intricate theological and liturgical points.⁸

Building out from the Willoughby monument's role in disseminating the religious ideology of one pious woman, the second portion of this chapter traces the theological and linguistic evidence that supports the contention that the tomb operated as a creative canvas for women's engagement with theology in a public forum. It explores the medium and metaphor of stone in the Protestant devotional community and teases out the potentially gendered implications of formulating the church as an entity made up of 'living stones'. Focusing predominantly on texts that

patronage networks and her involvement in early Protestant print culture. Louise Horton, "A Doer of Thy Holie Word": English Women's Religio-Political Textual Production 1546-1620' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birkbeck, University of London).

⁸ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, "Prudentia ultra sexum": Lady Jane Bacon and the Management of her Families', in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. by Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 100-24 (p. 101).

emerged from the network of writers patronised by Willoughby, it will be shown that the persistent description of the individual believer using the stone metaphor shaped a contemporary view of the funeral monuments of women as participants in the shaping of the English Protestant Church. Finally, women's own use of the metaphor of the 'living stone' in conjunction with the funeral monument suggests they themselves may have regularly used the tomb as an accepted medium to contribute to the development of collective Protestant devotional practices.

1. Katherine Willoughby and the Visual Language of Reform at Spilsby in Lincolnshire

At the centre of the Reformation on a regional Lincolnshire and national scale, Katherine Willoughby combined political status as a member of the Henrician Court with a place among some of the most notable figures of early Protestant thinking, including Hugh Latimer (c. 1485-1555), Martin Bucer (1491-1551) and Katherine Parr (1512-1548). Willoughby's ties to these figures leads Alec Ryrie to characterise her as 'perhaps the most aggressive of the reformers in the higher reaches of the court'.⁹ Simultaneously, she exerted tremendous regional influence in the county of Lincolnshire. As charted by Melissa Franklin Harkrider, Katherine controlled no less than sixteen of the county's benefices, leading a contemporary to conclude that she had 'the rule' of Lincolnshire.¹⁰ Willoughby was at the helm of the

⁹ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 195.

¹⁰ Harkrider, p. 89; William Horsley to the Earl of Rutland, 23 December 1547(?), in *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, Historical Manuscript Commission, 4 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888-1905), I (1888), 32.

re-articulation of devotion for English congregations, both nationally and regionally, alongside the Reformation's developments under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I.¹¹

Several contemporaries attest to Willoughby's part in shaping Protestant England through her role as a patron and an exemplary pious woman. Augustine Bernher illustrates Willoughby's role as an influential patron in a dedicatory preface to Latimer's *Certain Godly Sermons* (1562). Here, he refers to her as 'a comfort unto the comfortles, and an instrumente by the whiche hys holy name should be praysed, and his gospell propagated and spredde'.¹² Thomas Wilson professed himself a 'lively witnes' of Willoughby's exemplary piety.¹³ In *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), he relates her devoutness to the reader by publishing a letter outlining her steadfastness when she mourned the death of her sons. Furthermore, he assures the reader of the salvation of her sons since they were 'trained in that pathe of Godlines' by their mother.¹⁴ John Foxe (1516/17-1587), in *Acts and Monuments* (1570), chronicles Willoughby's trial during her exile on the continent in the Reign of Mary I, transforming her escape, 'apparelled like a meane Marchantes wife', into a staple part of a written Protestant history.¹⁵ Through Foxe, Willoughby's place in Protestant popular culture endured, as evidenced by plays such as Thomas Drue's *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk* (1631), and popular broadside ballads like *The*

¹¹ Harkrider, p. 46.

¹² Hugh Latimer, *Certain Godly Sermons, Made Upon the Lords Prayer*, ed. by Augustine Bernher (London, 1562), sig. A6^v.

¹³ Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London, 1553), sig. K4^v.

¹⁴ Erasmus and Wilson, sig. K4^v.

¹⁵ John Foxe, 'Quene Mary. Divers preserved by Gods providence. The Duchesse of Suffolke', in *TAMO* <<https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=text&gototype=&edition=1570&pageid=2324&anchor=apparelled#kw>> [accessed 3 October 2017].

Most Rare and Excellent History, of the Duchess of Suffolks Callamity (c. 1663-1674). Through these, she remained a symbol of Protestant commitment and zeal for generations.¹⁶

Regional influence through her family's seats of power in the rural landscape of Lincolnshire established Willoughby's position as a powerful figure on a national scale. This regional status was defined by her family's lasting roots in the county that preceded sixteenth-century religious upheaval. Spilsby, the final resting place that Katherine no doubt selected for herself, belonged to this extended local network of Willoughby power. The parish church of St James was one of several established burial places of some of Katherine's most notable ancestors and was once the home to the chantry college dedicated to the Holy Trinity established by John Willoughby in 1347.¹⁷ Both parish church and chantry are typical examples of a complex and vibrant medieval religious environment, and illustrate the responsibility of local landowners such as the Willoughbys in the supervision and maintenance of regional devotion.

The local gentry's supervision of religious infrastructure in late medieval Lincolnshire was necessary because of the county's size and fragmentary nature. Lincolnshire was defined by an absence of direct secular and spiritual powers, as the county lacked a prime ecclesiastical landlord, while 'absentee lords' held 'substantial estates which they rarely visited'.¹⁸ For those local lords who did reside in the

¹⁶ Thomas Drue, *The Life of the Dutches of Suffolke* (London, 1631); Thomas Deloney, 'The most rare and excellent history, of the duchess of Suffolks callamity', in *Broadside Ballads Online* <<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/sheet/30292>> [accessed 27 September 2016]. See also: John N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), p. 304.

¹⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *Lincolnshire*, rev. by Nicholas Antram (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 679.

¹⁸ Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500*, 3 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1996-2006), II (2000), 171.

county, such conditions offered a way of wielding power through considerable interventions in the spiritual and secular topography of their surroundings. Such power was manifested most notably through a ‘proprietary and territorial way of regarding the parish churches’.¹⁹ Evidence from medieval Lincolnshire supports Duffy’s definition of pre-Reformation piety as a “‘traditional religion’”, in which elite and non-elite met in a mutually supportive fashion and asserted a ‘remarkable degree of religious and imaginative homogeneity across the social spectrum, a shared repertoire of symbols, prayers, and beliefs’.²⁰ That this cross-fertilisation need not only be harmonious, however, is brought into context if we remember that John Wycliffe spent several years in Lincolnshire as rector of Fillingham (1361-1368). Rather than providing religious homogeneity, the parish church provided Lincolnshire with a framework to bring theological norms (and deviations from them) into the spaces shared by the elite and non-elite.

While elite interventions suggest that the beliefs and customs between social classes intersected in Lincolnshire’s parish churches, they also reinforced entrenched power structures by giving the landowning class considerable power over the kind of pastoral services provided to the community as a whole. As local landowners often singularly or collectively paid for the construction and maintenance of parish churches, they reaped the benefits of any profits from the endowments and retained the right to select priests through the advowson. The Willoughbys’ investment in Spilsby’s parish church of St James through its Holy Trinity collegiate chantry indicates not only their secular territorial powers as significant local landlords, but

¹⁹ Dorothy M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, ed. by Joan Thirsk, History of Lincolnshire, V, 2nd edn (Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee, 1981), p. 4.

²⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, 2nd edn (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 3.

their considerable agency to shape local devotion and ritual. As a collegiate chantry, endowed for the support of one master and twelve chaplains, Holy Trinity was at once a lay institution for the benefit of its founder, a supervisory body for the election of parish priests for the surrounding community and, through its landholdings, an important landlord of the local area.²¹

The secular and spiritual power that the Willoughbys exerted through Holy Trinity explains, in part, their consistent motivation over generations to maintain the financially struggling chantry. To secure the financial support for Holy Trinity in perpetuity, John Willoughby dedicated the rent from adjoining tenements and lands in Spilsby, Eresby, Stickford, Stixwould, Grebby, Fulletby and Folkingham to its upkeep. Holy Trinity was approved by the Pope (1347) and licenced by Edward III (1349).²² John's investment in the spaces of Spilsby's parish church was a typical contemporary intervention by a regional baron into a rural religiopolitical power vacuum. While John and his wife Joan gained the personal benefit of intercessory prayer for themselves through the chantry, they also consolidated their family's influence by becoming responsible for providing regular services to the local community.

Willoughby control over rural religious life extended into the parish churches of the neighbouring communities. John and Joan Willoughby's papal petition to Clement VI makes this clear. Under the supervision of the Bishop of Carlisle 'who

²¹ Evidence suggests that Holy Trinity was never fully staffed with twelve chaplains, possibly due to a lack of funds. In 1378 there were a total of eight, in 1422 there were five and in 1443 there were a mere two chaplains. *A History of the County of Lincoln: Volume 2*, ed. by William Page (London: Victoria County History, 1906), p. 236.

²² The initial endowment of 1347 was shortly followed by John Willoughby's death. His son, John obtained a new licence in 1351 from the King to complete his father's work. *A History of the County of Lincoln*, p. 236.

lives near their manor of Eresby', the income of the college would be raised through a unification of funds from the 'churches of Spillesby, [...] Upper Toynton, [...] and Kirkeby, in the deanery of Bolingbroke'.²³ As stressed by K. L. Wood-Legh, one supervisory body (either the college master or the parish church priest) commonly supervised an amalgamation of parish church and private chantry funds. Within the context of the chantry of the Holy Trinity, such measures brought together under single management (the master chosen by the Willoughby family) a set of funds that shaped the devotional structure of the rural community of Spilsby and its immediate surroundings.²⁴ John Willoughby and his family effectively controlled and ensured the provision of devotional space for a minimum of three separate village parishes. In this way they wielded tremendous power over the spiritual aspects of local life far beyond the town of Spilsby.

Such power over the religious fabric of several local Lincolnshire villages took on a new significance with the advent of the Protestant Reformation. While the provision and supervision of a religious infrastructure had likely in part been defined by personal preference by Katherine Willoughby's medieval ancestors, to a Reformist thinker of the sixteenth century, this established responsibility for collective ritual had the potential to become the tool with which to disseminate emerging theological ideas.

When Willoughby wrote a letter to William Cecil (1520/21–1598), the secretary to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, in 1549 regarding the fate of the chantry of the Holy Trinity, she probably acted in her capacity as an influential and

²³ 'Volume XIV: 6 Clement VI', in *Petitions to the Pope 1342-1419*, ed. by W. H. Bliss (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), pp. 126-30, in *BHO* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/petitions-to-pope/1342-1419/pp126-130>> [accessed 8 November 2017].

²⁴ K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: CUP, 1965), p. 8.

established overseer of the local religious fabric of rural Lincolnshire. But much had changed in those twenty years after the last investment by her family in St James in 1529, when the church's imposing tower was erected.²⁵ Willoughby wrote the letter shortly after the Edwardian Chantries Act (1548). In her correspondence, she expresses her 'desier to purchase Spillesby chantrie' back from the Crown, employing Cecil in her negotiations with William Paget (1505/6-1563) and the Somerset Protectorate. Willoughby asks for Cecil's advice on how best to present her case, either through 'a bill [...] of my suite' or by labouring 'my friendes with pri[v]at letters'.²⁶ While St James's Willoughby-sponsored 'traditional religion' collapsed with the advent of Edwardian church reforms, Katherine's intervention through some of her most powerful court connections attests to the continuing social and financial benefits of retaining control over church lands. It can be argued, however, that Willoughby's interest in Spilsby's Holy Trinity shows she continued to view the provision and supervision of local devotion as her family's personal responsibility. Viewing Willoughby's swift response to the confiscation of Holy Trinity in this light supports Duffy's assertion that the 'men and women of Tudor England were, by and large, pragmatists'.²⁷

While Katherine's actions regarding the chantry of the Holy Trinity reveals her reluctance to break with past logistics for the provision of church services, her actions do not preclude an unwillingness to bring about religious change. Willoughby's pragmatism in laying claim to her established local responsibilities speaks more directly of her wish to constructively employ old systems and structures

²⁵ Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p. 679.

²⁶ Katherine Willoughby to William Cecil, 18 May 1549, in Kew, NA, SP Edward VI, 10/10/8, fol. 19.

²⁷ Duffy, p. 502.

of devotional intervention to implement new religious practices. As will be shown, Willoughby's wish to remain a key influencer of the local religious fabric through a medieval ecclesiastical infrastructure agreed with the intentions of the Chantries Act. Rectifying the past's 'Blindness and Ignorance', the Chantries Act and Willoughby repurposed the old in new meaningful ways: finding 'good and godly Uses' for space suddenly made religiously redundant.²⁸ With this in mind, we will now turn to the only known intervention Willoughby made within the fabric of St James and the chantry of the Holy Trinity, her imposing funeral monument.

Willoughby regained Spilsby chantry, but instead of destroying a pre-Reformation past to inaugurate change, she constructed a funeral monument to modify the devotional function of the parish church and its chantry space. Spilsby's St James appears to have changed little between Willoughby's purchase of the chantry from the Crown, and the funeral monument's completion after her return from exile on the Continent following the reign of Queen Mary I. All the monuments located in the chantry remained *in situ* and the hands of Henrician, Edwardian or Elizabethan iconoclasts never touched the sculpted beadsmen adorning them.²⁹ The first marks of the Reformation appear in the form of Willoughby's monument. The tomb fills in the entire space of the arch leading into the attendant chapel to the north of the chancel, and in doing so, seals the chapel space beyond from the nave like a screen. On this west facing, nave-oriented side, fluted ionic columns divide the monument's flat surface into two spaces that display six inscription panels (*Plate 1*). The short altar-like chest that projects from its lower portion, with its detailed

²⁸ *The Statutes at Large, of England and of Great Britain: From Magna Carta to the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Thomas Edlyne Tomlins and John Raithby, 20 vols (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1811), III, 500.

²⁹ Gervase Holles, *Lincolnshire Church Notes Made by Gervase Holles A. D. 1634 to A. D. 1642*, ed. by R. E. G. Cole (Lincoln: W. K. Morton & Sons, 1911), p. 89.

heraldry, is the only indication of the identity of the deceased. The monument's east facing side, projecting into the chapel space, reveals a more lavishly individualised composition (*Plate 2*). This side's large projecting tomb chest, surmounted by carved figures of the Willoughby family coat of arms, a monk and two wild men, focuses the viewer's attention on the two centrally placed alabaster busts of Katherine and of her second husband, Richard Bertie (1517-1582). The two-sided tomb's placement essentially blocks the arcade's passage into the chantry and chancel spaces, and thus obscures all but the west-facing side containing the abovementioned scriptural passages from the gaze of the public in the nave (*Plate 3*).

This twist on the free-standing tomb provides the larger context for Willoughby's alteration of the scriptural passage's personal pronouns from singular to plural. Additionally, the tomb's placement gives further evidence of its purpose as an instrument in Willoughby's re-fashioning of the parish church of Spilsby alongside (rather than against) its long tradition as a place of worship with competing foci of devotion.³⁰ The monument situates both text and object in such a way that it expresses a change in a spatial understanding of the church highlighted in the 'Injunctions given by the Queen's Majesty' (1559, hereafter referred to as the Elizabethan injunctions). This document stipulates that people,

shall not from henceforth in any parish church, at any time use any procession about the church or churchyard, or other place, but immediately before high mass the priest, with others of the choir, shall kneel in the midst of the church and sing or say, plainly and distinctly, the Litany [...] and in cathedral or collegiate churches the same shall be done.³¹

³⁰ Antiquarian accounts allow us to surmise that the monument remains in its original location to this day, with the earliest account by Holles locating it in 'the North Isle'. Holles, p. 85.

³¹ 'The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559', in *Documents of the English Reformation*, ed. by Gerald Bray (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 1994), pp. 335-48 (p. 339).

Emphasising the nave as the focal point of the devotional practices of the church, the Elizabethan injunctions highlight a levelling of the spatial hierarchies present in the church fabric. With the priest and all attendants ‘in the midst of the church’, and out of the elevated chancel, the distance between the clergy and the congregation is visually diminished. Additionally, the Elizabethan injunctions prohibit procession and ritual movement, and make special mention of such practices ‘in cathedral or collegiate churches’. In doing so, the Elizabethan injunctions shift emphasis away from the now redundant secondary altars, chantry spaces, and the network of attendant sites dedicated to the intercessory economy of the later Middle Ages. Thus, the Elizabethan injunctions articulate the new static nature of the congregation in the pews within the main body of the church, to avoid ‘contention and strife’ through the ‘challenging of places’.³² Particularly the breakdown of the hierarchised separation of the clerical and secular forms the core rationale behind the restriction of movement as ‘*walking in the church*’ without ‘just and urgent cause’ is granted to ‘no manner of persons’, regardless of their status.³³ The tomb’s manipulation of a pre-existing parish church fabric physically asserts the evening out of the church hierarchy and visually shifts emphasis on the congregation in the nave as it spatially imposes elements of the Elizabethan religious settlement.

The Willoughby tomb was used to participate in shaping a nave-oriented reformed church space by illustrating spatially the way ritual place is treated in the Elizabethan injunctions. To use the monument in such a way, however, was to repurpose its function in a medieval intercessory economy. As Patrick Geary reminds us, the tombs occupying medieval chantry chapels aided worshippers in the

³² ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, pp. 339-40.

³³ ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, pp. 339-40.

recollection of the deceased's name. Funeral monuments were 'the means by which the dead were made present', to allow congregations to intercede with their prayers to ensure the dead's swift release from Purgatory.³⁴ As the work of Simon Roffey shows, medieval tombs were often placed to form deliberate intrusions into the ritual flow of church services to elicit such prayers. He illustrates this convincingly, for example, through the tomb of Richard Newton (d. 1448) in the north chapel attendant to the Church of St Mary in Yatton, Somerset. Here, the tomb obstructs the congregation's line of sight to the chapel altar, effectively erasing their direct visual access to the eucharistic ritual enacted there. If the laity was to participate in the miracle of transubstantiation, they had to acknowledge the presence of the chapel's deceased occupants, and accordingly pray for their salvation. This technique 'would place the tomb and its occupant not only within the minds of the observing laity or priest, but actually within the physical sphere of the rituals observed.'³⁵ The manipulation of ritual and devotional practice through the funeral monument was not a product of Reformation change, but an essential function of the commemorative object that predates the religious break with Rome.

Willoughby employed the tomb as an object of obstruction to facilitate the change in the ritual structure of the parish church of Spilsby. In doing so, however, she relied on a function of the monument that predates the Reformation. Willoughby's tomb guided the congregation's experience of church worship through a set of tools familiar to them. Several wills from Spilsby dating to the early years of the sixteenth century suggest that the altar of the chantry of the Holy Trinity (likely

³⁴ Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 87.

³⁵ Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 112.

dedicated to St James) formed an important function in the community's access to spiritual benefits in life and in death. John Moote (d. 1507), for example, leaves two pence to the 'seint James awter in the same church', while John Gell of Toynton (d. 1523) asks for obits to be kept for him by the 'master' of Spilsby 'and his brether'.³⁶ Like the tomb of Richard Newton, the Willoughby monument manipulates the congregation's access to the site of the Mass by erasing the sight line to the secondary altar of the Holy Trinity chantry. Furthermore, the monument's blocking up of the northern aisle's passage into the chancel through the chantry obstructs the mass's circular processional route that leads participants through the southern and the northern naves, physically asserting the primacy of the main altar in the chancel to the likes of John Moote.³⁷ By erasing the congregation's access to the chantry's altar, the Willoughby monument also obstructs the bond between those who were to be remembered in prayer like the deceased John Gell, and the assembled congregation in the nave. The Willoughby tomb thus acts as a physical boundary that repurposes the medieval functions of the monument to guide the worshipper physically and visually to abandon the ritual movements associated with the Eucharist and the devotional practices associated with an intercessory economy.

Emphasising the simplicity of Protestant devotion through space reveals the Willoughby monument's function in a wider trend of Protestant appropriation and repurposing. Such reorganisation was defined, as suggested by Alexandra Walsham,

³⁶ *Lincoln Wills: Volume 1, 1271-1526*, ed. by C. W. Foster (London: British Record Society, 1914), pp. 31-5, in *BHO* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lincoln-wills/vol1/pp31-35>> [accessed 8 November 2017]; *Lincoln Wills*, pp. 117-28, in *BHO* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lincoln-wills/vol1/pp117-128>> [accessed 8 November 2017].

³⁷ C. Pamela Graves, 'Social Space in the English Medieval Parish Church', in *Anthony Giddens: Critical Assessments*, ed. by Christopher G. A. Bryant and David Jary, 4 vols (London: Routledge, 1997), IV, 262-88 (p. 272).

by an ‘onslaught against rival foci for spiritual devotion’ of a Medieval landscape that ‘was covered with many overlapping membranes of religious memory and meaning’.³⁸ As the Willoughby monument shows, the goal of this onslaught was not always the destruction or extinction of such a religious past. Instead, Katherine’s tomb suggests that reformers consciously perpetuated and exploited entrenched interactions with such rival foci in order to alter collective experiences of church space. As we have seen, Willoughby’s monument did not simply rob the congregation of the benefits of a secondary altar. Instead, it made use of people’s habituated ways of looking to such altars to ‘trick’ them into internalising the central changes that the Reformation brought to their existing beliefs. Furthermore, the tomb’s negotiation of pre-Reformation sites of devotion suggests a continuing presence of a ‘traditional’ form of religion, one in which theological change was at once top-down, and through its engagement with enduring devotional practices of the community, bottom-up.

The monument’s act of obstruction also informs a reading of its scriptural passages, since they were placed directly in the line of sight of those wishing to gaze at the secondary altar of the chantry. The passage from Job is implicated in the tomb’s restructuring of the church space, and the alteration of the devotional habits of its congregation. The first-person plural, the ‘we’ of the monumental inscription reflects the levelling of church spaces, the body of Job read not in its individuality, but transformed into ‘our bodies’, the collective body of the Protestant church. Thus, it applies Job’s individual theological sin, born of his rebellion against undeserved suffering, to a larger collective narrative of a Reformist rectification of a collective

³⁸ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 115, 80.

sin: the abandonment of a pre-Reformation church. The individual ‘Physical pain and theological anxiety’ of Job which gives way to an understanding of the ‘necessity of a Christ’ and the resulting knowledge of the ‘sufficiency of grace’ is adapted to reflect the cornerstone of reformed faith: the sufficiency of belief attained through the Word and the resulting certainty that an inherently loving God will triumph over death and despair.³⁹

The way in which the individual inscriptions sit together further refines our understanding of the monument’s role in the spatial restructuring of St James. A descriptive account of the interior of Spilsby, dating to c. 1634 by Gervase Holles (1607-1675), the Lincolnshire antiquarian, elucidates how the use of Latin, as well as the alterations to the Book of Job, underpin the modification of the church space in favour of the congregation:

Sixe severall Tables of Inscription on it in golden letters: in the first five the Scripture usually read at burialls, beginning Homo natus est etc.⁴⁰

Particularly panel one and two contain scriptural passages found in the ‘Order for the Burial of the Dead’ from the Book of Common Prayer. Job 19. 25-27 (panel two) is intended to be said or sung by the priest upon the beginning of the funeral as he meets ‘*the corps at the Church style*’.⁴¹ Thus, the words occupying the second panel are those that accompany the deceased and the community as they proceed to the place of burial. Panel one, containing Job 14. 1-2 (‘Homo natus de muliere brevi

³⁹ Samuel Terrien, ‘Job: Introduction’, in *The Interpreter’s Bible: The Holy Scriptures in the King James and Revised Standard Versions with General Articles and Introduction, Exegesis, Exposition for Each Book of the Bible*, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, 12 vols (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952-1957), III (1954), 877-905 (pp. 899, 897).

⁴⁰ Holles, p. 85.

⁴¹ ‘The Book of Common Prayer, 1559’, in *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. by Brian Cummings (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 99-181 (p. 171).

vives tempore repletur multis miseriis qui quasi flos egreditur et arescit et fugit velut umbra et nunquam in eodem statu permanet') can also be found inaugurating a key ritual moment within the 'Order for the Burial of the Dead'. It is sung or said by '*priestes and clerkes [...] wyles the corps is made redy to be layd into the earth*', marking the beginning of the funeral service after the procession accompanied by Job 19.⁴² This biblical passage's foundational part in the burial service is suggested by its appearance on the tomb. Here, it initiates the following inscriptions through its position in the top left, in the 'first' panel of the sequence (*Plate 4*). The tomb's first two panels visualise the beginning of the Protestant funerary ritual taken from the Book of Common Prayer through their positioning and sequence. However, while both the 'Order for the Burial of the Dead' and the Willoughby monument rely on the Book of Job, the textual links between the Book of Common Prayer and the tomb end with the first two panels. Additionally, Willoughby's choice to include extensive biblical quotations that typify the themes of death and commemoration in Latin, rather than established English translations, suggests that Holles' reference to 'Scripture usually read at burials' may be pointing his reader to the content of the medieval 'Office of the Dead'.⁴³

⁴² Job 14. 1-2: 'Man that is borne of a woman, is of few dayes, and full of trouble. Hee cometh forth like a flower, and is cut downe: he fleeth also, as a shaddow and continueth not.'; 'The Book of Common Prayer, 1559', p. 171.

⁴³ On the influence of the 'Office of the Dead' on the Protestant 'Order for the Burial of the Dead', see Katherine Goodland, *Female Mourning in Medieval and Renaissance English Drama: From the Raising of Lazarus to King Lear* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 104. On the persistent and enduring role of the 'Office of the Dead' and the catholic devotional experience in the development of Protestant domestic devotion, see Micheline White, 'Dismantling Catholic Primers and Reforming Private Prayer: Anne Lock, Hezekiah's Song and Psalm 50/51', in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 93-113 (p. 95).

Consisting of three hours of Vespers, Matins and Lauds, the ‘Office of the Dead’ was a much lengthier set of rituals that accompanied the moment of burial, commemoration and intercessory prayer for the dead in purgatory. Four out of the six panels that decorate the Willoughby monument make direct use of scripture found in the nine lessons that accompany the service of Matins. As it does in the ‘Order for the Burial of the Dead’, Job 19. 25 marks the hopeful beginning to the service. Here, it inaugurates The First Nocturne’s First Lesson, in which the responsorial lines ‘Credo quod redemptor meus vivit’ stress the collective hope in salvation not unlike panel two on Willoughby’s funeral monument.⁴⁴ Panels one, three and four of Willoughby’s monument draw on Job 14. 1, 14. 5 and 17. 12 and mirror the words of the Fifth Lesson of the Second Nocturne and the Seventh Lesson of the Third Nocturne. Following the same sequence, the tomb echoes the Fifth Lesson’s move from outlining the miseries of man (‘Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis’), to the inevitability of God’s judgement of all (‘Breves dies hominis sunt, numerus mensium eius apud te est’), to the subsequent hope for eternal life (‘Noctem verterunt in diem, et rursum post tenebras spero lucem’) in the Seventh Lesson (*Plate 5*).⁴⁵ Like the modification of the tomb’s function as an instrument of intrusion, the appropriation of the familiar structure of the ‘Office of the Dead’ aided the Willoughby monument in fashioning a Protestant place of worship. As the use of Latin scripture evoked the structure of the medieval burial service, it helped the congregation orientate by drawing parallels between the

⁴⁴ Job 19. 25: ‘For I know that my redeemer liveth’. All quotations from the ‘Office of the Dead’ are derived from the 1599 edition of the Latin Primer. *The Primer, or, Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie* (Antwerp, 1599), sig. N7^v.

⁴⁵ *The Primer*, sigs. N12^v, O1^v, O6^v. Job 14. 1: ‘Man that is born of a woman, is of few dayes, and full of trouble’; 14. 5: ‘Seeing his daies are determined, the number of his moneths are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot passe’; 17. 12: ‘They change the night into day: the light is short, because of darknes.’

old and new when faced with a church fabric suddenly devoid of intercessory prayer, ritual procession and the Eucharist.

By the later Middle Ages, the ‘Office of the Dead’ was the prime funeral service, and often preceded the service of the Mass. While it was usually performed in the chancel or choir of the church, Paul Binski reminds us that the congregation ‘could in theory follow the service in a Book of Hours or Primer’.⁴⁶ The mass production of such lay prayer books and the increasing frequency with which the ‘Office of the Dead’ was performed made the Latin texts of Vespers, Matins and Lauds essential in shaping the devotional behaviour of late medieval congregations across England.⁴⁷ That the Willoughby tomb’s reliance on late medieval church ritual tapped into a set of deep-rooted collective patterns of devotion is exemplified by the will of Katherine’s first husband, Charles Brandon, first Duke of Suffolk (c. 1484-1545). In it, he calls for the singing of ‘Masses and Diriges’ in the ‘Collegiate Church of Tatshall’ where his body was laid to rest.⁴⁸ The minimal distance between Willoughby and the performance of pre-Reform church rituals relating to burial reveal that Latin may not have posed an obstacle to the viewer. The tomb’s appropriation of texts that had defined personal devotion for the wealthy and memorised communal devotion for those with limited economic power or literacy suggests that Willoughby did not limit the readership and viewership of her tomb.

⁴⁶ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p. 53.

⁴⁷ Marie-Hélène Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St Paul’s Cathedral, c. 1200-1548* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 42.

⁴⁸ Nicholas Harris Nicholas, *Testamenta Vetusta: Being Illustrations from Wills, of Manners, Customs, &c. as Well as of the Descents and Possessions of Many Distinguished Families. From the Reign of Henry the Second to the Accession of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols (London: Nichols and Son, 1826), II, 719. A special thank you to Micheline White for pointing me to this source, as well as the passage mentioning the Dirige in Charles Brandon’s will.

Instead, she consciously played into ritual behaviour and reading practices shared by all.

By relying on Latin texts, Willoughby was not contradicting her Protestant convictions. Instead, she was following the advice set in the Elizabethan injunctions which encouraged reading ‘either in Latin or in English’ as part of an effort to ‘discourage no man [...] from reading any part of the Bible’.⁴⁹ The pursuit of the ‘lively Word of God’ encouraged the reading of Latin and explains its presence in the fabric of the material objects of the church.⁵⁰ In part, the monument therefore fulfilled one of the purposes of the church building as outlined by the Elizabethan injunctions: to remove ‘this *vice* of damnable despair’ by ensuring that ‘all [...] parishioners’ have continuous access to ‘such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as do set forth the mercy, benefits and goodness of Almighty God’.⁵¹

By changing the congregation’s encounter with the words that make up the ‘Office of the Dead’, Willoughby repurposed a ritual accompanied by movement and the aural into a centralised moment of individual reading, static within the main body of the church. This supports the Elizabethan injunction’s reimagining of the congregation as nave-bound and stationary. As Ralph Houlbrooke writes, the rituals surrounding the Commendation of Souls, the ‘Office of the Dead’, and the subsequent Mass were ‘supposed to begin in the death-chamber while the corpse still lay there.’⁵² Medieval funerary ritual involved processions and psalm singing that often spanned two days, especially in the case of the wealthy. The replacement of the ‘Office of the Dead’ with the ‘Order for the Burial of the Dead’ therefore signalled

⁴⁹ ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, p. 337.

⁵⁰ ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, p. 339.

⁵¹ ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, p. 339.

⁵² Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 255.

the abandonment of a ritual that engaged with multiple locations and devotional focal points. As we have seen in the ‘Order for the Burial of the Dead’, Protestant ritual focused on the church space and its attendant churchyard instead.

Willoughby’s tomb thus employs scripture intimately associated with a frequent ritual of the pre-Reform church in her effort to consolidate a new ritual intimately bound to the church.

The service of Matins was particularly suited to Willoughby’s communication of Protestant devotion to the laity of Spilsby. Like the Book of Job, Matins assures the possibility of salvation through the omnipotent power and mercy of God alone. As asserted by Susan Boyton and Margot Fassler, Matins marks the end and the beginning of the day and therefore communicates ‘the first day of creation, prefiguring the day of the Resurrection.’⁵³ The tomb’s evocation of the service of Matins supports its overall intention: to stress the Protestant community’s knowledge of their righteousness and eventual salvation (‘Novimus quod Redemptor noster vivit’, or ‘We know that our Redeemer lives’). Like the tomb’s placement, its inscriptions shaped forms of public worship. By employing the service of Matins, the monument asserts continuity with a ritual and devotional past. By giving the words a new context, the Willoughby tomb guides the congregation to the central tenet of their changing belief system. As the tomb reconfigures an old ritual defined by sensory experience and multiple devotional hubs into a new ceremony characterised by an individualised, textual and static experience of devotion, it

⁵³ Susan Boynton and Margot Fassler, ‘The Language, Form, and Performance of Monophonic Liturgical Chants’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, ed. by Ralph J. Hexter and David Townsend (Oxford: OUP, 2012), pp. 376-99 (p. 383).

reinterpreted the teleological worldview of Matins to express the singular importance of God's word in Protestant theology.

Willoughby's creation of reformed spaces of devotion through the alteration of place and text was by no means an isolated example. In what follows, we will encounter three instances where the monument participated in the Protestant refashioning of the parish church space. We will see that beyond the levelling of church hierarchies as outlined in the Elizabethan injunctions, monuments emphasised the increased significance of the transept and the pulpit in Protestant piety and drew attention to the importance of private devotional reading in the home.

In considering how far the Willoughby monument is part of a wider rethinking of church space we can turn to other tombs. The funeral monument of William Bellasis (c. 1524-1604) in St Michael, Coxwold forms a Protestant intrusion into the parish church space. Instead of emphasising the importance of the nave, the Bellasis tomb sought to refashion the place reserved for the High Mass into the space for the Holy Communion. The Bellasis family had good reason to publicly assert their allegiance with authorised forms of devotion. Under William, the family saw a rapid ascent to regional importance in the North Riding of Yorkshire. From an early date, however, William was accused of Catholic tendencies. While William had proven his commitment to the Protestant cause sufficiently by 1577 to be included on the ecclesiastical high commission for the province of York, the family would continue to attract attention for their involvement in recusant religious communities, most notably Thomas Bellasis, first Viscount Fauconberg (1577-1653), his son John (c. 1615-1689) and the manuscript compiler Margaret Bellasis (thought to be the first

Viscount's daughter).⁵⁴ Such accusations of recusancy threatened the social and political standing that William had gained over the course of his life. His tomb provided him with an opportunity to assert his complete loyalty to the monarchy and the authorised religion under which he acquired power, wealth and status. However, the Bellasis family's crypto-Catholic reputation also prompts us to view their intervention into St Michael in the context of the recent findings by Susan Guinn-Chipman, who persuasively argues that recusant material culture was regularly embedded in the Protestant restructure of sacred spaces during the Reformation. Viewed in this light, the tomb could have also served to mask private and dissident belief behind a 'thin veneer of Protestant identities, practices and spaces'.⁵⁵ The tomb gave William scope to emphasise his faithfulness to the Elizabethan Church and government by visually relating the importance of a Protestant ritual. However, the monument's focus on the Communion could have been used to conceal the family's continuing belief in the efficacy of the Catholic Mass.

William's funeral monument transforms the chancel of St Michael into the space for the ritual of the Holy Communion through its placement and the use of epitaphic inscriptions. The large standing wall-monument of grey and white marble incorporates lavishly patterned columns to frame kneeling figures of a son and daughter to the left and right of the central tomb chest. The chest, holding the effigies of William and his wife Margaret, are decorated with praying low relief

⁵⁴ Christine M. Newman, 'Bellasis family (*per. c. 1500-1653*)', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/71863>>; Paula McQuade, *Catechisms and Women's Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), p. 123; Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2015), p. 40; Lambert Ennis, 'Margaret Bellasy' "Characterismes of Vices"', *PMLA*, 56, 1 (1941), 141-50 (p. 141).

⁵⁵ Susan Guinn-Chipman, *Religious Space in Reformation England: Contesting the Past* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), p. 4.

figures of three more sons (*Plate 6*).⁵⁶ In a central position in the arch above the recumbent William and Margaret is a large Latin inscription based on Philippians 1. 23 (*Plate 7*). This shortened biblical passage appears in the first authorised Elizabethan Latin Primer, the *Preces Privatae* (1564), and reads ‘Cupio dissolve, et esse cum Christo’ (KJV: ‘I have a desire to depart, and to be with Christ’).⁵⁷ The inscription’s author, however, changed the text subtly from the appearance of the passage in *Preces Privatae*, as well as the complete verse as it appears in the Vulgate (‘*Coarctor autem e duobus : desiderium habens dissolvi, et esse cum Christo, multo magis melius*’, or, as translated in the Douay-Rheims Bible, ‘But I am straitened between two: having a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, a thing by far the better’).⁵⁸ Reading ‘Cupio Dissolvi et esse in Christo’ (‘I have a desire to depart, and to be one with Christ’), Bellasis stresses his complete bodily and spiritual consolidation with Christ. This small alteration becomes significant when we consider the monument’s positioning.

The tomb and its inscriptions, located on the north wall in the east end of the chancel, are most easily viewed and read throughout the Communion service that, by the time of the Elizabethan injunctions, took place in the upper nave or chancel space with the table facing east to west. As the Book of Common Prayer reminds us, the priest occupied the north side of the table during Holy Communion.⁵⁹ This

⁵⁶ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding* (London: Yale University Press, 2002; first published by Penguin 1966), p. 128.

⁵⁷ *Private Prayers, Put Forth by Authority During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by Rev. William Keatinge Clay (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2004), p. 360.

⁵⁸ Philippians 1. 23. DRB + LV, in *drbo.org*

<<http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/57001.htm>> [accessed 18 June 2018].

⁵⁹ ‘The Book of Common Prayer, 1559’, p. 124. As a contemporary account by Robert Parkyn illuminates, this meant that the table was likely orientated ‘east and west, and the preast on the northe syde, his face turnyde towarde the sowth’. A. G. Dickens, ed., ‘Robert Parkyn’s Narrative of the Reformation’, *English Historical Review*, 62, 242 (1947), 58-83 (p. 75). The Elizabethan injunctions specify that the

arrangement made the monument the constant backdrop to the ritual. Framing the moment when the congregation enters the chancel space to partake in the ritual, the inscription verbalises the diminished physical distance between the congregation and Christ: ‘for then we spiritually eate the fleshe of Christ, and drincke his blonde [sic], then we dwell in Christe and Christe in us, we be one wyth Christ, and Christe with us’.⁶⁰ As in the case of the Willoughby monument, the re-modelling of Latin scripture and the placement of both text and tomb reflect and perpetuate a new understanding of old church space, in which the focus on the nave and the regular access of the community into the chancel space has become part of church ritual. Rather than obstructing old forms of worship, the funeral monument of William Bellasis encourages the congregation to reimagine a ritual space in the context of a developing Elizabethan liturgy.

While the tomb inscription on the Bellasis monument borrows from the liturgical language of the Book of Common Prayer, the inscription based on Philippians 1. 23 relies on evoking the imagery of ‘Eating and food’, both also ‘essential parts of eucharistic symbolism’ in Catholic ritual.⁶¹ ‘To eat God in the eucharist’ is foundational to Catholic eschatology and, as Caroline Walker Bynum reminds us, ‘was a kind of audacious deification, a becoming of the flesh that, in its agony, fed and saved the world.’⁶² The Bellasis tomb could therefore be read as an

table should be kept ‘in the place where the altar stood’, but during the communion service ‘placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants’. ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, p. 347.

⁶⁰ ‘The Book of Common Prayer, 1559’, p. 132.

⁶¹ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), pp. 27-8.

⁶² Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (London: University of California Press, 1987), p. 3.

affirmation of the Elizabethan ritual of Holy Communion, but also as a possible verification of transubstantiation: the ingestion of Christ made flesh.

What is more, Philippians as a whole is often interpreted as a treatise on martyrdom. L. Gregory Bloomquist writes, for example, that this New Testament book consistently stresses that ‘those who are suffered *for* share *in* the grace of the one who suffers, and so suffer *with* him.’⁶³ Doing so makes Philippians one of the few biblical texts that could be productively employed to justify dying for one’s faith willingly. By changing the tomb’s inscription from ‘with’ to ‘in’, the author knowingly plays on this slippage between Christ’s suffering and their own. The appeal of this passage to martyrdom, alongside its eucharistic undertones, suggests it may have reminded a contemporary reader of one of the most prominent English Catholic martyrs, Sir Thomas More (1478-1535). Philippians 1. 23 features in his last prayer and appears in his correspondence with his daughter, Margaret More Roper (1505-1544). It ‘doth me good here to rehearse your own words’, writes More in response to Margaret as he quotes Philippians 1. 21 and 1. 23 in short succession: ‘*Mihi viuere Christus est et mori luchrum. Et illud, Cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo.*’⁶⁴ In his last prayer, he also returns to these two biblical passages as he petitions God to ‘give me from henceforth grace, [...] that I may say with Thy blessed apostle Saint Paul, [...] “for me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain. I long to be dissolved and to be with Christ.”’⁶⁵ Bellasis may have had access to More’s

⁶³ L. Gregory Bloomquist, *The Function of Suffering in Philippians* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), p. 51.

⁶⁴ Philippians 1. 21: ‘For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gaine.’; Sir Thomas More to Margaret Roper, 1534, in *The Last Letters of Thomas More*, ed. by Alvaro de Silva (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 104-7 (p. 104).

⁶⁵ Thomas More, ‘A godly instrucion, written in latyne by sir Thomas More knight, whyle he was prisoner in the towre of london, in the yere of our lord 1534’, in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. by Louis L. Martz et al., 15 vols (London: Yale University Press, 1963-1997) XIII (1976), 207-31 (p. 229).

works when they were circulated in manuscript form shortly after his death. Furthermore, More's *A Dialoge of Comfort Against Tribulacion* was published in 1553. Here, Philippians 1. 23 underpins the argument of chapter twenty-two, entitled 'Of death considered by himself alone, as a bare leaving of this lyfe onely'.⁶⁶ On the monument of William Bellasis this biblical passage may have functioned as a reminder of the sacrifices made by those who remained steadfast in their religion following the Henrician break with Rome, a choice made by several of William's family members. While the Belassis tomb can be said to spatially enact the Elizabethan Liturgy, it is also a potent reminder of the porous boundaries between reformed ritual and its medieval and Catholic counterpart.

Using the monument to convey elements of the Elizabethan liturgy was also influential in shaping people's private devotions at home, as the monument of Sir William Heneage (d. 1610) and his two wives, Anne Fishbourne (d. 1585) and Jane Brussels (d. 1596) in St Mary in Hainton, Lincolnshire shows (*Plate 8*). William was the nephew of Sir Thomas Heneage (c. 1482-1553), who had served in Henry VIII's privy chamber and later became a client of Thomas Cromwell. William maintained the close ties of his family with the court. Most notably he did so through his marriage to Jane, who served as Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth for twenty years.⁶⁷ William's tomb demonstrates the Heneage family's commitment to

⁶⁶ Thomas More, *A Dialoge of Comfort Against Tribulacion* (London, 1553), sig. T1^v.

⁶⁷ Rev. Edward Trollope, 'Notes on Market Rasen, and other Places in its vicinity, visited by the Society in 1862', in *Reports and Papers of the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the Counties of Lincoln and Northampton*, 6, 1 (Lincoln: W. & B. Brooke, 1861), 139-75 (p. 169); Michael Riordan, 'Heneage, Sir Thomas (b. before 1482, d. 1553), courtier', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12920>>.

court and their support for official views on private devotion though its placement and text.

The materiality of funerary art and textual production intersect on the tomb of Heneage and his two wives. One of the monument's most striking features is a set of reliefs depicting Adam and Eve and two figures at the Resurrection located in the top portion of the monument. The focus of the standing alabaster wall-monument located in the north chancel, however, are the kneeling effigies of William and his two wives surmounting the smaller figures of their children, all engaged in prayer.⁶⁸ William faces his two wives across a book rest that holds two prayer books. The one that faces him contains passages taken from Luke 18. 13 ('Deus propitius esto michi peccatori') and Psalm 51. 1 ('Misere mei deus secundum misericordum tuam et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam'). The other lays open Psalm 79. 9 ('[A]divua nos deus salutaris no[s]ter et iter gloriam nomini tui domine libera nos et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum') in front of Anne and Jane.⁶⁹ We shall return to this passage of Psalm 79. 9, and the commemoration of Heneage's two wives in our discussion of a gendered language of Protestant commemoration in the second portion of this chapter. For now, we focus

⁶⁸ Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p. 357. The tomb's positioning within the north chancel is consistent with William Heneage's will. In it, he states that he wishes to be interred in Hainton's 'Chancell or Chappell adioyninge' in which 'I have latelie erected and sett up as a monument for me and my twoe wifes'. The Will of William Heneage, Kew, NA, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/116/35, fol 80^r.

⁶⁹ Luke 18. 13: 'God me [sic] mercifull to mee a sinner.'; Psalm 51. 1: 'Have mercie upon mee, O God, according to thy loving kindnesse: according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.'; Psalm 79. 9: 'Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy Name: and deliver us, and purge away our sinnes for thy Names sake.' For faithful transcriptions of the tomb's inscriptions, see NADFAS, *St. Mary's, Hainton, Lincolnshire* (London: NADFAS, 2005), n/p (section 015, entitled 'Standing Wall Monument, Memorial Chapel, S Wall'). For a comprehensive description of the monument, see Trollope, pp. 169-70.

our attention on the biblical inscription on William's prayer book. The passage from Luke 18. 13 facing William's effigy was listed in the *Preces Privateæ* as particularly suitable for public devotion. It is accompanied by a marginal note designating it as 'Publicani precatio' (a prayer of collective or public benefit), and particularly 'modesta et bona' (gentle and good).⁷⁰ This is also the case for the text occupying the other page, taken from Psalm 51. 1, which is listed under sacred prayers.⁷¹ By displaying a publicly beneficial prayer in the context of the domestic reading of one individual, the Heneage monument affirms the benefits of individual reading practices encouraged in the Elizabethan liturgy. At the same time, the texts assert the Heneage family's allegiance to the Protestant faith by transforming their intimate domestic reading into a publicly viewed act to be emulated by the wider community.

Andrew Spicer and Roffey have shown that with the enforcement of the Chantries Act, the family burial chapel slowly began to take the place of the parish church chantry, a shift which is often associated with secularisation through 'sealing-off or obstruction of former ritual areas'.⁷² The Heneage monument's inscriptions, alongside those at Coxwold and Spilsby show that such former ritual spaces did not always become isolated places severed from a collective experience of the parish church. Instead, the Heneage tomb reveals the continued use of the tomb as a devotional aid that actively shaped collective religious identities. The north chancel at Hainton, likely built as a chantry chapel similar to Spilsby's Holy Trinity, did not

⁷⁰ *Private Prayers*, p. 354.

⁷¹ *Private Prayers*, p. 421.

⁷² Andrew Spicer, "Defyle not Christ's kirk with your carrion": burial and the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland', in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 149-69 (p. 156); Simon Roffey, 'Romantic Anachronism? Chantry Chapels of the 19th Century', in *The Archaeology of Post-Medieval Religion*, ed. by Chris King and Duncan Sayer (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 67-82 (p. 68).

replace devotion with remembrance through the Heneage monument. Instead, its public display of a moment of harmonious domestic reading informed the congregation of the shift from a sensory experience of spiritual edification, to a textual encounter with the word of God. Viewed in this way, the family chapel's new identity as a domestic space is not an act of sealing or obscuring, but a conspicuous display of authorised devotional practice to be seen by all. Through its placement, the Heneage tomb replaces attendant sites of devotion with the prayer books of the home. In this way it actively participates in shifting the devotional focus into the hands and homes of the congregation.

While the Heneage monument shifts focus away from the pre-Reformation multiplicity of devotional sites by stressing family devotion, the tomb of Sir Richard Knightley (1533-1615) erected in the east end of the north aisle in St Mary, Fawsley, Northamptonshire employs placement and text to emphasise the importance of the pulpit and the popularity of the sermon (*Plate 9*). From an early age Knightley firmly aligned himself with reactant Protestant groups.⁷³ He financially supported ministers who pushed for reform during the Vesterian Controversy in the 1560s, was arraigned due to his involvement in the printing of the Marprelate tracts and temporarily housed the Marprelate press in his home in Fawsley before it was removed to his nephew John Hales's home in Coventry. Most notable, however, was his support of a number of ministers who had lost their livings after Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504-1575) enforced conformity and ended the dispute over clerical dress in 1566.

⁷³ 'Reactant' is here used to describe individuals and groups at odds with royally promoted religious practice and belief. This is a chemical term for being 'capable of chemically reacting with another substance'. It is borrowed in this thesis because it denotes proximity between two substances but indicates that this cohabitation is defined by friction. Thus, it is suited to act as a descriptor for denominational groups that were at odds with the fragile Protestant status quo from which they cannot, however, be definitively separated. 'reactant, adj. and n.', in *OED*.

What is more, he continued to encourage ministers such as Andrew King and John ‘Decalogue’ Dod (1550-1645) to preach at his residence in Fawsley, which became known as a place where reactant Protestants regularly met to hear their sermons.⁷⁴ Likely built sometime after the death of Sir Richard Knightley, it is unsurprising to find that this monument is, in essence, a ‘biblically justified memorial to the elect dead’.⁷⁵

The placement of the Knightley tomb can tell us more about how it sought to emphasise the importance of the spoken word in form of the sermon. The monument is situated nearest the location most commonly reserved for the pulpit in the transept.⁷⁶ As stressed by Spicer, the decreased frequency of the administration of the Lord’s Supper, particularly in reformed and reactant communities such as the ones perpetuated by Knightley, meant that the ‘chancel or choir had essentially become redundant’ in favour of the pulpit as the focal point of church life.⁷⁷ This had the effect of making the north-eastern end of the nave the most desirable space

⁷⁴ William Joseph Sheils, ‘Knightley, Sir Richard (1533-1615), politician and patron of puritans’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15744>>.

⁷⁵ *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. by P. W. Hasler, 3 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), II, 405-6; Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 207.

⁷⁶ The earliest antiquarian mention of the monument’s position is by John Bridges, circulated in manuscript before being printed in 1791. *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire. Compiled From the Manuscript Collections of the Late Learned Antiquary John Bridges, Esq. By the Rev. Peter Whalley*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1791), I, 69. The Elizabethan injunctions only specified ‘a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place’. ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, p. 341. There are more detailed descriptions of the positioning of pulpits. The 1636 account of St Mary’s in Cambridge, for example, states that ‘the service pulpit is set up in the midst [of the nave], a good distance below the chancel’. As transcribed in Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), p. 187.

⁷⁷ Andrew Spicer, ‘Architecture’, in *The Reformation World*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 505-20 (p. 513).

throughout services, as this area was closest to the typical location of the pulpit.⁷⁸ A family tomb that jointly commemorates the deaths of Sir Richard, his father Sir Valentine (d. 1566), and Richard's son, Sir Valentine (d. 1619), the wall-monument consists of a raised sarcophagus supported by praying caryatids. Below the sarcophagus rests a small recumbent effigy on a slab. Much of the monument's remaining surface is dedicated to lengthy epitaphic inscriptions that extoll the virtues of the deceased.⁷⁹ Underneath the epitaphs that flank the recumbent effigy are two biblical inscriptions, both taken from the Book of Proverbs: 'The liberal Person shall have plenty and he that watereth shall also have raine' (Proverbs 11. 25) and 'The Memorial of the juste shall be Blessed but the name of the Wicked shall rot' (Proverbs 10. 7). The monument's placement against the north wall, its close proximity to the pulpit and its emphasis on the Book of Proverbs suggests it responds to the sermons of the rector of Fawsley, John Dod.⁸⁰

Dod, together with his co-author Robert Cleaver, took a particular interest in the study of Proverbs as evidenced by several publications.⁸¹ According to one of these texts, *A Briefe Explanation of the Whole Booke of the Proverbs* (1615), the use of Proverbs allows 'Ministers to be fruitfull Preachers', while equally providing

⁷⁸ Robert Tittler, 'Political culture and the built environment of the English country town, c. 1540-1620', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. by Dale Hoak (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 133-56 (p. 144).

⁷⁹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Northamptonshire*, rev. by Bridget Cherry (London: Yale University Press, 2002; first published by Penguin 1961), p. 214.

⁸⁰ J. Fielding, 'Dod, John (1550-1645), Church of England clergyman', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7729>>. On the role of the Book of Proverbs in Protestant theology, see Danielle Clarke, 'Gender and the inculcation of virtue: The Book of Proverbs in action', in *Biblical Women in Early Modern Culture: 1550-1700*, ed. by Victoria Brownlee and Laura Gallagher (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 111-28 (p. 113).

⁸¹ John Dod, *Bathshebaes Instructions to her Sonne Lemuel: Containing a Fruitfull and Plaine Exposition of the Last Chapter of the Proverbs* (London, 1614); Robert Cleaver and John Dod, *A Briefe Explanation of the Whole Booke of the Proverbs of Salomon* (London, 1615).

‘wholesome meditation to the minde’ of ‘private persons’.⁸² The commentaries that Cleaver and Dod provide for both passages that appear on the Knightley tomb express this relationship of inwardness on the one hand, and the importance of spreading the word of God on the other. What is more, they outline the benefits of Proverbs in times of adversity. This undoubtedly resonated with the assembled listeners at Fawsley who were regularly at odds with the Elizabethan *via media*. To a listener familiar with the works of Dod, the lower left panel containing Proverbs 10. 7 therefore articulates the righteousness of the ‘semi separatist’ congregation ‘albeit for a time, through slanders, columniations, and scoffes, they are among the sonnes of Belial’.⁸³ It is through the knowledge of their righteousness, however, that ‘no reports, or imputations, no jests or derision can make them contemptible’.⁸⁴ The panel to its right containing Proverbs 11. 25, addresses the need for the perpetuation and spread of the word of God, as wealth, both financially and of the spirit is likened to a ‘wel-spring’, in which one receives ‘as much water inwardly, as they send foorth outwardly’.⁸⁵ The monument stresses the preaching and spreading of the word physically (through its placement) and textually (through the use of Proverbs). Most visually accessible to the congregation in the nave and relying on passages reminiscent of the spoken and written works of John Dod, the monument strengthens the centrality of the pulpit. Placement and text make the Knightley tomb a player in the re-articulation of church space at the fringes of the mainstream of developing English Protestantism.

⁸² Cleaver and Dod, *A Briefe Explanation*, sig. A3^v.

⁸³ Cleaver and Dod, *A Briefe Explanation*, p. 157.

⁸⁴ Cleaver and Dod, *A Briefe Explanation*, p. 157.

⁸⁵ Cleaver and Dod, *A Briefe Explanation*, p. 185.

As has been shown, Katherine Willoughby's funeral monument at Spilsby's parish church of St James went beyond establishing 'in the collective memory', the 'honourable reputation' of those it commemorated.⁸⁶ Instead, like others, it harnessed the 'conspicuous role of pre-Reformation funeral monuments [...] as foci of intercessory prayer' to fashion Protestant ritual and piety.⁸⁷ This use of the old for new purposes and the continued religious function of the tomb explains, in part, the persistent use of Latin biblical inscriptions. The Reformation and post-Reformation monument therefore corroborates Eamon Duffy's assertion that Latin continued to be valued 'as higher and holier than the vernacular'.⁸⁸ The purpose of the textual inscriptions on the Willoughby monument is substantiated through the tomb's placement, and its intrusion into the visual practices of the congregation. The tomb re-oriented church ritual from competing sites of devotion through multiple altars, chapel spaces and chantries, into the nave. In doing so, it placed greater emphasis on the congregation and contributed physically to the levelling of church hierarchies through the alteration of architectural space. At the same time, the monument asserted the process of communal worship, private prayer and meditation, be it in English or Latin. It therefore formulated the direct and intimate bond between Christ and his people through space.

The Willoughby monument is part of a larger trend in the construction of tombs by the first generation of wealthy Protestant reformers. Continuing in their roles as the supervisors of regional piety, members of elite families sought to

⁸⁶ Nigel Llewellyn, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 179-200 (p. 179).

⁸⁷ Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 21.

⁸⁸ Duffy, p. 218.

inaugurate religious change by repurposing the existing parish church fabric. Throughout the country, from Coxwold in North Yorkshire to Fawsley in Northamptonshire, individuals used the tomb as an instrument of intervention in the re-orientation of collective belief. Funeral monuments consistently employed both text and placement to stress the key elements of Protestant piety. In doing so, they de-emphasised the elevated chancel and placed greater stress on domestic devotional reading. At the same time, such tactics asserted the precarious but enduring power balances between elite and non-elite. The tomb is a powerful intervention into a shared space from above. However, the tombs' pragmatic negotiation of old ideas suggests that non-elite communities and their devotional practices exerted a certain level of influence over the physical intrusion of new and radical religious ideas introduced by a ruling class.

Willoughby employed a tactic of church refashioning that was used by a wider English Protestant elite. As we shall see, Willoughby appears to have participated in an encounter with the doctrinal in which the female subject was regularly made a participant. Her choice of the funeral monument as one of her most public acts of authorship as a woman therefore warrants further investigation. Part two of this chapter seeks to show how the connections between women and the medium of stone in early Protestant reformers' theology and semantics may have informed Willoughby's choice to present her theological convictions through the tomb.

2. The 'Lively Stones': Women in the Reformed Parish Church

What does Katherine Willoughby's limited textual corpus say about her choice to intervene in reformist discourses with her funeral monument? Can

Reformation attitudes to stone tell us more about commemoration as an avenue for public female participation in contemporary theological debates? This portion of the chapter turns to the use of stone in the wider textual network surrounding Willoughby. It teases out how the biblical understanding of the congregation as ‘living stones’ operated to convey the female role in Protestant worship, devotion and theology. By doing so, this section allows us to assess how the tombs of women served as spiritual aids in the public and semi-public context of the parish church and shows us how they operated as sites for potential female intervention into Protestant liturgy and devotion.

Willoughby employs the lithic in an understanding of the Protestant church community in one of the few surviving documents that express her religious views, a letter to William Cecil, dated 4 March 1559:

To build surely is to first lay the sure corner stone, to day not to morrowe ther is no exseption by mans lawe that may serve against gods.⁸⁹

The passage formulates religious unity materially through the church, built on the ‘corner stone’ that is Christ. By doing so, Katherine is drawing on I Peter 2. 5-6, a biblical passage that employs stone as a key metaphor in the expression of the bond between Christ and his followers:

Ye also as lively stones, are built up a spirituall house, an holy priesthood to offer up spirituall sacrifice, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. Wherfore it is conteined in the Scripture, Beholde, I lay in Sion a chiefe corner stone, elect, precious, and he that beleeveth on him, shall not be confounded.

As stressed by Peter H. Davids, I Peter was on the one hand a ‘highly relevant book wherever the church is suffering’, and on the other, instrumental in asserting that Christian ‘salvation is not an individual event, but rather something that a person

⁸⁹ Katherine Willoughby to William and Mildred Cecil, 4 March 1559, in Kew, NA, SP Elizabeth I, 12/3/9, fol. 28.

experiences as part of a community.⁹⁰ This is also the underlying message of Willoughby's letter that exposes the need for religious unity, 'to day and not to morrow'.⁹¹ Written shortly after the accession of Queen Elizabeth I to the throne, Willoughby frames the Protestant church as a fragmented and threatened entity due to the after-effects of the Catholic Marian regime. This misuse of 'mans lawe' against the church by a few now jeopardises the cohesion of the church collective under a new Protestant ruler, as 'men have so long worne the gospel slopewyse that [they] wol not glaydly have it agayn strayt to their lyges [legs].'⁹² The materiality of stone allowed Willoughby to formulate the nature of the Protestant church as she experienced it, both as a fragile and imperilled entity, and as inherently collective.

The First Epistle of Peter's stone metaphor resonated with the character of an nascent Protestant church. As N. A. Dahl reminds us, this is due to I Peter's significance in establishing 'the ideas of *pre-existence* and of *predestination*' in which the creation is juxtaposed with the end of time, stressing humanity's existence on one cosmic continuum 'in the mind and purpose of God.'⁹³ The architectural metaphor of I Peter 2. 6 supports such a determinist teleology. Christ, the 'elect' and 'precious' 'corner stone', is the foundation that supports the building, the community of believers.⁹⁴ In Protestant, and especially Calvinist discourse, the passage provided biblical evidence in support of the doctrine of election. If Christ is the elect foundation of the church, then so are the individuals that make up the edifice itself.

⁹⁰ Peter H. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), pp. 3, 20.

⁹¹ NA, SP Elizabeth I, 12/3/9, fol. 28.

⁹² NA, SP Elizabeth I, 12/3/9, fol. 28.

⁹³ N. A. Dahl, 'Christ, Creation and the Church', in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, ed. by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: CUP, 1964), pp. 422-43 (pp. 428-9).

⁹⁴ I Peter 2. 6.

Membership of the Christian community is not a fraught path of sin and repentance, but the pre-destined membership in a community of those who are ‘precious’ like the son of God in being stones in a church already built with Christ as its foundation.

The formulation of the Protestant elect through the material metaphor of stone can be found in several tracts by authors that Katherine Willoughby supported or read. One such text is *The Institution of Christian Religion* (1561) by John Calvin (1509-1564). While Willoughby did not have a hand in printing *The Institution*, her interest in Calvin’s work is suggested by her patronage of Anne Lok’s translation of the *Sermons of John Calvin* (1560).⁹⁵ Like Willoughby, *The Institution* distinguishes Protestant belief from its Catholic counterpart through the material church building:

Christ (say they) appointed Peter Prince of the whole Chirch, when he promised that he would geve hym the keyes. But that which he then promised to one, in an other place he gave it also to al the rest, and delivered it as it were into their handes. If the same power were graunted to al, which was promised to one, wherin shal he be above hys felowes? [...] And Peter biddeth us to be lively stones which being founded upon that chosen and precious stone, doe by this joyn and coupling together with our God, cleave also together among our selves.⁹⁶

Challenging the Catholic foundation narrative which legitimised the papacy, Calvin proposes that the transfer of the keys to the church from Christ to Peter was a symbolic act that represents the bond between God and all believers (‘al the rest’). Peter is not ‘Prince of the whole Chirch’, since the benefits of this covenant are granted to all Christ’s followers. He isn’t the foundation on which the institution of the Church is built, but one amongst many of its ‘lively stones’. On the one hand,

⁹⁵ John Calvin, *Sermons of John Calvin Upon the Songe that Ezechias Made After He Had Bene Sicke and Afflicted by the Hand of God, Conteyned in the 38. Chapiter of Esay*, trans. by Anne Lok (London, 1560). Thank you to Louise Horton for providing information on this patronage link.

⁹⁶ John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, trans. by Thomas Norton (London, 1561), sig. E1^r-E1^v.

Calvin's description of the Protestant church expresses the concept of election through the materiality of the church building. As stones in the fabric of the church, they are already 'joynt' and coupled together through the 'chosen and precious stone' that is Christ. Rather than mediating their place as part of the edifice through the keyholder of the church (an ecclesiastical elite), they are a part of the building itself; they already hold the key since it was 'graunted to al'. The 'living stones' are the church's fabric, 'cleave[d] together' and to Christ alongside Peter. On the other hand, this view of the Christian cosmos also levelled earthly ecclesiastical hierarchies. If Peter was not 'above hys felowes' and, like the rest, simply one stone that makes up the church, then papal authority was a false construct, based on earthly, as opposed to spiritual, distinctions.

That papal authority was incompatible with the intended structure of the church is also the view taken by Thomas Becon (1512/13-1567), Henrician divine and chaplain to Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556). Becon was one of Willoughby's close associates and a member of her wider literary circle through his patron Thomas Wentworth, a member of Charles Brandon's household administration.⁹⁷ Like Calvin, he employs the stone metaphor to attack an ecclesiastical Church hierarchy and the Pope in *The Actes of Christe and of Antichriste* (1577):

Christ is head of the Churche, [...] and also he is the stone, whereon the Churche is builded. And this Church is the congregation of faithfull Christen people, and the very body of Christ.⁹⁸

Echoing Willoughby's words in her letter to the Cecils, Becon describes Christ as the foundational stone of the church. Becon uses the material metaphor in order to attack the hierarchy of the Church, an earthly order based on wealth which the

⁹⁷ Harkrider, p. 41.

⁹⁸ Thomas Becon, *The Actes of Christe and of Antichriste, Concernyng Bothe Their Life and Doctrine* (London, 1577), sig. B7^r.

Antichrist (the Pope) calls ‘the honour and glory of GOD’.⁹⁹ Instead, the simplicity of the Protestant vision is fulfilled through ‘the congregation of faithfull Christen people’, on which the church rests. To Becon, the strength of individual faith, combined with the unity of the collective is the determining factor in building the community of believers.

Bernardino Ochino (1487-1564) also expressed the levelling of ecclesiastical hierarchies in Protestant belief through stone. The Italian and former Capuchin, who dramatically converted to the Protestant faith, had a profound impact on the Protestant English Church. By the invitation of Thomas Cranmer, he visited England in 1548 and remained there until the accession of Queen Mary I. During this time, his sharp polemic against the papacy, *A Tragedie or Dialoge of the Unjuste Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (1549) was printed in English, while the translation of a number of his sermons by Anne Cooke Bacon not long after his arrival in 1551 suggest his relative popularity among the Protestant English elite.¹⁰⁰ There is no evidence of a meeting between Willoughby and Ochino, but his connections to Cranmer, who was a member of her extended patronage network, allows us to surmise that they moved in similar circles.¹⁰¹ Moreover, Harkrider shows that

⁹⁹ Becon, sig. B7^r.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Hadfield, ‘John Ponet and the People’, in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, ed. by Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016; first published by Ashgate 2015), pp. 229-50 (p. 234); Bernardino Ochino, *A Tragedie or Dialoge of the Unjuste Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome*, trans. by John Ponet (London, 1549); Bernardino Ochino, *Certayne Sermons of the Ryghte Famous and Excellente Clerk Master Barnardine Ochine*, trans. by Anne Cooke Bacon (London, 1551). A total of four volumes of Bacon’s translations of Ochino were printed between 1548 and 1570.

¹⁰¹ Louise Horton, ‘The Clerics and the Learned Lady: Intertextuality in the Religious Writings of Lady Jane Grey’, in *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women’s Collaboration*, ed. by Patricia Pender (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 149-74 (p. 153).

Katherine shared literary correspondence with Ochino.¹⁰² Like Calvin's, Ochino's portrayal of the church was tightly bound to the concept of election. Unlike Calvin and Becon, who set out to discredit papal power and endow all individuals with equal spiritual authority, Ochino employs the metaphor of the stone explicitly to enhance the significance of the congregation in *Certayne Sermons* (1551):

We canot lively beleve that seding [sic] of the holy ghost, if we feele it not in our selves: and if we do feale it, [...] the spirite of God rendrethe testymony to oure spirite that we are the sonnes of God, therfore heires and saved. Neither is it inough that there is a church of God, but thou must beleve to be a porcion thereof, and one of the lyvely stones, and therfore one of the electe.¹⁰³

In Ochino's conception of the church, it is not 'inough that there is a church of God': a material edifice in which the believer is a present, yet distanced participant in the 'that se[n]ding of the holy ghost'. Rather, the congregation must become the church in order to 'feale [...] the spirite of God'. The complete sensory incorporation of believer, community and church is expressed through stone. The believer must be 'a porcion' of the church, one of its 'lyvely stones' to be 'one of the electe'. To Ochino, the church was not the ecclesiastical elite, but the collective entity of the congregation. While Calvin formulates the unmediated access of spiritual benefit for all individuals through stone, Ochino explicitly states the significance of the unified collective. The believer is not simply a living stone, but a 'porcion' of a single whole.

That Calvin, Becon and Ochino's use of the stone metaphor formed a radical departure from previous interpretations of such biblical language can be determined by reading them alongside a reactionary text written by Marian divine John Standish (c. 1509-1570). Standish prospered in the Reign of Edward VI. He was made

¹⁰² Harkrider, p. 56.

¹⁰³ Bernardino Ochino, *Certayne Sermons*, sig. J2^v.

chaplain to the king in 1550, and by 1553, he was one of only a few English clerics to marry under the notably conservative first Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley (c. 1502-1555).¹⁰⁴ With the accession of Mary I, Standish revoked his radical beliefs and reconciled himself successfully to the new regime by repudiating his wife and writing a lengthy treatise on the dangers of the vernacular Bible, entitled *A Discourse Wherin is Debated Whether it be Expedient that the Scripture Should be in English for Al Men to Reade that Wyll* (1554). In it, he attacks a Reformist conception of the church by using the spatial metaphor of I Peter:

Every Idiote can beare stones to the building of a house, and lay a hepe together, but none can couche theym as they ought to be in theyr places, but the mason: every foole can reade and bable of the scripture, but only the godly learned teachers can play the spirituall masons parte in couchyng the lyvely stones in the spirituall buylding of Christes house.¹⁰⁵

Employing the same metaphor, Standish articulates his fear that Protestantism, particularly through the reading of scripture in vernacular by ‘every foole’, had transformed the ‘hepe’ of stones (the congregation) into the mason (the priest) who understood the way to couch ‘the lyvely stones’ to create the church. The resulting chaos (the ‘bable’) marks the breakdown of ecclesiastical and social order through the disruption of the very fabric of the church. The multiplicity of voices as ‘bable’ directly sought to invoke the Tower of Babel of Genesis, the factionalism of multiple languages a metaphor for the breakdown of unified Christendom. What is more, Standish relates the pervasiveness of spatial metaphors in the characterisation of the Reformation beyond the writings of Protestant thinkers. Standish attests to the

¹⁰⁴ Brett Usher, ‘Standish, John (c. 1509-1570), Church of England clergyman’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26232>>.

¹⁰⁵ John Standish, *A Discourse Wherin is Debated Whether it Be Expedient that the Scripture Should Be in English For Al Men to Reade That Wyll Fyrst Reade This Booke With an Indifferent Eye, and Then Approve or Condempne, as God Shall Move your Heart* (London, 1554), sigs. H1^r-H1^v.

significance of the stone in characterising and defining Reformation thinking from without, as well as within.

Katherine Willoughby's use of the stone metaphor in her letter to William and Mildred Cecil draws on a language employed in the theological discourses of her patronage network. Like her, authors such as Calvin, Becon and Ochino sought in the material a way to communicate the specific nature of the Protestant Church, an intention echoed by Willoughby's funeral monument. As her tomb draws the viewer away from ancillary sites of devotion and places church service in the body of the nave, it reformulates the church as the collective bodies of its members. Spiritual edification becomes located in the congregation of Spilsby's St James and not in the attendant altars of its former chantry. What is more, the redistribution of agency over salvation to the assembled collective of 'living stones' also implicitly endowed women with increased agency in shaping the path to Christian redemption. As 'precious' and 'elect' elements of the church fabric, their place within the community was ordained by God, and essential in the maintenance of the edifice.¹⁰⁶

That the mediation of church hierarchies through the stone metaphor may have allowed women to influence Protestant theology is suggested by the gendered nature of the metaphor itself. This is evident in Psalm 144. 11-13, where the 'corner stone' is female:

Rid me, and deliver me from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanitie: and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood. That our sonnes may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace: That our garners may be full, affoording all maner of store; that our sheepe may bring forth thousands, and tenne thousands in our streetes.

¹⁰⁶ I Peter 2. 6.

The Psalms structure the community of believers by employing the duality of gender. The ‘sonnes’ are the active, organically grown and lively element, while women form the passive ‘polished’ foundation on which the community securely rests. In doing so, Psalm 144. 11-13 expresses the harmonious unity of the believers. As outlined by Artur Weiser, Psalm 144. 11-13 is ‘a testimony to the general salvation of the people’ that ‘takes the form of a hymnic account put into the mouth of the whole cult community.’¹⁰⁷ Like I Peter, the passage employs the church to articulate the devotional cohesion of the collective. Unlike I Peter, Psalm 144. 11-13 clearly defines the material place of worship as female. The ‘corner stones’ of the group are its women. While this distribution of social responsibilities echoes a conventional association of women with domestic work, the Psalms nonetheless cast women as the principal actors in the maintenance of the place of worship and the community of believers. Psalm 144. 11-13 therefore encouraged readers to apply the metaphor of stone directly to women. Willoughby’s use of stone to articulate her concerns regarding the fate of the Protestant church in her letter to the Cecil’s echoes this distribution of responsibility. As a ‘polished’ stone of the temple, she justifies her intervention into religiopolitical debates.

Early reformers may have been introduced to the gendered nature of the metaphor of stone through *The Comparation of a Vyrgin and a Martyr* (1537) by Erasmus (1469-1536), a text dedicated to, and aimed at, a female audience. Like the lines of Psalm 144. 11-13, Erasmus formulates women as an essential part of the fabric of the church:

This holle Edifice, made of lyvely stones, with a wonderfull
agreement couched together, ryseth up to heven, Christ beinge the

¹⁰⁷ Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, trans. by Herbert Hartwell (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 825.

very corner stone, knyttethe fast to gyther al the hole frame, that it can neither fall in ruyn nor decay.¹⁰⁸

Despite Erasmus's commendation of the married state, *The Comparation* is a text that outlines in very positive terms the benefits of a woman's choice of a spiritual life. In it, Erasmus calls matrimony a form of 'worldly bondage', and instead, encourages women to dedicate their lives to being 'lyvely stones' in the fabric of the church.¹⁰⁹ *The Comparation*'s publication date and popularity suggest that an active female devotional role within the church remained crucial even with the dawn of the Protestant Reformation. What is more, it attests to a willingness to incorporate female spirituality within the devotion and ritual of the Protestant church. As in Psalm 144. 11-13, such female participation in collective worship is formulated through stone in the masonry of the church. Intended for a female readership, *The Comparation* contributes to the transfer of the symbolic relationship between stone and the female place in devotion into Reformation and post-Reformation theological discourses, formulating their capacity in the construction of the church, as they 'knyttethe fast to gyther' the community so it can 'neither fall in ruyn nor decay'. As part of the 'holle Edifice', women were therefore directly involved in the maintenance of the spiritual cohesion of the collective of believers.

Harkrider shows that this gendered use of the metaphor of stone translated well into early reformed communities in which theological factionalism and political change threatened religious unity.¹¹⁰ She does so by citing the correspondence of Protestant preacher and eventual martyr John Bradford (c. 1510-1555) and Joyce Hales, daughter-in-law of the Privy Counsellor Sir James Hales (c. 1500-1554). In it,

¹⁰⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Comparation of a Vyrgin and a Martyr*, trans. by Thomas Paynell (London, 1537), sig. A4^r.

¹⁰⁹ Erasmus, *The Comparation*, sig. E1^v.

¹¹⁰ Harkrider, p. 59.

Bradford consistently expresses Hales' position within the community of believers spatially by making her a part of the church fabric:

You are one of his “lively stones.” be content therefore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made the more meet to be joined to your fellows, which suffer with you Satan’s snatches.¹¹¹

As one among several letters in which Bradford cites Hales as being a ‘lively stone’, the correspondence’s use of the metaphor sheds light on the crucial pastoral duties of the devoted female follower within Bradford’s community of reformist thinkers.

Bradford appears to reserve the metaphor for Hales in particular, who sustained him in prison through her visits and her delivery of supplies and ‘tokens’ as his examinations at Winchester for heresy proceeded in the early months of 1555.¹¹²

Like the women who ‘knyttethe fast to gyther’ the church in *The Comparation*, Hales’ characterisation as a living stone acknowledges women’s position as the nurturers that buttress the church community. As Harkrider surmises, the exchanges between Bradford and Hales stand testimony not only to the nature of women’s positions in early Protestant circles, but also to ‘how women inspired both the language and metaphors used within the reform community.’¹¹³ Similarly to Erasmus’s *The Comparation*, Bradford’s letter fashions the foundational place of the active woman within his community through the material of the stone, ‘hewn and snagged at’ to become part of the structure of the church collective.

¹¹¹ John Bradford, ‘XLI. To Mistress Joyce Hales, August 8 1554’, in *The Writing of John Bradford, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary of St Paul’s, Martyr, 1555: Containing Letters, Treatises, Remains*, ed. by Aubrey Townsend, The Parker Society, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1848-1853), II (1853), 108-17 (p. 112). He also re-states this in ‘LXXXIII. To Mistress Joyce Hales, March 14, 1555’, *The Writing of John Bradford, M.A.*, ed. by Townsend, II (1853), 203-6 (p. 204).

¹¹² ‘XLI. To Mistress Joyce Hales, August 8 1554’, II (1853), 116.

¹¹³ Harkrider, p. 61.

When the literary compiler, lawyer and sometime warden of St Andrew, Holborn Thomas Bentley (c. 1543-1585) assembled his large anthology of women's writing, *The Monument of Matrones* (1582), it is likely that he deliberately included a set of prayers for women that formulate their role as part of the material structure of the church. In a prayer to be said on St Andrew's day, the female reader is encouraged to meditate on her place among the 'citizens of that companie which is builded upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles'. Furthermore, this prayer, like Psalm 144, reminds the reader that 'thou art the corner stone, bearing the whole house'.¹¹⁴ On the days of St Simon and St Judith, the reader is persuaded to contemplate the same metaphor. This time, however, the use of it is more closely related to Willoughby's own. The prayer states that Christ himself is the 'head corner stone' that transforms the female believer into the living stone out of which 'Almighty God, [...] builded thy congregation'.¹¹⁵ The significance of these prayers lies in Bentley's advice that they are '*to be read often*'.¹¹⁶ This shows that women's understanding of themselves as a structural and material part of the church was ritually repeated throughout the devotional cycles of private prayers and formed a part of an oral tradition of reading to the family.

The biblical metaphor of the stone was an important textual device in the articulation of religious unity throughout the Reformation, while its use by several authors highlights its distinctly gendered nature. Willoughby's own use of the passage in her correspondence with the Cecils may therefore be indicative of two things. First, that she employed the metaphor in the context of her literary network to emphasise the necessity of collective unity and cohesion in the Protestant cause.

¹¹⁴ Thomas Bentley, *The Monument of Matrones* (London, 1582), p. 863-4.

¹¹⁵ Bentley, p. 893.

¹¹⁶ Bentley, p. 791.

Second, that she formulated her own active participation in matters of devotion and theology as a woman by employing a metaphor that justified active female membership and participation in the church community. This interrelationship between materiality and the female role in the Protestant church may have informed her choice to convey her beliefs through the funeral monument. Patricia Phillippy convincingly argues for the ‘suggestive alignment of femininity with materiality that invites one to see gender as both embodied in and produced by memorial acts and objects.’¹¹⁷ Willoughby’s transmission of her theological beliefs through the funeral monument betrays such an alignment. Furthermore, the evidence provided by the writing of Erasmus, Bradford and Bentley show that this relationship between woman and object may be anchored in interpretations of scripture foundational to the understanding of the Protestant church as a collective comprised of individuals that share equally in the grace of God. The biblically derived characterisation of woman as a stone in the built edifice of the church implicates the tombs of women in a foundational understanding of Protestant church community.

The final portion of this chapter explores the ways in which the funeral monuments of women functioned as representations of the congregation: how they operated as representatives of, and as the glue that bound, a community of ‘living stones’. Doing so allows us to read Willoughby’s intervention into the parish church of Spilsby as a product and extension of a shared and accepted conception of Protestant womanhood. To do so, we must return to St Mary’s in Hainton and to the funeral monument of Sir William Heneage and his two wives, Anne Fishbourne and Jane Brussels.

¹¹⁷ Patricia Phillippy, *Shaping Remembrance from Shakespeare to Milton* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), pp. 1-2.

As we have seen, the inscriptions occupying the prayer book of Heneage's effigy showcased approved domestic Latin prayers in the public setting of the parish church. The verse occupying the book in front of the women, on the other hand, expresses membership in a congregational collective through the materiality of the stone. The black roman capitals of the sculpted book reproduce a passage of Psalm 79, a communal lament on the destruction of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem by the Babylonians.¹¹⁸ The quoted verse, Psalm 79. 9, is the exclamatory invocation to the deity for aid as the enemy lays 'Jerusalem on heapes' by defiling the 'holy temple' (Psalm 79. 1). It stresses the despair at the loss of the place of worship and affirms its significance in cohesively binding the collective of believers. Its destruction, however, only signifies the temporary anger of the deity incurred through the 'former iniquities' of the believers (Psalm 79. 8). As God's people are 'brought very low' (Psalm 79. 8) in punishment, they are enabled to prosper again, to 'shew forth thy praise to all generations' (Psalm 79. 13) and to rebuild the temple, or, the 'devoured [...] dwelling place' of Jacob (Psalm 79. 7). In times of crisis, the collective reaffirms the bond between God and his followers, not the sacred place of worship and sacrifice.

By dramatizing the crisis in the relationship between God and his people through the destruction of the place of worship, Psalm 79 appealed to a Protestant congregation. On the one hand, it brought to mind their own perseverance in the face of contemporary destruction and upheaval precipitated by the break with Rome. On

¹¹⁸ Psalm 79. 9: 'Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy Name: and deliver us, and purge away our sinnes for thy Names sake.' The inscription reads: '[A]divua nos deus salutaris no[s]ter et iter gloriam nomini tui domine libera nos et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum'. NADFAS, *St. Mary's, Hainton, Lincolnshire* (London: NADFAS, 2005), n/p (section 015, entitled 'Standing Wall Monument, Memorial Chapel, S Wall').

the other, it could be used to articulate the shift from ceremonious and decorative medieval and Catholic worship in the temple, to a Reformed belief that formulated the church as the collective body of individual believers or ‘living stones’.

Juxtaposing the conspicuously material female effigial readers with Psalm 79. 9 allows the tomb visually to express the transition from spiritual edification through the literal place of worship, to an understanding of the church as a figurative construction relying on the godly and pious women of the community as their sure foundation. The apparent materiality of the effigies reminds the viewer of the dichotomy between male and female in Psalm 144. 11-13, where the woman is intimately bound to the inanimate fabric of the place of worship. As objects made of stone that are part of the church, the effigies of Anne and Jane dramatize the order and unity of the temple and assert the coherence of the church community, since they are simultaneously a part of the church fabric and its product: they are the ‘corner stones’, but also ‘polished after the similitude of a palace’ (Psalm 144. 11-13). By choosing this particular verse that recounts the destruction of the physical place of worship, the Heneage monument cues the viewer into reading the effigies of the two women figuratively. Thus, just as the temple of Jerusalem’s destruction necessitated the believers to place greater emphasis on the collective of believers, the Heneage tomb employs its conspicuous materiality to prompt the viewer to remember the importance of the congregation, and their collective relationship with God through scripture.

That Anne and Jane’s reading of Psalm 79. 9 was intended to facilitate Protestant conceptions of public worship is revealed by the inscription’s source text. The passage can be traced to the 1572 edition of the Book of Common Prayer in

Latin, the *Liber precum publicarum*.¹¹⁹ The monumental act of female reading is representative of a royally approved form of public worship. The Book of Common Prayer, by its very nature, placed spiritual edification into the hands of the congregation in the nave. In doing so, it redistributed spiritual agency and levelled out ecclesiastical hierarchies alongside the Elizabethan injunctions: erasing ‘contention and strife’ brought about by the ‘challenging of places’.¹²⁰ As in the case of the Willoughby monument, giving the passage in Latin legitimises new forms of worship through engrained rituals and practices of the pre-Reformation church. The language of the text evoked the singing of the Penitential and Gradual Psalms as part of the medieval liturgy. By giving the text in a Latin translation adapted from the English, the Heneage monument brought familiar forms of worship firmly into the contemporary Protestant context. The Heneage tomb shows that the metaphor of stone and its association with women carried over into conceptualisations of the funeral monument. In doing so, the tombs of women carried intrinsic symbolic meaning that bound women and the female firmly into the expression of Protestant collective worship.

That the monuments of women conveyed the importance of the congregation in Protestant parish church worship is also apparent in the small high relief wall-monument commemorating Susanna Kirkman at St Helen, East Keal in Lincolnshire (*Plate 10*). It depicts Susanna sitting between two ionic pilasters, holding an extinguished torch while the elbow of her other arm rests on a skull. The figure was surmounted by words taken from Matthew 9. 24: ‘Mat. — Non est mortua sed

¹¹⁹ ‘Adiuua nos Deus saluis nostræ, propter gloriam nominis tui, et libe-ra nos, atq; propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.’ *Liber precum publicarum* (London, 1572), sigs. L2^v-L3^r.

¹²⁰ ‘The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559’, p. 339.

dormit 9 : 24' (KJV: 'the mayd is not dead, but sleepeth').¹²¹ By drawing on Matthew 9. 24, Susanna's tomb conveys the intimate relationship between the believer and Christ through the Bible's assertion of women's 'profoundly significant [...] relationships with, and faith in, Jesus'.¹²²

Matthew 9 recounts two of Christ's miracles, the healing and public confession of a sick woman, and the resurrection of the young girl. As Victoria Brownlee and Laura Gallagher elucidate, both biblical moments employ a 'pattern of effective female faith' to convey the singular efficacy of trust and obedience in Christ.¹²³ To the congregation viewing Kirkman's monument, Matthew 9 was a powerful reminder of a central aspect of Protestantism: justification by faith. By locating the miracles of Christ in and near the temple, Matthew 9 also reminded the early modern reader of the significance of the collective experience of Christ's teachings.

Particularly the healing of the old woman is expressive of how women signified wider individual, as well as collective spiritual edification. This account is the smaller of the two miracles recounted in Matthew and precedes the moment of the girl's revival in the synagogue. That this transformation of female doubt into unshakable faith underpinned the theology and devotion of early modern men and woman is elucidated through the *Paraphrase of Erasmus Upon the Newe Testamente*

¹²¹ Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, p. 264; Thomas Allen, *The History of the County of Lincoln, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, 2 vols (London: J. Saunders, Jr., 1833-1834), II (1834), 115. The inscription is no longer legible.

¹²² Victoria Brownlee and Laura Gallagher, 'Overview: Reading New Testament women in early modern England, 1550-1700', in *Biblical Women*, ed. by Brownlee and Gallagher, pp. 131-45 (p. 131).

¹²³ Brownlee and Gallagher, 'Overview: Reading New Testament women in early modern England, 1550-1700', p. 131.

(1548), ordered to be made available in every parish church in a series of Edwardian and Elizabethan injunctions:¹²⁴

It was the will of Christ that these thinges should be declared before the multitude, not to put the woman to shame, neither to purchase himselfe prayse of men: but by this example to teache all men, what sure confidence and trust is hable to do, and by the exaumple of the woman to establishe the fayth of the warden of the Synagogue, whiche he perceyved sumwhat wavering, and withall to reprove the Phariseis for theyr unbelefe.¹²⁵

Erasmus's paraphrases reveal how Matthew 9 expresses a moment of 'fear' and 'shame fastnes' that leads to collective spiritual edification through the woman's act of individual public confession. Akin to the way in which Psalm 144 tasks women with providing the foundational strength of the temple, Erasmus explicitly highlights the way in which the public act of the old woman establishes the 'fayth of the warden of the Synagogue', the trust of a representative of the community and its authority. It is through her act of declaration 'before the multitude' that she becomes a representative of her community. That Erasmus's reading would become central in the development of early English Protestant theology is highlighted by Latimer's interpretation of this biblical passage. He contends that the old woman's confession stands for that of the collective, as 'she was so highly commended of Christ' that 'al the people were edifyed by her ensample'.¹²⁶ Within the body of the church, and through the medium of stone, Kirkman's monument emphasises the importance of female confession and public declaration in collective belief.

The monument of Jane Shipsea in St Mary, Barton upon Humber combines the figurative uses of stone directly with the funeral monument to express the unity

¹²⁴ Gregory D. Dodds, *Exploiting Erasmus: The Erasmian Legacy and Religious Change in Early Modern England* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p. 7.

¹²⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus Upon the Newe Testamente* (London, 1548), sigs. H5^r-H5^v.

¹²⁶ Latimer, sig. O8^r.

of the parish church congregation. In 1626, Shipsea died in childbirth. Her death was marked by the erection of a funeral monument in the north chancel of the parish church (*Plate 11*). The marble monument consists of an inscription tablet mounted on a pillar of touch. The pillar was once surmounted by the figure of an angel blowing a trumpet.¹²⁷ A lengthy Latin biographical inscription is followed by an English one that puts the monument in direct conversation with the church fabric:

Such Walls doe build God's house, true living stones,
Ingraven, as wee, by God, God's holy ones.¹²⁸

The monument expresses the unity of ‘God’s house’, St Mary, the Shipsea family’s established place of worship. Instead of the church building, the ‘living stones’ (the congregation) make up ‘Such Walls’ from which the church is built. The monument explicitly plays on the materiality of the metaphor when it formulates the impact of God’s word as ‘Ingraven’ on the stones. ‘Ingraven’ is a wordplay on engrave, to ‘cut into (a hard material)’, and ingrave, to ‘put in a grave’.¹²⁹ The use of this pun slides the meaning of the word between connoting the process employed on an inanimate object, and one involving the human and corporeal body. God’s word is engraved on the monument for all to witness ‘as wee’, the viewer, are inscribed by his word through belief. Like the Willoughby monument and the Heneage tomb, Shipsea’s pillar formulates the church as a collective through stone but does so to emphasise the word of scripture.

The shift toward an emphasis on the Word is further elucidated by the inclusion of an inscription on the pillar itself. This inscription also brings into focus the significance of the deceased’s gender in the monument’s act of diminishing the

¹²⁷ Holles, p. 78.

¹²⁸ Holles, p. 79.

¹²⁹ ‘engrave, v. 2.’ and ‘in’grave, v.’, in *OED*.

distance between tomb, church edifice and the congregation. Reading ‘Sic mortua | est Rahel | et sepulta | Gen. 35, v. 19’ (KJV: ‘And Rachel died, and was buried’), the pillar’s inscription highlights the visual similarities between Shipsea’s monument and the pillar that marked the grave of the biblical Rachel. In doing so, the viewer is drawn away from Shipsea’s sculpted pillar, to the biblical Rachel’s figurative one in the pages of Genesis 35. 19.

The story of Rachel was a crucial moment in the foundation of the Abrahamic tradition. Her body, alongside that of Sarah, ‘enable[s] the establishment of the Israelite nation’.¹³⁰ Rachel’s monument emphasises how women formed the foundation of the community of believers not unlike we have seen it suggested in the words of Psalm 144. 11-13. The tomb’s design was a popular one for the commemoration of women who had died in childbirth, like Rachel. The monument to Mary Kempe Digges (d. 1631) in the no longer extant Diggs Chapel at St Mary in Chilham, Kent consisted of a similar free-standing Ionic column on a pedestal. The death of Rachel Sutton (d. 1653) was also marked by the creation of a half column, embedded into a wall-monument at St Mary in Winterborne Stickland, Dorset.¹³¹ While monuments commemorating the death of women in childbirth may have employed the form of the pillar to convey the way in which they died, it bears revisiting the primary task of the pillar. A pillar is a supporting structure intended to sustain weight.¹³² Representing Shipsea, literally, as a pillar of her community establishes her as the exemplary ‘true’ living stone through the monument.

¹³⁰ Victoria Brownlee and Laura Gallagher, ‘Overview: Reading Old Testament women in early modern England, 1550-1700’, in *Biblical Women*, ed. by Brownlee and Gallagher, pp. 25-40 (p. 25).

¹³¹ Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (London: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 263.

¹³² ‘pillar, n.’, in *OED*.

Conclusion

As we have seen through John Weever's 1631 definition of the tomb in the introduction, the early modern funeral monument was an object that 'transferred'.¹³³ Beyond memory and posterity, the tomb also passed ritual, devotion and theology from the past into the present. Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie's funeral monument at St James in Spilsby operates as such a material object that conducted more than family legacy. By negotiating old forms of belief and new emerging ones, the Willoughby monument used existing ritual elements in new ways and thereby conveyed elements of medieval ritual into Protestant church worship (instead of erasing or overlaying them). As one of the leading patrons of early Reformation theological writing, Katherine's intervention into St James offers a revealing case study of Protestantism's pragmatic attitude toward commemorative strategies specifically, and the implementation of public worship more generally. It reveals how the 'presencing' of the dead in the public space of the parish church remained a vital device in guiding collective worship.¹³⁴ It suggests that some sensory experience that defined medieval religious services remained important in attaining spiritual edification. It articulates the enduring importance of Latinity in devotion.

The act of transferring medieval practice to the Protestant present of the congregation also accentuates change. By evoking the pre-Reform gaze of the congregation, the Willoughby monument conveyed the levelling of church hierarchies through the Elizabethan injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer. By

¹³³ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments With in the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1631), p. 1.

¹³⁴ Roffey, *Chantry Chapels*, p. 20; Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief*, p. 13.

intruding into the path of the ritual procession of the Mass it emphasised the nave as the primary place of church worship. As it evoked the ‘Office of the Dead’ through its Latin inscriptions, it formulated the importance of the critical reading of God’s word. The tombs of Willoughby and her contemporaries indicate the significant function of continuity, practicality and pragmatism in formulating an English Protestant church.

Taking Willoughby’s limited textual corpus as a starting point, this chapter shows how her intervention into the ritual practices of St James through the funeral monument draws on the ‘suggestive alignment of femininity with materiality’.¹³⁵ The theological works of leading Reformist figures confirm that the biblical understanding of the congregation as ‘living stones’ served as a key metaphor for the Protestant church. The stone metaphor expressed the levelling of church hierarchies and conveyed a redistribution of spiritual agency from an ecclesiastical elite to the collective body of believers. The stone’s ability to connote the agency of the church collective was also bound to its capacity to express the maintenance of the place of worship as a female responsibility. From Erasmus to the writings of Bentley, formulating the church as ‘living stones’ explicitly fashioned female nurture, care and cultivation into the foundation of the church.

The tomb of William Heneage and his two wives, Anne Fishbourne and Jane Brussels shows that the ties between the materiality of stone and women informed the purpose of the monument. The tomb physically conveyed the figurative role of women as exemplary representatives of their communities, the glue that ‘knytteth fast to gyther al the hole frame’ of the church.¹³⁶ As Jane Shipseas’s monument

¹³⁵ Phillippy, *Shaping Remembrance*, pp. 1-2.

¹³⁶ Erasmus, *The Comparation*, sig. A4^r.

shows, this relationship was at times explicitly mentioned through the inscriptions that adorned tombs. In death, Shipsea becomes the pillar that supports ‘God’s house’. As the monument makes clear, the church’s fabric is not made of inanimate material, but the ‘true living stones’, the congregation. Willoughby’s intervention into the parish church of Spilsby through the funeral monument is an active extension of this shared understanding of the tomb as a potentially gendered representative of the collective. Willoughby employed the function of the funeral monuments of women such as Fishbourne and Brussels, Kirkman and Shipsea to legitimise her own intervention into the public worship of the congregation. Stepping into the role of the cornerstone on which the Protestant church is built, Willoughby fashions her monument into a place for the public disclosure of her theological programme. She therefore exploits an accepted conception of the pious and godly Protestant woman to actively participate in the creation of reformed spaces of worship and devotion.

As the tombs of Katherine Willoughby and some of her female contemporaries have shown, studying the semantic and theological connections between materiality and gender furthers our understanding of the Reformation. As the cornerstones and ‘living stones’ that made up the church fabric, Protestant women came to represent endurance, continuity and negotiation in the face of drastic religious change. This was ideally expressed through the stasis and integrity of stone in the face of religious upheaval, and the funeral monument, one of the few lasting forms of church furnishing that largely survived Protestant iconoclasm. The relationship between women and the funeral monument shows that while the Reformation was defined by moments of extreme change and disruption, many of the aspects that defined a person’s everyday encounter with religion were negotiated

through the objects, habits and practices of the past. These findings define the remainder of the thesis. As we move from the sixteenth-century parish church of Spilsby to the last chapter's exploration of the printed pages of Margaret Lucas Cavendish's 'Bell in Campo' (1662), the tombs of women remain one of the lynchpins that arbitrate a pre-Reform past with a Protestant present. Proceeding into chapter two, we will diversify our understanding of how the tomb acted as an instrument of negotiation. Turning from the inscriptions of Willoughby's tomb to the printed pages of Mary Sidney Herbert's *Antonius*, we will see how the funeral monument mediated Protestant conceptions of womanhood, and female rulership over church and state.

Chapter 2 Mary Sidney Herbert: Entombment, Marriage and the State

Introduction

In the introductory argument to Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke's (1561-1621) translation of Robert Garnier's *Antonius* (1592) we are told that, following defeat at sea by Octavius Caesar, Cleopatra 'enclosed her selfe with two of her women in a monument she had before caused to be built'.¹ Sending word from there to Anthony that 'she was dead', she transforms her mausoleum into the principal stage of the closet drama from which the historic tragedy is told, framing the public and private, political and social movements of the play's protagonists (*Antonius*, sig. F1^v). It is from here, too, that Cleopatra begins to verbalize the nature of her love for Anthony, the place where the course of both their 'unstedfast' lives defined by sensual passion is reformulated through 'marble colde' (*Antonius*, sig. F2^v), recasting the Egyptian queen into the pitiable 'Wife kindhearted' (*Antonius*, sig. H5^r), whose 'sole comfort of [...] miserie' is to 'have one tombe with thee' (*Antonius*, sig. H1^r): her 'deare husband' (*Antonius*, sig. N3^v). Sequestration in, and isolation through, the secure space of the architectural boundaries of the tomb enable

¹ Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, 'Antonius', in *A Discourse of Life and Death. Written in French by Ph. Mornay. Antonius, A Tragœdie Written Also in French by Ro. Garnier. Both Done in English by the Countesse of Pembroke* (London, 1592), sigs. F1^r-O2^v (sig. F1^v). This edition is used throughout. References are hereafter given in the text in abbreviated form. Following this first edition, *Antonius* was reprinted as *The Tragedie of Antonie. Doone into English by the Countesse of Pembroke* (London, 1595). For an authoritative modern edition, see Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, 'Antonius', in *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert Countess of Pembroke*, ed. by Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnaman and Michael G. Brennan, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), I, 152-207.

Cleopatra to rewrite her passionate vengeance by suicide into wifely constancy by self-immolation through burial.

Taking the lead from the introductory argument of *Antonius*, this chapter argues that the funeral monuments of women played a central emblematic role in efforts to articulate the coherence of the Elizabethan state through marriage. To do so, we expand on the findings of chapter one that shows how the tomb negotiated between old forms of belief and developing new ones. The monument in Herbert's *Antonius* reveals that in addition to reconciling a medieval past with a Protestant present, commemorative structures harmonised composite elements of Elizabethan society: the collective of believers, the Church and the monarch. What is more, by focusing on the monument's role as a tool of separation and reconciliation through the metaphor of marriage, it is argued that *Antonius* provides insight into the way in which the built commemorative environment functioned in the formulation of female agency within the confines of a Renaissance language of conjugal love. As an influential female contributor to the development of the Petrarchan love convention of the Elizabethan period, Herbert has been credited for her success in reformulating the conventional mute female object of desire of the courtly love lyric into a discerning participant in the poet's affection.² Drawing on such research, this chapter argues that Herbert's deployment of the places of the dead formed one of several ways in which she sought to cast women as active participants in the articulation of love. Moreover, by emphasising Cleopatra's redefinition of love through marriage, a 'formally' and thus societally 'recognized union of two people', the following teases

² Ilona Bell, *Elizabethan Women and the Poetry of Courtship* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p. 150; Jocelyn Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England: Unbridled Speech* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), p. 151.

out the wider communal and civic functions of love expressed in *Antonius*.³ Such a reading is consistent with scholarly research by Victor Skretkowicz and Paulina Kewes that shows how *Antonius* reflects on contemporary early modern European and English social and political conditions.⁴ Departing, therefore, from the understanding of expressions of love as a metaphysical and intimate struggle often used by critics, this study follows the lead of scholars such as Lever and Bates to show that Cleopatra's affection for Anthony appears to have something to say about how the use of specific language registers of love by women allowed them to formulate, legitimise and construct participation in contemporary society.⁵ Such an approach seems fitting, because Herbert and the contemporary reader likely understood *Antonius* as a play that negotiates affection alongside concepts of sovereign power. Its readers would have been alert to Cleopatra's description of her love as being tightly interwoven with a contemporary language that articulated political authority. Love, and the exploration of women's participation within it, provided Herbert with a language to explore the possibility for good and bad (but always self-determined) female rule, placing the use of love in *Antonius* in a larger contemporary debate on rulership.

The appearance of the first printed edition of *Antonius* coincided with the deaths of several female members of one of Elizabethan England's most powerful families, the Cecils. The Cecils, Sidneys and Herberts shared close connections.

³ ‘marriage, n.’, in *OED*.

⁴ Victor Skretkowicz, ‘Mary Sidney Herbert’s *Antonius*, English Philhellenism and the Protestant Cause’, *Women’s Writing*, 6, 1 (1999), 7-25; Paulina Kewes, “‘A Fit Memorial for the Times to Come...’: Admonition and Topical Application in Mary Sidney’s *Antonius* and Samuel Daniel’s *Cleopatra*”, *Review of English Studies*, 63, 259 (2012), 243-64.

⁵ J. W. Lever, *The Elizabethan Love Sonnet* (London: Methuen, 1956); Catherine Bates, *Masculinity, Gender and Identity in the English Renaissance Lyric* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

Beyond the potential marriage ties that Herbert sought to forge between her son William, and Bridget, the daughter of Anne Cecil and Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, they cohabited in elite positions of power and shared a perennial if complex loyalty to their monarch. This is evident in a letter that Mary's husband, Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke (c. 1538-1601) wrote to Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612) to show him thanks for introducing his son at Elizabeth I's court: 'He is by nature born, was by me brought up, and is in his own affection, vowed to her service'.⁶ As secretaries of state, advisors to the Queen and foreign policy negotiators, William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520/21-1598) and his son, Robert Cecil supervised the religious, political and social changes enacted by the monarch. Under William, the family appropriated large portions of the chapel of St Nicholas in Westminster Abbey to commemorate Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley (1526-1589), her daughter Anne Cecil de Vere, Countess of Oxford (1556-1588) and Elizabeth Brooke Cecil, Countess of Salisbury (1562-1597).

After discussing the function of the funeral monument in creating narratives of female rulership through matrimony in Herbert's *Antonius* in the first part, this chapter turns to the monuments of Mildred and Elizabeth and suggests that their tombs used marital love and affection to formulate the coherence of the government like the monument of Herbert's Egyptian queen. The Cecil women died at a critical point when an established political system began to show its age. The Queen's advancing age fanned already existing anxieties over the lack of an heir to the throne. The death of William Cecil, only months after Mildred's, highlighted the precariousness of the Elizabethan status quo as Robert Cecil began to establish

⁶ Henry Herbert to Robert Cecil, 16 August 1597, as quoted in 'Commentary', in *The Collected Works*, ed. by Hannay, Kinnamom and Brennan, I, 319-54 (p. 348).

himself as his successor. It is argued here that St Nicholas, and the tombs of the Cecil women, provided a platform to reassert the integrity and stability of the Elizabethan state in the face of these concerns. This is further elucidated by drawing on the first printed guide book to Westminster Abbey, *Reges, reginae, nobiles, et alij in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti* by William Camden (1551-1623). Camden joined the Westminster school and became its master when the abbey was ‘deeply imbued with the political, scholarly, and religious vision of William Cecil’.⁷ Printed in 1600, and not long after the Cecil’s intervention into Westminster Abbey’s prestigious fabric, the guide reveals a contemporary taste for antiquarianism that narrated the history of the English nation through the enduring material remains of the past. Drawing on Camden, we develop our investigation by moving from the medium of print to the physical monument, allowing us to see the early modern ‘relocation of traditional rites of remembrance to the textual memory of print’ as a reciprocal event.⁸ The tombs that appear in written and physical form are evidence of a dynamic and cross-fertilised commemorative culture that worked to make text and object mutually dependent and supportive. By marking the artistic and cultural zenith of English history in *Reges, reginae*, the tombs of the Cecil women affirmed the integrity of the Elizabethan body politic and became symbolic representatives of the successful marriage of the subjects, the political head of state and the Church in the printed book and the church edifice.

By focusing on the function of the built commemorative environment as a place of female participation and agency, this study takes inspiration from the

⁷ Wyman H. Herendeen, ‘Camden, William (1551-1623)’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4431>>.

⁸ Patricia Phillippy, *Shaping Remembrance from Shakespeare to Milton* (Cambridge: CUP, 2018), p. 22.

findings of Mary Ellen Lamb and Elizabeth Hodgson, whose work on remembrance and female authorship has successfully shown how death challenged the ‘boundaries [...] tightly drawn around women’s public speech or published words’.⁹ While this chapter is not concerned with tracing Herbert’s understanding of her own authorship, the metaphor is useful in thinking about the opportunities that the physical boundary of the funeral monument provided in the production of female voices by women like Herbert, who used the tomb as a space to develop the agency of her dramatic heroines, and men, like William and Robert Cecil, who employed the monument to enable Mildred and Elizabeth’s participation in articulating the nature of the Elizabethan state. Rather than arguing that the boundaries of death facilitated female authorship, this chapter seeks to show that these delineated spaces acted as frames to articulate female participation in civic and religious discourses.

This chapter continues to diversify our understanding of the tomb as an enduring object of church furnishing that makes apparent the porous boundaries between medieval and early modern sacred space. By drawing attention to the consistent use of a language of matrimony in the built environment of the tomb, this chapter also draws on research into the interrelationships between the built environment and poetics in late medieval ‘micro-architecture’ by such scholars as Ann R. Meyer and Seeta Chaganti.¹⁰ The enduring emblematic power of enshrining structures such as chapels, reliquaries and tombs was central to an illustration of a

⁹ Mary Ellen Lamb, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), p. 115; Elizabeth Hodgson, *Grief and Women Writers in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), p. 48.

¹⁰ Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 110. I am borrowing Chaganti’s terminology. She defines tombs alongside structures such as reliquaries as ‘enshrining structures’. Seeta Chaganti, *The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary: Enshrinement, Inscription, Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 1.

unity that complicates the finality of death, a symbolic tradition that could be successfully applied to a Reformation ideal of socio-political harmony. Furthermore, employing the methodologies of scholarly research into medieval piety allows us to shine a light on the continuing and fundamental role of matrimony, despite the fact that it had ceased to be a sacrament in Protestant theology. Thus, while Protestant theological discourses sought to break the concept of earthly marriage and the ‘Mysterie’ that was the ‘conjunction of Christ, and the Church’, the metaphor remained crucial in formulating community cohesion throughout the Elizabethan period, highlighting the central role of marriage in Protestant identities under female rulership.¹¹

1. Interrring Love: Mary Sidney Herbert’s *Antonius*

To explore how Mary Sidney Herbert employs the monument to speak about female agency through marriage, we must first turn to how the subject and place of death influenced her writing and informed her selection of texts for translation. To Herbert, a writer and patron highly educated ‘in the humanist curriculum’, death had a significant creative function.¹² She is primarily known for her works of translation, most notably for her collaborations with her older brother Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) in the translation of the Psalms (*c.* 1599). In 1577, Mary married Henry Herbert, a substantial landowner with residences in Salisbury, London and Wiltshire,

¹¹ William Bucanus, *Institutions of Christian Religion*, trans. by Robert Hill (London, 1606), p. 616.

¹² Margaret Patterson Hannay, ‘Herbert [Sidney], Mary, countess of Pembroke (1561-1621)’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13040>>. See also: Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip’s Phoenix: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (Oxford: OUP, 1990).

with Wilton and Ivychurch becoming centres of a literary circle that included Mary's brother Philip, Samuel Daniel (1562/3-1619), Edmund Spenser (*c.* 1552-1599) and Michael Drayton (1563-1631). With the death of her brother in 1586, Herbert began to engage more directly in this literary circle. Motivated by her wish to complete his unfinished works, Herbert finished Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* in two editions (1593, 1598) and completed the translations of the Psalms. As remarked by several scholars, however, death was more than merely a stimulant to Herbert's writerly endeavours.¹³ Mortality also appears as a major theme in her translations which include Petrarch's 'Triumph of Death' ('Trionfo della morte', *c.* 1600), Philippe de Mornay's *A Discourse of Life and Death (Excellent discours de la Vie et de la Mort*, 1592) and the closet drama *Antonius* ('Marc Antoine').

The way *Antonius* was printed is exemplary of Herbert's preoccupation with death. Translated from the French in 1590, the closet drama appeared alongside her translation of Mornay's *A Discourse*, practically framing the play's tragic subject matter through 'an explicit *ars moriendi* tract'.¹⁴ It is unclear if *Antonius* was ever performed and its first appearance alongside *A Discourse* suggests it may have primarily functioned as a companion piece to be read alongside Mornay's moral and philosophical treatise on the 'stoic resignation to fate'.¹⁵ While 'Marc Antoine' (1578) is the work of the Catholic poet and playwright Robert Garnier (1544-1590),

¹³ Michael G. Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 59; Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Countess of Pembroke and the Art of Dying', in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives*, ed. by Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp. 207-26 (p. 209); Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix*, p. 173; Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), p. 127.

¹⁴ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 119.

¹⁵ Daniel Cadman, *Sovereigns and Subjects in Early Modern Neo-Senecan Drama: Republicanism, Stoicism and Authority* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 26; Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 129.

Excellent discours is the work of the Protestant Philippe de Mornay (1549-1623).¹⁶

Both authors significantly contributed to a sixteenth-century revival of the study of Seneca and a European-wide interest in the application of stoicism to the precarious nature of contemporary Christian identities, continually de-stabilised by the European Wars of Religion. This volatile European context was close to home for Herbert and may have contributed to her interest in the two texts. Her brother had witnessed the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris in 1572 and his death at the hands of Spanish Catholic forces in the Netherlands transformed him into a 'champion' of the cause of Reformed Christianity in the eyes of Herbert's English contemporaries.¹⁷ What is more, Sidney had formed an enduring and intimate friendship with Mornay when the latter visited England in 1577. Herbert's family ties to people directly involved in shaping contemporary literary tastes (writers that were aware of the devotional realities of France) indicate that she may have been drawn to these texts through direct contact with Mornay, or indirectly through Sidney's interest in Mornay's work, evidenced by his translation of *De la vérité de la religion chrestienne* (1585).¹⁸ As Marie-Alice Belle and Line Cottagnies argue, early modern interest in Garnier was sparked by his ability to fuse 'classical historical sources with contemporary Humanist poetry and thought'.¹⁹ Like Mornay, he

¹⁶ Robert Garnier, 'Marc Antoine', in *Les Tragédies de Robert Garnier* (Paris, 1585), fols 76^r-108^v; Philippe de Mornay, *Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort* (Geneva, 1576).

¹⁷ Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 124.

¹⁸ Philippe de Mornay, *De la vérité de la religion chrestienne* (Paris, 1585); Philippe de Mornay, *A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion, Written in French*, trans. by Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding (London, 1587).

¹⁹ Marie-Alice Belle and Line Cottagnies, 'Introduction', in *Robert Garnier in Elizabethan England: Mary Sidney Herbert's Antonius and Thomas Kyd's Cornelia*, ed. by Marie-Alice Belle and Line Cottagnies, MHRA Tudor & Stuart Translations, XVI (Cambridge: MHRA, 2017), pp. 1-84 (p. 2).

brought his stoic source material into the context of a contemporary cultural and political landscape. Rather than Seneca, who focused on familial disputes, Garnier's particular brand of stoicism blended 'love of country, praise of freedom, and emulation of the stern virtues of the ancient Romans' with Christian morality, 'what we can (and should) make of what happens'.²⁰ Thus, 'Marc Antoine' may have provided Herbert with a literary text that could bring the philosophical and moral aspects of Mornay's stoicism into dramatic dialogue with a contemporary religious and political context, a time when death due to one's beliefs could be understood as an extension of the 'inescapable necessity of idealism and virtue for a committed soul in a time of chaos'.²¹ *Antonius* is a narrative that heroized death for England's religiopolitical sovereignty.

In choosing a text by Garnier, Herbert also introduced a highly popular French contemporary literary genre to the English reading public. Garnier is regularly credited with revitalizing contemporary interest in the narratives of Cleopatra through 'Marc Antoine' and Oedipus's daughter Antigone through 'Antigone' (1580), narratives that had a defining impact on European Renaissance tragedy.²² As a translation, *Antonius* stands in direct relationship to its French language source material by Garnier and an emerging dramatic style that formulated stoic philosophy through the agency of the female protagonist in the genre of tragedy. Herbert's translation of *Antonius* introduced elements of French 'high'

²⁰ Alexander Maclare Witherspoon, *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1968; first published by Yale University Press 1924), pp. 67-8; Arthur F. Kinney, 'The Sidneys and Public Entertainments', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Sidneys, 1500-1700*, ed. by Margaret P. Hannay, Michael G. Brennan and Mary Ellen Lamb, 2 vols (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), I, 241-60 (p. 248).

²¹ Kinney, p. 248.

²² Robert Garnier, 'Antigone, ou la piété, tragedie', in *Les Tragédies*, fols 203^v-253^r.

Renaissance literary fashion into England. In doing so, Herbert also introduced the French fashion for the stoic classical heroine to English readers.

Herbert's deliberate choice of text reflects contemporary French tastes and a focus on forceful, albeit doomed, female protagonists for whom death was a considered choice. Through precise discernment in her selection of texts, Herbert is not only a translator, but a sophisticated literary critic and a skilled writer who chose material that spoke to her own concerns and tastes, and to those of her readership. Critics have often remarked on Herbert's 'allegedly faithful approach to Garnier', asserting her ability as a translator, but effectively erasing her potential authorial agency over the text.²³ This chapter seeks to assess the function of *Antonius* by bringing its broader thematics into dialogue with the contemporary Elizabethan context of its first English readers. Herbert's selection of Garnier is therefore viewed as an act of literary discernment; Garnier's text is a purposeful choice for Herbert because of its applicability to the lives of her English readership.

Herbert chose Garnier's text to suit the tastes of an English and reformed audience. This is elucidated by the fact that Garnier's 'Marc-Antoine' was not the first iteration of the story in French Renaissance drama. It has often been understood as a 'supplement' to Estienne Jodelle's 'Cleopatre Captive' (1552). Richard Hillman convincingly argues that only Garnier's play portrays Anthony as a 'hero whose love, conflicted and morally dubious though it was, finally constitutes "so just cause" for the "happy chaunge"' envisaged by Cleopatra. This contrasts with Jodelle's portrayal of Anthony who 'seeks nothing but his ex-lover's company' in an

²³ Belle and Cottegnies, p. 3.

‘erotic union’ from his confines in purgatory.²⁴ Hillman’s point supports this chapter’s argument that Herbert preferred Garnier’s version because it spoke to its reformist audience’s understanding of matrimony. Garnier’s ‘Marc-Antoine’ allowed for the exploration of the complex nature of Cleopatra’s love in a way that Jodelle’s text simply could not. Herbert’s *Antonius* spoke to a readership that was refashioning the function and meaning of love and matrimony in a developing Protestant culture where marriage was no longer a sacrament.

The difference between Garnier and Jodelle is reflected in the prominence of the funeral monument in ‘Marc Antoine’. Jodelle’s Cleopatra falls forever silent with her entrance into the tomb. While ‘Cleopatre Captive’ employs the monument prominently on the stage, with Cleopatra ‘entering’ the tomb weeping after her last effusive lament over the death of Anthony (‘Voila pleurant elle entre en ce clos des tombeaux’), the process marks the end of the play and concludes Cleopatra’s stage presence with the exclamatory finality of ‘Allons donc cheres sœurs’ (‘Let’s go then, dear sisters’).²⁵ In Garnier, the moment of sequestration marks the beginning of the play’s action. As Cleopatra enters the monument, her isolation from the male protagonists creates figurative and literal space for the development of her identity in defeat through her love for Anthony. The consistent presence of the funeral monument in Garnier, and its ability to convey the complexity of Cleopatra’s love suggest that ‘Marc-Antoine’ spoke more directly to the concerns of an Elizabethan

²⁴ Richard Hillman, ‘De-centring the Countess’s Circle: Mary Sidney Herbert and Cleopatra’, *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, n.s., 28, 1 (2004), 61–79 (p. 75).

²⁵ Estienne Jodelle, ‘Cleopatre Captive’, in *Les Œuvres et meslanges poétiques d’Estienne Jodelle*, ed. by Ch. Marty-Laveaux, 2 vols (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1868–1870), I (1868), 95–151 (pp. 143, 140).

audience. What is more, the pervasive presence of death in this text provided the female protagonist with a space to develop her voice.

To Herbert, the delineated places reserved for the dead regularly acted as the catalyst for female speech and agency. This has led Lamb to conclude that death allowed Herbert to circumvent ‘boundaries [...] tightly drawn around women’s public speech or published words’ through its inherent denial of ‘dangerous sexuality’.²⁶ Such a view of Herbert’s authorial persona persists and has led scholars such as Hodgson to conclude that the overwhelming majority of ‘Pembroke’s body of work suggests a certain set of defining roles for her writerly persona’ of which the most notable is that of the ‘mourner’.²⁷ Beyond helping her construct an identity as a female author, Herbert’s works highlight how she employed death and its attendant delimited spaces as places from where her female protagonists could, through the removal of ‘dangerous sexuality’, speak unproblematically about the nature of love.²⁸ The self-imposed boundary of death allows Cleopatra to fashion distance and proximity effectively. It does so by physically containing her dangerous female sexuality, while it provides her with shelter from the carnal advances of the male aggressor Octavius Caesar. The place of death becomes a site for female agency and a representation of ordered and contained sexual politics. In doing so, the impenetrable female monument in *Antonius* acted as a symbol of contemporary social norms.

The breach of the funeral monument was regularly staged to convey the breakdown of social norms and order through transgressive sexuality. The use of the body in the ‘erotico-macabre themes’ of the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage has been

²⁶ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 115.

²⁷ Hodgson, p. 48.

²⁸ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 115.

variously commented on since the seminal work of Philippe Ariès, and was, as stated by Karin S. Coddon, understood as ‘a virtual commonplace of the genre’ of tragedy.²⁹ The breach of the tombs or graves that contain the dead body are frequently the tools through which such manifestations of sexuality are to be read as transgressional. This use of the place of the dead as a physical marker that affirms accepted sexual mores and the implications of its breach is perhaps most famously expressed in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (1603), when a grief-stricken Laertes, ‘Leaps’ into his sister Ophelia’s grave before the assembled crowd at her funeral.³⁰ This echoes Shakespeare’s earlier use of the funeral monument in *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), in which Romeo ‘opens the tomb’ of his supposedly dead lover and by entering it, crams it ‘with more food’.³¹ In one of the most disturbing versions of the theme, the Tyrant of Thomas Middleton’s ‘The Lady’s Tragedy’ (c. 1611) is so taken with his love for the Lady that he breaks into the church containing her ‘grey-eyed monument’ and instructs his soldiers to ‘Pierce the jaws | Of this cold ponderous creature’ in order to ravish the ‘beauteous sleepers’ corpse.³² All these plays employ the breached monument to stage the morally corruptive effect of effusive sexual desire by creating tableaux of sexual proximity which occur through the living male aggressively breaking and entering the confines of a tomb containing the passive and silent female dead.

²⁹ Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. by Patricia M. Ranum (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 57; Karin S. Coddon, “‘For Show or Useless Property’: Necrophilia and the Revenger’s Tragedy”, *ELH*, 61, 1 (1994), 71-88 (p. 71).

³⁰ William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), V. 1. 235-43 (pp. 427-28).

³¹ William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Brian Gibbons (London: Methuen, 1980), V. 3. 48 (p. 224).

³² Thomas Middleton, ‘The Lady’s Tragedy’, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 839-906, IV. 3. 17-26 (p. 885).

Laertes's outburst is inappropriate because of his intrusion into Ophelia's grave, and exacerbated by the fact that his display of affection goes beyond that appropriate of a brother. This is suggested by Hamlet in response to queries about his motivation to fight Laertes, to which he responds that, 'I loved Ophelia – forty thousand brothers | Could not with all their quantity of love | Make up my sum.'³³ Laertes's leap into Ophelia's grave, referred to by the Queen as a 'bride-bed', is the act of a lover and not predominantly reprehensible for being an act of necrophilia, but rather because of its suggestive overtones of incest.³⁴

By similarly confusing tomb and bride bed, the excessive passion of Romeo precipitates the failure of the plan set in motion by Juliet and Friar Laurence through his breach of the boundary that the funeral monument imposes. The occupation of Juliet's monument is subsequently marked as a transgression through a language associated with eating, the 'jaws' feeding the 'womb of death' with the flesh of both lovers.³⁵ Combining and mingling the multiple meanings of consumption, the moment blends gluttonous greed, sexual penetration and the consumption of the body through illness, foreshadowing Romeo's death through poison. Thus, Romeo's breach of Juliet's monument precipitates the reconciliation of the warring Capulet and Montague families through shared tragedy instead of a marriage alliance.

Conflating lust and gluttony by marking the entrance into the funeral monument as a form of degenerate consumption also defines the actions of the Tyrant in 'The Lady's Tragedy'. Unable to curb his desire even after the suicide of the Lady, the Tyrant moves from the superficial touch of the effigy to piercing the 'jaws' of the monument to gain access to the dead body of the object of his desire. In

³³ *Hamlet*, V. 1. 258-60.

³⁴ *Hamlet*, V. 1. 234.

³⁵ *Romeo and Juliet*, V. 3. 45-7.

doing so, he assimilates his excessive lust and the political transgression implied by his name.³⁶ As Laurie Shannon reminds us, the Tyrant's attempts at desecrating the body of the Lady evokes the story of the ruler Herod, who forced himself on the deceased corpse of Mariamne. By drawing on this biblical figure, Middleton indicates how closely related tyrannical rule and uncontrolled sexuality were in the early modern imagination. In 'The Lady's Tragedy', to succumb 'to the rule of passion' was to forfeit the ability to govern justly.³⁷

The unsettling permeability of the grave or tomb on the Jacobean stage, compromising the bodies of the dead and exposing them to lust-fuelled trespass, shows how the space of the dead acted as a symbol of contained and upheld normative sexual mores. Furthermore, the symbolic meaning of such sexual transgression is always linked to the breakdown of social, political and religious cohesion of the community. This transforms the intact monument, beyond its function as a marker of individual female bodily integrity, into a representation of upheld collective order. As Huston Diehl states about the mnemonic function of the iconography of on-stage violence, tombs served as 'symbolic icons which express widely understood moral and ethical concepts'.³⁸ Staging the enclosure of the female body, these plays employ enshrinement to convey social harmony. The overt and violent break of such physical boundaries, in turn, signalled the erosion of normative social order through the destructive power of excessive lust.

While *Antonius* also wrestles with dangerous and transgressive love, the reader experiences this at some distance and as an experienced and narrated past

³⁶ 'The Lady's Tragedy', IV. 3. 17-26.

³⁷ Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 74.

³⁸ Huston Diehl, 'The Iconography of Violence in English Renaissance Tragedy', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s., 11, Tragedy (1980), 27-44 (p. 30).

which is irrevocably severed from the present of the play through the tomb. This is established in Anthony's first soliloquy. Narrating the loss of his 'libertie' through Cleopatra's 'sweete baites', he asserts that the lust and envy that fuelled him are conclusively placed in the past, since it is these:

ANTONIUS [...] *daies of losse that gained thee thy love!*
Wretch Anthony! since then Mægæra pale
With Snakie haires enchain'd thy miserie.

(Antonius, sig. F3^r)

Recounting his 'daies of losse' as a highly personal lament, but with the ubiquitous eye of a narrator, Anthony relates how he was ensnared through Cleopatra's aggressive and emasculating sexuality, followed by his inevitable defeat through 'Mægæra pale', the jealousy and envy evoked by his uncontrolled passion. Anthony's words stress remorse, pain and regret about an experienced past which is removed from the reader or viewer's frame of reference, a past that needs recalling to create the context of the present which appears so drastically altered to its narrator. The severing of a lust-filled past from the sobering reality of Anthony's present is metaphorically emphasised through the monument that serves in making concrete the insurmountable border that separates past and present like the distance between life and death.

Anthony articulates the monument's purpose in his formulation of the here and now, and a future within which he can no longer play a part. Thus, when:

ANTONIUS [...] *Death, my glad refuge, shall have*
Bounded the course of my unsteadfast life,
And frozen corps under a marble colde
Within tombes bosome widdowe of my soule:
Then at his will let him it subject make:
Then what he will let Cæsar doo with me.

(Antonius, sig. F2^v)

Once securely placed ‘under a marble colde’, the monument marks Anthony’s removal from a past, degenerative, carnal love for Cleopatra, and the imminent danger posed by the invader Octavius Caesar. Furthermore, the immediacy of the monument contrasts sharply with a passionate but removed, narrated past, asserting that the tomb acted as a tool of separation, a physical intrusion that interrupts the carnal embrace of two lovers, the deadly hand of a love rival and enemy, and the ties between past and present. While Anthony expresses the distance that the monument creates, it is Cleopatra who realises its potential in asserting the separation of love from lust through the physical distance created through ‘marble colde’ (*Antonius*, sig. F2^v).

The monument separates but also draws close, becoming a place where the love between man and wife is contained and protected, and transgressions from such monogamy obstructed. Thus, Octavius Caesar’s attempts at gaining access to Cleopatra in her monument ultimately fail.³⁹ By eliminating sexual transgression, the integrity of Cleopatra’s kingdom is affirmed through the upheld and unbroken space of the funeral monument. The unbroken barrier of the tomb also prevents Cleopatra from the silence imposed on Ophelia, Juliet and the Lady. Formulated as a departure from the ‘torment’ (*Antonius*, sig. I1^v) imposed on her by the world, Cleopatra’s enshrinement in the liminal space of the tomb allows her to formulate her own ‘heritage’ (*Antonius*, sig. N3^v), removed from the advances of the Roman tyrant. As a symbolic boundary that enables Cleopatra to speak, the funeral monument gives

³⁹ This remains the status quo until the breach committed by Proculeius in Samuel Daniel’s ‘The Tragedie of Cleopatra’, written at the request of Herbert and intended to accompany her own translation of Garnier. ‘The Tragedie of Cleopatra’, in Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond Augmented. Cleopatra* (London, 1594), sigs. H4^r-N8^r (sig. H8^r).

her the agency to legitimise her love for Anthony. The tomb's ambivalence in expressing both bodily distance and proximity thus symbolically underpins the queen's developing voice alongside her ability to choose.

While she negotiates the nature of her love, the demarcated space of the monument becomes a metaphor for the containment of sexuality within the confines of marriage:

CLEOPATRA Antonie by our true loves I thee beseeche,
And by our hearts swete sparks have sett on fire,
Our holy mariage, and the tender ruthe
Of our deare babes, knot of our amitie:
My dolefull voice thy eare let entertaine,
And take me with thee to the hellish plaine,
Thy wife, thy frend: heare Antonie, ô heare

(*Antonius*, sig. O2^r)

Given the space and voice to formulate her love, Cleopatra laments the loss of Anthony in terms that evoke matrimonial union, from her self-characterisation as 'Thy wife', to her description of their bond as '*Our holy mariage*'. As an equally liminal rite of passage, marriage becomes an imperfect metaphor resisting the finality of death, transforming departure into separation. As stressed by Gail Holst-Warhaft, the metaphor of marriage finds ideal application in the ritual of lament because through 'the use of such a metaphor, the finality of death is denied'.⁴⁰ Cleopatra employs marriage and its ability to transcend death to state her eternal devotion to Anthony.

The use of marriage to talk about enduring affection is particularly significant in *Antonius* because it transforms Cleopatra from sensual temptress into dutiful wife. Her love is characterised by those surrounding her as '*scarce wivelie*' (*Antonius*, sig.

⁴⁰ Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 14.

H5^v), ‘wanton’ (*Antonius*, sig. F4^r), ‘changed’ (*Antonius*, sig. I4^v), ‘perjur’d’ (*Antonius*, sig. K1^r) and ‘sencelesse’ (*Antonius*, sig. K4^v). In a moment of self-fashioning, the uninhibited ‘fire’ of Anthony’s passion (‘*I love, nay burne in fire of her love*’ (*Antonius*, sig. K1^r)) is reformulated by Cleopatra into the tempered flame kindled from ‘*our hearts swete sparks*’ (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r). The ‘burne’ of desire is altered into its controlled and surrendered form. Cleopatra’s sequestration from the corruptive effect of a bodily union allows her to redefine carnal love as marital affection that transcends the visible and physical boundaries of death.

Within an early modern context, Cleopatra’s transformation of her love for Anthony by moving the play’s action into the funeral monument exemplifies the body’s vulnerability to ‘the spaces’ in which it ‘is given over to licensed licentiousness’.⁴¹ By removing herself from the sites of ‘*unchast love*’ (*Antonius*, sig. N1^v), Cleopatra is able to reformulate her affection alongside the monument’s function of containment. While the breach of the funeral monument highlights the passive victimhood of its female occupants on the public stage, the monument that remains intact transforms a place defined by women’s speechlessness into a communicative space in which to articulate the nature of love, vindicating female affection and consolidating it with sexual passion.

That Herbert sought texts in which death could act as a safe space where the female voice could unproblematically speak of the nature of love is highlighted through another of her translations, Petrarch’s ‘Triumph of Death’. Just as the tomb rarely features in readings of Cleopatra’s agency, the spaces of death do not feature prominently in readings of Laura’s voice. Nonetheless, scholars such as Jocelyn

⁴¹ Peter Stallybrass, ‘Reading the Body: “The Revenger’s Tragedy” and the Jacobean Theatre of Consumption’, *Renaissance Drama*, n.s., 18 (1987), 121-48 (p. 123).

Catty have long remarked on how Laura and Cleopatra ‘share the eloquence which empowers them’.⁴² Denying the poet’s physical love of her body through death ‘when that heavenlie guest those mortall walles | Had leaft’ (‘Triumph’, I. 169-70), Petrarch’s Laura progresses from the muted object of desire that speaks only ‘sweete peaces’ that are ‘written in yor eye’ (‘Triumph’, II. 83), into an eloquent and ‘wisely grave’ (‘Triumph’, II. 66) orator. As stressed by Jonathan Goldberg, Laura’s unsettling occupation of the space between life and death facilitates the development of her voice since ‘she seems to be dead when the poem starts, seems to be dead after the woman in black appears, [and] seems to be dead again when her company can do nothing for her at the end of the first part of the poem’.⁴³ This ‘ethereal insubstantiality’, rather than creating what Lamb reads as the narrative ‘erasure’ of Laura, conditions the moment of death as the conduit for her voice.⁴⁴

Laura’s transient state allows her to gain agency to declare her own affections. From beyond the grave, Laura expresses her passion as equal to that of her admirer, while simultaneously asserting control over its manifestation:

In equale flames o[u]r loving hearts were tryde,
At leaste when once thy love had notice gott.
But one to shewe, the other sought to hyde.

(‘Triumph’, II. 139-41)

⁴² Catty, p. 151. See also: Elaine V. Beilin, *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 128; Margaret P. Hannay, ‘The Triumph of Death: Literary Context’, in *The Collected Works*, ed. by Hannay, Kinnaman and Brennan, I, 255-67 (p. 267); Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, ‘The Triumph of Death’, in *The Collected Works*, ed. by Hannay, Kinnaman and Brennan, I, 273-82. All following quotations are from this edition and referenced in the text.

⁴³ Jonathan Goldberg, ‘The Countess of Pembroke’s literal translation’, in *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Margareta de Grazia, Maureen Quilligan and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), pp. 321-36 (p. 330).

⁴⁴ Lamb, *Gender and Authorship*, p. 139.

Transforming the ‘flames’ of desire, unrestrained and dangerous in the hands of the poet who seeks ‘to shewe’, into controlled chastity through his ‘equale’ counterpart who ‘sought to hyde’, Laura’s act of speaking from her ethereal place between life and death formulates the triumph of her chastity over carnal love. At the same time, it allows her to declare the status of her affection as equal to that of the poet. Like Cleopatra’s characterisation of her love for Anthony, Laura’s expression of her affection shows how death signified a moment in which physical removal forced the re-articulation of love defined by an absence of the carnal, enforcing a consolidation of bodily and spiritual love.

Herbert repeatedly constructed female voices that negotiated the sensuality of bodily proximity through the physical barrier provided by mortality, as shown by how death facilitates the female voice in the case of Laura in ‘The Triumph’, and Cleopatra in *Antonius*. Death allows Laura’s chastity to triumph over the poet’s love and permits Cleopatra to transform ‘*wanton love*’ (*Antonius*, sig. F4^r) into her ‘*hearts sweete sparks*’ (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r), revealing that chastity and spousal devotion are idealised forms of female affection: that for God and that for the husband. Herbert’s heroines therefore spoke of love in ways that largely conformed to the social and religious expectations of Elizabethan England.

As seen through ‘The Triumph’, the process of formulating love through the place of death did not erase sexuality altogether, it sought to control it. This is also apparent in *Antonius*. Cleopatra’s use of marriage to reconcile her sensual passion with her love for Anthony is elucidated by extending our look at Cleopatra’s final speech, which reveals how her definition of love as ‘*holy*’ sat alongside manifestations of intensely bodily passion:

CLEOPATRA Antonie by our true loves I thee beseeche,
And by our hearts swete sparks have sett on fire,

*Our holy mariage, and the tender ruthe
 Of our deare babes, knot of our amitie:
 My dolefull voice thy eare let entertaine,
 And take me with thee to the hellish plaine,
 Thy wife, thy frend: heare Antonie, ô heare
 My sobbing sighes, if here thou be, or there.
 [...]
 To die with thee, and dieng thee embrace:
 My bodie joynde with thine, my mouth with thine,
 My mouth, whose moisture burning sighes have dried:
 To be in one selfe tombe, and one selfe chest,
 And wrapt with thee in one selfe sheete to rest.*

(*Antonius*, sig. O2^r)

Describing the climactic end of the play as a ‘tour-de-force’ in which Cleopatra ‘wills herself to an ending’ through poetic expression, Gavin Alexander exposes the transference of Cleopatra’s physical actions (the transport of Anthony, the physical mourning over his body) into the language of her speech.⁴⁵ Her words evoke not the lofty morality of her previous soliloquies, but the physical and bodily immediacy of mourning. She articulates her love through her body. The ‘embrace’ of Antonius expresses her wish to die, while her ‘mouth’ is reduced through her ‘burning sighes’ to dryness. This physicality carries distinctly erotic overtones, leading Eve Rachele Sanders to conclude that it is ‘to a physical life shared with Antony that Cleopatra’s desires bend, not to death.’⁴⁶ Cleopatra’s assertion of physical intimacy and love undoubtedly carries sexual connotations. This is evident in her longing for their ‘embrace’ in ‘one selfe sheete’, in which death can be read as the moment of sexual climax. However, such an interpretation cannot be uncoupled from Cleopatra’s simultaneous assertions of their love as a union beyond the sensual, as a ‘*holy mariage*’, and more ambiguously, as ‘*true*’.

⁴⁵ Alexander, p. 103.

⁴⁶ Eve Rachele Sanders, *Gender and Literacy on Stage in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), p. 117.

The juxtaposition of the language of effusive passion with steadfast love and near-spiritual devotion in Cleopatra's final soliloquy shows distinct similarities to a Protestant language of love in matrimony. This is made particularly evident through the metaphor of the '*knot of our amitie*' (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r). As stated by Sid Ray, “marital bondage metaphors,” such as “yokefellows,” the “bond of matrimony,” and “tying the knot,” proliferated throughout the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ Beyond problematising domestic hierarchy, as asserted by Ray, the popularity of describing marriage through the knot of amity in contemporary conduct literature highlights the way in which the metaphor also consolidated bodily and spiritual affection. We see the metaphor used this in this way in *Antonius*.

The characterisation of marriage through a bodily union between man and wife is found in one of the most influential Protestant marriage tracts of the sixteenth century, *The Golden Boke of Christen Matrimonye* (*Der christlich Eestand*, printed in English in 1543) by Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575). This text was crucial to the construction of European-wide reformed identities, and partially incorporated into ‘An Homelie of Whoredome and Unclennesse’ (1547) ordered to be read in every English parish church.⁴⁸ The close parallels between the language employed by Cleopatra to describe her love and that of an ecclesiastically and royally approved text make it likely that a contemporary readership saw the play’s words echo their own understanding of love in the context of Protestant wedlock. *The Golden Boke*,

⁴⁷ Sid Ray, *Holy Estates: Marriage and Monarchy in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2004), p. 26.

⁴⁸ Martin Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge: Regulating Sex in England, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), p. 270. The homily refers to marriage as ‘the most holy knotte and bonde’. Thomas Cranmer, *Certayne Sermons, or Homelies, Appoynted by the Kynges Majestie, to be Declared and Redde, by All Persones, Vicars, or Curates, Every Sondaye in their Churches, Where they Have Cure* (London, 1547), sigs. S4^v-X3^r (sig. U2^r).

like Cleopatra, expresses the nature of love within marriage as a joining of physical bodies. ‘They two, saythe he, shall be into one fleshe [...] lyke as the partes of a mans body seperate not them selves one from another [...] even so must wedlocke be a knot unlooseable.’⁴⁹ Protestant marriage relied on a language of the physical meeting of the bodies of man and wife in sexual intercourse.

The metaphor of the knot evoking the physical and erotic joining of bodies limb by limb in a definition of marriage also signified a spiritual union. This is apparent in the work of courtier and author Edmund Tilney (1535/6-1610) in *A Briefe and Pleasant Discourse of Duties in Mariage* (1571). Mirroring the words of Cleopatra, Tilney asserts that matrimonial love ‘knitteth lovinge heartes, in an in [sic] insoluble knot of amitie’. Furthermore, Tilney, like Cleopatra, who exclaims her dual capacity as ‘*Thy wife, thy frend*’ (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r), considers marriage as ‘perfite love’ through the combination of friendship and the bodily relationship of spouses. Marriage is the ground that causes the ‘Flower of Friendship betwéene man and wyfe freshlye to spring’.⁵⁰ Drawing from marriage’s erotic connotations that highlight the meeting of two bodies, Protestant marriage was also defined as a spiritual meeting in the form of friendship. Through this combination marriage was understood as a superlative bond of affection.

The Office and Duetie of an Husband (1555) by the humanist scholar Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) is more overt in stating how the meeting of bodily and spiritual love in matrimony made marriage a superlative type of love. Through the ‘knot of amitie’, love in marriage reconciles bodily passion and spiritual affection

⁴⁹ Heinrich Bullinger and Thomas Becon, *The Golden Boke of Christen Matrimonye* (London, 1543), sig. C6^r.

⁵⁰ Edmund Tilney, *A Briefe and Pleasant Discourse of Duties in Mariage, Called the Flower of Friendshippe* (London, 1571), sig. B4^r.

since it ‘muste consider both the goodnes of the mind and of the body’.⁵¹

Furthermore, echoing Cleopatra’s definition of her love for Anthony as ‘*true*’ (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r), Vives expresses marriage as ‘True love’ because it harmonises the body and the mind.⁵² As these semantic similarities elucidate, *Antonius* openly employs a language that a contemporary readership associated with the thriving Protestant family and marriage tracts of the sixteenth century. Thus, the physical moment of body parts fusing and conjoining, while no doubt erotically charged, was not exclusively an expression of the sensual. Instead, Cleopatra’s words evoked a union that harmonised sexuality and spirituality and reminded the contemporary reader of how marriage provided order in a Christian world by harmoniously joining man and wife, both spiritually and sexually.

The bond created through marriage between the bodily and spiritual, furthermore, acted as a metaphor for the relationship between the church and Christ. This is elucidated by another text that populated the church spaces of the later sixteenth century alongside parts of *The Golden Boke*, the massive work of Protestant hagiography, the *Actes and Monuments* (1563) by John Foxe. The text expresses such a union as ‘the knot of amitie and concord which was ordained by Christe’. Inviolable like the bond of marriage, the union between the church and Christ, when violated:

is tourned into a matter of moost grevous discord and dissentyon amongst Christians. In so much that there hathe in a manner no matter continued so many yeares more pernitious or hurtfull unto mennes salvation, then that from whence the chiefe sede and ofspringe of mutual consolation and conforto of mennes life, oughte to be taken and sought for.⁵³

⁵¹ Juan Luis Vives, *The Office and Duetie of an Husband*, trans. by Thomas Paynell (London, 1555), sig. F4^r.

⁵² Vives, sig. F3^v.

⁵³ John Foxe, ‘The history of Rainold Pecocke bishop of Chichester’, in *TAMO* <<https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=text&gototype=&edition=1563&page1>>

Articulating the relationship between the church and Christ as a bond akin to that made in marriage, Foxe uses the language of matrimonial harmony to communicate the detrimental effects of religious factionalism brought about by the Protestant Reformation and its aftermath. He furthers such a reading by characterising the church as the ‘chiefe sede and ofspringe of mutual consolation’. By formulating the church as the product or ‘ofspringe’ born of the union of a people divided by religious schism as they come together to reconcile themselves with God, marriage becomes the chief metaphor for the restoration of concord within a new Protestant church. As the collective of believers and God meet like man and wife, their union creates the place that provides ‘mennes salvation’.

While the use of marriage as a metaphor for the union between Christ and his church was employed before the Reformation, reformists eagerly used it to legitimize a Protestant emphasis on the relationship between God and the collective of believers. This is evidenced in *A Short, Plain, and Profitable Catechisme* (1592), by Mordecai Aldem (d. 1615). Aldem was a fellow at Eton College, making it likely that his text was written to serve as an accessible educational aid that outlined in the simplest terms the central elements of Elizabethan religious doctrine for a wide audience. In writing about the centrality of the word of scripture in Reformation belief, he resorts to the use of the marriage metaphor:

The Apostle speaking of the spirituall mariage betwéene Christ and his church saith, that Christ gave himselfe for it, that he might sanctifie and clelse it by the washing of water, through the word.⁵⁴

d=415&anchor=the%20knot%20of%20amitie%20and%20concord%20which%20wa
s%20ordained%20by%20Christe#kw> [accessed 26 July 2018].

⁵⁴ Mordecai Aldem, *A Short, Plain, and Profitable Catechisme Containing an Instruction Unto the Foure Principal Point of Christian Religion* (London, 1592), sigs. D5^r- D5^v.

The ‘Apostle’, he writes, speaks of the ‘spirituall mariage betwéene Christ and his church’ to relate how the collective of believers is a product of the sacrifice of the son of God for his people. In Aldem’s iteration, however, the spiritual union of the church and Christ betrays the influences of Protestantism. Rather than sanctifying the church with water, Christ cleanses it with the scripture. Instead of producing spiritual edification through ritual, the marriage creates ‘the word’. Aldem deliberately employs the metaphor of marriage to express the specific character of a Protestant English Church. At the same time, this creation of distinction formulates continuity as a break from the past. Particularly through the influence of St Augustine of Hippo’s *On Continence* (after 412), the bond between Christ and the church as a marriage between loving spouses was a common feature in pre-reform theology and devotion.⁵⁵ While Aldem’s iteration of the metaphor therefore seeks to distinguish Protestant from pre-Reformation or Catholic belief, his use of the marital bond deliberately emphasises how Protestantism is situated firmly and rightfully in a larger Christian historiography.

A sermon preached before Queen Elizabeth I entitled *A Godlye sermon preached [...] upon the 17, 18, 19 verses of the 16 chapter of S. Mathew* (c. 1585) uses the metaphor of marriage to discredit the fabric of the Catholic Church and in doing so, asserts the rightful structure of the Protestant one that took its place:

For, therefore he [Christ] is the head because he is the husband, but there is but one husband therefore whosoever shall make any other head of the church then Christ, must also make another husbande, if another husband, then an adulterer and the church an harlot, for one wife cannot have two bridegromes or husbandes.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ St Augustine of Hippo, *St. Augustine on Marriage and Sexuality*, ed. by Elizabeth Clark, Selections from the Fathers of the Church, 3 vols (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996-2003), I (1996), 33.

⁵⁶ Anon, *A Godlye Sermon Preached Before the Queens Most Excellent Majestie Upon the 17, 18, 19 Verses of the 16 Chapter of S. Mathew* (London, 1585), p. 43.

Through the Pope, the text argues, Catholicism makes Christ a cuckold. By framing the relationship between Christ and the church as one akin to that of man and woman, the inclusion of ‘another husband’ transforms the church who ought to be a dutiful wife to her husband into ‘an harlot’. This idea was perhaps most famously expressed in John Donne’s Holy Sonnet XVIII. As the church is wooed by ‘adventuring knights’, she succumbs to factionalism, appearing on ‘one, on seven, or on no hill’ as competing denominations, like courtiers ‘seek and then make love’ to Christ’s ‘spouse’. While Holy Sonnet XVIII concludes with a call to the husband to ‘betray’ the true nature of his ‘spouse’, *A Godlye sermon* is less compromising in its outlook.⁵⁷ Like Foxe and Aldem, the author uses marriage as a central metaphor in distinguishing the righteousness of the English Protestant Church from its erroneous predecessor and from the Catholicism. *A Godlye sermon* was a text written for the edification of the Sovereign and printed for a wider audience of readers. As such, the sermon attests to the importance of the marriage metaphor in affirming an authorised view of the Elizabethan Church.

The tomb was a site that communicated the importance of matrimony as a metaphor for the construction of the church space both literal and figurative. As Meyer reminds us with regards to the later Middle Ages, edifices such as churches and chapels ‘became settings for increasingly smaller “versions” of themselves’. Thus, vessels such as reliquaries, shrines and tombs mirrored the churches they inhabited ‘not only structurally and stylistically, but conceptually as well, for each served as a sacred enclosure for a Christian mystery’.⁵⁸ While the Reformation did away with a large number of these sacral containers, the tomb remained an enduring

⁵⁷ John Donne, ‘Holy Sonnet 18’, in *John Donne: The Major Works*, ed. by John Carey (Oxford: OUP, 1990), p. 288.

⁵⁸ Meyer, p. 121.

testimony of such symbolic traditions. If the monument could be viewed as a ‘smaller version’ of the church and thus a reflection of its role and meanings, then it was also a symbol of societal and individual concord, marrying opposites (spiritual and carnal, male and female) and a tangible conduit between Christ and his people. Cleopatra therefore retreated into a space that a contemporary audience understood to be a built representation of the community of the church militant and triumphant, and the unity of Christ and his people. The tomb in *Antonius* simultaneously articulates containment as a tool for restoring sexual harmony and order between male and female, and the unity between Christ and the church, suggesting both earthly and spiritual order.

As a representation of the unity between the Protestant church and Christ, Foxe’s use of the metaphor of the matrimonial knot extended its symbolic meaning to the political landscape of Reformation England, binding the church to its representatives on earth. This is evident in his reproduction of a letter attributed to the Lady Jane Grey:

But thou wilt say, I will not breake unitie. What? not the unity of Sathan and his members? not the unitie of darknes, the agreement of Antichrist and hys adherentes? [...] Doth not king David testifie: Convenerunt in unum adversus dominum? Yea theves, murtherers, conspiratours have their unitie. But what unitie? Tully sayth of amitie: Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos. But marke my friend, yea friend, if thou be not Gods enemy: there is no unitie but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his.⁵⁹

Referencing the book of Psalms and Cicero, this passage brings together questions of religious and political unity through the ruler in the aftermath of the Henrician *Act of*

⁵⁹ John Foxe, ‘A Letter of Lady Jane to her fathers Chaplaine M.H. An other to her sister’, in *TAMO* <<https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=text&gototype=&edition=1570&pageid=1621&anchor=But%20thou%20wilt%20say#kw>> [accessed 26 July 2018].

Supremacy (1534) through the ‘knot’ of amity.⁶⁰ ‘The Kings of the earth’ may unite against God (Psalm 2. 2), but only the righteous ruler shall, in a union with the believers and the deity, inherit ‘the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession’ (Psalm 2. 8). Using the words of Cicero, the letter supports this claim by casting rightful rule as the mark of the ‘good’. Thus, while amity and concord are superficially present in the unions of ‘Antichrist and his adherentes’, it can only ever truly exist through the rule of those who are bound in love to Christ, who ‘knitteth the knot among such as be his’. Cleopatra’s evocation of the ‘knot of amitie’ therefore likely aroused in the contemporary reader the image of the bond of ‘goodness’ that served to convey the political and theological unity of monarchy and the church, and within the context of the *Act of Supremacy* and the *Oath of Succession* (1534), its undeniable role in the construction of justified political rule. Thus, Cleopatra’s use of a language of matrimonial love justifies her conduct in the face of political and social breakdown as it aided her expression of her own leadership and power as a righteous and inviolable covenant between the earthly and cosmic.

The characterisation of Elizabethan society as a composite entity comprised of the church, state and monarch is evidenced in several contemporary texts. The plague pamphlet entitled *An Approved Medicine Against the Deserved Plague* (1593) by Anthony Anderson (d. 1593) conveys this structure in form of a prayer:

⁶⁰ The reference to King David is derived from Psalm 2. 2: ‘The Kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsell together, against the LORD, and against his Anoynted’. Reference to Cicero from *De Amicitia*: ‘Friendship cannot exist except among good men’. Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divitiatione*, trans. by William Armistead Falconer, *Loeb Classical Library* (London: William Heinemann, 1922), p. 177.

Wee thy chosen children and people of England, magnifie thy mercies, and prayse thy power, for giveing and preserving unto us, a most rare and pearelesse Queene, our Soveraigne Ladie ELIZABETH, by whose sacred scepter, thy holy Church, this common weale, and many other Nations and people have found, both celestiall blessings, and terrestrial comforts.⁶¹

As society is threatened by fragmentation through the ravages of plague, Anderson, a theological writer and an active clergyman, created a narrative of the unity and endurance of an English nation threatened by sickness. He does so by evoking the God-ordained and righteous hierarchy of the English Church and state. Queen Elizabeth I's sceptre unites 'holy Church' with 'common weale', making the collective of subjects (or, believers) and the ruler the glue that binds the state to God.

The union of church, prince and God was central to a wide spectrum of English Protestants of the late sixteenth-century, including those reactant reformers that opposed elements of the Elizabethan establishment. The anonymous epistle to *A Dialogue, Concerning the Strife of Our Churche* (1584) makes this clear:

I know right well, some will bee offended at this kind of dealing, and say it is hurtful. But unlesse I would be unfaithfull to my Lord and master Jesus Christ, undutiful to his poore Church, and disloyall to my soveraigne prince, whatsoever I am bound to do more, I can with safe conscience do no lesse, then I have here done.⁶²

While the author criticises the 'foule abuses' ignored by the ecclesiastical elite, railing against 'drunkennesse, and gluttonie, Idlenesse, mispending the time' and 'vaine speeches', he stays firm on the structure and hierarchy of the English government and Church.⁶³ He asserts that despite failings, 'the authoritie and power of Princes is of God. He that resisteth the power, resisteth God'.⁶⁴ Moreover, in

⁶¹ Anthony Anderson, *An Approved Medicine Against the Deserved Plague* (London, 1593), sig. B2^v.

⁶² Anon, *A Dialogue, Concerning the Strife of Our Churche* (London, 1584), sig. A3^v-A4^r.

⁶³ *A Dialogue*, pp. 34, 6.

⁶⁴ *A Dialogue*, p. 15.

voicing his opinion he is not violating such an order but being the dutiful subject and believer who answers to ‘Jesus Christ’, the ‘poore Church’ and the ‘soveraigne prince’. Even to those at the margins of religious consensus, the bond between the ruler and the church was inviolable and essential to the character of English Protestantism.

Within the context of the Act of Supremacy and the Oath of Succession (1534), Cleopatra’s use of the knot of amity may have prompted readers of *Antonius* to recall the bond of ‘goodness’ that symbolises the political and theological unity of the monarchy and the church to understand Cleopatra as a legitimate political ruler. Cleopatra’s language does not entirely ‘purify’ her by ‘purging her love from political motives’ as proposed by Tina Krontiris.⁶⁵ As has been shown, Cleopatra’s word choice intends to formulate her love as intimately bound to the political and theological concerns of Herbert’s contemporary readership. By binding herself in matrimony to her consort (as opposed to the man who seeks to take her kingdom from her) she is asserting her rightful rulership over Egypt. The built environment of *Antonius* articulates spiritual, political and individual concord. It represents the defence of contemporary sexual mores. At the same time, it is expressive of the coherence of a kingdom successfully fortified against the advances of a Roman tyrant.

Given that *Antonius* evokes a contemporary language of matrimony, it is likely that the closet drama was used to explore the nature of contemporary domestic Protestant rule, and the place of the female monarch within it. The function of *Antonius* in speaking about contemporary European political conditions has been

⁶⁵ Tina Krontiris, *Oppositional Voices: Women as Writers and Translators of Literature in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 69-70.

richly reviewed by Skretkowicz and Kewes. Skretkowicz argues convincingly for the ‘allegorical application of the strife of the Greco-Roman Empire to contemporary political upheaval in France’.⁶⁶ Thus France, ‘defeated by self-indulgent internal divisions, kills itself, leaving an abandoned Cleopatra, like the desperate French Huguenots, on the brink of annihilation’.⁶⁷ Kewes has taken such a political reading further, making a case for the narrative’s application to the Elizabethan English court by arguing that *Antonius* denounces ‘Hapsburg designs for global sovereignty’. Seeing in the figure of Octavius Caesar the part of the foreign aggressor Spain, Kewes casts Cleopatra not as the helpless defeated Protestant cause, but as the ineffectual monarchy, concluding that Herbert ‘implicitly critique[s] Elizabeth’s queenship, suggesting, by contrast, what the godly ruler should be.’⁶⁸

Kewes’ reading is at odds with Herbert’s evident wish to proclaim not only the merit of the Elizabethan monarchy, but also the power of female rule in reinstating order in post-Marian England. Kewes erases any trace of victimhood from Cleopatra by suggesting that however ‘sympathetically the lovers are presented in the play [...], her inadequacy as a ruler is glaringly apparent.’⁶⁹ Effectively denying the potential nuance created in the female monarch in *Antonius* sits uneasily with Herbert’s statements about Elizabeth I’s queenship in the ‘Dedicatory Epistle’ accompanying her completed translation of the Psalms:

Kings on a Queene enforst their states to lay;
Main=lands for Empire waiting on an Ile;
Men drawne by worth a woman to obey;
one moving all, herself unmov’d the while:
Truthes restitution, vanitie exile,
wealth sprung of want, war held without annoye,
Let subject bee of some inspired stile,

⁶⁶ Skretkowicz, p. 12.

⁶⁷ Skretkowicz, p. 13.

⁶⁸ Kewes, p. 243.

⁶⁹ Kewes, p. 254.

Till then the object of her subjects joye.⁷⁰

In presenting the completed Psalm translation to Queen Elizabeth, Herbert chose to express the relationship between church and government akin to Foxe and his *Actes and Monuments*. Furthermore, as the ‘Epistle’ highlights, Herbert was particularly interested in re-articulating a contemporary understanding of rule as an exclusively male prerogative through the act of logical inversion. Male rule signifies the status quo and thus ‘want’, ‘war’ and ‘annoye’, while female rule becomes the symbol for ‘Truthes restitution’, ‘wealth’ and ‘joye’.

The reversal of ‘want’ into ‘wealth’ through Queen Elizabeth I parallels the transformation of the Egyptian ruler’s love from ‘wanton’ (*Antonius*, sig. F4^r) to ‘holy’ (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r).⁷¹ As we have seen, Herbert suggests that while Cleopatra may be defeated, her integrity as a ruler remains intact through her enclosure in her monument and her marriage to Anthony. By reading Cleopatra as a representation of Elizabeth, a figure that removes herself from the reproductive society that simultaneously speaks emphatically of the power of a ‘true’ (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r) form of love suggests that Herbert is commenting on Elizabeth’s duties as a woman within a political marriage economy. What is more, Cleopatra’s retained agency as a ruler through her choice of marriage partner echoes Elizabeth’s decision to marry her kingdom. William Camden recounts the famous words in his *Annales* (1625):

“To conclude, I am already bound unto an husband, which is the kingdom of England, and that may suffice you. And this,” quoth she, “makes me wonder that you forget, yourselves, the pledge of this alliance which I have made with my kingdom.”⁷²

⁷⁰ ‘[Dedicatory Poem in the Tixall Manuscript of the *Psalmes*]’, in *The Collected Works*, ed. by Hannay, Kinnaman and Brennan, I, 102-4 (p. 104), 81-8.

⁷¹ ‘[Dedicatory Poem in the Tixall Manuscript of the *Psalmes*]’, p. 104, 86.

⁷² William Camden, *Annales: The True and Royal History of the Famous Empress Elizabeth* (London, 1625), pp. 27-9, as reproduced in, ‘Queen Elizabeth’s First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559: Speech 3, Version 2 *Her answer to [the Commons’] petition that she marry*’, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. by

Like Cleopatra, Queen Elizabeth asserts her agency over her partner in marriage and in doing so, aligns herself with her subjects and her kingdom. By transforming ‘the kingdom of England’ into her husband, she formulates the structure of the Elizabethan church and government in the language of her contemporaries. Like Anderson’s *An Approved Medicine* and *A Dialogue*, she employs the marriage metaphor to assert the coherence and harmony of the Kingdom. As she pledges ‘this alliance’, she asserts the integrity of England just as Cleopatra’s enclosure marked the proud resistance of the Egyptians to Roman invasion. *Antonius* is not so much a criticism of Queen Elizabeth as it is an affirmation of her choice to remain unmarried, and to enter into a figurative marriage with her Kingdom.

That the funeral monument aided her in the creation of this agency over her marital status is expressed by the English Queen herself (1559):

And in the end this shall be for me sufficient: that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin.⁷³

As stressed by Joshua Scodel, Queen Elizabeth deliberately employs ‘epitaphic brevity’ to give her words strength and clarity in order ‘to inaugurate her self-definition as the Virgin Queen.’ Choosing to highlight her ‘regal authority and her sexual purity and inaccessibility’ is undeniably linked not only to form, but to the emblematic content of the passage.⁷⁴ By evoking the symbolic value of the ‘marble stone’, the Queen’s voice facilitates her self-determined sexual status, in which the

Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 58-60 (p. 59).

⁷³ ‘Queen Elizabeth’s First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559: Speech 3, Version 1 [Headed] *Friday the 10th of February. The answer of the queen’s highness to the petition proponed unto her by the lower house concerning her marriage.*’, in *Elizabeth I*, ed. by Marcus, Mueller and Rose, pp. 56-8 (p. 58).

⁷⁴ Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (London: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 53.

distance created by death through the space of the monument signals the royal body's remoteness politically from the opinions of her subjects and parliament, and from the marriage economy and the male sexual gaze through virginity.

Elizabeth I's growing choice to opt out of the marriage economy suggests that the imposed distance and maintained integrity of the spaces of the dead becomes a conduit for the female voice to 'declare' her own active engagement and agency in love. Thus, the queen combines the socially approved symbolic markers of contemporary marriage, and those associated with the maintenance of female chastity.

By establishing agency in love, the tomb allows Elizabeth I to 'declare' her sovereignty and legacy as a female ruler in the same way that Cleopatra's mausoleum motivates the Egyptian Queen to formulate her own '*heritage*' (*Antonius*, sig. N3^v).⁷⁵ The monument functions in this way in her 1564 speech given at Cambridge University. In it, Elizabeth I articulates her unease at the possibility of a premature death that would stop her from completing 'famous and noteworthy work', precluding her from doing that 'which I promise'. Like Alexander the Great, who 'when he had read of the many monuments erected by princes, turned to his intimate [...] and said, "I have done no such thing"', Elizabeth vows to 'leave an exceptional work after my death, by which not only may my memory be renowned in the future, but others may be inspired by my example'.⁷⁶ The monument acts as the instrument through which the Queen seeks to fashion her place in the memory of future generations. What is more, it allows her to make herself into an example to be

⁷⁵ 'Speech 3, Version 1', p. 58.

⁷⁶ 'Queen Elizabeth's Latin Oration at Cambridge University, August 7, 1564', in *Elizabeth I*, ed. by Marcus, Mueller and Rose, pp. 87-9 (pp. 88-9).

emulated, through which her works live on after her death in the actions of others.

Through the monument, Elizabeth I fashions her legacy as a ruler on her own terms.

The tomb is a legitimising metaphor for Elizabeth I to fashion herself as both regent and woman. The tomb allows Queen Elizabeth to construct herself by using identity markers that affirm what Mary Beth Rose argues are ‘conventions that assert the inferiority of the female gender’.⁷⁷ At the same time, it emphasises the possibility of transferring ‘her wifely duties from the household to the state’ as stressed by Louis Adrian Montrose.⁷⁸ Understanding Elizabeth I’s use of the monument in the construction and consolidation of her monarchy can shed light on the apparent ambivalence of her self-fashioning, at once undeniably built on powerful and accepted markers of female identity that are simultaneously and vehemently rejected. The tomb therefore legitimises her gender by uncoupling it physically from the detrimental effects of uncontrolled sexuality. Like Herbert’s Cleopatra, the English Queen negotiates the nature of her love and transforms the expectation for an imminent literal marriage into her self-fashioned figurative marriage to her kingdom by evoking physical removal through the spaces of death.

The funeral monument in Herbert’s *Antonius* plays a key part in her expression of the structure of Elizabethan England. As has been shown, the tomb’s symbolic role as a marker of upheld sexual mores allowed Herbert to employ the place of death as a space to grant her female protagonists agency. In doing so,

⁷⁷ Mary Beth Rose, ‘The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I’, *PMLA*, 115, 5 (2000), 1077-82 (p. 1079).

⁷⁸ Louis Adrian Montrose, ‘The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text’, in *Literary Theory / Renaissance Texts*, ed. by Patricia Parker and David Quint (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 303-40 (p. 310). See also Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 63; Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995).

Herbert employs Cleopatra and Laura as agents in her own participation in, and treatment of, contemporary society. While Herbert sought to destabilise rigid understandings of passive, receptive female affection, she always chose to do so through images and words that were defined by their association with socially sanctioned understandings of gender, as stressed through her reliance on evoking both virginity and matrimony through characters such as Laura and Cleopatra.

Bridging the gap between the normative and the transgressive, Herbert's Cleopatra articulates her love in terms that evoke contemporary religious texts on matrimony. Such tracts stress the duality of love as both a physical and spiritual union. Through this development, the Egyptian queen, infamous for her unbridled sexuality, becomes a study of the way in which these opposing forces of love meet, and how the reconciliation between the two in marriage provided a language for the declaration of political and devotional cohesion. Furthermore, Herbert harnesses women's position within this reciprocal relationship in order to stress the vital place of the female voice within the construction of Protestant identity, providing her leading women with social and political agency in the process.

That Herbert sought to bring opposing forces of love into dialogue is brought into context through their relevance in a politically shifting England, in which the sexual identity of women was a topic of national and international political and theological debate. That the funeral monument provided the space in which the female body was separated from dangerous sexuality is supported by its presentation of Elizabeth I as a 'queen' that 'declare[s]' her will, and as a female body that 'lived and died a virgin'.⁷⁹ Thus, she is perpetually torn, like Cleopatra, between the carnal

⁷⁹ 'Speech 3, Version 1', p. 58.

that would produce a much-needed heir, and the devotion of a king for his subjects that transcended the physical and bodily elements of love.

2. Marital love and Protestant identity: The Cecil tombs of St Nicholas, Westminster Abbey

Developing our investigation by moving from the medium of print to the physical monument, we enter Westminster Abbey to investigate how literary expressions of governmental and political coherence through the funeral monuments of women formed an extension of their role in the commemorative spaces of Elizabethan England's social and political elite. We do not leave the printed text behind altogether. Reading the commemorative spaces of Westminster Abbey through the lens of William Camden's *Reges, reginae* gives us insight into the potential audiences of the Abbey's tombs and indicates the function of the commemorative built environment in the creation of Protestant identities. In 1560 Elizabeth I had re-founded Westminster Abbey as the collegiate church of St Peter.⁸⁰ As a church that provided regular services to the public, under the reign of Elizabeth I the monuments of Westminster Abbey had a diverse audience they lacked only years before, when Mary I reinstated the Abbey as a monastic community (1556-1559).⁸¹ *Reges, reginae* embodies this change in access because it widened the audience of the funeral monuments: from the people attending church services and Westminster School, to readers at home. What is more, *Reges, reginae* highlights the

⁸⁰ Ian Atherton, 'Cathedrals', in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, ed. by Anthony Milton, 5 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2017), I, 228-42 (p. 236).

⁸¹ C. S. Knighton, 'Westminster Abbey Restored', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. by Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 77-123 (p. 77).

interrelationships between physical commemoration and textual forms of remembrance. On the one hand, texts recall the meaning of physical objects. On the other, physical objects inspire texts through which English history could be chronicled and crafted.

As remarked by Peter Sherlock, during the reign of Elizabeth I a ‘growing number of noblewomen’ began to be buried in Westminster Abbey ‘in a process that converted chapels designed for monastic ritual into temples dedicated to the contemplation of death, memory and nobility’.⁸² Nowhere is this more evident than in the redevelopment of the chapel of St Nicholas. Under the powerful English statesman William Cecil, the Cecil family appropriated a large part of this chapel as a family burial place by commemorating Mildred Cooke Cecil and Elizabeth Brooke Cecil. Beyond their wealth and high status in society, the Cecil family were instrumental in shaping religious consensus under the rule of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. As we have seen in chapter one, William had spent his early career in the service of the Duke of Somerset during the Edwardian Protectorate and helped facilitate the dissolution of the chantries in 1548. In his later career and following the reign of Mary I, William ‘saw eye to eye with the queen as to the shape of the new ecclesiastical regime’.⁸³ As Secretary of State he promoted the re-enactment of Henrician and Edwardian religious reform. Robert Cecil continued in his father’s footsteps as Secretary of State and was active in diplomacy with France following the French Wars of Religion and Henry IV’s conversion to Roman Catholicism (1593). He supported the Queen against Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex

⁸² Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 30.

⁸³ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, ‘Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/21-1598), royal minister.’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4983>>.

(1565-1601), who increasingly began to disagree with his monarch's foreign policy strategies concerning Spain and France by 1595.⁸⁴ What is more, he played a critical role in resolving the crisis surrounding Elizabeth I's succession. Robert Cecil ensured the relatively smooth transition between the death of Elizabeth I and the accession of James I, allowing the Elizabethan administrative and religious status quo to endure into the 1610s, when his premature death contributed to the more subtle and gradual shifts in a religious and political consensus.⁸⁵ As the commemorative objects of a family deeply involved in shaping the religiopolitical fabric of England, the Cecil tombs of St Nicholas evoked the memory and nobility of a powerful family and reminded the viewer of their involvement in shaping theological doctrine, devotional practice and the political structure of the Elizabethan state.

Camden's *Reges, reginae* shows us that a contemporary audience was meant to read the tombs of the Cecil women as symbolic representations of the identity of the English church and state. William Camden was appointed as the second master of Westminster School in 1575, which was at the time under the stewardship of William Cecil.⁸⁶ He was therefore predisposed to emphasise the influence of the Cecil family through their intervention into the fabric of Westminster Abbey. As a chronicler of the history of Britain, Camden was also invested in formulating the

⁸⁴ Pauline Croft, 'Cecil, Robert, first earl of Salisbury (1563-1612), politician and courtier', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4980>>.

⁸⁵ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 537; Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), p. 303.

⁸⁶ Wyman H. Herendeen, 'Camden, William (1551-1623)', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4431>>; 'Mr. Camden to Sir Robert Cotton: quite at the close of life. [Cotton MS. Julius C. III fol. 151 b. Orig.]', in *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Sir Henry Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1843), pp. 125-28 (p. 125).

nature of the English state for a wide audience, evidenced by his writing in both English and Latin.

Camden used a style of writing that relied on antiquarian interest to create a text accessible to the non-specialist, people who one could anachronistically term tourists. While *Reges, reginae* recalls Camden's much more widely known work the *Britannia* (first published in Latin in 1586 and in English in 1610) by canonising Elizabethan interpretations of England's history, it was not a historical and topographical survey of Britain, but a guidebook to a set of funeral monuments.⁸⁷ Large portions of *Reges, reginae* are thus spent in directing the visitor through the different chapels of Westminster Abbey, and employing brief descriptions that suffice only as guidance for something that the viewer is seeing with their own eyes. Inherently practical, rather than extensive or even scholarly, *Reges, reginae* was a tool aiding the exploration of material, concrete history, intended for *in situ* use during a planned visit, but equally powerful as an instrument in bringing to life a visit of the halls of the abbey remotely.

Reges, reginae fashions English history as a linear progression towards the religious, political and cultural achievements of Elizabeth I's reign. It does so by reducing the splendour of the medieval tombs by providing only a sparing amount of descriptive detail, thereby distancing the Middle Ages from the reader. The body of William Dudley, Bishop of Durham (d. 1483) is not described as interred in an imposing gothic Purbeck marble tomb with an impressive canopy, but as 'lying to the south, in the marble tomb near the wall' ('iacet iuxta murum ad austrum in

⁸⁷ William Camden, *Britannia sive Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (London, 1586); William Camden, *Britain, or A Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands Adjoyning*, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1610).

tumulo marmoreo’).⁸⁸ Similarly, Nicholas Carew, Baron of Carew in Pembrokeshire (d. 1470) is simply noted as interred ‘in a marble tomb of the same wall [as Dudley], but located towards the east’ (‘in tumba marmorea ad eundem murum, sed orientem versus’) (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^v). The medieval past is visually distanced from the reader’s frame of reference through the sparing use of descriptive language.

The brief descriptions of the medieval monuments of St Nicholas contrast sharply with the level of detail we are provided for visualising the tombs of Camden’s contemporaries, the Cecil family women. Camden describes the monument commemorating Mildred as ‘most magnificent’ (‘magnificentissimo’) (*Reges, reginae*, sig. E1^v) (*Plate 12*).⁸⁹ The tomb chests holding the effigies of Mildred and her daughter, Anne Cecil de Vere rest on a base with no fewer than four inscriptions. Making up the centre of the composition is a coffered arch containing an epitaph in dedication to de Vere, who predeceased her mother. Sheltered by Corinthian columns to the left and right, a kneeling effigy of Robert Cecil flanks the effigies to the left, while the space to the right is occupied by Anne’s daughters, Elizabeth, Bridget and Susan. Camden conveys the tomb’s imposing presence by providing the reader with its dimensions (‘in altitudinem XXIII’, or 24 feet high) and gives detailed information on the use of the luxurious materials used in its construction, such as ‘porphyritic stone’ (‘lapide porphyritico’), one of the most valued building materials of ancient Egypt and Imperial Rome (*Reges, reginae*, sig. E3^r).⁹⁰ Making up the centre portion of the monument, and placed within its own

⁸⁸ William Camden, *Reges, reginae, nobiles, et alij in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti, vsque ad annum reparatae salutis 1600* (London, 1600), sig. F2^v. Hereafter cited in the body of the text.

⁸⁹ Mildred shares a tomb with her daughter Anne Cecil de Vere, Countess of Oxford, who died shortly before her. Anne’s effigy takes a prominent place alongside that of her mother. This chapter focuses on the commemoration of Mildred.

⁹⁰ George Rapp, *Archaeomineralogy* (London: Springer, 2002), p. 131.

smaller coffered arch, is a kneeling effigy of an aged William Cecil, surmounting an emotional account of his grief at the loss of a daughter and a wife. Again, Camden provides a striking amount of detail that brings to life the extreme grief of the bereaved husband, who is described as a frail and old kneeling man ('*vir senex genua flectens*') (*Reges, reginae*, sig. E3^r). Reserving such detail to the most recent tombs that occupy the chapel of St Nicholas, Camden fashions the monuments of the chapel into a hierarchy. Progressing from the short description of medieval and late medieval tombs that reflect their distance from the present, the author creates a linear advance through time, in which skill, artistry, power and devotion are brought to visual and written perfection in the contemporary monuments of the Cecil family.

The narrative of an Elizabethan present that culturally surpasses its distant and more immediate past is also apparent in the way Camden describes Elizabeth Brooke Cecil's tomb (*Plate 13*). This monument is the immediate neighbour to the lavish tomb of her mother-in-law, Mildred and takes the form of an altar tomb decorated lavishly with emblems of mortality. Elizabeth's monument is brought to life by Camden through the use of descriptive language that is usually lacking in his descriptions of medieval tombs. Thus, he focuses on the materials employed in the construction of the monument, making mention of the use of the common touchstone ('Lydio', made of Lydian stone), and the more luxurious alabaster ('Alabastrite', made of alabaster), one of England's most prized exports and widely used for royal and papal effigies across Renaissance Europe (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F1^v).⁹¹ Dedicating the next several pages to a faithful transcription of the 'Dialogismo', the epitaphic

⁹¹ W. Kloppmann et al., 'Competing English, Spanish, and French alabaster trade in Europe over five centuries as evidenced by isotope fingerprinting', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 114, 45 (2017), 11856-60 (p. 11856).

writing that dominates the tomb, Camden employs Elizabeth's funeral monument to showcase the comparative literary skill of his generation. The luxury of word and material intersect in the tomb's high artistry (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F1^v). At the same time, the extensive care he takes in transcribing the spousal mourning conveyed through Elizabeth's epitaph shows how *Reges, reginae*'s formulation of the Elizabethan age as a cultural zenith rested on marital love.

Beyond recounting its imposing size and luxurious materials, Camden's description of Mildred's tomb dwells on its disproportionately long and emotionally engaging epitaph written by Mildred's husband William. What is more, the public nature of this spousal grief in the halls of Westminster and the written pages of Camden's *Reges, reginae* reveal its wider significance in shaping an Elizabethan religious identity. Referring to the deceased lovingly as 'mea Mildreda' (my Mildred), the inscription takes on the form of a one-sided dialogue: a grieving husband speaking to the deceased who listens, but whose response is always just out of reach (*Reges, reginae*, sig. E3^v). The epitaph, however, moves from private grief to exemplary theological texts that form the prism through which William's mourning is to be read:

Non multò autem post sequitur mater filiam de qua quanquam nunquam sine lachrimis seriò cogito, aliqua tamen occurunt quæ mærorem meum paululum lenire videntur, nempè cùm in memoriam repeto, quomodo per totam vitam suam versata sit in sacrarum literarum et sanctorum virorum scriptis ysque maximè Græcis, ut Basilij Magni, Chrysostomi, Gregor Nazianzeni ac aliorum similium.

Not long after the death of the daughter [Anne Cecil de Vere, Countess of Oxford], the mother followed, and though I never earnestly think of her without tears, there are, however, some things that seem to soothe my sorrow a little, namely, when I recall that she spent all her life in the study of sacred literature and the letters of

holy men, especially the Greeks such as Basil the Great, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus and similar others.⁹²

(*Reges, reginae*, sigs. E3^v-E4^r)

Citing Mildred's proficiency in translating religious writings, William emphasises her study of the literature of Basil the Great (329-379), Chrysostom (347-407) and Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 330- c. 389). All three writers had a profound impact on the development of the Christian notion of marriage as 'on the one hand a carnal relationship centred on sexual intercourse and sexual procreation, and on the other hand [as] something essentially holy and sanctifying.'⁹³ Furthermore, they all employ marriage as a metaphor for the bond between the church and Christ. By placing the works of two Cappadocian Fathers and Chrysostom within the context of a monument of two loving spouses in Westminster Abbey, Mildred's epitaph brought the significance of marriage in ancient Christian writings into the context of an Elizabethan religious consensus and into the minds of an audience of everyday worshippers, the pupils of Westminster School and the readers of *Reges, reginae*.

The use of the physical bond of marriage in an articulation of a collective unity of Christian believers can be found in Gregory of Nazianzus's *Carmina*:

Nobis invicem manus et aures et pedes sumus
Nuptiarum beneficio, quæ duplum robur afferent
Magnum sane amicis gaudium, et inimicis dolorem præstant.⁹⁴

⁹² Translation by the author.

⁹³ Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage During the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. xix.

⁹⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, 'Poemata Moralia', in *Sancti patris nostri Gregorii theologi, vulgo Nazianzeni, archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, opera quæ existant omnia, patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 161 vols (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), XXXVII (1862), 541|542. These poems were most easily available in Greek in the sixteenth century, though Latin translations of Nazianzus's work began to circulate. See, for example: Girolamo Brunelli, ed., *S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Carmina selecta. Cyrilli Alexandrini de plantarum et animalium proprietate liber nunc primum in lucem editus. Synesii Hymni decem. Clementis Alexandrini Hymnus* (Rome, 1590).

We are each other's hands and feet and ears
 Marriage is favourable, and yields double the strength
 It is clearly a great joy to our friends, and a sorrow to our enemies.⁹⁵

In his theological and historical poetic verse collection, Nazianzus emphasises the bodily union of man and wife in marriage through the fusion of corporeal hands, feet and ears. As a ‘great joy’ to friends and a ‘sorrow’ to enemies, marriage symbolises the integrity of the community. As we have seen in Bullinger’s *The Golden Boke*, the carnal meeting of bodies in marriage provides a metaphor for the unity of Christian society. Mildred’s library provides evidence of her interest in Nazianzus. It included a volume of epistles by Basil and Nazianzus, entitled *Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazanzeni, Epistolae Graecae, nunquam antea edite* (1528).⁹⁶ As Susan R. Holman reminds us, the translation of the writings of Nazianzus by Swiss Reformer Johann Oecolampadius (1482-1531) had a significant impact on the English Church. Thomas Cranmer, who oversaw the making of the Book of Common Prayer, and Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), who facilitated the translation of the King James Bible, read Nazianzus in translation.⁹⁷ Oecolampadius’s work was most readily incorporated into the everyday devotions of an English public by John Foxe. This is attested by his translation of *A Sarmon, of Jhon Oecolampadius, to Yong men, and Maydens* (1548). In it, he outlines how marriage is a mark of those in the ‘servyce of god’; he rhetorically asks the reader: who ‘wold be copled or content to be joyned in maryage with [...] a beaste’ steeped in sin?⁹⁸ The prevalence of the Nazianzus’s

⁹⁵ Translation by the author.

⁹⁶ Caroline Bowden, ‘The Library of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley’, *The Library*, 6, 1 (2005), 3-29 (p. 26).

⁹⁷ Susan R. Holman, *God Knows There’s Need: Christian Responses to Poverty* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 72-5.

⁹⁸ Johann Oecolampadius, *A Sarmon, of Jhon Oecolampadius, to Yong Men, and Maydens*, trans. by John Foxe (London, 1548), sigs. B2^v-B3^r.

writing in the sixteenth-century devotional landscape suggests that Mildred's tomb acted as an aid that pointed the viewer of the tomb in Westminster Abbey and the reader of *Reges, reginae* to the foundational texts that shaped Elizabethan theology. What is more, the tomb visually conveys an understanding of the covenant between the church and Christ derived from Nazianzus's writings. While the most common theological texts available to the public narrated the unity of believers, church and Christ through the metaphor of marriage, Mildred's tomb visualised it through the spousal love, and grief, of husband and wife.

Like Mildred's tomb, Basil's *Morals* used marriage to convey the bond between believer, the church and Christ. He acknowledges this when he cautions: 'Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church and delivered himself up for it, that he might sanctify it.'⁹⁹ As in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, the sacrifice of Christ for the church is likened to the act of a dutiful husband that provides for his spouse. In doing so, Basil assigns the church the part of the wife. Just as Foxe's church is the 'chiefe sede and ofspringe of mutual consolation', and assigned female characteristics, Basil's understanding of the community of believers employs gender duality to formulate a harmonious union of the earthly and the ethereal.¹⁰⁰ As seen above, there is evidence to suggest that Mildred read Basil in Latin alongside Nazianzus, while a surviving copy of her translation of his homily

⁹⁹ Basil of Caesarea, 'The Morals', in *Ascetical Works*, trans. by Sister M. Monica Wagner, The Fathers of the Church, 3rd edn (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1970), pp. 71-205 (p. 190).

¹⁰⁰ John Foxe, 'The history of Rainold Pecocke bishop of Chichester', in *TAMO* <<https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=text&gototype=&edition=1563&pageid=415&anchor=the%20knot%20of%20amitie%20and%20concord%20which%20was%20ordained%20by%20Christe#kw>> [accessed 26 July 2018].

on Deuteronomy (*c.* 1550) attests to her active participation in disseminating his works in the English language.¹⁰¹

Mildred's wish to make the writings of Basil accessible to a wide readership is in step with the attitudes of her contemporaries regarding the ancient writer's relevance to a contemporary Protestant context. In his translation of a collection of Basil's homilies on 'humaine lernynge' (1557), for example, William Barker (fl. 1540-1576) explains the importance of these ancient writings during a time of a shifting theological consensus. As contemporary religious uncertainty 'from Duchelande to Englande' had shown, 'yf there be no learnynge' of a 'noble man' such as Basil, 'there can be no religion, yf there be no religion, there muste nedes be barbarousnes and confusion'.¹⁰² Referring to the third century CE as the beginning of '*the very Flower and Golden Age of the Church*', the chronicler Degory Wheare (1573-1647) elaborates on how ancient writings imposed religious order by providing evidence of the longstanding authority of the church and its teachings since '*they were Historical Narratives of the things that happened*'.¹⁰³ Containing '*TRUTH; which is the very Soul of History*', the writings of Basil acted as a supplement to scripture that placed the Elizabethan Church within a wider Christian history.¹⁰⁴ Mildred's tomb, and its depiction of the transcendent bond of marital love, prompted the viewer to remember that the church rested on a long-standing Christian

¹⁰¹ Translation of Basil of Caesarea's Homily on Deuteronomy by Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley, London, British Library, MS Royal 17 B XVIII, fols. 1^r-23^v.

¹⁰² Basil of Caesarea, *An Exhortation of Holye Basilius Magnus to Hys Younge Kynsemen*, trans. by William Barker (S.l., 1557), sigs. A4^r, A5^v.

¹⁰³ Degory Wheare, *The Method and Order of Reading Both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories* (London, 1685), pp. 244, 246. For an overview of the role of theological writings of the first centuries of Christianity in the context of the seventeenth century, see John Spurr, "A special kindness for dead bishops": The Church, History, and Testimony in Seventeenth-Century Protestantism', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68, 1-2 (2005), 313-34 (pp. 319-24).

¹⁰⁴ Wheare, p. 283.

foundation to which it was tied irrevocably and legitimately. Furthermore, by pointing the viewer to the writings of Basil, she legitimized the marital bond as a leading metaphor that shaped shared perceptions of the English Church as an entity tied in a ‘*knot of our amitie*’ (*Antonius*, sig. O2^r) to Christ, its eternal husband.

Chrysostom, who is mentioned on Mildred’s epitaph alongside Nazianzus and Basil, also employs marriage to express the meeting of church and Christ but further emphasises the sacrificial elements of Christ’s (male) love for the (female) church in his homily on Ephesians 5. 22-33:

Vis ut uxor tibi obediāt, quemadomū ecclesia Christo? Pro uide ipse quo^ß illi, quēadmodum Christus ecclesiæ. Esti animam pro ipsa dare oporteat ac milies trucidari, et quamcū^ß rem ferre et pati, ne detrectes.¹⁰⁵

Wouldest thou have thy wife obedient unto thee, as the Church is to Christ? Take then thyself the same provident care of her, as Christ takes for the Church. Yea, even if it shall be needful for thee to give thy life for her, yea, and to be cut into pieces ten thousand times, yea, and to endure and undergo suffering whatever, – refuse it not.¹⁰⁶

In Chrysostom, the duty and care of the husband becomes the sacrifice of Christ. As the husband is willing to ‘endure and undergo suffering’ and lay down his life, he enacts the passion and sacrifice of Christ for the benefit of the church. Thus, if Christ’s love for the church was represented in the microcosm of male affection for his spouse, then it was the representation of female affection, facilitated through male sacrifice, that formed the stage on which Christian devotion was enacted.

Mildred likely read Chrysostom extensively, as is evidenced by the inclusion of *De orando Deum libri duo* (1551) and *Divi Ioannis Chysostomi in omnes Pauli Apostoli*

¹⁰⁵ John Chrysostom, *Quartus Tomus Opera D. Ioannis Chysostomi*, trans. by Wolfgang Musculus and Desiderius Erasmus (Basel, 1558), pp. 1079-80.

¹⁰⁶ John Chrysostom, ‘Homily XX’, in *Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon*, ed. by Philip Shaff, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, series 1, 14 vols (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1956; first published by T&T Clark 1886-1900), XIII, 267.

Epistolas accuratissima vereq[ue] aurea et divina interpretatio (1529) in her library collection.¹⁰⁷ The prevalence of Chrysostom in Mildred's theological studies reflects their importance in the development of Protestant, and specifically Calvinist doctrine. As Irena Backus notes, 'Chrysostom's way of using the Bible held great attraction for the Genevan Reformer' and likely inspired John Calvin's translation of the preface of the *Homilies of Chrysostom*, unfinished and unpublished though it remained.¹⁰⁸ Of the three bishops of the early Church mentioned on Mildred's tomb, Chrysostom was most enduringly influential in the conception of Protestant marriage, as John Evelyn's translation of *The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom* (1659) suggests. This tract warns men of the dangers of delaying marriage 'till he be inrolled amongst the Souldiers, or that he hath attained to some office in the Commonwealth'.¹⁰⁹ Marriage forms the foundation from which the sin of fornication is avoided, and the place where the ties to God through chastity are affirmed. Mildred's tomb introduces this perception of marriage as a central element in harmonious Protestant communities into the place of worship by directing her viewership to the writings of Chrysostom.

Through William's spousal sorrow Mildred's tomb becomes a representation of the church community's identity as the bride of Christ. The tomb attests to the prevalence of a contemporary symbolic language in which the marital bond between male and female became a leading metaphor to express the coherence of the devotional community through the co-dependency of the carnal (female) and

¹⁰⁷ Bowden, pp. 26-7.

¹⁰⁸ Irena Backus, 'Calvin and the Greek Fathers', in *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late-Medieval and Reformation History: Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 253-76 (p. 263).

¹⁰⁹ John Chrysostom, *The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom, Concerning the Education of Children*, trans. by John Evelyn (London, 1659), p. 81.

spiritual (male). Furthermore, this metaphor became central in speaking about the sacrifice of Christ for his people, the channel through which the believers are bound to God. As has been shown, the tomb's inclusion of Mildred's devotional readings reminds the reader of its proper interpretation through the lens of a set of texts that defined the Protestant fashioning of public as well as private devotion. Furthermore, this re-affirmation of concepts found in authoritative ancient Christian writings consciously set Protestant England within a wider Christian historiography. The inclusion of the congregation in the dialogue created by William through his epitaph serves a wider educational function, in which the marital union between husband and wife dramatizes marriage visually and spatially to convey the relationship between church and Christ in the teachings of Chrysostom, Basil and Nazianzus.¹¹⁰ Through the tomb's inclusion in the printed pages of *Reges, reginae*, the writings of the Three Hierarchs entered into the creation of English Protestant selfhood through historical writing.

Just as we have seen in *Antonius*, the matrimonial bond signified the relationship between the Elizabethan Church and the deity and served to express the place of the ruler within such a hierarchy. The tomb of Elizabeth Brooke Cecil exemplifies how marriage conveyed the ties between the collective of believers and the state. While William's mournful words remained unanswered by Mildred, his son Robert's grief-stricken voice was in direct dialogue with the deceased through

¹¹⁰ As pointed out by Gemma Allen, this preference by Mildred suggests her participation in a larger and pan-European debate about the humanist curriculum. This is evidenced by her involvement in the publication of a set of letters by Roger Ascham and Johann Sturm, in which Ascham highlights the preference of Latin writings in England in opposition to Sturm's preference of 'the Greeks Basil and Chrysostom'. Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 25; 'To Johann Sturm: Cambridge, April 4, 1550', in *Letters of Roger Ascham*, trans. by Maurice Hatch and Alvin Vos (New York: P. Lang, 1989), pp. 157-68 (p. 164).

the tomb. The words attributed to the wife Elizabeth ('Vxor'), speak of marital love in terms that echo the ones used in Herbert's *Antonius*, as well as the ancient writings studied by Elizabeth's mother-in-law:

*Regina à Cameris, Baronis filia, chari
Fida Equitis coniux Elizabetha fui
Unus amor nobis, una indivulsa voluntas,
Cor unum, una fides inviolata fuit,
Ille mei si quando potest deponere curam,
Ille potest animæ non memor esse suæ.*

Attendant of a Queen, Dear daughter of a Baron,
Faithful wife of a Knight, I was *Elizabeth*:
One love was ours, one indivisible will,
There was one heart, one inviolable faith.
He, if ever he were able to put aside his care for me,
He would be unmindful of his own soul.¹¹¹

(*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r)

As Patricia Phillippe tells us, Elizabeth's words recreate the intimate spousal relationship between husband and wife because the monument 'casts' mourning 'as conversation'.¹¹² While such a dialogue fashions a moment of 'privacy even in the highly public forum of Westminster Abbey', the private grief of spouses is the product of a devotional language that communicates the union of body and mind. Elizabeth's corporeality becomes one with her husband Robert Cecil's soul through their 'One love', making corporeality and spirituality 'indivisible'.

The language of Elizabeth's epitaph carried theological meaning by stressing the indivisibility of body and mind through the meeting of female and male. As Robert Cecil and his wife become one in mind and body, their love becomes 'one inviolable faith' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r). Echoing Chrysostom's assertion that a husband sacrifices himself for the well-being of his wife, Elizabeth's words conclude

¹¹¹ Translation as it appears in Phillippe, 'Living Stones', p. 31.

¹¹² Phillippe, 'Living Stones', p. 31.

with the assurance that her husband's care for her is inextricably bound to the well-being of his own soul. The monument allows the earthly love of husband and wife to forego transience. At the same time, the metaphor of marriage permits the viewer to see Robert and Elizabeth Cecil's love as a microcosm of the 'inviolable faith' that binds them to God. Like the 'Faithful wife', the individual believer and the collective of the church find recourse in Christ's 'care', who is 'unmindful' of his own well-being for the benefit of all (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r). The language employed on Elizabeth's tomb plays a part in the larger tableau of St Nicholas chapel under the tutelage of the Cecil family, actively participating in the fashioning of the devotional program that sought to assert the structure of the Elizabethan Church through the metaphor of marriage.

While Elizabeth's monument echoes Mildred and William's wish to fashion marriage into a larger metaphor for a coherent Elizabethan devotional landscape, it also engages the union of spouses in the political language of contemporary England: a place in which the earthly and spiritual were bound together through the figure of the regent. While Elizabeth's tomb focuses on the bond of love she shares with her husband, it also stresses her loyalty as a subject of Queen Elizabeth I. Her epitaph first and foremost characterises her as an 'Attendant of a Queen' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r). This part of Elizabeth's identity also dominates the English language inscription that accompanies the abovementioned Latin dialogue. In it, she is portrayed through her '*Wit, and condition, silent, true, and chast*' that '*wanne her much esteeming, | In court*' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r). The 'one inviolable faith' that signifies both spousal love and the bond between Christ and the church was indivisible from her identity as a loyal subject to a reigning monarch (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r).

Highlighting the inseparable ties between Elizabeth's identity as a spouse, her function as a representation of the 'Faithful wife' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r) that is the Church, and her position as a devoted servant to Elizabeth I served a wider function to Robert Cecil, who found his position at court under threat by Robert Devereux. As has been convincingly shown by Gemma Allen through her study of the letters by Robert Cecil's aunt, Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell (1528-1609), spousal mourning functioned as a platform from which to assert political power and loyalty, a place from which to counsel 'Cecil to be strong and return to his political vocation'.¹¹³ Binding marital indissolubility with royal devotion by the repeated incorporation of references to the Queen on Elizabeth's tomb thus asserts Robert Cecil's loyalty to his monarch through a visual language of the enduring bond of marriage. Furthermore, it binds the love of the subject and monarch into the language of the marriage between Christ and his people, an amalgamation that narrated the function of England's reigning monarch as the simultaneous head of the state and of the church to a contemporary viewership.

Robert Cecil's use of his wife's tomb to stress the relationship between the subject and the monarch in a devotional setting is a product of his precarious position at court. As Alexandra Gajda suggests, Robert Cecil actively sought ways to express his loyalty to Queen Elizabeth as he was in constant and perilous competition with Essex for the Queen's support. The very foundation of Robert Cecil's eventual case of treason against Essex relied on portraying his unshaken allegiance to his monarch, whilst 'hewing at the foundations of Essex's loyalism, his breast-beating vows of allegiance to Elizabeth'.¹¹⁴ Claiming through the 'indivisible

¹¹³ Allen, p. 107.

¹¹⁴ Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), p. 49.

will' of husband and wife the allegiance of his spouse to her Queen, and employing his own loyalty to his wife in marriage as an allusion to his political faithfulness to Elizabeth I, Robert Cecil practices precisely what his aunt cautions him to do: 'to leave his grief, and once again become the composed, philosophical orator.'¹¹⁵ Furthermore, Robert Cecil's assertion of loyalty through the language and images of marriage and lineage actively refuted Essex's accusations of a 'devilish alliance of all of his enemies to enthrone the Infanta and perpetuate their power.'¹¹⁶ Playing on what Carole Levin describes as 'Elizabeth's self-presentations as virgin and as object of political and sexual desire and marriageability', Robert Cecil employed the monument, and its role in the representation of the binding metaphor of marriage as an assertion of his own indissoluble bond to his monarch.¹¹⁷

By employing the metaphor of marriage to speak about the ties between subject and state, Elizabeth's tomb, like that of Cleopatra in *Antonius*, put the viewer in mind of the uniquely bonded structure of the English church and government. As we have seen in Anderson's *An Approved Medicine* and the anonymously printed *A Dialogue* in part one of this chapter, Elizabeth I's 'sacred scepter' was understood to unite the believers, the church and the government in one harmonious union under God.¹¹⁸ Robert Cecil's self-fashioning as a loyal subject through his 'Faithful wife' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r) thus served an educational purpose to a wider audience of viewers in Westminster Abbey, and the readers of *Reges, reginae*, akin to the tomb

¹¹⁵ Allen, p. 107.

¹¹⁶ Alexandra Gajda, 'Essex and the "popish plot"', in *Doubtful and Dangerous: The question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England*, ed. by Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 115-33 (p. 117).

¹¹⁷ Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 39.

¹¹⁸ Anderson, sig. B2^v.

of Mildred. While Mildred's tomb employed marriage to articulate the relationship of the church and Christ, Elizabeth's forcefully reminded its audience of the place of the monarch in their self-identification as English Protestants. What is more, the tomb's inscription visually conveys this hierarchy of interlocking identities. Beginning with Elizabeth's characterisation as a subject and attendant to the Queen, the tomb moves to her emblematic function as the 'Faithful wife', evoking the gendered conceptions of an earthly church married to an ethereal Godhead. Elizabeth's tomb, like that of Cleopatra in *Antonius*, becomes a way to legitimize the politico-theological order of Queen Elizabeth I's rule.

Conclusion

Chapter one argues that the funeral monuments of women transferred more than family legacy, also passing on elements of the ritual, devotion and theology of the past to the present. This chapter expands on these findings. As objects that expressed continuity during a time defined by radical religious change, the tomb also acted as a canvas on which to harmoniously unite the composite elements of the religiopolitical character of England. Mary Sidney Herbert's *Antonius* creates a funeral monument that acts as such a place of reconciliation. By transforming Cleopatra from 'wanton' lover into 'kindhearted' wife, the tomb employs a language of matrimonial love to formulate the unity of church, monarch and Christ in an idealised vision of the Elizabethan body politic (*Antonius*, sigs. H5^r, F4^r). The tomb allowed Herbert to articulate how female agency in affection shaped the state: a country ruled by a virgin queen who chooses to forego a precarious royal marriage

economy for a figurative marriage with the state, allowing her to preserve this social, devotional and political structure.

By drawing on a language of wedlock that was firmly embedded in the Protestant texts of her contemporaries, Herbert transforms the Egyptian queen's problematic love for Anthony, torn between the sensual and the ethereal, into a reflection of the duality of love in marriage, a love that is simultaneously physical and spiritual. By tracing the use and meaning of the knot of amity as a metaphor from conduct literature on marriage to its place in devotional and theological texts such as Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, we are able to see that the meeting of sensual and spiritual love in marriage served to express the unification of the believers and the church, and to articulate the ties between the church and its official representative, the English monarch. In doing so, marriage acted as a metaphor for the integrity of the state. To the contemporary reader, Cleopatra's resolution of the tension of the carnal and spiritual through marital love transformed her enclosure into a political act of preservation. As she chooses Anthony in love, she avoids relinquishing her kingdom into the hands of the Roman tyrant. Egypt, though doomed, remains sovereign through its rightful ruler until the very end. As Elizabeth I chooses 'the kingdom of England' as her 'husband', she affirms the unity of the disparate elements that constitute the Elizabethan state and asserts the political integrity of her kingdom through a marriage that ensures her sovereignty.¹¹⁹

The second part of this chapter shows that Herbert's use of the female tomb to convey the coherence of the state through marriage drew on a contemporary function of female remembrance. In order to show this, we moved from the first printed edition of *Antonius* to the physical monuments of Mildred Cooke Cecil and

¹¹⁹ 'Speech 3, Version 2', p. 59.

Elizabeth Brooke Cecil erected in Westminster Abbey's St Nicholas chapel between 1588 and 1597. The Cecil women's death came at a critical point, when anxieties over an aging monarch, the lack of a direct heir to the throne and the death of William Cecil stressed the need to reaffirm the stability of the social, theological and political status quo. Mildred's monument and its epitaphs frame her identity through the spousal grief of her husband William. However, by engaging the reader within ancient church writings by Basil, Nazianzus and Chrysostom, the marital bond of husband and wife guides the viewer from private affection to the tomb's function as an object of church furnishing in the Elizabethan place of worship. The tomb's portrayal of spousal grief was to be read in the context of a rich history of Christian writing in which the bond of marriage signified the union between the church and Christ. As a representative of a political elite that shaped the fabric of English belief, Mildred (and her monument) affirmed the continuing legitimacy of the Elizabethan Church by transforming the marital bond of husband and wife into a metaphor for the church's marriage to Christ. Instead, the tomb of Elizabeth Brooke Cecil fashioned spousal grief into the inseparable bond between the church and its figurative head, the monarch. As Elizabeth is fashioned into the 'Faithful wife' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r), the representative of 'one inviolable faith' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r), she can be read as a representation of the church. This identity as a loyal wife could not be uncoupled from her duty as a lady in waiting to Queen Elizabeth I. Elizabeth Brooke Cecil's tomb therefore communicated how the church was the 'Attendant of a Queen' (*Reges, reginae*, sig. F2^r), like the wife of Robert Cecil.

As Herbert's *Antonius* and the tombs of Mildred and Elizabeth show, the funeral monuments of women were sites to fashion a collective sense of Protestant

selfhood. They were places to outline the ties between church and Christ and spaces that sought to negotiate the position of the English ruler within such a structure in the wake of the Act of Supremacy and the Oath of Succession. By moving from the study of a text to the investigation of the physical monuments of Westminster Abbey, we can see how textual and physical forms of remembrance existed in a mutually supportive dialogue. This shift from text to object allows us to see *Antonius* as a product of a critical point in the Elizabethan reign, when an established political system began to show its age. As Camden's *Reges, reginae* demonstrates, the physical and textual monument worked in tandem to affirm the resilience and strength of the Elizabethan state as the threat of political destabilisation loomed in the wake of William Cecil's death. The halls of Westminster Abbey and the pages of *Reges, reginae* confirm the smooth transition of power from William to his son Robert Cecil through the tomb of the latter's wife, Elizabeth. Employing the inviolable bond of marital love between husband and wife, Robert Cecil asserts his allegiance to his aging monarch. Robert Cecil's loyalty to the monarchy ensured the relatively fluent transition of power from Elizabeth I to James I following the Queen's death. With Robert Cecil's own death, however, this administrative continuity came to an end in 1612. In chapter three we will explore the female tomb's function as an instrument of reconciliation in the aftermath of Robert Cecil's death and during the accelerating fragmentation of the Elizabethan religious consensus in the 1620s. By turning to the tomb as a metaphor in funeral books and commemorative sermons, we will further expand our understanding of the importance of the mutually supportive role of commemorative text and object in shaping English religiopolitical identity.

Chapter 3 Monumental Text: The Funeral Book of Anna Mountfort Bill

Introduction

In 1621, Martin Day (d. 1629), the rector of the parish church of St Faith's under Paul's in London compiled *A Monument of Mortalitie*, a commemorative text printed on the occasion of the death of a member of his parish, Anna Mountfort Bill (1588-1621). It begins with an invitation to look (*Plate 14*). The frontispiece by Simon de Passe (1595-1647) draws the viewer's gaze to a simple tomb chest, sheltered under a classical entablature supported by four fluted Corinthian columns. Following the looks of two mourners, the viewer catches a glimpse of the enshrouded body of the deceased, face uncovered. The reader is invited to experience the architectural space of the metaphor created through the title, to visualise the monument of mortality. Despite providing the viewer with a chance to experience the literary conceit of the title through the sense of sight, the frontispiece eludes firm meaning. Instead, the image visually formulates the difficulty of the multiple meanings created through the text's central metaphor. Is the lavish temple the monument of the title? Is it the uncovered tomb chest? Or is it, even, the exposed body of the deceased herself? As a printed text that engages the reader through the experience of seeing, *A Monument* foregrounds the instability of the image's meaning to highlight the unsettling multivalence of the word. At the same time, *A Monument* engages the female dead in the construction of this unstable conceit. Concealed within shroud, tomb and temple, Bill is nonetheless exposed to the mourners attending her monument, and the reader who is invited into the scene of mourning.

This chapter argues that the metaphor of the tomb in *A Monument* negotiated the textual and material elements of Protestant worship following the intensification of rifts in a religious consensus that manifested themselves in the 1620s. Furthermore, it will be shown that through women's association with the potential dangers of display, Day implicated Bill and her real or imagined voice within these debates. We will see that by foregrounding the instability of figurative meaning in text and image, *A Monument* is a product of its time, marked by two competing but related religious concerns: an 'anxiety over a semantic difficulty' created through an emphasis on the reading of scripture, and a nervousness regarding 'cognition and sensation', or 'what was meant by the taste and sight of God' in collective ritual.¹ By finding ways to resolve the friction between the two, *A Monument* sought to reconcile a fracturing religious consensus.

In 1612, the deaths of Robert Cecil and the 'unambiguously protestant' heir to the English throne, Henry Frederick began to stir doubts about the administrative and theological continuity of the Elizabethan Settlement.² As the health of Anne of Denmark and James I began to fail by the concluding years of the 1610s, it became apparent that the lingering grievances that had been voiced at the Hampton Court Conference (1604) and at the accession of the King were unlikely to be addressed to the satisfaction of reactant Protestant communities.³ What is more, even though the Synod of Dort (1618-1619) had forcefully condemned Arminianism and its attitudes

¹ Quotations taken from Brian Cummings and Matthew Milner, respectively. Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 64; Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 157.

² James M. Sutton, 'Henry Frederick, prince of Wales (1594-1612)', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12961>>.

³ Mark H. Curtis, 'Hampton Court Conference and its Aftermath', *History*, 46, 156 (1961), 1-16 (p. 15).

towards church worship, William Laud (1573-1645) became Bishop of St David and entered Jacobean court life in 1621. By promoting Laud to a bishopric, James I endorsed a member of the clergy that, ‘by the mid-1620s [...] had clearly convinced himself that the arguments being used against Arminianism were threatening both the established church, and by association the civil unity’.⁴ At the highest political and ecclesiastical level, Laud began to emphasise the importance of ceremony and the image in worship and argued that the church and its institutions were critical in the attainment of salvation. Consequently, in the 1620s wider cross-denominational debates ‘about the visibility and continuity of the church [...] burst into life’.⁵ Such discussions marked a rift between those who sought to replace episcopacy, the complex ecclesiastical fabric of the English Church and its ceremonies by instituting a church according to ‘Christ’s own institution’, and a growing faction of the Church elite that wished to ‘re-emphasize the intrinsic holiness of the church and all things associated with it’ and to ‘seek their beautification and to recreate the hierarchy of sacred spaces for the post-Reformation Church of England’.⁶

Reading *A Monument* alongside a set of commemorative texts of the 1620s that use the funeral monument as their central metaphor, this chapter shows that the genre of the funeral book sought to negotiate the textual and ritual experience of

⁴ Anthony Milton, ‘Laud, William (1573-1645), archbishop of Canterbury’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16112>>. See also, Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 210.

⁵ Peter Lake, ‘Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635’, *Past & Present*, 114 (1987), 32-76 (p. 43).

⁶ ‘The Millenary Petition’, in *Protestant Nonconformist Texts: Volume 1 1550-1700*, ed. by R. Tudur Jones, Arthur Long and Rosemary Moore (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2007), pp. 103-9 (p. 105); Joseph Sterrett, ‘Books and Places: Recognizing Sacred Sensibilities in the World’, in *Sacred Text—Sacred Space: Architectural, Spiritual and Literary Convergences in England and Wales*, ed. by Joseph Sterrett and Peter Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 1-12 (p. 9).

Protestant worship through the tomb. We therefore further build on the findings of chapter two that reveal the interrelationship between text and commemorative object by turning to the printed commemorative book. *A Monument*, alongside Richard Chambers' *Sarahs Sepulture, or A Funerall Sermon Preached for the Right Honourable and Vertuous Lady, Dorothie Countesse of Northumberland* (1620), Nicholas Guy's *Pieties Pillar: or, A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of Mistresse Elizabeth Gouge* (1626) and Thomas Taylor's *The Pilgrims Profession, or A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of Mris Mary Gunter* (1622) were all understood as monuments in their own right, and some even unaccompanied by the erection of a physical tomb, unlike the monuments recalled in William Camden's *Reges, reginae*. As simultaneously a book and a tomb, *A Monument* undermines the clear boundaries between the material and the textual. It will be argued that in doing so, it acts as a mediator between the ritual and collective experience of church worship and individual domestic devotional reading practices. The medium chosen to commemorate Bill stresses the mutual dependence of these two devotional practices. *A Monument* relates the importance of reading in the apprehension of one's salvation. At the same time, it dramatically exposes the possible shortcomings of a theology that relies on an individual's ability to comprehend scripture without the spiritual and devotional guidance of collective church worship.

By drawing together the ritual and textual experiences of Protestant devotion through a medium at once written and built, *A Monument* reconciled two foundational elements of Christian doctrine often viewed as at odds with one another: *sola scriptura* and ceremonial worship. *A Monument* was printed by Anna's husband and printer to the King, John Bill (1576-1630). Its conciliatory position, as we shall see, was a reflection of the King's 'obstinate search for universal peace' and

his wish to find theological and devotional compromise in a fracturing religious consensus.⁷

A Monument's frontispiece implicates the female deceased in formulating the function and purpose of the church building in a devotional environment that prizes the written word. By entering the public space of the temple where the female body lies interred, the reader gains spiritual edification by being provided with evidence of Bill's singular virtue through the sense of sight. The scantily clad and revealed body of the deceased woman decreases the strain in the relationship between concealment and display and affirms the benefits of the visual, ceremonial and material in devotion. Taking *A Monument* as a lead, the second portion of this chapter argues that gender and female spirituality played an important function in the commemorative volume's ability to reconcile ceremonial worship and the reading of scripture. This process of unification was conveyed through gendered terminology as the reconciliation between female corporeality and male spirituality. It will be shown that the female dead were made participants in affirming the mutual dependency of place and text in funeral books authored by those in favour of James I's conciliatory religious attitude. Through this association, they were, in turn, employed by reactant groups to formulate their hostile attitude towards a return to a more decorous form of worship. What is more, the dramatic staging of the female voice from within the confines of the monument transformed women into male-mediated contributors to debates on the attitudes toward the visual and material in Protestant seventeenth-century devotion. In this chapter we therefore turn to how men employed the

⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 513.

demarcated and liminal space of death as the canvas to display female theological, devotional and social participation in Reformation England.

By exploring the functions of the relationships between materiality and text in devotional writing, this study draws on the work of scholars such as Paul Dyck and Helen Wilcox, who have successfully shown that the ostensible rivalry between sacred spaces and sacred writings in the first half of the seventeenth century was ‘not necessarily so simple or so polarised [...] but may be seen as a creative dialogue’.⁸ Furthermore, as the monument reconciles sensory and textual devotional experience, it attests to the modification of medieval modes of employing text to ‘control’ and ‘interpret’ the materiality and corporeality of the divine, what Robyn Malo terms ‘relic discourse’ and Cynthia Tuner Camp refers to as a ‘poetic of shrinekeeping’.⁹ The devotional writings of the 1620s inverted such modes of mediation. As the text became the primary source of spiritual edification, divines increasingly turned to the material object to negotiate the spiritual edification gained through the textual. At the same time, it rearticulated the discourse between the terrestrial and the divine into a distinctly Protestant communication between two earthly forms of gaining assurance of salvation: the congregation and scripture. Reformers retained a medieval model of setting ‘aside an external place of worship’ but sought to make it a mediator in the attainment of hope, rather than certainty in redemption and the divine, a

⁸ Helen Wilcox, ‘Early Modern Sacred Space: Writing *The Temple*’, in *Sacred Text—Sacred Space*, ed. by Sterrett and Thomas, pp. 141–62 (p. 147). See also, Paul Dyck, ‘Locating the Word: The Textual Church and George Herbert’s *Temple*’, in *Centered on the Word: Literature, Scripture, and the Tudor-Stuart Middle Way*, ed. by Daniel W. Doerksen and Christopher Hodgkins (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 224–44 (p. 224).

⁹ Robyn Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 11; Cynthia Turner Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints’ Lives as History Writing in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), p. 179.

‘Reformation call to develop the internal temple of the Spirit’.¹⁰ By drawing on research into the relationship between poetry and materiality by scholars of medieval literature, we can see that the monument’s function as a place of mediation between object and text formed a continuation of its uses in medieval Christianity. Again, the changes to an existing formula set apart the early modern present from what came before.

1. The Monument in Text and Space

How does a text communicate a sensory experience of worship? This section investigates how the funeral book or commemorative volume, *A Monument*, was used as a mediator between the believer’s individual and textual experience of devotion, and the benefits of collective worship in the church building. As will be shown, this allowed for the expression of a set of anxieties that arose as a consequence of a belief system heavily influenced by a Calvinist emphasis on the scripture, predestination and a lack of a purgatorial safety net. As the Bible became the primary medium through which to find redemption, many believers were anxious over their ability to read and interpret the word of God correctly. Employing the monument in the construction of textual spaces of worship sought to ease the potential distance between the written word, and the apprehension of salvation. Before turning to an investigation of *A Monument*, we must take a brief look at the structure and purpose of the early modern funeral book or commemorative volume more generally.

¹⁰ Dyck, p. 238.

Often understood as a particularly German and largely Protestant phenomenon, early modern funeral books or commemorative volumes have been subject to extensive research in continental scholarship.¹¹ Though such texts were published with increasing frequency in England by the seventeenth century, research rarely distinguishes them as a genre from their closest analogue texts: the printed (funeral) sermon and the conduct book.¹² Their aurality further complicates their signification. A large number of these texts were heard first, and read subsequently.

The amorphous and varying nature of the funeral book or commemorative sermon makes a consistent definition difficult. What unifies all such texts is their focus on the formulation of mortality for a community through the experience of the death of a single person. Often cheap and ephemeral, the funeral book or commemorative volume contains multiple-authored works from sermons and biographical sketches, to poetry, music and portraiture. As a product of the increased accessibility of, and innovation within, print culture, they are an early modern invention. At the same time, the increasing efficiency and decreasing costs of print made funeral books and commemorative texts an accessible form of printing for a wide economic spectrum.

¹¹ Jill Bepler, ‘Women in German Funeral Sermons: Models of Virtue or Slice of Life?’, *German Life and Letters*, 44, 5 (1991), 392-403 (p. 392). See also Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006); Rudolph Lenz, ed., *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, 4 vols (Cologne, Vienna, Marburg, Stuttgart: Böhlau, Schwarz, Steiner, 1975-2004).

¹² See, for example: Jeanne Shami, ‘Reading Funeral Sermons for Early Modern English Women’, in *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2013), pp. 282-308; Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), p. 521.

While research has shown that funeral books and commemorative texts were not only a product of Protestant communities, they are nonetheless inextricably linked to the developments associated with reform.¹³ As shown by Larissa Juliet Taylor, for example, the funeral sermon offered a platform for Catholic ‘religious propaganda that could rouse people to action’ throughout the Wars of Religion in France (c. 1562-1629).¹⁴ English Catholics also made use of the medium, though less often. Richard Smith’s *The Life of the Most Honourable and Virtuous Lady the Lady Magdalen Viscountesse Montague* (1627), began its life as a Latin funeral sermon commemorating the Catholic patron and maid of honour to Queen Mary I, Magdalen Dacre Browne, Viscountess Montagu (1538-1608).¹⁵ Printed in France, the text shows how the Catholic funeral book and commemorative text was used to introduce Catholic belief into an English devotional landscape. At the same time, Smith’s choice to print his text in France highlights how they were largely absent from the printing presses of early modern England.

As predominantly functional texts that were intended for the spiritual edification of the wider community, and as an aid in the everyday commemorative practices of relatives and friends, funeral books and commemorative texts are the

¹³ Birgit Boge and Ralf Georg Bogner, *Oratio Funebris. Die katholische Leichenpredigt der frühen Neuzeit: Mit einem Katalog*, Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), XXX, 3-8.

¹⁴ Larissa Juliet Taylor, ‘Funeral sermons and orations as religious propaganda in sixteenth-century France’, in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 224-39 (p. 225).

¹⁵ Richard Smith, *The Life of the Most Honourable and Virtuous Lady the Lady Magdalen Viscountesse Montague* (St Omer, 1627); Ellen A. Macek, ‘Devout Recusant Women, Advice Manuals, and the Creation of Holy Households “Under Siege”’, in *Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Alison Weber (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 791.2/1244 [Ebook edition]; Michael Questier, ‘Loyal to a fault: Viscount Montague explains himself’, *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), 225-53 (p. 242).

product of an era that saw increased emphasis on the word as a carrier of devotional meaning. When they were written in Protestant communities, they facilitated spiritual learning by bringing the liminal drama of the funeral and the material objects and spaces of commemoration into the textual place of Protestant devotion.

A Monument is an example of the eclectic genre of the funeral book or commemorative volume. Made up of six separate but thematically interlinked tracts, it brings together an engraved frontispiece and portrait, an introductory chapter entitled ‘A Generall view of the Foure severall Columnes’, a sermon text entitled ‘A Wakening of Worldlings’, and a conduct book named ‘A Mirror of Modestie’ containing two smaller subtitled portions named ‘A Reproofe of the strange attired Woman’ and ‘The Sacred use of Christian Funerals’. These chapters are followed by a section of dedicatory epitaphic writings in honour of the deceased Anna Bill named ‘Peplum Modestiæ, The Vaile of Modestie’, and finally two separated *ars moriendi* style texts entitled ‘Meditations of Consolation’ and ‘Comfortable Considerations’, the former a manual on the preparation for death covering a variety of scenarios, the latter a text advising the reader in preparing ‘the sicke for a happie change’.¹⁶ Despite its lavish frontispiece, *A Monument* was primarily a text that provided practical advice to its community of readers.

In *A Monument*, sensory perception is an essential guide to the devotional collective. In ‘The Sacred use of Christian Funerals’ Day explains that the ritual

¹⁶ Martin Day, ‘Meditations of Consolation’, in *A Monument of Mortalitie* (London, 1621), pp. 1-95; Martin Day, ‘Comfortable Consideration, Preparing the Sicke for a Happie Change’, in *A Monument of Mortalitie* (London, 1621), pp. 1-163 (p. 1). As each chapter is divided with a separate frontispiece and individual page numbers or signature marks, all references to *A Monument* will be given with the title of the specific subsection in which they appear. Page numbers are used when they are available, and signature marks when a section is unpaginated. The first reference to a section will be given in full as a footnote and ensuing ones given in abbreviated form in the body of the text.

drama of the funeral, and the commemorative practices that follow, enable the assembly to ‘conceive’ Bill’s salvation (‘The Sacred Use of Christian Funerals’, *A Monument*, pp. 77). Sight is the dominant aid in experiencing the ‘issue and successe’ of Anna’s descent ‘to the chambers of death’ (‘The Sacred Use of Christian Funerals’, *A Monument*, pp. 76-7). The tomb or grave performs a crucial function in this process of visualisation:

The supernaturall light of divine trueth, hath inabled the eye of our faith clearly to see (beyond the grave) the soule passing to the tribunall of Christ.

(‘The Sacred Use of Christian Funerals’, *A Monument*, p. 76)

The tomb is Anna’s dwelling place after death but before her ‘passing to the tribunal of Christ’. For the ‘eye of our faith’ to see her translation ‘clearly’ we must look ‘beyond the grave’. As a result, the place of interment functions as a reference point. If the eye of faith allows us to see that which is beyond our line of sight, then the tomb is the horizon marking the spot where the visible and the unseen meet. The grave marks the point from where to begin the comprehension of ‘divine trueth’ as a consequence.

In acting as a stepping stone for the perception of divine truth, the grave also facilitates the congregation’s comprehension of scripture. Day makes this clear by accompanying his words with a reference to 2 Corinthians 5. 10.¹⁷ This biblical verse outlines how the dead ‘must all appeare before the judgment seat of Christ’. The act of appearing is the process of coming ‘forth into view’.¹⁸ It is a reciprocal visual act, making yourself seen and being observed by another. The passage explains the moment of God’s judgement as a superlative visual act, one in which all the

¹⁷ 2 Corinthians 5. 10: ‘For we must all appeare before the judgement seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that hee hath done, whether it be good or bad.’

¹⁸ ‘appear, v., 1.’, in *OED*.

ambiguity of seeing and being seen collapses. In urging his congregation to look beyond a shared point of reference, Day employs the grave as a springboard from which to decipher the Bible's coded guidance to salvation. Judgement is founded in God's ability to see all. Seeing beyond that which is visible is essential in ascertaining one's likelihood of being saved.

The grave's part in communicating scriptural meaning informs Day's choice to frame Anna's monument as a textual and printed space. As it delineates the boundary between that which is apparent, and the divine truth that is hidden from view, the tomb acts as the foundation for Day's exploration of Bill's interiority. The tomb, as a reference point, allows the congregation to be guided from outward splendour to unseen spiritual edification through the spoken or written word. Thus, Anna's tomb is a '*goodly Monument*' and a '*faire Manuscript*', at once the horizon and that which lies beyond it.¹⁹

A Monument relies on the guidance provided by the tomb because it is preoccupied with anxieties over the limitations of the written word in an apprehension of the divine. This is illustrated in one of the poems in 'The Vaile of Modestie':

*O That each good thing should bee soonest tooke
Out of the world; as in a Booke
Of goodly Monuments, or faire Manuscript,
If the gilt letters should be clipt
From the rich parchment, by some unlettered hand,
How maimedly the rest would stand.
Now here is tornē by Death, not worne by Age,
The frontispiece, or title page
[...]
The Alpha-Beta lost, What will become
Of learning now? all must be dumbe.*

('The Vaile of Modestie', *A Monument*, sig. A2^v)

¹⁹ Martin Day, 'Peplum Modestiæ, The Vaile of Modestie', in *A Monument of Mortalitie* (London, 1621), sigs. A2^r-B5^r (sig. A2^v).

Simply entitled ‘A. B.’, the elegy by an anonymous author formulates an anxiety over the attainment of redemption because of the ephemerality of the word. As Helen Smith notes, ‘A.B.’ ‘contains repeated puns on the material forms of the text’, with no less than thirty-five allusions to the book trade, the process of printing, writing and reading.²⁰ In doing so, the elegy reminds the reader of Bill’s identity as the wife of a printer. She is characterised as the ‘*gilt letters*’ of a manuscript and a ‘*fontispiece*’, while the grief of the mourners is written ‘*on paper, to be read*’ (‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sigs. A2^v-A3^r). Her virtues, too, become bound up in the materiality of the text. ‘*Well mixt*’, her goodness ‘*Perfumes the ayre*’ like the ‘Gummes’ that bind printing ink and the ‘Cedar wood’ that may have been used for woodblock printing (‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A3^r). It is through the acronym of Anna’s name, the ‘Alpha-Beta’, that Anna becomes the very alphabet through which to convey virtue and deliverance. However, by transforming Bill into a text, ‘A.B.’ fashions her into a vehicle to express the reader’s potential concerns over a gulf between words, and their ability to provide spiritual edification. The silence of death threatens to ‘maim’ Anna, the collectively shared alphabet of the congregation. She is ‘*clipt*’ and ‘*torne*’ from ‘Natures booke’. As death like an ‘*unlettered hand*’ tears Bill from the book of life, and the ‘title page’ becomes lost, the ability of the community to read Anna’s virtue becomes compromised. With the ‘Alpha-Beta *lost*’, without the means of communication, ‘*What will become | Of learning now?*’ The inability to read effectively threatens the apprehension of the salvation of others, and the attainment of redemption for oneself.

²⁰ Helen Smith, ‘*Grossly Material Things*: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England (Oxford: OUP, 2012), p. 92.

The destruction of the manuscript by the ‘*unlettered hand*’ evidences how the author evokes the aural and visual commemorative strategies of a pre-Reformation past. By doing so, he or she asserts the importance of the senses in guiding the comprehension of the written and read (‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A2^v). Bill’s departure ‘*Out of the world*’, rendered as the removal of pages from ‘*a Booke*’, would have reminded a Protestant reader of their loss of the medieval practice of fastening memory and identity to the Book of Life, or *Liber Vitae* (‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A2^v). As Eva-Maria Butz and Alfons Zettler remind us, these manuscript volumes, containing ‘the lists of those who were to be remembered in prayer in the liturgy’, played a crucial function in collective memory through the recitation of the name of the deceased. It ‘was believed that the names written in the liturgical Book of Life laid on the altar, with prayers offered for those listed in it, would also be inscribed in God’s heavenly Book of Life.’²¹ The process of reciting and hearing the names of the deceased facilitated their place amidst the saved. It provided a ritual framework that allowed the living to gain a level of certainty over the attainment of redemption as the recitation of names would continue in perpetuity until the end of time. By evoking the loss of the aural framework of medieval intercession, ‘A. B.’ indicates the author’s worries over the loss of a ritual support structure that guides the believer to a true understanding of salvation.

Another poem in ‘The Vaile of Modestie’, entitled ‘Upon the virtuous and good Gentlewoman, Mistresse Anne Bill’ can be understood to exhibit this anxiety

²¹ Eva-Maria Butz and Alfons Zettler, ‘The Making of Carolingian *Libri Memoriales*: Exploring or Constructing the Past?’, in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 79-92 (p. 81).

over the loss of a ritual support structure. Instead of characterising Bill as maimed, this author casts her as an incomplete manuscript:

*For verie grieve she died; is laid to rest
Amongst the sacred Rolles in Abrahams chest:
Bound up in white, naild to a Deske doth lie,
Amongst the Volumes of heavens Librarie.*

(‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A6^r)

Beyond the obvious association of the nail with Christ’s passion, their mention, alongside objects such as rolls of paper or vellum, a reading or writing desk, and the library, suggests that the author situates Anna amidst the equipment used for medieval manuscript illumination. Little brass nails were often used to affix titles (written on separate pieces of vellum) on the binding of manuscripts.²² As we have seen in ‘A.B.’, the articulation of Anna as a text in ‘Upon the virtuous and good Gentlewoman’ discloses an underlying nervousness over the difficulty of gaining certainty of Anna’s salvation by a process of reading. Bill is not the finished manuscript, but a roll of vellum, forever unfinished and fixed to the writing desk. The rolls, read alongside the clipped letters of ‘A.B’, invite the reader to imagine Anna as a part of a document akin to the *rotulus historicus*, a form of medieval chronicling that preserved history and memory by uniting fragments of the past. As Patrick Geary surmises in his study on medieval memory, the *rotulus* ‘betray[s] common concerns of monastic communities searching for a usable past among the scraps of parchment, odd charters, and miscellaneous written and oral fragments of their monastic inheritance’.²³ They are unifying objects that connect disparate

²² J. Henry Middleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Classical and Mediaeval Times: Their Art and their Technique* (Cambridge: CUP, 1892), p. 258.

²³ Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 115. In monastic communities of the eleventh and twelfth century, the scroll format also defined the shape of the *Libri Vitae* in form of the Mortuary Roll. See: Teresa Elaine

elements into a coherent whole. As Bill lies unfinished and illegible alongside the implements used to make texts that conveyed the past effectively, the author betrays his inability to assure his reader of her place among the saved and the failure of his own words to create the unity and clarity fashioned through the manuscript.

The characterisation of Anna Bill as a text, ‘*clipt*’, ‘*torn*’ and incomplete, shows *A Monument* seeking to convey the enduring importance of the aural and visual in guiding devotional reading (‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A2v). ‘A.B.’ and ‘Upon the virtuous and good Gentlewoman’ articulate concrete ways to fashion memory and the possibility of salvation by unifying ‘scraps’ and ‘fragments’ of human perception.²⁴ Yet, the fragments of Bill remain fractured. The medieval tools that allow an intervention into the fate of the dead are ineffective. By displaying these useless objects and fragmented instruments of intervention, the poems of ‘The Vaile of Modestie’ employ strategies of medieval hearing and seeing to expose anxieties over an ability to comprehend salvation through scripture and the textual. At the same time, the unfinished nature of the manuscript also suggests the irrevocable break with sensory and medieval ways of gaining confidence over the eventual salvation of a fellow believer.

‘A.B.’ and ‘Upon the virtuous and good Gentlewoman’ communicate an unease that could accompany a belief in the doctrine of election. To Martin Day, the tomb and the spaces of worship create the guidance to overcome these concerns by drawing attention to collective ritual and devotional experience. The place of burial resolves the tensions between the word and sensory forms of worship that surface in ‘The Vaile of Modestie’. The tomb does so not because it attests to Anna’s assured

Leslie, ‘Mortuary Rolls as a Source for Medieval Women’s History’, *Proceedings and Papers of the Georgia Association of Historians*, 14 (1993), 116-24.

²⁴ Geary, p. 115.

place among the saved, but because it stands as a mediator between the community of the living and scripture, a reminder of the shared hope, rather than certainty, in salvation:

*See how the Grave doth triumph, and is proud,
To hold so much in one poore Shrowd.
This onely doth the swelling Grave controule,
That Heaven challengeth her Soule:
Which there is kept, as in a sacred Shrine,
To joyne againe to that rich Mine,
When all shall bee sublim'd ; meane time we mourne,
And like a company fore lorne,
Gaze each on other : as if all our sence
Depended on this Influence.*

(‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A3^v)

The place of burial does not assert the happy afterlife of the deceased Bill. All that the ‘swelling Grave’ imparts is that at the Last Judgement, ‘Heaven’ will challenge ‘her Soule’. As a ‘Shrine’ and ‘Mine’ that provides evidence of virtue and exemplary living, Anna’s monument becomes a collectively shared place of devotional experience, where the congregation employs the tomb to ‘Gaze each on other’ for comfort. The tomb becomes a lynchpin in understanding the significance of the place of collective worship. *A Monument* repurposes the existing pre-reform function of the tomb as an object of enshrinement in a specifically early seventeenth-century Protestant devotional climate. Rather than creating ‘metaphorical bridges between heaven and earth’, between the relic and the apprehension of the divine, Bill’s ‘Shrine’ forms the connective tissue amongst the collective of believers, the Word and the place of worship.²⁵

Though *A Monument* was part of an inexpensive genre of devotional advice works, its treatment of the material and spatial brings it into proximity to what is

²⁵ On the function of the holy object and its role in communication, see Malo, p. 5.

now considered canonical Renaissance literature. Only twelve years after the publication of *A Monument*, George Herbert's *The Temple* (1633) reiterated longstanding anxieties about the distance between scripture and its comprehension. This rift is concisely summed up in 'The Flower'. The Bible, the sole means by which to unravel the mystery of redemption remains just beyond the reach of the believer: 'Thy word is all, if we could spell'.²⁶ As shown by Dyck, Herbert regularly overcame this gap between believer and religious text by employing 'the church building as a mode of access to the Word'.²⁷ He further contends that the concrete church building was 'not an arbitrary metaphor in *The Temple* but a mode of order analogous to that of the consecrated self, both being temples of the Holy Spirit inscribed with the Gospel'.²⁸ Drawing on the polysemy of the term church (at once denoting the reading community of believers and the building of worship), Herbert asserted the function of the built environment in the attainment of eternal life, not in lieu of the Word, but as its mediator. Like Martin Day's *A Monument*, Herbert moved the reader from physical presence to metaphysical reality.²⁹

John Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624) was published in even closer proximity to *A Monument*. As shown by Wilcox, Donne also sought to spatially mediate the textual. Thus, the broken pediment of the frontispiece to *Devotions* presents 'not an urn or other classical form as might be expected, but an open book'.³⁰ 'Meditation 17' famously consolidates the devotional word and the material fabric of the communal place of worship. The process of death and burial is

²⁶ George Herbert, *The Temple, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* (Cambridge, 1633), p. 160.

²⁷ Dyck, pp. 224-5.

²⁸ Dyck, p. 225.

²⁹ Stanley Fish, *The Living Temple: George Herbert and Catechizing* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 78-9.

³⁰ Wilcox, 'Early Modern Sacred Space', p. 148.

expressed as a textual act of translation of the individual as ‘All *mankinde* is of one Author; and is one *volume*’.³¹ Despite this, the believer is recalled to the devotional collective and the physical church building through the materiality of its constituent parts, ‘*this bell tolling softly*’.³² ‘Meditation 17’ mediates the reader’s solitary contemplation through the collective experience of the aural.

Cheap, ephemeral and popular, funeral books and commemorative texts existed at the margins of a high Renaissance literature. Their reliance on the material and ritual as a point of entry supported this position. However, *A Monument* is an exceptional example of this because its subject, Anna Bill, linked this inexpensive commemorative literature directly to the wider textual and devotional networks of writers such as Donne and Herbert. Additionally, her ties to Martin Day and St Faith’s under Paul’s suggests that *A Monument* was a product of an ecclesiastical elite that wished to reconcile the textual experience of belief with church ritual and ceremony.

Little is known of Anna Bill’s life and in order to gain a better understanding of the woman behind the stern depiction in *A Monument* (*Plate 15*), we have to look to the men who defined her professional and private environment. Thomas Mountfort (or Montfort) (d. 1632), Anna Bill’s father is referred to in his own funeral book as a ‘true sonne of the Church of England, [...] a true Protestant’.³³ He was a prebendary of St Paul’s and Westminster and gained the title of Doctor of Divinity from Oxford in 1588.³⁴ During his time at St Paul’s he developed a close

³¹ John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions and Several Steps in my Sicknes* (London, 1624), p. 412.

³² Donne, *Devotions*, p. 410.

³³ Anon, [Two Sermons Preached at the Funerals of Mrs. E. Montfort (Text: Rev. 14. 13) and of Dr. T. Montfort (Text: Rom. 2. 16.)] (London, 1632), p. 58.

³⁴ Biographical Accounts of Clerics, London, BL, MS Lansdowne 984, fol. 133^r; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and*

friendship with John Donne. This is made clear in a letter by Henry King to Izaak Walton that lists Mountfort as one of the men attendant to Donne at his deathbed. Mountfort ensured that Donne's 'Sermon-Notes, and his other Papers' were printed. What is more, he oversaw the erection of his funeral monument at St Paul's.³⁵ Mountfort also spent a considerable amount of time preaching at the parish church of St Martin-in-the-Fields where he was rector. Here, Mountfort was regularly heard by a young George Herbert.³⁶ Anna's father was firmly placed in the religious circles of writers that would come to heavily influence popular devotional literature of the first half of the seventeenth century.

While Thomas associated with members of prominent literary circles of the day, the Mountfort family also had ties into the heart of London's printing trade. Another Thomas Mountfort who may have been a relation to Anne and her father was a clerk at the Stationers' Company. He was elected in 1613 and was active in at least one publication in 1614, Thomas Freeman's *Rubbe, and a Great Cast*

Bishops Who Have Had their Education in the University of Oxford to Which Are Added the Fasti, or Annals of the Said University, ed. by Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1813-1820), II (1815), 243. See also, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 1, St. Paul's, London*, ed. by Joyce M. Horn (London: Institute of Historical Research 1969), in *BHO* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/fasti-ecclesiae/1541-1857/vol1>> [accessed 29 May 2018].

³⁵ Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert* (London, 1670), sig. B1^v; David Colclough, 'A Note on Donne's Portrait in Q1632', in *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne: Volume III Sermons Preached at the Court of Charles I*, ed. by David Colclough (Oxford: OUP, 2013), p. 225; Helen Gardner, 'Dean Donne's Monument in St. Paul's', in *Evidence in Literary Scholarship: Essays in Memory of James Marshall Osborn*, ed. by René Wellek and Alvaro Ribeiro (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 29-44 (p. 30).

³⁶ Helen Wilcox, 'Herbert, George (1593-1633), Church of England clergyman and poet', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13025>>; Daniel W. Doerksen, *Picturing Religious Experience: George Herbert, Calvin, and the Scriptures* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2011), p. 4.

Epigrams.³⁷ This text mixes tributes to literary figures such as Shakespeare, Donne and Heywood with anti-puritan satire. Freeman's eclectic publication supports the picture of the family's relationships with Anne's father's social and professional ties. The text asserts a royally established theological consensus practised in St Paul's that attempted to turn its back on Protestant extremes. At the same time, its contents reveal a taste for contemporary popular literature including the works of figures such as Donne that Anne's father undoubtedly knew.³⁸ Anna grew up in a social and devotional community that was influential in formulating a Jacobean religious consensus, from the halls of St Paul's to the rooms of the Stationers' Company. Her own influence within the latter, however, would only grow with adulthood, and her marriage to the future printer to the King, John Bill.

It is likely that literary ties of the Mountfort family and their work with the Stationers' Company promoted Anna's marriage to John Bill, a Shropshire yeoman who was apprenticed to the printer and bookseller John Norton (1556/7-1612). Bill enhanced his reputation during the early years of his career through his expertise in the book trade.³⁹ Through his work for Thomas Bodley (1545-1613) as a library agent, he developed an astute understanding of the continental book trade. Thus, he travelled frequently to the Frankfurt Book Fair, Italy, France and Spain. Bill was no doubt invaluable to Bodley, as his written testimony states:

³⁷ *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols, ed. by Edward Arber (London: [s.n.], 1836-1894), III (1876), 252.

³⁸ Doerksen surmises that Mountfort belonged to an eclectic 'mix of moderate conformists and conforming puritans'. Daniel W. Doerksen, *Conforming to the Word: Herbert, Donne, and the English Church Before Laud* (London: Associated University Presses, 1997), p. 54.

³⁹ Maria Wakely and Graham Rees, 'Folios Fit for a King: James I, John Bill, and the King's Printers, 1616-1620', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68, 3 (2005), 467-95 (p. 468).

You need make no doubt, but *Jo. Bill* hath gotten every where, what the place would afford ; for his Comission was large, his Leisure very good, and his Payment sure at home.⁴⁰

By 1605 John Norton established the publishing house, Officina Nortoniana together with his cousin, Bonham Norton (1565-1635). Officina Nortoniana dealt primarily in the continental book trade. Bill was swiftly made a shareholder due to his expertise in foreign book markets.⁴¹ Anna worked for this company as a keeper of books and as an aide in the planning of logistical matters. This is suggested by John Norton's will, in which he bequeaths to his 'sometyme [...] servaunte' John Bill ten pounds. He bequeaths Anna the same amount, suggesting that her work for the company and her acquaintance was valued by the Nortons.⁴²

In the later days of the partnership between John Bill and the Nortons, and especially with the ever-raging disputes over the patents regarding the official printing for the King (both the lesser valued Latin patent and its far more valuable English counterpart) Anna took on an important position within the men's scheming for dominance of the printing trade. Bonham Norton variously refused to join in an equal partnership with Bill, who he likely viewed as his natural subordinate due to the latter's humble background. Norton ensured that a future partnership was dependant on a signed covenant which stipulated that, in the event of Bill's death without issue, not only would his executors be paid the rather grand sum of £2000, but the patent of the King's printer would fall to the Norton clan exclusively. This was a stroke of genius on the part of Bonham, as Bill, married for several years, had

⁴⁰ Thomas Hearne, *Reliquæ Bodleianæ: or Some Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley* (London, 1703), p. 139.

⁴¹ Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), p. 2.

⁴² *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers: From 1492 to 1630*, ed. by Henry Robert Plomer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1903), p. 46.

not managed to produce eligible heirs ‘nor is like to have any be her’.⁴³ The couple’s inability to have children brought Anna to the forefront of the disputes raging in the King’s printing house. The production of *A Monument* can therefore be seen as a way for John Bill to assert his claim on the title of King’s printer through a key figure in the jostle for power in the printing house; the extensive nature and lavish detail of Anna’s English-language commemorative volume reflects the Bill family’s rightful claim to the most prestigious and lucrative patent a printer was likely to acquire.

Through her marriage to John Bill, Anna was firmly placed at the centre of royally authorised book production. Moreover, her occupation also placed her in the devotional circle of the printers and booksellers of Paternoster Row. While her father had spent his days in the halls of St Paul’s, Anna worshipped directly beneath it at St Faith’s under Paul’s, alongside its rector Martin Day (appointed in 1613).⁴⁴ Most of St Faith’s congregation was employed in printing and bookselling. Beyond obvious geographical convenience, several sources attest to this unique link between the parish church and the book trade. Henry Tripp (1544/5-1612), one of its rectors, had preached regularly before the Stationers’ Company at the request of stationer William Lamb (d. 1577).⁴⁵ Several scholars have suggested that St Faith’s doubled as a stock warehouse to booksellers, storing materials between the vaulted ceiling of

⁴³ C5/592/24 [Chancery Petition: John Bill vs. Bonham Norton, 1619], as quoted in Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture*, p. 22.

⁴⁴ ‘Appointment Record: Daye, Martinus’, in *CCEd* <<http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/DisplayAppointment.jsp?CDBAppRedID=91255>> [accessed 26 May 2016].

⁴⁵ Mary Morrissey, ‘Episcopal chaplains and control of the media, 1586-1642’, in *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 64-82 (p. 71).

the parish church and the floor of St Paul's cathedral above.⁴⁶ *A Monument* was a product of a devotional community that was comprised of the people who were the primary actors in the dissemination of English literature in print.

Martin Day, the rector of St Faith's, exemplifies the parish church's close ties to the book trade. Day published two theological treatises, *A Monument of Mortalitie* and *Doomes-Day: or, A Treatise of the Resurrection of the Body* (1636). What is more, Day was a chaplain in ordinary to the King.⁴⁷ While there is no evidence that he was ever in waiting, that is, actively serving the Chapel Royal, his position nevertheless required him to fulfil additional duties in the royal household, such as caring for the sick and dying. As a member of a select group of divines deemed worthy to serve the King and his household, and the rector to London's primary community of printers and booksellers, Day was an embodiment of the close ties between the crown and the 'main engine of cultural production of the Jacobean period'.⁴⁸ *A Monument* should therefore, in part, be read as a product of this relationship. On the one hand, Day exploited Bill for the spiritual edification of his congregation. On the other, he used Anna's monument to stage the ties between devotion, print and crown as a harmonious interrelationship.

By portraying the printing trade, the monarch and devotion as a productive unit, *A Monument* suggests that the tomb served to fashion a devotional consensus through the medium of print. In *A Monument*'s tract entitled 'A Mirror of Modestie', Day elaborates to the reader that it is through the 'monument after her death' that 'Mistresse Anne Bill' becomes an example for her devotional community and a

⁴⁶ Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), p. 332.

⁴⁷ Wood, II (1815), 298.

⁴⁸ Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture*, p. 5.

representative of their collectively shared beliefs.⁴⁹ Employing the built environment of the tomb to articulate the significance of collective devotion, *A Monument* participated in contemporary debates about the proper characterisation of the Christian community, and the function of the material and built environment in pinning down the meaning of the church alongside texts such as Herbert's *The Temple* and John Donne's *Devotions*. Like Herbert's *The Temple*, *A Monument* employed objects of church furnishing to communicate the value of devotional space: objects that transform the meeting place of the devotional community into a space where 'principles of scripture are scored out, written in the architecture of the church' and guide 'the congregation into truth'.⁵⁰

A Monument was not unusual in affirming the purpose of the space of worship through the funeral monument. Rather, Anna Bill's commemorative volume evidences a more general tactic employed in relatively inexpensive commemorative texts and funeral books published in the 1620s. Like *A Monument*, these funeral books emerge during a time when the 'accession of James I had lent new power to the printed word'.⁵¹ As a king dedicated to 'the solace and universal peace of Christendom', James I invested vigorously in the pen rather than the sword, and, as shown by Rees and Wakely, transformed English printing presses into agents of dissemination for his social, political and religious programmes at home and abroad.⁵² As a result, the year 1621, as Paul Salzman writes, 'was a year late in King

⁴⁹ Martin Day, 'A Mirror of Modestie', in *A Monument of Mortalitie* (London, 1621), pp. 1-71 (p. 3).

⁵⁰ Dyck, p. 230.

⁵¹ Pete Langman, 'Introduction', in *Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book*, ed. by Pete Langman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1-13 (p. 1).

⁵² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Dupuy 632, fol. 3, as quoted in W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 3; Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture*, p. 5.

James's reign when many literary and non-literary genres were in a state of flux.⁵³

Alongside *A Monument*, a large proportion of these texts were penned by members of an elite devotional community that represented the close ties between devotional practice, print culture and a royal religious consensus that reflected 'James's obstinate search for universal peace'.⁵⁴

The use of the tomb as a mediator between textual and collective forms of devotion expressed a wish to employ print in the reconciliation of an increasingly factionalised English Protestant landscape. The fault-lines of these denominational divergences had been exposed at the Hampton Court Conference that saw figures such as Lancelot Andrewes and Richard Neile publicly assert their 'avant-garde conformism', encouraging the 'sensual delight in the beauty of God's creation'.⁵⁵ At the same time, it opened the floor to those who hoped that the printing of the King James Bible (1611) would return the English Church to devout austerity, a simplicity in devotion based on the singular significance of the scripture. By the 1620s, these tensions began to come to a head as the appearance of William Laud at court turned words into deeds. Laud, then Bishop of St David, began to implement a return to a decorous form of worship by building a new chapel in the Bishop's manor at Abergwili that exuded 'elegancy'.⁵⁶ The chapel was fitted with 'Rich Furniture, and Costly Utensils', including 'Plate designed for the celebrating of the holy Supper amounting to one hundred fifty five pounds eighteen shillings four pence'. The

⁵³ Paul Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England: Reading 1621* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2002), p. xvii.

⁵⁴ MacCulloch, p. 513.

⁵⁵ MacCulloch, p. 508. See also, Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge and avant-garde conformity at the court of James I', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), pp. 113-33.

⁵⁶ Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus: or, the History of the Life and Death, of the Most Revered and Renowned Prelate William [...] [Laud]* (London, 1668), p. 94.

funeral book's ability to reconcile text with the ritual experience of worship within the church building made it a significant instrument in formulating a compromise that communicated the Jacobean Church's firm adherence to a Calvinist emphasis on the word. At the same time, they express the significance of the church fabric in the attainment of salvation, as asserted by Laud's beautification of Abergwili.

The monument's function as a device that conciliates text and the place of worship is evident in *Sarahs Sepulture*, the sermon on the life and death of Dorothy Devereux Perrot Percy, Countess of Northumberland (1564-1619) by Richard Chambers (b. 1583). Chambers frames Dorothy's life and death through the interment of the biblical Sarah by basing his sermon on Genesis 23. 1-2:

- 1 And Sarah was an hundred and seaven and twenty yeares old:
These were the yeares of the life of Sarah.
- 2 And Sarah died in Kiriath-arba, the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan.⁵⁷

Sarah was the first of the patriarch's family to die in Abraham's covenant with God. Her death, retold in the first book of the Bible, also prompts the reader to associate Sarah with the beginning of the Judeo-Christian written tradition. As noted by Phyllis Trible, Sarah 'has neither pedigree nor fertility, neither past nor future.'⁵⁸ Only in death and through the site of her burial does Sarah gain a firm identity within the Old Testament. The location of Sarah's body after death is a device in marking the ownership of the community of believers over the promised land.

⁵⁷ Genesis 23. 1-2, as it appears in Richard Chambers, *Sarahs Sepulture, or A Funerall Sermon Preached for the Right Honourable and Vertuous Lady, Dorotheie Countesse of Northumberland, at Petworth in Sussex* (London, 1620), p. 1.

⁵⁸ Phyllis Trible, 'Genesis 22: The Sacrifice of Sarah', in *Women in the Hebrew Bible: A Reader*, ed. by Alice Bach (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 271-90 (p. 281).

Affirming the importance of collective devotional place through the monument was essential, even to the ‘hotter sort’ of Protestant thinkers.⁵⁹ This is exemplified by one-time teacher at the Ancient Separatist church in Amsterdam, Henry Ainsworth (1569-1622). To Ainsworth, Sarah’s interment was noteworthy ‘not onely for the generall resurrection of the dead, but for the speciall possession of this promised land’. Sarah was the first person to ‘claim’ the land for the Hebrew deity in death.⁶⁰ As male Protestant writers returned *ad fontes* for biblical support of funerary culture and the significance of the material in worship in the aftermath of iconoclasm and the break with visual forms of worship, they found that the first tomb in Judeo-Christian history was a woman’s. On the one hand, the experience of female death and interment lays the foundations for the salvation narrative of the Christian community as a whole. On the other, the woman’s tomb inaugurates the rightful seizure of devotional space and place by the community of believers. Thus, Sarah’s burial establishes the appropriation of the promised land by Abraham, ‘For a Sepulchre of ones owne, was a signe of right, and firme possession’.⁶¹ With the purchase of land in which Abraham openly states himself to be a foreigner, he affirms his possession of place through the commemoration of his wife. Thus, Sarah’s burial signifies the burial of Abraham’s line. Genesis elaborates on ‘Sarah’s burial, name of her spouse (Abraham), the name of the cave (Machpelah), its location (facing Mamre), the later name for that location (Hebron), and the general

⁵⁹ This definition for Protestant individuals and groups at odds with royally promoted religious practice and belief is borrowed from Patrick Collinson. Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), p. 27.

⁶⁰ Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations Upon the Five Bookes of Moses, the Booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs, or, Canticles* (London, 1627), p. 88.

⁶¹ Ainsworth, p. 88.

placement (Canaan).⁶² It is for this reason that *Threnoikos* (1660), one of the most influential funeral sermon anthologies of the seventeenth century assures us, he ‘calleth her not his Wife, but his Dead’.⁶³ Sarah’s place of burial and the female tomb were firmly entrenched in a contemporary Protestant understanding of the significance of physical place in the foundation of the church.

The process of remembering Dorothy in *Sarahs Sepulture* seeks to reconcile collectively experienced devotion with a belief in the singular importance of the scripture. By formulating Dorothy as Sarah, the ‘mother of nations’, she becomes a foundational stone of her devotional community.⁶⁴ Like Susanna Kirkman’s monument in chapter one, Dorothy’s monument fashions the devout woman into the supporting structure of her devotional community. Unlike the monument dedicated to Kirkman, Dorothy’s tomb is a printed text. *Sarahs Sepulture* is a symbolic representation of a Protestant belief system that prioritises the word. Chambers intimates this to his reader by diminishing the distance between the material and the textual. Through its place in the Bible, Sarah’s tomb, ‘the place where she died’, ‘may not unfitly be called *Sarahs Epitaph*’.⁶⁵ Sarah’s sepulchre is expressive of the dual importance of edifice and text, of the importance of collective worship in the church on the one hand, and of the centrality of the Word on the other. Dorothy’s sepulchre affirms the nature of her congregation as a collective devotional entity

⁶² Tammi J. Schneider, *Sarah: Mother of Nations* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 117.

⁶³ ‘Abrahams Purchase or, A Possession for Burial’, in Daniel Featly et al., *Threnoikos the House of Mourning Furnished With Directions for Preparations to Meditations of Consolations at the Hour of Death. Delivered in LIII Sermons, Preached at the Funerals of Divers Faithfull Servants of Christ* (London, 1660), pp. 233-41 (p. 235).

⁶⁴ Genesis 17. 16.

⁶⁵ Chambers, p. 4.

similar to Kirkman's monument. However, by being a text *Sarahs Sepulture* asserts the congregation's belief in the efficacy of individual Bible reading.

The written monument offers no assurance of Dorothy's salvation. Like Bill's tomb, her place of interment asserts the significance of public worship in facilitating hope in redemption by diminishing the distance between scripture and its meaning. *A Monument* urges the reader to 'Gaze each on other', to come together in collective worship through Anna's death to experience the hope in her deliverance ('The Vaile of Modestie', *A Monument*, sig. A3^v). At the same time, this allowed them to decode the benefits of the Word. Dorothy's monument also seeks to bring the congregation from the process of reading, to the spiritual edification of collective worship. As Chambers states, Dorothy's tomb serves as a collective symbol 'for our comfort' to relieve the possible tension of the congregation's inability to ascertain her place among the saved.⁶⁶ He does so by referring to Dorothy's monument as God's 'standard of his Word to his people'. A standard is a conspicuous object that draws attention to itself through lavish visual display. It usually takes the form of a sculpture or flag raised high on a pole to indicate a rallying point. Standard, however, was also used to describe tall candlesticks or candelabras that populated parish churches across England before the enforcement of the Chantries Act.⁶⁷ The word evoked conspicuous display on the one hand, and the striking sensory experiences of church worship on the other. It reminded its contemporary reader of the tensions between decorous, collective worship and a Protestant rejection of excessively luxurious church furnishing. The frequent occurrence of standards in the inventories of church goods compiled during Edward VI's reign make this evident.

⁶⁶ Chambers, p. 25.

⁶⁷ 'standard, n. and adj.', in *OED*.

In the inventories of goods and church ornaments compiled for the churches of Surrey, for example, ‘stondardes of lattyn’ were listed alongside ‘all the plate juelles ornamente and belles wythe in the paryshe cherche of Mary Mawdelyn of Barmondesey’. Here, alongside ‘lytyll pyllowys’, ‘chalysys’ and ‘awter clothys’, standards became objects associated with the ‘Supersition and Errors in Christian Religion’.⁶⁸ As a ‘standard of his Word’, Dorothy’s monument becomes a hybrid material entity, one that negotiates the insistently visual and decorative, with the rejection of material goods in favour of scripture. Like Donne’s tolling bells that are made to bridge the gap between private contemplation and the community of worship, Dorothy’s monument recalls the individual reader and mourner to the church collective. Despite being framed as a written entity, the tomb in *Sarahs Sepulture* affirms the significance of the church building in bringing the ‘people’ closer to the ‘Word’.⁶⁹

Chambers’ use of the tomb to reconcile textual and collective forms of devotion is given further context by his membership in a devotional community surrounding the court of James I. These links to court and King are made apparent when he writes that *Sarahs Sepulture* is the product of ‘a Land, where under a gracious Prince of peace the word of life is published’.⁷⁰ A reference to the Bishop of London, John King (d. 1621), further betrays Chambers’ and Dorothy’s ties to an ecclesiastical elite. King had been an attendant to Dorothy on her deathbed.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Inventories of the Goods and Ornaments of the Churches of Surrey, in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth*, ed. by John Robert Daniel-Tyssen (London: Wyman & Sons, 1869), pp. 96-7; *The Statutes at Large, Of England and of Great Britain: From Magna Carta to the Union of Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Thomas Edlyne Tomlins and John Raithby, 20 vols (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1811), III, 499.

⁶⁹ Chambers, p. 26.

⁷⁰ Chambers, p. 25.

⁷¹ Chambers, p. 18.

Chambers' connections to King reveal his place amidst a set of divines close to James I that sought to overcome the factionalism of a contemporary devotional landscape, what King formulated as the 'intestine discord' of the religious fabric of England.⁷² King was an advocate of a moderate devotional middle ground, and an outspoken supporter of the royal prerogative over church matters.⁷³ Chambers' ties to the devotional networks surrounding James I suggest that his use of the monument sought to reconcile rival forms of devotion that threatened a royal theological consensus: the doctrinal views of those that asserted the primacy of the written word, and others driven by a return to a sensory and ritual experience of worship.

Pieties Pillar by Nicholas Guy (born c. 1587) employs the grave to reconcile the written and spoken word, and a communal experience of devotion. Also taking inspiration from the Old Testament, he stresses the porous boundaries between text and material object, since:

*as Jaakob would not have his Rachels memory perish with her corps, but for better preservation thereof, erected a Pillar upon her grave, so to the same end it is desired, that this Funerall Sermon may be published.*⁷⁴

By likening the writing of the funeral sermon of Elizabeth Gouge (c. 1586-1625) to the erection of Rachel's monumental pillar, Guy deliberately blurs the distance between the act of building and writing. As Guy asks his readership to view his published '*Funerall Sermon*' as the 'Pillar' of the mother of two progenitors of the tribes of Israel, commemorative space becomes instrumental in the assertion of community through text and printed book. Recounted in Genesis alongside the

⁷² John Manningham, *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, 1602-1603*, ed. by John Bruce (Westminster: J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1868), p. 151.

⁷³ P. E. McCullough, 'King, John (d. 1621), bishop of London', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15568>>.

⁷⁴ Nicholas Guy, *Pieties Pillar: or, A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of Mistresse Elizabeth Gouge, Late Wife of Mr. William Gouge, of Black-Friers, London. With a True Narration of her Life and Death* (London, 1626), sig. A5^r.

burial of Sarah, Rachel's interment further stresses the significance of the commemoration of women in the construction of a written Christian tradition. Like the burial of Sarah, Rachel's interment also proclaims ownership over a physical landscape. Through Rachel's death, her husband asserts the rightful patriarchal lineage of Jacob, who, though not the first-born, had inherited the divine promise to Abraham.⁷⁵ The material durability of Rachel's pillar is thus a physical reminder of God's promise that he 'will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan'.⁷⁶ Guy legitimises the spaces of worship and belief through their foundational significance in the writings of Judeo-Christian belief.

Pieties Pillar employs the affinities between text and materiality in the monument to reconcile the written word and the benefits of collective worship in the church. Unlike the pillar of Jane Shipsea that formed the literal supporting structure of the congregation of St Mary in Barton upon Humber encountered in chapter one, Elizabeth's monument is distinctly figurative and textually located. As a text, *Pieties Pillar* allows Guy to affirm the centrality of the scripture. As a monument, the text can assert that collective worship facilitates its comprehension. Guy articulates the slide of material into textual when he outlines the use of his funeral book to his reader. The monument is the conduit of 'a gracious and a large Charter or promise of Christ' through which the congregation 'comprehended no lesse then the summe or Epitome of the Gospell'.⁷⁷ Similarly to 'A.B.' and 'Upon the virtuous and good

⁷⁵ Walter Russell Bowie, 'Genesis: Introduction', in *The Interpreter's Bible: The Holy Scriptures in the King James and Revised Standard Versions with General Articles and Introduction, Exegesis, Exposition for Each Book of the Bible*, ed. by George Arthur Buttrick, 12 vols (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952-1957), I (1952), 439-57 (p. 443).

⁷⁶ Genesis 17. 8.

⁷⁷ Guy, p. 7.

Gentlewoman' in *A Monument*, the author draws on a medieval textual tradition to showcase this interrelationship between object and text.

The Charter of Christ, as Mary Caroline Spalding reminds us, was a written document that 'purports to be a grant of Heaven's bliss, made to mankind by the Saviour, upon condition that man give, in return, his love to God and to his neighbor'. Also known as the *Testamentum Christi*, it is regularly framed as a last will and testament, as a 'dying bequest' in which the body of Christ and the objects of the scriptorium mingle.⁷⁸ Emily Steiner illustrates this through one of the earliest such texts, the *Long Charter* (c. 1350-1380). Humankind is 'secure in its heritage of heaven' because the suffering and death of Christ is simultaneously secured and re-enacted in manuscript production; 'the stretching of the parchment is the nailing of his body to the cross; the pen is the scourge; and the ink the spit of his tormenters'.⁷⁹ The visceral corporeality of the passion is recreated in the material process of textual production. Instead of indicating discomfort with the material and sensory like the poems of 'The Vaile of Modestie', Guy confidently repurposes medieval devotional forms to find ways to formulate the reciprocal relationship between the material and textual. Rather than drawing emphasis to the physical body of the Saviour, Guy uses the materiality of the text to draw the reader to the materiality of the funeral monument and the place it inhabits. In doing so, Elizabeth's tomb draws the congregation from the individual reading of the Word to the benefits of collective worship that, like 'a large Charter', mediates the comprehension of the 'summe or Epitome' of the Bible.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Mary Caroline Spalding, *The Middle English Charters of Christ* (Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College, 1914), p. vii.

⁷⁹ Emily Steiner, *Documentary Culture and the Making of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), p. 50.

⁸⁰ Guy, p. 7.

The tomb's act of mediation also facilitates the ability to gain hope in Elizabeth's membership among the saved. Guidance through the material object is important to Guy because Elizabeth's body is 'covered from ou[r] sight in the earth'.⁸¹ The very identity of the religious community could be compromised by their inability to assert the salvation of its deceased members. Gouge's death and the failure of gaining certainty over her elect status exposes an unease over the possible distance between the foundational instrument for the community's redemption (scripture) and its edifying properties, accessed only through proper comprehension. The monument eases the severity of this distance. In Elizabeth's funeral sermon, the material and visual facilitate the formulation of collectively shared hope in the absence of certainty through its public and 'true Narration of her Life' and her 'memory'.⁸² Thus, the monument is a collectively experienced entity that asserts the 'assured hope o[f] the Resurrection', a place that served for the 'encouragement to others in their life', to facilitate 'the greater consolation of her friends' and to act as a model for 'imitation' to all.⁸³ The tomb, as a textual entity, prompts the congregation to reformulate anxiety into confidence. Furthermore, as the monument of Elizabeth draws the individual to the meeting place of the community, as the 'object here before our eyes' and a 'visible Sermon of our mortalitie', the tomb asserts the benefits of collectively experienced worship in a belief system reliant on text.⁸⁴

Like Day and Chambers, Guy's efforts at employing the monument as a mediator between the textual and a sensory resonates with his place in the devotional milieu surrounding the royal household. In his dedicatory epistle to Thomas Lake,

⁸¹ Guy, p. 38.

⁸² Guy, sig. A2^r-A3^v.

⁸³ Guy, p. 38, sig. A5^v, p. 38.

⁸⁴ Guy, p. 37.

Guy affirms his ties to Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells (d. 1626).⁸⁵ As the translator of the New Testament for the King James Bible, Arthur Lake was firmly placed in an ecclesiastical environment that sought to shape a Jacobean religious consensus. In addition, Lake was an active supporter of hypothetical universalism, and, as Kenneth Fincham writes, ‘acutely conscious of the divisive consequences for parish religion’ created by ‘controversial divinity’ of all kinds.⁸⁶ Guy, who was ‘trained up by that Illuminate Doctor, Prelate and Pillar of our Church’, shared his conciliatory attitude.⁸⁷ His use of the monument in a mediation between the material and textual served to assert a royally espoused religious consensus promoted by the devotional networks to which he belonged.

The Pilgrims Profession by Thomas Taylor (1576-1632) transports the relationship between text, place and devotional community into reactant Protestant discourses. Instead of stressing the relevance of the church building in mediating individual and collective devotional experience, this text, compiled after the death of the Berkshire gentlewoman Mary Gunter (d. 1622), relativizes its significance through the metaphor of the tabernacle:

A Tabernacle is but a sojourning place, set up for a shift, to hide our selves for a small while, as a Souldier hides himselfe in a sconce or tent onely for a time of a siege at the longest.⁸⁸

The tabernacle, a ‘temporary dwelling’, is more closely associated with transitory space such as the tent. Its significance as a container of the sacred (‘an ornamented

⁸⁵ Guy, sig. A3^r.

⁸⁶ Kenneth Fincham, ‘Lake, Arthur (bap. 1567, d. 1626), bishop of Bath and Wells’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15896>>.

⁸⁷ Guy, sig. A3^v.

⁸⁸ Thomas Taylor, *The Pilgrims Profession, or A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of Mris Mary Gunter by Mr Thomas Taylor. To Which (by his Consent) Also is Added, a Short Relation of the Life and Death of the Said Gentle-Woman, as a Perpetuall Monument of her Graces and Vertues* (London, 1622), pp. 30-1.

receptacle for the pyx') made tabernacle a word closely associated with the material adornment of the church interior. A sacred receptacle and temporary dwelling place, the tabernacle was also used to denote 'tomb or shrine'. The tomb, like the tabernacle, is a temporary dwelling in which the body remains only until the call to the Last Judgement.⁸⁹ The temporality of the tabernacle also made it definitively unlike the static funeral monument. The tabernacle's repeated appearance in the Book of Exodus makes this meaning clear. Exodus narrates the fate of the Israelites as they leave behind slavery in Egypt for the promised land. Because of this, the journeying community relies on a place of worship unfixed to a specific place, a tabernacle that occupies the temporary dwelling of the tent.⁹⁰ Thus, while the tomb stresses the permanence of collective worship, the tabernacle highlights the temporality and unfixed nature of the church militant. The tabernacle shifts emphasis away from the material and spatial in Christian devotion, and towards the collective body of the believers. By indirectly undermining the durability of the tomb, the tabernacle throws into question the ability of the church building to adequately represent its changing and sojourning members.

The King James Bible supports Taylor's metaphorical reading by using tabernacle in both a literal and figurative way. Exodus 26. 7 and 26. 15 instruct the reader to build a tabernacle from 'curtaines of goats haire' and 'Shittim wood'.⁹¹ These passages leave no doubt that the tabernacle is a physical construction and a literal place of worship. As soon as the tabernacle is built, it becomes intertwined with the bodies of the Israelites. Exodus 27. 9 calls for all to 'make the Court of the

⁸⁹ 'tabernacle, n., 1. a.', in *OED*.

⁹⁰ Exodus 26. 12.

⁹¹ Exodus 26. 7: 'And thou shalt make curtaines of goats haire, to be a covering upon the tabernacle: eleven curtains shalt thou make.'; Exodus 26. 15: 'And thou shalt make boards for the Tabernacle of Shittim wood standing up.'

'Tabernacle' and thereafter, it becomes consistently referred to as the 'Tabernacle of the Congregation'.⁹² If this is read as a use of the possessive form, these passages stress the Israelites' ownership of the tabernacle: it is not simply a tabernacle but the Israelites' tabernacle. The wording of these passages, however, also allow the reader to interpret this as a use of personification: the tabernacle is made up of the individual bodies of the congregation. The interpretive scope caused by the written word allows for simple ownership to evolve into the figurative coalescence of the human and inanimate. The multiple meanings of tabernacle enabled readers like Taylor to emphasise the primacy of the congregation by choosing to read the material in a figurative, rather than literal manner. This, in turn, supported Taylor's promotion of an austere and simple form of devotion, religious practices that remained at odds with an ecclesiastical elite that advocated a return to a more decorous form of worship.

Taylor was the curate of London's St Mary Aldermanbury, one of the few parishes in which the vestry owned the advowson. As suggested by Paul S. Seaver, the relative freedom of the parish of St Mary's from a larger Church hierarchy made it ideally suited to fashion an exemplary 'congregational polity within the Established Church'.⁹³ This independent structure accommodated Taylor's theological convictions. His 'puritan seminary', begun in Reading in 1616 and continued in London after his relocation in 1625, was vehemently anti-Catholic and suspicious of the beliefs of established figures of the Church, such as Archbishop Richard Bancroft (bap. 1544, d. 1610).⁹⁴ He saw in the establishment '*so many men*,

⁹² Exodus 27. 9; Exodus 27. 21; Exodus 28. 43; Exodus 29. 4.

⁹³ Paul S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560-1662* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. 138.

⁹⁴ J. Sears McGee, 'Taylor, Thomas (1576-1632), Church of England clergyman', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27083>>.

and so many meanes' by which the church was being returned to Catholic worship.⁹⁵

Taylor preached that the English Church was populated by men who were '*bold not only to move [...] but strongly defend that our Saboth is either not to be kept, or not so straightly : that either our Sermons neede not to bee heard or not so frequently: and that to walk according to the light here shining, [...] is too much precisenes'*'.⁹⁶

Attempts at negotiating a *via media* by members of the ecclesiastical elite were a display of Protestant weakness, the precision of the written word and the simplicity of devotion '*obscured*' by an underlying wish to return to the nebulous rituals and practices of Catholicism.⁹⁷ Taylor's sermons allow us to surmise that he led a community of reactant Protestants that expressed anxieties over the complexity of ritual and devotion. This is evident in the way Taylor prioritises the believer by minimising the function of the church building. Thus, he emphasises the pre-eminence of the congregation as the foundational stone on which the church is built through the conceit of the malleable and movable tabernacle instead of the fixed and rigid tomb. In such a way *The Pilgrims Profession* implicates the place of burial in a larger debate over the nature of Protestant worship.

Taylor's use of the Word to deemphasise the significance of material and place in collective devotion suggests that the interpretive breadth of language could actively destabilise religious consensus. After all, he employs the same examples as Chambers and Guy to come to a radically different conclusion. With its focus on Psalm 39. 12, Taylor's funeral book articulates the temporality of life as an absence

⁹⁵ Thomas Taylor, *The Beavties of Beth-el Containing: Sundry Reasons Why Every Christian Ought to Account One Day in the Courtes of God, Better Then a Thousand Besides* (London, 1609), sig. A3^v.

⁹⁶ Taylor, *The Beavties of Beth-el*, sig. A3^v.

⁹⁷ Taylor, *The Beavties of Beth-el*, sig. A3^v.

of defined communal space.⁹⁸ Taylor suggests that the true Christian, like the exile or sojourner ‘is absent from his native soyle, absent from his naturall friends, absent from his Fathers house, and absent from his owne home and inheritance’.⁹⁹

Employing the same Old Testament narratives as Chambers and Guy, Taylor casts the living as strangers on earth: like ‘*Abraham a stranger in Canaan*’ and like ‘*Jacob a stranger, whose whole life was a travaile in forraine Countries*’.¹⁰⁰ While Guy and Chambers assert the significance of physical space for the community of believers through Canaan’s funeral monuments, Taylor instead emphasises the body of the congregation through the temporality of such space through Abraham and Jacob’s status as strangers in a foreign land. Taylor’s *The Pilgrims Profession* shows how the monument’s symbolic function as a mediator between the textual and material was also employed by those that placed themselves outside a fragile religious consensus.

A Monument intimates that the tomb continued to act as the canvas on which to outline the identity of an English Church. Instead of reconciling monarch, church and believer as we have seen in chapter two, Anna Bill’s place of interment synthesised two competing extremes of Protestant theology: the insistence on the singular importance of the Word, and the benefits of collective, sensory forms of worship in the church. *A Monument* was able to do this by being both text and object of church furnishing. As the social and devotional networks surrounding Bill reveal, funeral books were employed in this way by those who sought to enact a theological consensus from above. Bill’s commemorative volume represents the powerful political and theological elite’s developing views on the centrality of the material and

⁹⁸ Psalm 39. 12: ‘for I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.’

⁹⁹ Taylor, *The Pilgrims Profession*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁰ Taylor, *The Pilgrims Profession*, pp. 15-16.

spatial in mediating scripture as it was authored by a chaplain in ordinary to the King and distributed by the King's printing house. Additionally, *A Monument* existed at the periphery of a hugely influential devotional literary milieu including figures such as Donne and Herbert that developed broad and inclusive visions of the English Church.¹⁰¹ Like these writers, Martin Day displayed that the centrality of the word and the benefits of seeing and hearing in religious experience were not mutually exclusive. In doing so, he shows how the claims of an authorised theological middle ground perpetuated through the King's printing house responded to the lack of real consensus achieved at the Hampton Court Conference. In forging links between a reactant beliefs that saw 'the canonical scriptures' as the only support structure of 'the church', and those that wished to emphasise collective worship and its 'comeliness' through the church building, *A Monument* sought to fashion a Jacobean Protestant consensus through the tombs of women.¹⁰²

2. The Funeral Sermon and the Female Voice

What factors made the funeral books of women an appropriate place to formulate the marriage of textual and material forms of worship? As we have already

¹⁰¹ Sidney Gottlieb, 'The Two Endings of George Herbert's "The Church"', in *A Fine Tuning: Studies of the Religious Poetry of Herbert and Milton*, ed. by Mary A. Maleski (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1989), pp. 57-76 (p. 72); Andrew Harnack, 'Both Protestant and Catholic: George Herbert and "To all Angels and Saints"', *George Herbert Journal*, 11, 1 (1987), 23-39; Alison Shell and Arnold Hunt, 'Donne's religious world', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. by Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 65-82; Jeanne Shami, 'Labels, Controversy, and the Language of Inclusion in Donne's sermons', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 135-57.

¹⁰² 'The Millenary Petition', pp. 105, 107.

seen, Calvinist emphasis on the scripture in the 1620s brought with it the realisation that Judeo-Christian funerary ritual and commemorative culture was initiated through the interment of women. The frontispiece of *A Monument* illustrates this relationship between the female tomb and the devotional word. By doing so, it also sought to decrease the distance between interior virtue, and its discernible manifestation outwardly. Anna's monument is a magnificent temple that intimates her inner beauty. This outward portrayal of splendour, however, can be deceptive. By being a text, the reader gains a mode of access into what lies beyond the frontispiece's external semblance; it allows the spectator to ascertain that Anna's outward form and her monument are a truthful reflection of her elect soul. This section argues that through women's association with the dangers of display, they formed ideal subjects in the funeral book's process of making virtue and the possibility of salvation material and concrete objects to be experienced through the senses. In *A Monument*, the visual beauty of Anna's temple is reconciled with the purity of her soul. As we shall see, this process of unification was conveyed through gendered terminology as the reconciliation between male spirituality and female corporeality. As the masculine and feminine, the spiritual and corporeal, and the visual and textual meet in the female funeral monument, the place of interment becomes the space to dramatically display the deceased and stage their voice to reassert the community's shared hope in salvation. This further contextualises the findings of chapter two. Mary Sidney Herbert endows the entombed Cleopatra with agency by giving her a place to speak, unhindered by male intervention. This process is also apparent in *A Monument* but is here being employed by a male author.

Rather than giving Anna the ability to formulate her affection, the reproduced female voice emanating from the grave in *A Monument* becomes a participant in

fashioning the identity of the elect and virtuous Protestant believer, both male and female. As Bill breaks from her female silence in death to talk for her hope in her own salvation, her ability to speak is used to dramatize the reconstitution of body and soul on Judgement Day. In doing so, *A Monument* shows us the significance of the female voice, a woman's direct experience of piety, devotion and eventual sickness and death, as an example after which the whole community of readers ought to fashion themselves. What is more, by narrating the aural and visual experience of the deceased's salvation through writing, the funeral book or commemorative text employs the female voice to guide the reader back to the experience of public worship. Like the tombs of the biblical Sarah and Rachel, they move the believer from the act of reading to the collective experience of devotional place. By bringing *A Monument* into the context of two contemporary commemorative texts, William Harrison and William Leigh's *Deaths Advantage Little Regarded, and The Soules Solace Against Sorrow Preached in Two Funerall Sermons at Childwal in Lancashire at the Buriall of Mistris Katherin Brettergh the Third of June* (1602) and William Crompton's *A Lasting Jewell, for Religious Woemen. In the Summe of a Sermon, Preached at the Funerall of Mistris Mary Crosse* (1630), this section shows us how women's fashioned spiritual voices participated in the writing of Protestant belief by arguing for the importance of public and sensory worship in the church building of the 1620s.

Women played a leading role in fashioning exemplary Protestant lives and deaths in the 1620s. Femke Molekamp's research shows that in the seventeenth century, a 'higher proportion of funeral sermons for women were printed than those for men'.¹⁰³ Jeri Lynne McIntosh demonstrates that these texts were very popular,

¹⁰³ Femke Molekamp, 'Seventeenth-Century Funeral Sermons and Exemplary

with a large number seeing multiple print runs, even years after the deaths of the individual women they commemorated.¹⁰⁴ Anna Bill's funeral book supports these findings because it was reprinted by G. Purslowe in 1630, and appears in the Stationers' Company Catalogue of 1627 with a publication date of 1626, making it likely that the text was republished at least once.¹⁰⁵ The trend for formulating the monument as a textual entity within the funeral book or commemorative volume was therefore concomitant with the medium's tendency to favour women as its leading subjects. Associated with outward display and the dangers appended to it, women were suited to appear prominently in works that sought to exemplify idealised forms of piety and virtue, and distinguish them from misleading, superficial and false outward pretence.

The use of the temple or monument as a metaphor for the body of the Christian believer was regularly linked to the dangers of the deceptive nature of female beauty. The biblical use of the 'whited' or 'painted sepulchre', was, by the early seventeenth century, an established image for the hypocrite, or a way to express 'fair outward semblance' that 'conceals inward corruption'.¹⁰⁶ The painted sepulchre occurs in this context in *A Monument*. Here, Day employs it to intimate the

Female Devotion: Gendered Spaces and Histories', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 35, 1 (2012), 43-63 (p. 45).

¹⁰⁴ Jeri Lynne McIntosh, 'English Funeral Sermons 1560-1640: The Relationship Between Gender and Death, Dying, and the Afterlife' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1990), p. 57.

¹⁰⁵ Martin Day, *A Monument of Mortality Containing Foure Treatises. I. A Wakning for Worldlings. 2. Meditations of Consolation. 3. Comfortable Considerations for the Sicke. 4. A Mirror of Modestie* (London, 1630). It is unclear whether the 1626 reprint came into circulation. Beyond its mention in the Stationers' Company Catalogue there is no evidence that such an edition existed. See Rees and Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture*, p. 212.

¹⁰⁶ Matthew 23. 27: 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness'; 'sepulchre, n., 1. b. whited (†painted) sepulchre', in *OED*.

distance between aesthetic and spiritual beauty. In addition, the painted sepulchre's appearance in the female conduct tract entitled 'A Mirror of Modesty', reveals how its meaning was inflected by concepts of gender. This places *A Monument* amongst other male-authored texts that contributed to a 'discourse of the weakness of women', a set of views that Russell West-Pavlov rightly observes, became 'so frequent that they had the status of self-evidence among early modern people.'¹⁰⁷ Yet, as we shall see, this language of female weakness was frequently used to speak about the failings of the Christian believer more generally.

Using the teachings of Clement of Alexandria, Day shows his readers that the whitened sepulchre presents the dangers of outward beauty as a female imperfection:

There is another African [...] *Clemens of Alexandria*, who in his free-schoole takes upon him to tutor the women, and tels these limmers, they are painted sepulchres, like the Egyptian Temples, fairely built without, overlayd with Golde and Embroidery, adorned with sumptuous hangings, and the utmost of Art or expence; but if you looke inward to the Quire or Chancell , yee shall finde nothing but a Catte or Crocodile, or some strange monster : Even so, saith hee, these painted walles make a faire shew in the upper crust and cæment, whereby they allure many miscreate Lovers.

('A Mirror of Modestie', *A Monument*, p. 33)

Through Clement's *Paedagogus*, Day expresses the inability to distinguish outward semblance and inward virtue through the deceptive nature of female beauty. 'Temples', like women, ought to match a beautiful and 'fairely built' exterior to the splendour of the 'Quire or Chancell' of the interior. Like the visual beauty of a temple, the 'painted walles', the 'upper crust and cæment' of the exterior, can also hide a 'strange monster'. Deception was portrayed as a female failing through the misleading splendour and beauty of the place of worship.

¹⁰⁷ Russell West-Pavlov, *Bodies and their Spaces: System, Crisis and Transformation in Early Modern Theatre* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), p. 146.

Despite the passage's focus on female weakness, the gendering of the temple as female served as a metaphor for the potentially sinful Christian body; the body is a constant *memento mori* and reminder of eventual death and judgement. This is signalled by the reformulation of the 'women' into 'these limmers' ('A Mirror of Modestie', *A Monument*, p. 33). While limmer could be understood to denote 'a light woman' or a 'strumpet', the *OED* reveals that it was far more commonly applied in contexts where it denoted 'rogue' or 'scoundrel'.¹⁰⁸ The word's dual meaning was derived from its usage in devotional writing and biblical commentaries. In such texts, limmer regularly refers to a painter or artisan. Thomas Jackson, president of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, for example, employed the term 'limmer' in a passage concerning prophecy and humanity's ability to make God's 'causes visible or comprehensible by art'. The artist's inability to attain godly knowledge risks transforming him into a rogue when he depicts a child as yet unborn:

To draw an exact picture of a childe as yet unborne, or whose parents at this time are not conceived, is a skill as impossible for any Painter or Limmer to attaine, as it is for an Astrologicall Physitian to describe the nature, complexion, or disposition of men that shall have no actuall being or existence till hee be dead.¹⁰⁹

By placing the limmer alongside the painter, Jackson's use of the term closely resembles limmer's Middle English meaning: an illuminator of manuscripts.¹¹⁰ He contends that despite being skilled craftsmen, limmers and painters cannot give form to that which is 'yet unborne'. Unlike God, the human craftsman has a limited comprehension of existence and can only derive meaning from the corporeal. Jackson implies that when limmers and painters seek to create art beyond this level

¹⁰⁸ 'limmer, n. and adj., 1.', in *OED*.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Jackson, *The Knowledg of Christ Jesus, or The Seventh Book of Commentaries Upon the Apostles Creed* (London, 1634), p. 55.

¹¹⁰ 'limnōur (n.)', in *MED*.

of comprehension, they overstep the boundary between human and godly knowledge. In doing so, their art becomes trickery. The limmer that creates art that intimates divine knowledge is consequently at risk of being a swindler or scoundrel.

Drawing things beyond a human's sensory perception was an act of concealment as much as it was an act of deception. What is more, using paint to obscure truth was commonly understood as a female form of duplicity. Richard Braithwaite's *Times Curtaine Drawne*, published in the same year as *A Monument*, warns its readers of the dishonesty of women that use cosmetics. These 'Babells strumpets' use 'Painting, and pursting, sleeking of the skin', and 'Poudring of hayre' to ensnare and deceive men.¹¹¹ Cosmetic painting conceals, and in doing so, obscures virtue and shelters wickedness behind 'false formes'.¹¹² Concealment makes women '*Niles Crocodyles*', creatures that capture prey by disguising their true intentions.¹¹³

The crocodile recalls the duplicity of the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, and her ability to ensnare men through deceptive female beauty. In Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1623), Antony refers to his lover as his 'serpent of old Nile'.¹¹⁴ Early modern theatre-goers and readers would have understood 'serpent' as a direct reference to the crocodile, as Edward Topsell's *The Historie of Serpents* (1608) makes clear. 'By Serpents we understand [...] all venomous Beasts, whether creeping without legges, as Adders and Snakes, or with legges, as Crocodiles and

¹¹¹ Richard Braithwaite, *Times Curtaine Drawvne, or The Anatomie of Vanitie VVith Other Choice Poems, Entituled; Health from Helicon* (London, 1621), sigs. A6^r, F6^v.

¹¹² Braithwaite, sig. A6^r.

¹¹³ Braithwaite, sig. A6^r.

¹¹⁴ William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by John Wilders (London: Routledge, 1995), I. 5. 26 (p. 121).

Lizards'.¹¹⁵ Given the contemporary use of the crocodile to denote female falsehood in conduct-book literature, Cleopatra is the epitome of the female ‘venomous Beast’ in the hands of the male author. While we have seen Mary Sidney Herbert use the process of enclosure within the monument to elevate Cleopatra from being accused of treachery and deceit akin to ‘*Niles Crocodyles*’, Day consciously draws on this image of female falsehood as he, instead, makes the place of female interment accessible to his readers.¹¹⁶ Day does so to employ female deceit to speak about the potential for human treachery in general. The language is gendered, but the meaning applies to men and women alike. This universally applied but gendered reading of the crocodile can also be found in geographer Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principal Navigations* (1599):

His nature is ever when hee would have his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this proverbe that is applied unto women when they weepe.¹¹⁷

Like Braithwaite’s Babylonian strumpet, the crocodile preys on man’s inability to distinguish beauty from virtue. The crocodile imitates the innocent sobs of the pious, the ‘Christian body’, to lure its victim to his death. Woman’s outward display, like the ‘sobbe’ of the Crocodile, conceals mischief. As Farah Karim-Cooper writes, female beautification through cosmetics threatened the fabric of Christian society as it demonstrated to many that ‘people were replacing their religion with vanity’.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents or, The Second Booke of Living Creatures* (London, 1608), p. 10.

¹¹⁶ Braithwaite, sig. A6^r.

¹¹⁷ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of The Earth, at Any Time Within the Compasse of These 1600 Yeres* (London, 1599), p. 512.

¹¹⁸ Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 37.

Day's 'strange monster' ('A Mirror of Modestie', *A Monument*, p. 33) is a crocodile, that, as shown by Hakluyt, imitates the 'Christian body' by employing female tactics of deceit.¹¹⁹ The analogy is distinctly gendered, but its gendered connotations apply universally through the unnerving suggestion that wickedness takes on the form and behaviour of the pious. Duplicity is not exclusive to woman, it is, rather, a womanly failing. The potentially dishonest outward bodies of women are representative of the corporeal and sinful body of the imperfect Christian.

The gendering of the body as female through the temple becomes the leading conceit to express the attainment of salvation for all in *A Monument*. This is made apparent through the biblical passage that frames 'A Mirror of Modesty', I Peter 3. 3-4:

3 *Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning, of plaiting
the haire, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on apparell:*
4 *But let it bee the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not
corruptible, even the ornament of a meeke and quiet spirit, which is
[in] the sight of God of great price.*

(‘A Mirror of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A1^v)

I Peter 3. 3-4 does not merely warn its readership of the dangers of female vanity but employs female outward beauty as a metaphor for 'outward adorning', the hazards posed by the exterior and corporeal to the Christian believer's soul more generally. In turn, the interior 'meeke and quiet spirit', hidden from view, becomes formulated as its counterpart, the masculine 'hidden man of the heart'. As the interior of the temple ought to match its lavish exterior, the outward form of the believer ought to match the true beauty of their obscured spirit: outward and feminine beauty ought to match hidden and male virtue. Such a reading of *A Monument* supports the findings of Karen Newman, who has shown that Day's text belonged to a conduct-book

¹¹⁹ Hakluyt, p. 512.

tradition that feminized sartorial excess to discourage a male audience from vanity.¹²⁰ Gender becomes the implement through which to articulate the distance between inward and outward, the body and the spirit. At the same time, their reconciliation marked the attainment of salvation, the acquisition of the ‘*great price*’ in the ‘*sight of God*’.

The hope in Anna’s deliverance is staged through the reconciliation of male and female in ‘The Vaile of Modestie’. At the resurrection, Bill must harmoniously reunite her female, outward and adorned body with the spiritual inward man to gain everlasting life. *A Monument* stages this synthesis through her voice, emanating from the monument. Her interior goodness, revealed from the demarcated place of death, asserts the virtue of her outward beauty in life, and the rightful exterior splendour of her monument in death:

*Here doe I rest a sad and sencelesse lumpe,
Till the last summons of that dreadfull trumpe,
Which shall command all Soules returne againe,
To their old bodies, which in Earth remaine.
[...]
That Faith, which Christians always have profest,
I have embrased from my Mothers brest;
As farre as sence, or spirit could prevale,
Being obscured in a bodie fraile.*

(‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sigs. A8^r-A8^v)

Supposedly written by Bill before her death and ‘found in her closet’, her lengthy epitaph in ‘The Vaile of Modestie’ seeks to show her ability to overcome obscuring exteriority to make apparent her virtuous soul. In doing so, the first-person account dramatizes the eventual reconciliation of body and soul in the delineated space of the monument. As Bill’s female corporeality remains ‘*a sad and sencelesse lumpe*’ in

¹²⁰ Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 121.

her tomb, her male spirit is able to proclaim her virtue that was, in her lifetime, ‘*obscured in a bodie fraile*’. It is only at first glance that her epitaph suggests a triumph of male spirit over female body. While death has overcome flesh and bones, this departure is merely temporary until the ‘*last summons of that dreadfull trumpe*’. Thus, as Anna’s male soul speaks from the place where her female body rests until ‘*all Soules returne againe*’, the monument provides a place of reconciliation between the two. The ‘*fraile*’ body of the believer, prone to sin and corruption, united in a temporary moment of assurance with the steadfast ‘Faith’ of the soul. In the hands of male authors, the female voice offers a special kind of authenticity to this moment of reconciliation. As the symbolic representatives of the unsettling duplicity of the Christian believer, torn between a virtuous soul and a sinful body, women, the ‘Egyptian Temples’ that simultaneously hide and embody the deceitful ‘*Crocodile*’, expressed the human condition in a Christian worldview (‘A Mirror of Modestie’, *A Monument*, p. 33).

The tomb’s reconciliation of body and soul in *A Monument* allowed the collective of believers to experience an encounter with the dead that was otherwise theologically impossible. As we saw in the examples explored in part one of this chapter, this dramatic meeting did not overstep the boundaries set by a Protestant belief in election. Anna’s inward virtue after death is staged by Day through her epitaph, but her *post mortem* words never claim her redemption. Instead, they frame her rest within the monument as a prelude to the Last Judgement:

*When the great Judge shall the last sentence give,
Both to the dead, and those that then shall live;
Then shall I be renew’d, to flourish still,
Even as the Eagle doth renew her Bill.*

(‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A8^v)

Anna is made to speak as she awaits the ‘*last sentence*’, suspended between life and death, and between death and rebirth. Through this curious location, her voice can only offer hope in salvation, not certainty. The words supposedly written by Bill, like ‘A.B.’, do not employ the monument to create forms of communication between ‘heaven and earth’, but facilitates hope among the devotional collective.¹²¹ Reconciling body and mind, and male and female, the monument expressed the idealised Christian believer that asserted inward virtue through the splendid temple of outward beauty to be read by all. Moreover, this gendering of the dichotomy between Anna’s spirit and body turned a place of speechlessness into a space from which the female voice was staged as an exemplary authority on collective hope in redemption.

A Monument was not alone in reconciling body and spirit through the written tomb, nor was it unique in doing so by employing gendered terminology. *A Monument* was part of a larger trend that saw the deathbed and the place of interment transformed into the spaces from which imagined female voices asserted collective hope in salvation. Like the texts that used tombs as mediators between the believer and the Word, the funeral books that employed women’s *post mortem* voices could be found in the circles close to the court of James I, and those reactant devotional communities that sought to align themselves with authorised forms of worship. This placed the imagined female voice in death into the larger context of the theological debates surrounding the benefits of ceremony and ritual.

To highlight inner virtue through the gendering of soul and body, *Deaths Advantage* by William Harrison (d. 1625) and William Leigh (1550-1639) commemorates the troubled and difficult death of Katherine Bruen Brettergh (1579-

¹²¹ Malo, p. 5.

1601) as a battle between her female body and her male soul on the deathbed.

Looking at this different example extends the argument by showing that a gendered understanding of the soul was a significant element in the articulation of salvation narratives by preachers aligned with the royal consensus. Both William Leigh and William Harrison, like Day, were associated with a network of preachers close to the royal household. Preaching in ‘Popish Lancashire’, Harrison was royally appointed to his post, and Leigh elected to the prestigious position of tutor to the young Prince Henry Frederick (1594-1612).¹²² In *Deaths Advantage*, the root of sinfulness is the female body, leading astray the ‘*minde*’. The heart, or the ‘*inner man*’, instead, takes ‘*delight in the law of God*’:

And further, *I delight in the law of God concerning the inner man, but I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my minde, and leading me captive unto sinne*. And nothing is more grievous unto a true Christian heart then the practise of sinne.¹²³

Employing gendered terms, Harrison and Leigh articulate the strain between the body and the spirit as a battle fought at the moment of Brettergh’s death. The definition of a gendered soul by Harrison and Leigh through the ‘*inner man*’ supports Lucinda Becker’s assertion that women needed to ‘adopt what were considered masculine characteristics in achieving a good death.’¹²⁴ As Katherine’s

¹²² Stephen Wright, ‘Leigh, William (1550-1639), Church of England clergyman’, in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16394>>.

¹²³ William Harrison and William Leigh, *Deaths Advantage Little Regarded, and The Soules Solace Against Sorrow Preached in Two Funerall Sermons at Childwal in Lancashire at the Buriall of Mistris Katherin Brettergh the Third of June. 1601. The One by William Harrison, One of the Preachers Appointed by her. Majestie for the Countie Palatine of Lancaster, the Other by William Leygh, Bachelor of Divinitie, and Pastor of Standish. Whereunto is Annexed, the Christian Life and Godly Death of the Said Gentlevwoman* (London, 1602), p. 65.

¹²⁴ Lucinda Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 44.

body threatens to lead her ‘*captive unto sinne*’, her masculine strength allows her to assert her ‘true Christian heart’.

A closer look at Harrison and Leigh’s sermons, however, shows that Brettergh’s gendered struggle was not so much an attainment of masculine traits, but the manifestation of the inherent coexistence of her male spirit and female body. This is suggested by Harrison and Leigh, who assert that death marks the eventual harmonious reunion of the body and spirit through the place of interment at the Last Judgement. They explain this through the resurrection of Christ in both spirit and the flesh:

As death did not make a separation betwixt the two natures of Christ at the time of his suffering: but his soule and bodie being farre distant, the one in heaven, the other in the grave, were at that time, and in that case personally united to his godhead.¹²⁵

The moment of death ‘did not make a separation betwixt the two natures of Christ’. The sacrifice of the son of God can only be powerful through his corporeality, his suffering in the form of human frailty and his subsequent resurrection in body as well as spirit. By employing Christ as an example, Harrison and Leigh stress that the body, though weak and prone to sin, was essential to an eventual resurrection into eternal life. Like Jesus’s corporeality, the body of the believer was only temporarily separated from the spirit and, what is more, eventually reconciled with the soul in the place of interment. Gender allowed Harrison and Leigh to visualise this process of reconciliation. Brettergh’s body is female, frail and silent. Her soul, in contrast, is masculine, defined by strength, and able to speak. The female body becomes the figurative symbol of the feminine and corporeal weakness of the flesh. By endowing it with speech and strength, it represents the reconstitution of the Christian believer’s

¹²⁵ Harrison and Leigh, p. 28.

body and soul at the Last Judgement. Brettergh's gender is essential to the underlying message of *Deaths Advantage*: salvation lies not in leaving behind one's body, but in the process of reconciling it with the steadfast spirit. Just as Christ's resurrection can only be powerful through his return in the flesh, the believer's salvation can only be complete when corporeality and spirituality exist harmoniously alongside one another, when feminine exteriority matches masculine interiority.

The reunification of body and the spirit in the liminal space between death and the Last Judgement allows the congregation to experience inward virtue in the collective setting of devotion. Like Day, Harrison and Leigh employ the place of eventual reconciliation as the stage for the masculine voice of Brettergh as they recount her words in the moment of death to those who 'have followed the hearse of our deare sister' and stand, literally and figuratively, at the place of her 'buriall':¹²⁶

She said, *the path was smooth, and strowed with flowers where she did treade, that she was as it were in Paradice, and felt a sweete smell, as in the garden of Eden: that the joyes which she felt were wonderfull, wonderfull! repeating that word oftentimes together.*¹²⁷

Brettergh's hope in deliverance, experienced on the domestic deathbed, is transported through the words of the preacher and the place of her interment into the public and shared space of the community of believers. Through the masculine soul, Brettergh's private exclamations become the public voice of her community's hope in salvation. Additionally, her female body, read by all through the place of her burial, becomes exemplary not of female piety, but of the Christian believer who hopes for the harmonious reconciliation of their fragile body and their triumphant soul at the Last Judgment.

¹²⁶ Harrison and Leigh, p. 1.

¹²⁷ Harrison and Leigh, p. 81.

A Lasting Jewell by William Crompton (c. 1599-1642) also divulges the separation and eventual reconciliation of body and soul through gender and materiality. As opposed to Harrison and Leigh, Crompton was associated with controversialist clergymen such as Richard Pilkington (d. 1631) and William Hakewill and had gained disfavour with the future Archbishop William Laud for a publication entitled *St Austin's Religion* (1624?).¹²⁸ Laud recorded in his diary that 'His Majesty found fault with divers passages' in Crompton's work and that he was tasked by the King to correct these so 'they might pass in the Doctrin of the Church of England'.¹²⁹ Crompton supported doctrinal views that strained against those fostered by the James I. Despite these theological differences, *A Lasting Jewell* conveys the reconciliation between inward virtue and outward semblance through the tomb in a similar fashion to *A Monument*.

Crompton employs the tomb to forge Mary Cross (d. 1628) into an example of her community. He contends that redemption is a consequence of the

¹²⁸ C. W. Sutton, 'Crompton, William (1599/1600-1642), Church of England clergyman', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6761>>. Sutton attributes this text to Crompton. Kathleen Lynch argues that the 1624 edition was authored by Alexander Cook and Crompton's tract appeared in the 1625 reprint of Cook's work, separately titled *Saint Austins Summes*. Here, this complicated print history is less important. Thanks to Laud's diary, we know that a work with that title was written by Compton and needed to be approved by the future Archbishop. *Saint Austins Religion, Wherein is Manifestly Proved Out of the Works of That Learned Father, That He Dissented From Popery, and Agreed With the Religion of the Protestants in All the Maine Points of Faith and Doctrine* (London, 1624); *Saint Austins Religion [...] Whereunto is Newly Added, Saint Austins Summes* (London, 1625); Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), p. 37.

¹²⁹ 'An Introduction to the following History: Containing the Diary of the Most Reverend Father in God William Laud, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury', in Henry Wharton and William Prynne, *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God and Blessed Martyr, William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* (London, 1695), pp. 1-69 (p. 14).

reconciliation between outward beauty and virtuous soul. The ‘painted Sepulchre’ becomes the stage for this unification, since:

your outward structure covers a masse of foule Corruption [...] so beautie, though justly admired, expressing in some part the excellence of the workeman; yet *Salomon* tells us, it is but vanitie, compared to the beauty of the inner man.¹³⁰

The sepulchre is the obscuring receptacle to be overcome, a container like the body, that could hide both ‘a masse of foule Corruption’ or ‘the beauty of the inner man’.

Crompton uses the feminine connotations of the whitened sepulchre to speak more generally about the dangers of a frail body that is prone to sin. At the same time, it is the place in which body and soul are reconciled. As ‘justly admired’ female beauty meets the masculine ‘beauty of the inner man’ in the tomb, they allow Cross to attain ‘the promise of both Kingdomes’, the earthly one ‘of grace’ through her membership in the community of the elect, and ‘the other of glory’ in the afterlife.¹³¹ The tomb permits the community to assert that Cross’s outward beauty is no deception, but a mark and illustration of her inner virtue.

This process is dramatized by providing Cross with a voice to declare her status as an exemplary member of her congregation to be emulated by all. Her voice, supposedly recorded at her deathbed, explicitly speaks of the importance of the devotional community to which it is recited:

If I lose this day, what shall the Soule feede on all the weeke after?
How should I answere it if my Lord should come and call to take
mee hence, finding mee this day sleeping ? I will not doe it ; can I
not watch one houre? the health of body I both respect and desire,
preferring still the welfare of the soule, and though I cannot spend it

¹³⁰ William Crompton, *A Lasting Jewell, for Religious Woemen. In the Summe of a Sermon, Preached at the Funerall of Mistris Mary Crosse, Late Wife of Mr. Henry Crosse of Barnestaple in the Countie of Devon Merchant, Novemb. 11. 1628* (London, 1630), sig. C3^r.

¹³¹ Crompton, sig. D1^v.

as I would, being Gods prisoner , yet my endeavour shall not be wanting in heart and minde , to joyne with the publike assembly.¹³²

Cross's staged voice reveals the importance of the 'publike assembly' by stressing its vital role in nourishing the soul. Furthermore, her expression of collective worship as the food that will 'feede' her for the week to come evokes the ritual of the Holy Communion. The Book of Common Prayer suggests that the celebration of the Lord's Supper was essential in affirming the relationship between the believer and Christ by forging reconciliation between the constituent members of the church. Only those who '*repented, and amended*' their '*former naughty lyfe*' were permitted to partake in the ritual. Moreover, the curate could refuse the service to those '*betwixt whome he perceyveth malice and hatred to raigne [...] untyll he know them to be reconciled*'.¹³³ By dramatizing the corporeal reconstitution of Christ through the resurrection, the Holy Communion fed one's soul by forming and re-forming the bond of the individual to the church.

Crompton's Mary evokes the Holy Communion's ability to reconcile to express her wish for unity between her frail body and her steadfast Christian soul. Cross laments that she is unable to attend Communion due to illness. Because of this, 'the welfare of the soule' is threatened by 'the health of body'.¹³⁴ At the same time, her lament merges her individual experience of suffering with the collectively experienced benefits of the sacrifice of Christ. As her 'heart and minde' join the ritual from her deathbed she is drawn to the church as Donne is guided from the private contemplations of his sickbed by the tolling funeral bells.¹³⁵ Mary Cross

¹³² Crompton, sigs. F2^r-F2^v.

¹³³ 'The Book of Common Prayer, 1559', in *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. by Brian Cummings (Oxford: OUP, 2011), pp. 99-181 (p. 124).

¹³⁴ Crompton, sig. F2^v.

¹³⁵ Crompton, sig. F2^v.

speaks from the liminal place of death as an example to her community as her masculine soul and feminine body are reconciled in the tomb. She does so to affirm the importance of public worship in the attainment of eternal life. By evoking the ritual of Holy Communion, Cross validates the ritual and devotional practices outlined in the Book of Common Prayer. In doing so, she legitimises the fabric of an established church and serves to assert Crompton's wish to align himself with the 'Doctrin of the Church of *England*'.¹³⁶

This section builds on the findings of chapter one and shows us that women's function as representatives of their communities through the funeral monument continued to play a significant role in the construction of English Protestant belief. In the shadow of an increasingly factionalised church in the 1620s, female monuments increasingly moved out of the parish church, and into the medium of text. To the early modern believer, humanity was defined by the dichotomy between soul and body: one striving for grace and salvation, the other continually tempted, frail and endangered by sin. As we can see, this duality was regularly expressed through a language of gender difference. In such a way, anxieties over the potential unknowability of redemption were articulated. The weak female body that is prone to sin endangers the virtue of a male soul so that certainty over deliverance can be understood to remain just out of reach. The liminal place of death had the ability to ease such fears. Salvation is made manifest by staging the reconciliation of female body and male spirit through their unification in the tomb as they await the Last Judgement. As the female body meets its male soul, the deceased can speak with

¹³⁶ 'Diary of the Most Reverend Father in God William Laud, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury', p. 14.

assurance of her own hope in salvation, and about the possibility of its attainment by the communities in which she lived and died.

By locating the moment of dramatic spiritual revelation in the tomb or grave, funeral books or commemorative volumes engaged the female voice in communicating the importance of the church building. While it is difficult to ascertain the authenticity of women's devotional writings, exclamations and musings that were retold through the spoken and printed words of those who commemorated them, the ability to claim female voices to assert hope for an eternal life among the saved brought women's devotional utterances into the forum of public worship. Female voices emanated from the printed word but always drew the reader back to the spiritual edification of a sensory experience of worship within their devotional communities. Women remained the 'living stones' and cornerstones of their congregations in death in the seventeenth century. At the same time, their monuments endured as the places where the character of English Protestantism was fashioned and negotiated. When employed by male authors, women's voices were influential in conveying the guiding function of public and sensory worship in the attainment of spiritual edification through the written word.

Conclusion

A Monument of Mortalitie reveals how the funeral monument continued to function as a place to negotiate and fashion the character of the English Church. Beyond asserting lineage and ancestry, *A Monument* sought to negotiate the sensory experience of collective worship in the church following the intensification of rifts in a Protestant consensus in the aftermath of the Synod of Dort, and William Laud's

ascent to religiopolitical power in 1621. It accomplished this by being a mediator between the potentially individualised, textual and scriptural experience of devotion, and the collective, material and ritual in religion by being material object and text simultaneously. As shown by *A Monument*, as well as *Sarahs Sepulture, Pieties Pillar* and *The Pilgrims Profession*, placing the monument within the textual space of the devotional tract continually drew the reader from private contemplation to the visual and aural experience of the communal place of worship through the drama of funerary ritual.

The factionalism that defined the Jacobean Church was driven by an unease over how language compounded meaning. ‘All that occurs within language’ writes Brian Cummings, ‘is an infinite regression of language within language’.¹³⁷ This is expressed by the critical limitation of the linguistic in the elegy entitled ‘A.B.’ in *A Monument*. As death ruptures all ties between the living and the deceased, the inability to ascertain Bill’s salvation is formulated as the insurmountable distance between spiritual knowledge and the ‘Alpha-Beta’, the language that is the believer’s sole device in the attainment of spiritual edification (‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A2^v). Drawing near Anna’s place of burial in collective worship transforms this anxiety into a shared hope in deliverance. The monument gathers the community in the church for the sensory and guiding experience of public worship, to ‘Gaze each on other’ (‘The Vaile of Modestie’, *A Monument*, sig. A3^v). By channelling scripture through the ritual experience of religion, *A Monument* eased the tension created by the multiplicity of interpretative meaning that words create. *A Monument* acknowledged the primacy of the Bible but also conveyed that the limits

¹³⁷ Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation*, p. 28.

of comprehension necessitated a ritual and ceremonial framework that allowed the individual to unlock its edifying properties.

As this chapter suggests, the relationship between the aural and visual, and the textual in *A Monument* can also be read as a religiopolitical tool of reconciliation. This attests to the enduring pragmatism that defined a Protestant understanding of funerary art. Funerary books and commemorative volumes used medieval textual strategies to control and interpret the materiality and corporeality of the divine.¹³⁸ Early seventeenth-century devotional writing inverted such methods of mediation. *A Monument* affirms that the use of the material object to negotiate the textual was a tactic to try and shape devotional compromise. Bill's numerous social and devotional links with a contemporary literary milieu attest to this function of her commemorative text. Through her father, Anna had ties into the textual networks defined by figures such as George Herbert and John Donne. Like Donne's evocation of the tolling bells that call the believer from private contemplation, and Herbert's reliance on the church edifice to structure the words of the Bible, *A Monument* drew on the material to guide the reader in the comprehension of the divine. Furthermore, *A Monument* was written by a chaplain in ordinary to the King and printed by the King's printing house. The text's resolution of the potential anxiety surrounding language through materiality was also a way to forge a reconciliation in a fractured religious consensus, between those who wished for an English Church guided by the Word alone, and those who believed in the instructive powers of the decorous and ceremonial in worship.

Part two of this chapter shows that *A Monument*, alongside texts such as *Deaths Advantage* and *A Lasting Jewell*, created female spiritual voices to participate

¹³⁸ Malo, p. 10; Camp, p. 179.

in these attempts at structuring the English Church. While the monument aided in articulating the importance of ritual place in a devotional environment that prioritised the word, it was also an agent in the reconciliation between the believer's individual, inward virtue and their outward appearance and actions. The moment of death and dying critically exposed the distance between spiritual interiority and exterior semblance. As death 'maims' the ties between the living and the dead, it can precipitate a moment of tension in a belief system defined by predestination ('The Vaile of Modestie', *A Monument*, sig. A2^v). As has been shown, this distance was regularly and forcefully expressed through a gendered language of duality: the male spirit or 'inner man', and the female and exterior 'temple'. The female monument reconciles the two by staging the dramatic unification of body and soul at the Last Judgement. In the tomb the female dead were reunited with their male souls, turning the grave into a place from which women could speak of their membership in a community of elect individuals.

As we have seen in chapter two, the monument's ability to reconcile opposing forces made it into a space from which the real or manufactured female voice asserted agency. As exterior femaleness, the '*sad and sencelesse lumpe*' ('The Vaile of Modestie', *A Monument*, sigs. A8^r), is unified with the male soul, the '*hidden man of the heart*' ('A Mirror of Modestie', *A Monument*, sig. A1^v), women's devotional speech becomes empowered to speak of hope in salvation to the devotional community. The female voice, emanating from the liminal place between death and the Last Judgement participated in shaping public and collective worship. By formulating confidence in deliverance from the public place of burial, women were made participants in communicating James I's wish for a unified English Church.

The funeral monuments of women remained important symbols of the strive for a unified Protestant identity in the 1620s. They played an important role in ‘James’s obstinate search for universal peace’ by reconciling a fragmenting religious consensus.¹³⁹ Moving into chapter four and into the literary landscape of the fraught years of the Civil War and the Interregnum will show that in these conditions the tomb continued to serve in such a capacity. As war threatened the social, political and religious fabric of England, the monument’s ability to reconcile past and present, the disparate elements of the Protestant church and state, and the sensory experience of worship and scripture allowed Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle to articulate women’s roles in returning her war-torn fictional kingdom of ‘Bell in Campo’ to peace, prosperity and harmony.

¹³⁹ MacCulloch, p. 513.

Chapter 4 Peace, War and the Monument: Margaret Cavendish's 'Bell in Campo'

Introduction

In the play 'Bell in Campo' (1662) by Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (c. 1623-1673), the freshly widowed Madam Jantil gives orders to her steward to begin work on a tomb. This lavish funeral complex exudes harmony and tranquillity to commemorate her husband's violent death in a civil war. The whole sequence is worth quoting at length:

MADAME JANTIL I would have you hire the best and curioust Carvers or Cutters of Stones to make a Tomb after my direction ; as First I will have a marble piece raised from the ground about half a mans height or somthing more, and somthing longer than my Husbands dead body, and then my Husbands Image Carved out of Marble to be laid thereupon, his Image to be Carved with his Armor on, and half a Head-piece on the Head, that the face might be seen, which face I would have to the life as much as Art can make it ; also let there be two Statues, one for *Mercury*, and another for *Pallas*, these two Statues to stand at his head, and the hands of these Statues to join and to be laid under as carrying the head of my Husbands figure, or as the head lay thereupon, and their hands as his Pillow; on the right side of his figure, let there be a Statue for *Mars*, and the hand of *Mars*'s Statue holding the right hand of my Husbands figure, and on the left hand a Statue for *Hymen*, the hand on the place of the heart of my Husbands figure, and at the feet of the figure, let there be placed a Statue for *Fortune* also, about a yard distance from the Tomb; at the four Corners thereof, let there be four Marble Pillars raised of an indifferent height, and an Arched Marble Cover thereupon, and let all the ground be paved underneath with Marble, [...] then set a grove of Trees all about the out-side of them, as Lawrel, Mirtle, Cipres, and Olive, for in Death is Peace, in which Trees the Birds may sit and sing his Elegy; this Tomb placed in the midst of a piece of ground of some ten or twenty Acres, which I would have incompassed about with a Wall of Brick of a reasonable height, on the inside of the Wall at one end, I would have built a little house [...] on the outside of the Wall a House for some necessary Servants to live in, [...] thus will I live a signification, not as a real substance but as a shaddow made betwixt life and death ; from this House which shall be my living Tomb, to the Tomb of my dead Husband, I would have a

Cloyster built, through which I may walk freely to my Husband's Tomb, from the injuries of the weather, [...] thus will I have the story of his life drawn to the life.¹

How is the past imagined in this description of a composite of styles? How are we to understand this reworking of ancient temple and medieval cloister in a text printed in 1662? The Greco-Roman carved marble 'pillars' and 'figures' of an *all'antica* temple sit amidst a network of walkways and a 'Cloyster', reminiscent of the built environment that housed a medieval intercessory economy. Like the tomb, the grove in which it is situated is made of apparent contrasts and contradictions as it juxtaposes the man-made and the natural. The mausoleum complex unites the smooth surfaces of the carved figures with their place amidst a 'grove of Trees', where birds replace the graveside mourner in the task of singing the husband Seigneur Valeroso's 'Elegy'. Its 'ground of some ten or twenty Acres' that contains this harmonious intermingling of flora and paved walkways make Jantil's monument reminiscent of the convergence of the manufactured, the regulated and artificial, with the organic, mercurial and ethereal in the garden space.

Jantil's mausoleum is also a conscious allusion to one of the environments of Cavendish's exile on the continent following the Civil War, the Rubens's garden in Antwerp. This relationship to the garden is made more visually explicit through the introduction of the figures of Mercury and Pallas into Jantil's tomb, deities that played a central role in the design of the home of the artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). The author, playwright and philosopher Margaret Cavendish spent most of her exile following the Civil War in the environs surrounding this garden. The

¹ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, 'Bell in Campo' in *Playes Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London, 1662), pp. 579-633, Part I. IV. 21 (pp. 599-600). Subsequent references to 'Bell in Campo' will be given in the text.

possible influence of the Rubens garden on Cavendish's 'Bell in Campo' is suggested by a portrait by the painter Gonzales Coques (1614/18-1684). In this painting, the couple stands in the shadow of Mercury and Pallas towering on the ornate portico entrance to the urban garden (*Plate 16*).

Taking a lead from the way Jantil's funeral monument evokes an imagined past through the landscape of Cavendish's place of exile, this chapter explores the main research question by elucidating how 'Bell in Campo' exploited the tomb's enduring purpose as an instrument of transfer and conciliation to engage women in political debates about rulership and governance. It will do so by drawing on Cavendish's literary corpus, the iconography of the Rubenshuis garden, and the funeral monuments built by women of the Cavendish family. As will be shown, the landscapes of Cavendish's immediate surroundings in exile and at home shaped 'Bell in Campo' and its funeral monument, and influenced the way it conveyed good governance that was defined by age in its association with maturity, and the continuity and stability provided by the 'Aged' ruler.² Chapter four therefore extends the exploration of the tomb as a pragmatic instrument in the re-structuring of pre-Reform parish church spaces in chapter one. Chapter four will argue that the tomb's function as a 'presencing mechanism' persisted, mediating old and new, but that its purpose changed.³ Instead of using the tomb to negotiate between medieval forms of worship and Protestant theology, Cavendish employed the monument to stress the importance of continuity to combat and resolve Civil War social and political fracture.

² Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *CCXI. Sociable Letters* (London, 1664), p. 46.

³ C. Pamela Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief: An Archaeology of the Lay Experience of Medieval Norfolk and Devon*, BAR British Series, 311 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), p. 13

Beginning with Cavendish's evocation of the garden, the first section of this chapter focuses on how Cavendish employs the convergence between the man-made and the natural in horticultural space to fashion the lavish funeral complex of 'Bell in Campo'. The church interior to the garden marks a shift from previous chapters and their focus on the way in which the tomb facilitated female participation in shaping collective Reformation culture, devotion and theology through the concept of the public place of worship. As will be shown, while Cavendish did not directly engage in the contemporary religious discourses that shaped the Civil War, her articulation of the intervention of the built environment in a controlled and fashioned green space was deeply rooted in an understanding of collectively experienced sacred space. This chapter therefore builds on the findings of chapter three that have shown the significance of the monument in early seventeenth-century discourses surrounding the purpose of the physical church building. This will be made more evident in part two, which will turn to Cavendish's other evoked and reimagined past in Jantil's funeral monument, the Middle Ages. Jantil's monument is also a 'cloister', and eventually, a place of collective worship. In this capacity it intervenes in the fractured kingdom of 'Bell in Campo' to impose order and stability, disclosing that the church building remained crucial in debates on unity. Instead of addressing the coherence of an English Church, Cavendish employs the language and symbolism of theological and devotional unity and fragmentation embedded in an early modern understanding of the tomb to create places of social and political harmony.

The final portion of this chapter turns to the way Jantil's act of building sought to 'presence' the family patriarch, removed from his societal position through death and war. In doing so it will be shown that her commemorative building asserted order and stability by affirming patrilineality. Drawing on several examples

of monuments built by female members of the Cavendish family reveals that Margaret understood the maintenance of patriarchal peace and order through the tomb to be the business of women. What is more, these tombs showcase how the monument's function as a tool of religious reconciliation and order could be repurposed to stress social and political unity. While the tomb of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick, c. 1527-1608) shaped the religious coherence of the church of All Saints, Derby in a similar fashion to Katherine Willoughby's monument in Spilsby, the following generations turned their focus on using the tomb's ability to impose fictions of order to facilitate socio-political concord. Just as Cavendish remodelled the tomb's function as a religious tool of reconciliation in 'Bell in Campo', the monument of Sir Charles Cavendish (1553-1617) commissioned by Katherine Ogle (1570-1629), and the family sepulchre commemorating William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire (1590-1628) that was overseen by his wife, Christian Bruce Cavendish (1595-1675), reconfigure the commemorative object's religious function to speak about collective social and political stability and unity through a harmonious Cavendish 'family fiction'.⁴ The Cavendish women's use of monuments to restore political order through the bonds of family and matrimony complements the findings of chapter two, which has already begun to show us how the tomb created social and political agency for women by creating both proximity in matrimony, and distance from a potentially destructive marriage economy.

The way 'Bell in Campo' employs the tomb as an object of conciliation highlights the enduring but changing purpose of the monument in women's

⁴ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 19.

involvement in the writing of a shared English religious, social and political character. It shows how the tomb's ability to speak of unbroken continuity with the past allowed it to serve as a place where recent discord could be restored. The Greco-Roman architecture and the spaces reminiscent of a medieval devotional environment formulated the significance of such continuity. The late medieval tomb's successful placement, 'deliberately positioned to "intrude"' into collective devotional rituals served two functions in Cavendish's 'Bell in Campo'.⁵ First, it figuratively reconciled the past and Cavendish's seventeenth-century present in a symbolic unity, designed to mend the fractured landscape of a nation. Secondly, it restored social order by reinstating the dead family patriarch into society symbolically via his funeral monument.

1. The Garden and Creative Ownership of Space

To explore the possible significance of the Rubens garden as a spatial inspiration for Cavendish's 'Bell in Campo', it is important to examine the role of the garden in her writing more generally. A closer look at her wider literary corpus reveals that horticulture, and its cultivation, were central in Cavendish's understanding of artistic expression, and the permanence that authorship provided. This sense of permanence was ideally suited to the narrative of loss, factionalism and division of 'Bell in Campo', and Jantil's wish to formulate the commemorative space as a reclamation of order, unity and control.

⁵ Simon Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), p. 20.

In the garden, ideas of life and death converge through the recurring seasonal changes that bring both shelter, healing and rebirth, as well as decay, barrenness and death. It is this relationship, John Dixon Hunt reminds us, that guides the ‘enduring human recourse to the sustenance, repose, and innocent soli(ci)tude of gardens where time heals as well as ravishes.’⁶ Margaret Cavendish understood this relationship and used it liberally within her work, as reflected in a poem she co-authored with her husband, entitled ‘The Surprizal of Death’ in the published collection *Natures Pictures* (1656).⁷ Among the company of virgins in a garden, the most beautiful gains nature’s gratitude when she refuses to pluck the flowers ‘in their full prime’.⁸ Her actions solicit the anger of death. He kills her, resulting in the decay of the entire garden’s flowers: ‘Their fresher colours will no longer stay, | But faded straight, and wither’d all away.’⁹ As the young virgin dies, Cavendish employs personification to transform the garden into her mourner. The ‘dropp’d [...] Leaves’ are formulated as tears. The trees dress the dead body in their leaves as in a ‘Winding Sheet’.¹⁰ Meanwhile, birds become the ‘Aëry Choristers’ singing the girl’s ‘Funeral Song’.¹¹ The natural world provides Cavendish with an overarching metaphor for the transience of beauty and human life.

‘The Surprizal’ does not end only with dissolution. As the ‘Odoriferous Corpse’ turns into dew, it facilitates the growth of a new generation of flowers.

⁶ John Dixon Hunt, ‘Introduction’, in *The Oxford Book of Garden Verse*, ed. by John Dixon Hunt (Oxford: OUP, 1993), pp. xxi-xxxv (p. xxv).

⁷ Newcastle’s authorship of the second portion of the poem is acknowledged in a marginal note in the British Library copy of the 1656 edition of *Natures Pictures*. Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life* (London, 1656), p. 64.

⁸ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 64.

⁹ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 65.

¹⁰ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 65.

¹¹ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 65.

Death is merely a prelude to the rebirth of the garden. Thus, the return of life causes the garden itself to become an enduring monument to the young woman. While the garden was defined by transience through the cycle of seasons, the predictability of these changes also made it a potent symbol of continuity, durability and permanence. This triumph of the perpetual rebirth of nature, in turn, reveals how the shelter of the garden was understood by Cavendish as a metaphor for artistic inspiration. The death of the virgin that facilitates the ‘new Births of Flowers’ is also the recurring cycle that enables the development of ‘Poetick Flames’.¹²

The significance of the garden in expressing permanence and artistic inspiration was more overtly addressed by Cavendish in a short poem entitled ‘Similizing the Braine to a Garden’ in *Poems, and Fancies* (1653). Rather than expressing creativity as a process nurtured in the cultivated green space, this poem instead casts the mind of the artist itself as the garden from which inspiration springs. Articulating ‘*Fancies*’ as flowers (‘Some as sweet *Roses*’, ‘Some, as small *Violets*’), ‘Similizing’ echoes ‘The Surprizal’ in its use of growing flora as a metaphor for creative inspiration and also stresses its function as a tool for artistic production.¹³ The ‘iatermixt [sic]’ growth of nature is formulated as ‘*Natures Pencils*’ and the discernment of the author as the ‘*Industry*’ of the ‘*Bees*’ that select and pollenate the myriad flowers, or ‘*Fancies*’, that populate the landscape of the garden.¹⁴ Cavendish describes artistic production as the harmonious negotiation between natural growth (creativity) and selected intervention (craftsmanship of the artist) apparent in the garden space.

¹² Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 65.

¹³ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Poems, and Fancies* (London, 1653), p. 136.

¹⁴ Cavendish, *Poems, and Fancies*, pp. 136-7.

As seen in ‘The Surprizal’, the garden mingles artistic production with images of death and decay in ‘Similizing’. The poem suggests that the conscious intervention of the individual in discerning ‘*Fancies*’ through ‘*Industry*’ allows the artist to overcome the temporality of his or her own existence, as the garden overcomes winter through the bloom of spring: ‘Then on their *Wings of Fame* flye to their *Hive*, | From *Winter* of sad *Death* keeps them alive.’¹⁵ Revisiting the image of the meticulous bee in the formulation of the industry of the author, Cavendish suggests that artistic creation protects the author from death, like the ‘*Hive*’ offers the bee shelter from winter.¹⁶ Cavendish saw in the ambivalence of the garden space not only the possibility of expressing the creative process of writing, but also the durability of artistic integrity through fame. Counterintuitively, the ephemeral garden was a place of permanence to Cavendish, the state of constant change representative of the adaptability and endurance of artistic creation. The garden was, to Cavendish, the shelter in which her ‘*Birds of Poetry*’ found sanctuary to survive in perpetuity.¹⁷

The meeting of authorship and permanence in the garden is also key to Jantil’s funeral monument in ‘Bell in Campo’. What is more, the ability of the garden to conceptualise continuity through authorship and fame is active in ‘Bell in Campo’ in the production of commemorative place. Thus, the plans for her tomb, and her wishes for its design, allow Jantil to assign ‘herself the identity of poet capable of writing and preserving someone’s memory.’¹⁸ It is argued here, however, that this process does not supersede the ‘mutable practice of physical

¹⁵ Cavendish, *Poems, and Fancies*, pp. 137.

¹⁶ Cavendish, *Poems, and Fancies*, pp. 137.

¹⁷ Cavendish, *Poems, and Fancies*, pp. 137.

¹⁸ Shannon Miller, “‘Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe’: Affiliation and Memorialization in Margaret Cavendish’s *Playes and Playes, Never before Printed*”, in *Cavendish and Shakespeare, Interconnections*, ed. by Katherine Romack and James Fitzmaurice (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 7-28 (p. 19).

'memorializing', as argued by Shannon Miller. Instead, Jantil's creative and poetic production is continuously and closely linked to the physical production of the funeral monument.

That nature and the garden space were essential to the construction of effective commemoration in 'Bell in Campo' is related in the first part of the play. As in 'The Surprizal' and 'Similizing', language relies on the creative bounty that nature provides. By drawing on the environment surrounding her, Jantil turns incomprehensible effusions of grief into constructive and lasting verse:

MADAM JANTIL Let me consider Vegetable birth ;
 The new born virgin Lilly of the day,
 In a few hours dyes, withers away ;
 And all the odoriferous flow'rs that's sweet,
 Breath but a while, and then with Death do meet ;
 The stouter Oak at last doth yield, and must
 Cast his rough skin and crumble all to dust ;
 But what do Sensitives? alas they be,
 Beasts, Birds and flesh to dy as well as we ;
 And harder minerals though longer stay
 Here for a time, yet at the last decay

('Bell in Campo', Part II. IV. 13, p. 624)

By structuring the natural world into 'Vegetable birth', 'Sensitives' and the 'harder minerals', Jantil employs the language of an Aristotelian chain of being to signal her shift from mourner, into poet and philosopher. By doing so, Cavendish makes Aristotelian philosophy into a poetics of mourning. Both Cavendish and her husband (Margaret cites William as the author of some of the verse in act four) were likely familiar with Aristotle through their philosophical pursuits.¹⁹ Cavendish largely rejected Aristotle's static hierarchy of the universe but 'Bell in Campo' divulges that

¹⁹ William's authorship is acknowledged in the edition of 'Bell in Campo' here used. Jantil's words are preceded by an italicised note alerting the reader that the verse of scene thirteen was '*writ by my Lord, the Marquess of Newcastle*'. 'Bell in Campo', Part II. IV. 13, p. 624.

it nonetheless provided her with a useful way to organise the natural world.²⁰ Her potentially ambivalent response to the teachings of Aristotle may explain the competing ways in which they are employed in this passage. On the one hand, the use of Aristotelian language suggests that Cavendish sought to express the speaker's transition from helpless mourner to an orator empowered through the philosophical knowledge of the order of the universe. The Aristotelian scale of being, moving from 'things lifeless to animal life' expresses this progression.²¹ At the same time, the universality of death robs Jantil of any benefit of this transition. Animate and inanimate matter is all subject to decay, though the duration of their lifetimes is disparate. From 'Vegetable birth', the 'virgin Lilly' and the 'stouter Oak', to the 'Sensitives', the 'Beasts, Birds and flesh', and finally the 'harder minerals' that 'longer stay', all 'at the last decay'. Jantil expresses her own transience through the environment that surrounds her, the garden space as well as the 'harder minerals' from which her monument is fashioned. Death's diminishing of the distance between vegetable, sensitives and minerals, however, is precisely what enables Jantil's creation of poetry. Both rejecting and affirming an Aristotelian hierarchy of things, Jantil's discovery of poetic expression does not elevate her from the 'Vegetable birth' surrounding her, but instead demonstrates her place amidst it. Humanity begins in a vegetative state, progresses to a sensitive state and eventually achieves rationalism. Employing this progression in the context of mourning, however, allows Cavendish to argue against the idea of human exceptionalism.

²⁰ Lisa Walters, *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Science and Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), p. 76. Thank you to Stephen Clucas for information regarding the relationship between the philosophies of Cavendish and Aristotle.

²¹ Aristotle, *Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. by Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), I, 922.

While Jantil's use of Aristotle in the context of mourning suggests a rejection of her own ability to transcend the chain of being, it affirms the enduring nature of the poetic word. As Oddvar Holmesland observes with regard to *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World* (1666), Cavendish's understanding of poetry as an implement in the attainment of philosophical knowledge of the cosmos chimed with Aristotle's opinion of the poetic, as it 'is "a more philosophical and higher thing than history" owing to its capacity to "express the universal"'.²² Thus, as seen in 'The Surprizal' and 'Similizing', the garden contains the material objects from which authorship is fashioned. Drawing on the transience of the 'grove of Trees', the 'Lawrel, Mirtle, Cipress, and Olive', Jantil emphasises the universality of mortality ('Bell in Campo', Part I. IV. 21, p. 600). In turn, the continuing cycle of the seasons provides a metaphor to articulate the perpetual afterlife of artistic production through fame. As a poet and philosopher, equipped with a higher understanding of the universe, Jantil enables her poetry to transcend death through the durability of the word.

The transcendence of death through artistic production is also formulated in Jantil's soliloquy shortly after she gives instructions for her monument to be built. Here, her words of sorrow tell us how poetry seeks to endow the material with durability:

MADAM JANTIL

Weep cold Earth, through your pores weep,
Or in your bowels my salt tears fast keep ;
Inurn my sighs which from my grief is sent,
With my hard groans build up a Monument ;
My Tongue like as a pen shall write his name,
My words as letters to divulge his fame ;

²² Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics*, ed. and trans. by James Hutton (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982), pp. 54-5, as quoted in Oddvar Holmesland, *Utopian Negotiation: Aphra Behn and Margaret Cavendish* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013), p. 97.

(‘Bell in Campo’, Part I. IV. 21, pp. 601-2)

By cultivating the ‘cold Earth’ with ‘sighs’ and ‘salt tears’, Jantil is enabled by the natural world to state her sorrow coherently and lastingly. As her ‘hard groans’ interact with the ‘bowels’ of her environment, her ‘Tongue’ becomes the ‘pen’ through which to she is enabled to ‘divulge’ her husband’s ‘fame’. Nature is the instrument that facilitates the transformation of unintelligible sounds of grief into words of poetry as they are ‘inurned’. Inurning, or, the process of putting the ashes of a cremated body into a receptacle, is the procedure of giving form to someone who no longer shares in the corporeality of the living. In doing so, the urn also provides permanence. As the earth inurns Jantils’s formless and ethereal exclamations of sorrow it endows her poetry with durability. Nature’s perpetual death and rebirth therefore provides the frame through which the enduring afterlife of the deceased through the written word can be formulated. Nature allows for the orchestration of Valeroso’s afterlife in the same way it facilitates the eternalisation of the virgin of ‘The Surprizal’, through poetry that, like nature, lives perpetually.

The paradoxical way in which the cultivated garden functions to create the continuous afterlife of artistic production in Cavendish’s poetry also informs the construction of physical commemorative space in the context of ‘Bell in Campo’, and in the development of Jantil from mourner into poet. Jantil’s sorrow lacks any ethereality. Her groans are ‘hard’ and the materials from which to ‘build up a Monument’ (‘Bell in Campo’, Part I. IV. 21, p. 602). This development also defines Jantil’s process of fashioning a poetic voice. As her unintelligible exclamations are turned into poetry, they take on material form, as the tangible ‘letters’ on a written page (‘Bell in Campo’, Part I. IV. 21, p. 602). In ‘Bell in Campo’, nature’s ability to endow the author with enduring afterlife through poetry serves the production of

material commemorative place. After all, Jantil conveys her sorrow productively by giving detailed instructions to her steward for the construction of the funeral monument. As inurning turns Jantil's grief into poetry, the urn's materiality also signals Cavendish's use of nature's cyclical life to speak about the creation of lasting and durable commemorative space. The process of inurning serves two functions in Jantil's manifestations of grief. On the one hand, it develops her sorrow into poetry that combats the transience of her 'sighs' and 'salt tears' ('Bell in Campo', Part I. IV. 21, pp. 601-2). On the other, this permanence created through the development of poetry, endows the material object and place with a similar form of durability.

'Bell in Campo' creates space that conveys permanence and in doing so leads a knowing reader to draw parallels between the play's narrative, and the conditions under which it was written by Margaret Cavendish. To Cavendish, the advent of the Civil War redefined her experience of place and belonging. Of royalist stock, Margaret spent time as a lady in waiting to Queen Henrietta Maria at her court in Paris. There, she met her future husband William Cavendish, Marquess of Newcastle upon Tyne (c. 1593-1676, made first Duke of Newcastle in 1665). Spending a short time in Rotterdam, the couple moved to Antwerp and leased the house of Peter Paul Rubens from his widow. They spent the following decade in the bustling port city. Cavendish's experience of the Civil War and the Interregnum was defined by the impermanence and changeability of a life in political exile.

The transience of life in exile undercuts the dynamic and vigorous air of the Gonzales Coques painting of Margaret and William. The Coques painting's sense of the Cavendishes' happy integration into Antwerp's culture and society strains against Cavendish's consistent view of their stay as temporary. In her autobiography, '*A True Relation*' (1656), she characterises Antwerp as a 'passage or thorough-fare' and

an exciting place to encounter ‘persons of great quallity’.²³ Yet, its splendour was always understood by her as transient, temporary and fleeting, as ‘all the great princes or queens’ merely make a ‘short stay’, ‘to lodge for some short time’.²⁴ While William occupied himself ‘with the Management of some few horses’ and exercised ‘himself with the use of the Sword’, Margaret busied herself instead by writing of her ‘harmless fancies’ and ‘sad fain’d Stories’.²⁵ While Cavendish assures the reader of ‘A True Relation’ that she had preferred ‘solitariness rather than society, to melancholy rather than mirth’ since childhood, her characterisation as a withdrawn author likely relied in large part on the tensions created by the perceived demotion that was a temporary life in a foreign culture.²⁶ In ‘Bell in Campo’ Cavendish uses artistic production to create space that conveys permanence and counteracts the temporality of exile in a similar fashion to the Coques painting.

Transience and temporality form core themes in the plot of ‘Bell in Campo’. Alexandra G. Bennett suggests the subject matter of the play, alongside its inclusion in the first printed collection of Cavendish’s dramatic works, strongly indicate that it was authored during the Civil War, or shortly thereafter.²⁷ Furthermore, a letter contained in the *Sociable Letters* (1664) tells us that Cavendish wrote plays throughout her time in Antwerp when she relates with despair the loss of a set of final copies of her works at sea as they were carried ‘into E. [England] to be Printed,

²³ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, ‘A True Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and Life’, in *Natures Pictures*, pp. 368-91 (p. 386).

²⁴ Cavendish, ‘A True Relation’, p. 386.

²⁵ Cavendish, ‘A True Relation’, pp. 384-5.

²⁶ Cavendish, ‘A True Relation’, p. 385.

²⁷ Alexandra G. Bennett, ‘Introduction’, in *Bell in Campo & The Sociable Companions by Margaret Cavendish*, ed. by Alexandra G. Bennett (Ormskirk: Broadview Press, 2002), pp. 7-17 (p. 12).

I being then in A. [Antwerp].²⁸ Viewing ‘Bell in Campo’ as a product of Cavendish’s time in Antwerp allows us to surmise that her meditations on permanence in authorship and the creation of commemorative architecture are a product of her creative engagement with the distance and impermanence that her life in exile evoked.

Cavendish’s exile also barred her from an established form of family identity building through place. Unlike the women that actively, lastingly and concretely shaped the landscapes of Margaret’s own family, and that of her husband at home, Cavendish’s temporary absence from England made her a helpless spectator as William’s estates were dismantled. From her own mother, described as ‘of a grave Behaviour, and [...] such a Majestick Grandeur’, who heroically defended the family estates throughout the Civil War, to her characterisation of Cavendish family wealth and power as William’s enduring maternal heritage, passed on ‘by his Grandmother of his Father’s side, his own Mother, and his first Wife’, Margaret was fascinated by the role played by women in the protection and maintenance of order and their active participation within English society from which she was excluded.²⁹

Cavendish’s fiction writing supports a reading of the influence of exile on her conceptions of female participation through place. In it, she often turns to the dichotomy between isolation and integration, and the moral consequences of withdrawal versus participation. Her dramatic works are particularly defined by such narratives. As observed by Erin Lang Bonin, plays such as *The Female Academy*, ‘The Convent of Pleasure’ and ‘Bell in Campo’ reconfigure ‘traditional distinctions

²⁸ Cavendish kept the ‘Original of them’ in Antwerp so that they were eventually published despite the mishap. Cavendish, *CCXI. Sociable Letters*, p. 295.

²⁹ Cavendish, ‘A True Relation’, p. 377; Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe* (London, 1667), p. 93.

between private and public' into 'new "publics" in which women wield political power and authority'.³⁰ At the same time, Cavendish's created publics often seek reconciliation between a place's durability and permanence, and its relative temporality and ephemerality. To convey this negotiation, Cavendish created environments in which opposites converged: the private and public, the domestic and civic, the organic and the built, and the living and the deceased.

This fascination with duality and the reconciliation between opposites defines both the structure, as well as the plot of 'Bell in Campo'. Its tragi-comic plot revolves around the resolution of conflict and the duties of women in facilitating the return to peace of a kingdom divided into opposed factions. At the same time, the play is structurally divided into two parallel narratives that juxtapose two radically different forms of female participation in a society marked by civil war. Whilst what is often seen as the dominant narrative follows the exploits of Lady Victoria and her service in battle, the other narrates the fate of Madam Jantil and her friend Madam Passionate as their husbands leave them behind when they are called to serve in the war raging between the kingdoms of Reformation and Faction. Victoria, undeterred by her husband's concern for her safety, accompanies him to the camps, where she decides to round up the other brave women who have followed her suit, creating the 'Female Army' ('Bell in Campo', Part I. III. 11, p. 593). While suffering initial losses, under the powerful leadership of Victoria her militia wins a decisive battle in aid of the male armies of the Kingdom of Reformation and facilitates the defeat of the Kingdom of Faction. Meanwhile, Jantil and Passionate remain at home, both plagued by grief at their husbands' absence. Before long, they are confronted with

³⁰ Erin Lang Bonin, 'Margaret Cavendish's Dramatic Utopias and the Politics of Gender', in *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 40, 2 (2000), 339-54 (p. 339).

the death of both men in battle and begin a process of extended mourning. As Victoria's decisive action in battle progresses the narrative of 'Bell in Campo', the accounts of Jantil and Passionate halt the development of the plot temporarily to force the audience to contemplate the effect of war on civilian life.

The plot is further fragmented through the narratives of Jantil and Passionate as Cavendish gives us two contrasting approaches to mourning. In Jonsonian fashion, Margaret signposts this difference between Jantil and Passionate through the contrasting alimentary characteristics evident in their names. While Passionate drinks and eats uncontrollably, giving vent to her grief with all her senses, Jantil instead begins to control her eating alongside the construction of the monumental sepulchre in which she retreats to live a solitary lifestyle of moderation and contemplation. Jantil, derived from the old French gentil or jentil, is largely synonymous with the English adjective gentle, signifying 'well-born' or 'noble'.³¹ Gentility was also closely associated with asceticism. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* satirise this overlap through the character of the Prioress. The Prioress's 'estatlich manere' and her noble birth are evidenced in her elegant and sparing way of eating. She never lets 'no morsel from hir lippes falle'. Not a crumb 'fille upon hire brest' and after every drink she delicately wipes her 'over-lippe' clean.³² Through the Prioress's ostensibly ill-placed elegance, more suited to a life at court than a convent, Chaucer provides us with a biting attack on a monastic system that rewarded earthly wealth and status with places of ecclesiastical power. The key to the passage's satire, however, is the narrator's inability (or unwillingness) to distinguish between

³¹ 'gentle, adj. and n.', in *OED*.

³² 'The General Prologue', ll. 128-40, in Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Canterbury Tales', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson and F. N. Robinson, 3rd edn (Oxford: OUP, 1987), pp. 23-328 (p. 25).

gentleness and monastic austerity: to differentiate the dainty and elegant dining habits of a courtly lady firmly from the mindful eating of a religious figure dedicated to a lifestyle of contemplation. John Lydgate's *Dance of Death* (c. 1430s) reminds us that the relationship between asceticism and gentle birth need not have been viewed as problematic. The character of the Abbess must meet death 'Thowgh ȝe be tender | and borne of Jentille blode'.³³ The Abbess's noble blood and not her status as a religious figure shape her patient self-control in the presence of death. Jantil's name informs the reader of the way in which she copes with grief: through austerity and controlled eating that productively refashions her into a figure reminiscent of a religious ascetic. As young and ambitious men flock into the city to court the war widows for financial and social gain, Jantil's austere lifestyle keeps her safe from their avaricious intentions through the complete regimentation of her life, from seclusion to measured eating.

Instead of retreating into a life of seclusion like Jantil, Passionate regains her lust for life and marries again, only to find that her new partner causes her emotional, social and financial ruin. Cavendish conveys this through her name, and its evocation of her insatiable appetite. The character embodies transgression by breaching the 'frontier that separates eater from eaten'.³⁴ Like the roast pig of Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* that takes on human qualities, that 'grows so "passionate" that it "has wept out an eye"', Passionate's penchant for drink transforms her into the very excess that her 'Cordials' evoke: 'the smell of these Spirits overcomes my Spirits'

³³ John Lydgate, *The Dance of Death: Edited from MSS. Ellesmere 26/A.13 and B.M. Lansdowne 699, Collated With the Other Extant MSS.*, ed. by Florence Warren, Early English Text Society, 181 (London: OUP for the Early English Text Society, 1931), p. 32.

³⁴ Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets: Ben Jonson and the Digestive Canal* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 81.

(‘Bell in Campo’, Part II. III. 10, p. 619; Part II. III. 12, p. 620).³⁵ Excess is central to Passionate’s style of mourning. She grieves violently and uncontrollably; she becomes vulnerable to the advances of unsavoury young men. In contrast, Jantil’s choice of a life defined by temperance allows her to live comfortably until sickness overcomes her. The gentlewoman Jantil is suitable for the cloister and the religious life because her appetites, unlike those of the uncontrolled Passionate, are already controlled through their elegance. What is more, her ascetic life choices enable her to fashion her, and her husband’s legacy. Thus, she creates a will and testament that ensures the continuing significance of her mausoleum as a religious community, which will ensure her memory, and that of her husband, is retained for the benefit of future generations.

‘Bell in Campo’ is a play defined by fragmentariness, in terms of plot and structure. Both of its plot arcs illustrate ways in which women sought to restore order and unity to a socially and politically divided landscape. As the parallel plots of the play reveal, Victoria is enabled through conflict and the heat of battle, while Jantil, contrastingly, is enabled despite war and political and social breakdown. Both, however, participate actively in constructing a future in which the divided kingdoms are reunited in peace, Victoria with the sword and Jantil through brick and mortar.

Jantil’s act of building has rarely been viewed by scholars as a real form of participation in the political and social developments of ‘Bell in Campo’.³⁶ In her

³⁵ Boehrer, p. 80.

³⁶ Sophie Tomlinson, “‘My Brain the Stage’: Margaret Cavendish and the Fantasy of Female Performance”, in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760*, ed. by Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 134-63 (p. 149); Lang Bonin, p. 342; Jacqueline Pearson, “‘Women May Discourse ... as Well as Men’: Speaking and Silent Women in the Plays of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle”, *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature*, 4, 1 (1985), 33-45 (p. 36); Karen Raber, *Dramatic Difference: Gender, Class and Genre in the Early Modern Closet Drama* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001), pp. 226-7.

article on performance in Cavendish's self-representation, Rebecca D'Monté expresses a widely held consensus that Madam Jantil acts as a symbol of the limitations of female agency in the play:

The triumphal display of a woman who has succeeded both in the feminine domain of love and the masculine spheres of war and literature is counterpoised by an antithetical act of seduction, this time where attempts are made to negate, deny or absent the female body. Here Cavendish makes use of the *mise en scène* to contrast the death of Madam Jantil and the triumphant successes of Lady Victoria. Where the passionate wife-turned-Amazon uses images of childbirth and labour to convey a sense of activity, opportunity and creativity, by contrast the sexually redundant widow is totally bound up in the world of death. She lies on the ground, trying literally to bury herself in the earth as she proclaims her own elegy.³⁷

In this view Jantil counters 'Victoria's public act of triumph' with 'a private act of defeat'. But, as Julie Sanders argues, reading spaces such as Jantil's inaccessible mausoleum as 'private' is problematic within an early modern context. Indeed, the moments of Jantil's intense private grief are part of a self-conscious act of performance that occurs within the framework of a play. Like the privacy of the writing cabinet, for example, the space of the monument is 'blurring the edges of sites of more overt "public" enactments and representations'.³⁸ Jantil elaborately stages her grief. Her ostensibly private moment of sequestration, in turn, is

³⁷ Rebecca D'Monté, “‘Making a Spectacle’: Margaret Cavendish and the Staging of the Self”, in *A Princely Brave Woman: Essays on Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle*, ed. by Stephen Clucas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 109-26 (p. 116).

³⁸ Julie Sanders, “‘The Closet Opened’: A Reconstruction of ‘Private’ Space in the Writings of Margaret Cavendish”, in *A Princely Brave Woman*, ed. by Clucas, pp. 127-40 (p. 128). Mihoko Suzuki makes a related case for the embroidered cabinet with its ‘private compartments and public narratives’ in *Subordinate Subjects: Gender, the Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588-1688* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016; first published by Ashgate 2003), p. 174; Nicole Castan, ‘The Public and the Private’, in *A History of Private Life*, ed. by Roger Chartier, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, 3 vols (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), III, 403-45 (p. 412).

persistent seen and commented on by her environment. The tomb therefore responds to the complex interrelationships of the private and the public.

At the same time, Jantil's public act of sequestration and retreat chimes with contemporary royalist literature created in the shadows of defeat and exile. The narrative of Jantil in 'Bell in Campo' partially supports research that asserts that the literature created by those of royalist sympathies became increasingly 'quiet and introspective and, in some prominent cases, nostalgic and glum' in the years following the Civil War.³⁹ Introspection and retreat, however, were political gestures in a culture characterised by exile and defeat. As shown by scholars such as Paul Salzman, Annabel Patterson and Lois Potter, such figurative retreat often retained a politically charged undercurrent.⁴⁰ Jantil's act of publicly displayed domestic grief supports Kate Lilley's conclusion that Cavendish 'aligns herself with the Sidneian rhetoric of writing as recuperative political praxis for self-styled noble exiles'.⁴¹ Cavendish's 'Bell in Campo' evidences this through Jantil's appropriation of space for the staging of her intimate grief. Commemoration deliberately transforms personal tragedy into a public and shared spectacle of national mourning.

Jantil's act of recovery stands in contrast to Cavendish's own forced renunciation of her, and her husband's status, lands and entitlements through exile

³⁹ Anthony Welch, 'Epic Romance, Royalist Retreat, and the English Civil War', *Modern Philology*, 105, 3 (2008), 570-602 (p. 571).

⁴⁰ Paul Salzman, *English Prose Fiction, 1558-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 148-76; Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 159-202; Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641-1660* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989); Derek Hirst, 'The Politics of Literature in the English Republic', *The Seventeenth Century*, 5, 2 (1990), 133-55 (p. 135).

⁴¹ Kate Lilley, 'Contracting Readers: "Margaret Newcastle" and the Rhetoric of Conjugalit', in *A Princely Brave Woman*, ed. by Clucas, pp. 19-39 (p. 33).

and the compounding of their estates in 1649.⁴² Jantil's appropriation of lands for the building of her mausoleum complex during a time of social and political unrest asserts the recovery of political and social status lost through the death and defeat of her husband. By evoking the continuity of the garden, her mausoleum is a perpetual reminder of her husband's status, and the rightful rule of the Kingdom of Reformation. Commemorative building allows Jantil to retain ownership and assert political allegiance in a raging civil war conflict through place. At the same time, the reader can't help but see Jantil's act of recovery as a way for Cavendish to meditate on her own loss through the process of writing. Such an argument is made particularly compelling through visual parallels between Jantil's mausoleum, and the Rubens garden through the figures of Mercury and Pallas. Jantil does locally and actively what Margaret is only able to do remotely and passively through the written word: assert political allegiance, order and rightful rule, whilst defending her family's claim to their lands and titles. Read in this way, Jantil's constructive and active alteration of her country's landscape is neither entirely private in the modern sense of the word, nor an act of defeat. Furthermore, Jantil's act of recovery in the written pages of 'Bell in Campo' prompts the knowing reader to examine the ways in which Cavendish employed writing and printing to achieve a similar level of reclamation during her absence from the places she called home.

Cavendish's use of the garden space in 'Bell in Campo' alerts us to the way Jantil can be seen to create durability and permanence through the materiality of

⁴² *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, &c., 1643-1660*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green, 4 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1889-1892), III (1891) 2021-2; Ann Hughes and Julie Sanders, 'Disruptions and Evocations of Family Amongst Royalist Exiles', in *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath, 1640-1690*, ed. by Philip Major (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 45-63 (p. 53).

commemoration. As has been shown, ‘Bell in Campo’ is a narrative defined by fragmentariness. Through the act of building, Jantil sought to endow the fractured landscape of the Kingdom of ‘Bell in Campo’ with stability. Beyond enabling the poetic pursuits of Jantil as outlined above, the monument also strives to express the importance of claiming physical space in the victory of structure and harmony over disarray and war. The garden’s permanence facilitated the way in which Cavendish married different aspects of an imagined past to assert order. At the same time, viewing the play’s use of the garden as a feature of landscape that defined Cavendish’s stay in exile allows us to read ‘Bell in Campo’ as an act of recovery by Cavendish. As exile defines her conception of place, the garden and the funeral monument become vehicles to conceptualise the loss of physical ownership over space, and the potential of the act of writing in retrieving it. As we shall see in the following section, the process of recovery of an idealised past also informs Cavendish’s choice to structure Jantil’s tomb into a space that recalls the architecture of a medieval religious infrastructure.

2. Order and Unity: Building Medieval Space

This section explores how Cavendish’s evocation of a medieval past fashioned the tomb into an enduring site of social and political unity and order. While the garden reminds the reader of the way in which Cavendish explores permanence in the constant cycle of seasons, Jantil’s funeral monument itself remains bound to potent eschatological questions, and by extension, belief. It is at once a temple *all’antica*, and the future home of a religious community, connected through a ‘Cloyster’ (‘Bell in Campo’, Part I. IV. 21, p. 600) and housing a

‘*Chapell*’. Jantil makes this evident in her last will and testament, shortly before her death:

Item, I give a thousand pounds a year to maintain ten religious persons to live in this place or House by this Tomb.

Item, I give three thousand pounds to enlarge the House, and three thousand pounds more to build a Chapell by my Husbands Tomb.

Item, Two hundred pounds a year I give for the use and repair of the House and Chapell.

(‘Bell in Campo’, Part II. IV. 19, p. 628)

Beyond ensuring the maintenance of her husband’s tomb, Jantil’s will focuses on formulating the future potential of the funeral complex as a ‘*Chapell*’, and through the extension of the living quarters, as the perpetual home of ‘*ten religious persons*’. The mausoleum is transformed into a religious house that seeks to intrude into the civic landscape of the fictional kingdom, asserting order and harmony in a fractured society.

The capacity of Jantil’s funeral monument to speak about the nature of contemporary society has been convincingly exposed by Miranda Wilson. She reads the tomb alongside largely secular seventeenth-century Palladian architecture, concluding that ‘neoclassical principles of architecture govern her [Jantil’s] descriptions of buildings and facilitate her attempts to describe, and modify, properly functioning society.’⁴³ While the tomb draws on contemporary architectural tastes, its purpose more readily associates it with Catholic devotional space, and a post-Trentian continental religious landscape. As the kingdom of ‘Bell in Campo’ undoubtedly represents the British Isles, Jantil’s funeral monument more

⁴³ Miranda Wilson, ‘Building a Perfect Silence: The Use of Renaissance Architecture in Margaret Cavendish’s *Bell in Campo*’, 1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era, 10 (2004), 245-64 (p. 249).

immediately recalls the religious buildings of an English pre-Reformation past to its audience.

A place for commemoration and to practice coenobitic ascetic living, Jantil's tomb borrows from the settings reserved for a medieval intercessory economy. This is made apparent in the description of Jantil's daily routine by her maid, Nell Careless:

NELL CARELESS Why, as soon as she rises she goeth to my Lords Tomb, and sayes her Prayers, then she returns and eats some little Breakfast, as a Crust of Bread and a Draught of Water, then she goeth to her Gallery and walks and Contemplates all the Forenoon, then about twelve a Clock at Noon she goeth to the Tomb again and sayes more Prayers, then returns and eats a small Dinner of some Spoon-meats, and most of the Afternoon she sits by the Tomb and reads, or walks in the Cloyster, and views the Pictures of my Lord that are placed upon the Walls, then in the Evening she sayes her Evening Prayers at the Tomb, and eats some light Supper, and then prayes at the Tomb before she goeth to Bed, and at Midnight she rises and takes a white waxen Torch lighted in her hand, and goeth to the Tomb to pray, and then returns to Bed.

(‘Bell in Campo’, Part II. III. 10, p. 619)

Tightly organised around the spaces created by the funeral monument, Jantil's day is ordered through controlled eating, regimented prayer and dedicated time for contemplation and reading. Jantil begins a controlled ‘fast’ of ‘some little Breakfast, ‘as a Crust of Bread and a Draught of Water’ in the morning, followed by ‘a small Dinner of some Spoon-meats’ and ‘some light Supper’ in the evening. Thus, she finds solace in control. The ‘walks in the Cloyster’ along the walkways ‘paved underneath with Marble’ orchestrate her movements according to a strict calendar of rituals (‘Bell in Campo’, Part I. IV. 21, p. 600). These rituals, all performed in spaces dedicated to the communication with the dead evoke the devotional space of a

medieval chantry institution. Such an interpretation is further supported by breaking down Jantil's daily calendar.

A closer look at Jantil's devotional schedule reveals its striking similarities with the medieval Liturgy of the Hours. Cavendish relies on imagined past spaces dedicated to prayer for the dead in the construction of Jantil's place of retreat, and her formulation of national cohesion. Beginning her devotions at the tomb of her husband 'as soon as she rises', Jantil's first moment of contemplation recalls the timing of Lauds or Prime, conventionally celebrated at dawn, and in the early hours of the morning, respectively. The next prayer, 'about twelve a Clock at Noon' is held at roughly the same time as the celebration of Sext, a midday prayer. Returning to the tomb 'in the Evening' to say 'her Evening Prayers', Jantil marks the end of the day with a ritual that resembles Vespers or Compline. Finally, for the simultaneous beginning and end of the ritual cycle, she returns to the monument 'at Midnight', reminiscent of the night office of Matins ('Bell in Campo', Part II. III. 10, p. 619).⁴⁴ Jantil's day therefore echoes the structure of the enactment of the medieval Canonical Hours.

While Jantil's schedule does not borrow from all aspects of the Canonical Hours, choosing solitary contemplation instead of prayers resembling the Little Hours of Terce or None, mid-morning and mid-afternoon prayers respectively, the structure of Jantil's life is shaped by devotional and ritual markers that resemble the major Canonical Hours. This particular choice of prayer cycle makes the relationship between Jantil's mausoleum and the chantry chapel all the more evident. The major

⁴⁴ The cycle of prayers ordinarily began with Matins (often celebrated as early as 2:00 a.m.) as opposed to Jantil's devotional calendar which begins later in the day. James R. Ginther, *The Westminster Handbook to Medieval Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009), p. 54.

Canonical Hours formed the core of the ritual of the medieval ‘Office of the Dead’. This office was the perpetual and regular sonorous hum that filled the chantry spaces of the later Middle Ages across England. What is more, the rituals of the chantry chapel, like Jantil’s schedule of prayer, were usually held in close proximity to the deceased founder’s monument. The close similarities of Jantil’s life of contemplation to the major Canonical Hours alerts the reader to how her re-imagining of medieval devotion borrowed directly from a set of rituals that served to aid the dead in their attainment of salvation.

Further evidence that Jantil refashions the medieval rituals that accompany death and intercession is provided by her return to the tomb with ‘a white waxen Torch lighted in her hand’ (‘Bell in Campo’, Part II. III. 10, p. 619). This moment is reminiscent of the enactment of extreme unction, in which the passing of a large candle to the deceased formed part of the ritual associated with the imminence of death. This moment, binding together the living and the dead through the physical passing of the wax taper is beautifully illustrated in Conrad Reitter’s Latin collection of poems, *Mortilogus* (1508) (*Plate 17*). Depicting the moment of death, the image physically draws together the living attendant woman and the dying man through the large candle that forms the centrepiece of the composition. Thus, the image highlights the ritual’s ability to diminish the physical distance between the living and the dead.⁴⁵ Nell certainly understood that Jantil’s midnight ritual expressed this reduced distance since she speculates that ‘perhaps my Lady watches or hopes to converse by that means with my Lords Ghost: for since she cannot converse with him living, she desires to converse with him dead’ (‘Bell in Campo’, Part II. III. 10,

⁴⁵ Conrad Reitter, *Mortilogus F. Conradi Reitterii Nordlingensis prioris monasterii Cæsariensis* (Augsburg, 1508), sig. C4^v.

p. 619). By wishing to ‘converse with the dead’ through a ritual resembling extremeunction and a calendar similar to the ‘Office of the Dead’, Jantil re-imagines medieval devotions surrounding death and resurrects the medieval chantry space to infuse order and tranquillity into an environment plagued with civil strife.

As a closer look at Cavendish’s wider literary corpus conveys, she consistently employed an imagined and romanticised religious pre-Reformation unity in the articulation of contemporary political and social factionalism and its resolution. In a poem entitled ‘A Description of Civil-Wars’ in *Natures Pictures*, Cavendish formulates how the destruction of monuments symbolises the breakdown of political and social unity. ‘All Monuments pull’d down, that stood long time; | And Ornaments were then thought a great Crime; | No Law did plead, unless the Martial Law.’⁴⁶ Monuments symbolise the stability of society through their endurance in a shared landscape. As war leads to their destruction, the ties to the past are severed, and the fabric of society threatened by dissolution.

Cavendish makes clear that the material past that provides symbolic stability to the present is distinctly medieval. This is evidenced in a verse interjection that immediately follows ‘A Description’ entitled, ‘A Woman said, A Tale I mean to tell, That in those Warrs unto a Cross befell’. In this poem, the factionalism of the Civil War is directly associated with the destruction of a medieval material English past when ‘Times nor Government did not complain’: ⁴⁷

If they had pious been, it might have stood,
To mollifie the Minds of Men to good:
But they were wicked, hating every thing
That by example might to goodness bring:
Then down they pull’d it, leaving not one stone
Upon another, for it to be known

⁴⁶ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 88.

⁴⁷ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 89.

To after Ages; for the Ground lies bare,
That none can know that once Antient Cross stood there.⁴⁸

To Cavendish, the ‘wicked’ assert the havoc they wreak on the Kingdom through the ‘Warres’ by destroying the medieval wayside cross that ‘dwelt in peace, and quietly alone’. The demolition of the cross, ‘leaving not one stone | Upon another’, symbolises the disintegration of political, social and religious unity of a community. Here, Cavendish borrows a language associated with the religious factionalism of the Protestant Reformation to formulate the conflict of the Civil War. Evoking the cross’s symbolic power as a reminder of past religious unity, she employs the markers of a shared landscape to reveal the dangers of social and political discord of the present. Its dignified ‘smell’ of ‘Antiquity’ and ‘Noble Deeds’ are thus not necessarily to be read as an alignment with Catholicism, but rather a representation in material terms of the destruction of peace, prosperity and clearly defined social status.⁴⁹ Thus, ‘A Tale’ repurposes the language of Queen Elizabeth I’s ‘A Proclamation against breaking or defacing of Monuments of Antiquitie’. Rather than destroying social order through the ‘slanderous desolation of the places of prayer’, the destruction of the cross threatens disorder as it signifies established social hierarchy.⁵⁰

The tale of the ancient cross is another example of Cavendish’s interest in the monument to articulate political and social order. In turn, iconoclasm becomes the signifier for the social disruption caused by war. Like John Weever, Cavendish saw the often uncertain motivations for destruction make victims of posterity and ordered

⁴⁸ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁹ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 89.

⁵⁰ ‘A Proclamation against breaking or defacing of Monuments of Antiquitie, being set up in Churches, or other publike places, for memory, and not for superstition’, in John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments With in the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1631), pp. 52-4 (p. 53).

society. As the ‘foulest and most in humane action of those times’, the breaking of monuments was a consequence of people placing their ‘private respects’ before ‘the honour of their Prince and countrey’.⁵¹ To Cavendish, the monument represented a remnant of an idealised past defined by social and political order and the monument’s destruction an attack on the continuity of peace and posterity of a nation, a highly physical reminder of disruption and the reality of religious and political sectarianism of the present. Her tale of the ancient cross serves as a symbol of the destruction of peace, harmony and preservation of the past. Cavendish’s vindication of the cross shows how the intact monument symbolised defiance in the face of destruction, war and the uncertainties of the present.

Hostility over the destruction of the remnants of a medieval past also informs Jantil’s construction of a monument that endows the remains of an English pre-Reformation landscape with contemporary political and social significance. This is particularly evident in Jantil’s last will and testament, and the foundation of her religious community within the walls of her mausoleum. On the one hand, this enhances the monument’s role as a building that stresses continuity by its survival over the bodies of man and wife to express personal and individual virtue. On the other, it harmoniously reintroduces elements of an imagined religious medieval unity in the service of the resolution of religious, social and political factionalism.

That Jantil’s mausoleum was intended to impose unity through its responsibilities as a religious institution is elucidated by a tract entitled ‘A Monastical Life’ in *The Worlds Olio* (1655). Here, Cavendish states her opinions on religious communities and the ascetic devotional life. She contends that while such institutions have a religious purpose, she is unperturbed by the precise theological

⁵¹ Weever, p. 51.

implications attached to the monastic lifestyle. Instead, she is interested in its ability to impose structure and social order. While God, ‘rationally’ does ‘not take delight in shaven heads; or bare and dirty feet, or cold backs, or hungry stomachs’, monastic institutions exude discipline through an emphasis on inward virtues such as ‘humble heart and low desires, a thankful minde, [...] obedience, charity, and honest worldly industry’.⁵² Thus, Cavendish’s reformulation of coenobitic communities circumvents the potentially contentious elements of monasticism or intercession that had troubled Edwardian and Elizabethan reformers. Rather, her focus on the mechanics of austere and ascetic living practices allow her to articulate medieval religious communities as exemplars of the core Christian virtues of love, charity and, most importantly, obedience.

‘A Monastical Life’ supports Cavendish’s opinions on theological doctrine as an application of excessive ‘reason’ to religion. James Fitzmaurice comments, for example, that *Sociable Letters* variously elaborates satirically on the ‘self-righteously convinced’ teachings of contemporary Puritan preachers.⁵³ Instead, reimagining medieval devotional spaces that are detached from the framework of theology allows Cavendish to establish a clear divide between institutionalised religion (breeding factionalism) and the morality that can be gained through its teachings (ordered Christian society). Through the distance created by time, the medieval religious space is malleable, easily reinterpreted to convey Cavendish’s own sense of the purpose of religion and devotion: imposing order and facilitating national peace and prosperity. The religious community established by Jantil achieves its purpose,

⁵² Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Worlds Olio* (London, 1655), p. 30.

⁵³ James Fitzmaurice, ‘Autobiography, Parody and the *Sociable Letters* of Margaret Cavendish’, in *A Princely Brave Woman*, ed. by Clucas, pp. 69-83 (p. 70). See, for example, Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, pp. 29-30.

above all, through prayer ‘for those that are incombred in worldly cares’, as an outward reminder of virtue attained through order.⁵⁴

‘Good example’ dictates the key argument for Cavendish’s defence of religious communities.⁵⁵ Their main duty is to imprint their obedience, asceticism and order on the communities within which they are situated. The religious community’s discipline becomes an extension of a political order as they shape, oversee and promote a ‘habit of sobriety’.⁵⁶ The ‘Church busies the people, and keeps their mindes in peace, so that these monastical men, which are the Church, is the nurse to quiet the people’.⁵⁷ Within this context, Jantil’s ascetic lifestyle of contemplation, her re-enactment of a ritual devotional calendar, and her foundation of a religious community dedicated to prayer actively positioned places of obedience and order into a fractured war-torn landscape. Through her tomb, Jantil sought to impose good example through the reimagined architecture of past religious unity.

‘A Monastical Life’ outlines how the good example of religious life leads to political and social order. Cavendish argues, for example, that the devotional calendar represented a positive ‘recreation’ and ‘pastime’.⁵⁸ Its strict enactment enforced peace on a wider community as it would:

employ their time in, as fasting-dayes, processions of saints, confessions, penance, absolutions, and the like, as Mass and Musick, and shewes, as at Christmas, Easter, our Lady day, [...] besides, every Saint having power to grant several requests; it will take up some time to know, what to ask of them, and all these one would think, were sufficient, to keep out murmur and discontent, which is got by idlenessse, which is the cause of rebellion.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Cavendish, *The Worlds Olio*, p. 29.

⁵⁵ Cavendish, *The Worlds Olio*, p. 29.

⁵⁶ Cavendish, *The Worlds Olio*, p. 29.

⁵⁷ Cavendish, *The Worlds Olio*, p. 30.

⁵⁸ Cavendish, *The Worlds Olio*, p. 30.

⁵⁹ Cavendish, *The Worlds Olio*, p. 30.

To Cavendish, the removal of the social framework provided by the church is analogous to the displacement of a political infrastructure. Thus, the extensive ritual calendar of feasts, music and fasts provided by the church does not first and foremost serve devotion, but ‘to keep out murmur and discontent’ of political ‘rebellion’.

Madam Jantil’s monument used the visual cues of a medieval devotional past to create places that provide such distraction through good example. By transforming her tomb into a religious community, Jantil actively sought to situate political order, obedience and harmony within the landscapes defined by civil war. By making use of an imagined medieval religious landscape, Cavendish transformed Jantil’s monumental place of shelter and repose into an outward facing symbol of national continuity and stability.

By repurposing the tomb as a space of ascetic contemplation and regimented piety, Jantil instrumentalises religious devotion in the service of social order. In doing so, the war widow’s act of commemoration becomes one of multiple narratives of female participation in the resolution of civil strife that ‘Bell in Campo’ provides. Like Mary Sidney Herbert’s *Antonius*, Cavendish’s ‘Bell in Campo’ employs the tomb as a tool of reconciliation. Through self-imposed enclosure, Jantil, like Cleopatra, orchestrates her participation in civic and political discourse. This suggests the enduring symbolic significance of the tomb in female devotional and civic agency. As opposed to Herbert, Cavendish actively uses the landscape that surrounds the mausoleum space, implicating the garden in an expression of retained order. Thus, like Katherine Willoughby, Cavendish utilises the monument as an ‘intrusion’ into a collectively shared landscape. By fashioning the monument into an ascetic community to impose good example, she utilises the tomb’s enduring but

evolved use as a ‘presencing mechanism’.⁶⁰ As we shall see in the following section, Cavendish also deployed neoclassical imagery in her use of ‘mortar and stone and brick to arrange human lives’.⁶¹ For all its apparent difference, neoclassical influence is made to serve the same functions as medieval vernacular forms. In doing so, she fashioned a space of sanctuary and protection to achieve political cohesion and stability. Like the separated strands of the dual narrative of ‘Bell in Campo’, these disparate imaginings of place, both medieval and classical, serve to illustrate division, and its resolution through the negotiation of opposites.

3. The Family Patriarch: Expressing Unity Through the Funeral Monument

Turning from the medieval architecture of Jantil’s monument to the classical deities that populate it, this section investigates how Cavendish’s use of the past to institute order complemented her definition of ideal rulership. Through her written work and the iconography of the Rubens garden it will be shown that Jantil’s monument sought to impose peace, but also formulated the political power of the male patriarch. In doing so she cast women as arbitrators that facilitated good rule through commemorative building. In writing ‘Bell in Campo’, Cavendish asserted in writing what the Cavendish family women did in practice: use the funeral monument to facilitate social order through the display of patrilineage.

That Cavendish sought to formulate peace and order by implicating the present in the symbols of the past is evident beyond the environment of her play

⁶⁰ Graves, p. 13.

⁶¹ Wilson, p. 252.

‘Bell in Campo’. The classical deities Mercury and Pallas remain a reoccurring feature of this. What is more, they communicate order through continuity by their direct association with the aged and wise ruler. She formulates this in ‘Letter XXIV’ in the *Sociable Letters*:

But Aged men most commonly are assisted and attended by *Mercury* and *Pallas*, and Young men by *Mars* and *Venus*. The truth is, ‘tis against Sense and Reason, that Young men can be so VVise, or proper for Affairs of a Commonwealth, either to Command, Govern, or Counsel, as Aged men, who have had long Experience, and great Observations, by Seeing, Hearing, and Knowing much, so as there is nothing New, or Unacquainted to them, neither in Varieties, Changes, nor Chances; for Nature, Fortune, and Time, is their long Acquaintance, by which they know the Appetites, Passions, Humours, Dispositions, Manners, and Actions of Men, with their Defects, Errours and Imperfections; also the Revolutions of Time, the Casualties of Chance, the Change of Fortune, and the Natural Course, Causes, and Effects of several Things in the VWorld, all which makes Aged men VVise, and want of such Experience and Observation, makes Young men Fools in comparison of Aged men.⁶²

In this letter Cavendish employs classical deities to discourse on the ‘Affairs of a Commonwealth’, rulership and the distribution of political power. Concerned with the dangers of the impulsive young gallant, who is driven by ‘*Mars* and *Venus*’, she asserts the rightful rulership of those counselled by ‘*Mercury* and *Pallas*’, those guided by steadfastness, experience and wisdom. Significantly, she links the execution of good governance to age. The capable ruler of the ‘Commonwealth’ has gained maturity by experiencing the ‘Causes, and Effects of several Things in the VWorld’. ‘Aged men [...] assisted and attended by *Mercury* and *Pallas*’, ‘through long Experience’ and the ‘Revolutions of Time’ are the strongest remedy against the unpredictability of ‘Chance, the Change of Fortune, and the Natural Course’. The age of the ruler signifies the commonwealth’s ability to weather conflict and provides stability. Furthermore, through ‘long Acquaintance’, the aged ruler resolves

⁶² Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, p. 46.

friction amid the populace, and conciliates opposing ‘Appetites, Passions, Humours, Dispositions, Manners, and Actions of Men’. Thus, the ‘Aged’ man also provides order to the state through his ability to appease and reconcile. Mercury and Pallas are the symbolic representations of Cavendish’s understanding of qualified rulership. Attending ‘Aged men’, they symbolise political order by representing consistency through maturity, and resolution of conflict through experience.

The characterisation of the good ruler outlined in *Sociable Letters* fits the description of Jantil’s husband, Seigneur Valeroso, whose effigy is attended by representations of Mercury and Pallas. As the stage directions of part one, act two, scene seven of the play make clear, Valeroso is a man of mature age. Valeroso is the good friend of Monsieur la Hardy, the husband of Madam Passionate. Passionate is described as ‘*in years*’, while Jantil is characterised as ‘young and beautifull’. It is reasonable to assume that the men’s established friendship suggests that they are roughly the same age, which makes Passionate their equal in age, and Jantil the young wife of a mature man (‘Bell in Campo’, Part I. II. 7, p. 585).

Valeroso’s name further highlights his similarity to the ‘Aged’ man of the *Sociable Letters*. His name is most likely derived from the Spanish for brave. The name’s further close semantic relationship to the English adjective and noun ‘valiant’ strengthens the characterisation of Valeroso as stalwart, strong and courageous. As a word used to formulate courage, it is regularly used to express bravery and persistence in battle.⁶³ Thus, Valeroso’s name also communicates his skill as a soldier, and his perseverance in the face of the civil war conflict of the Kingdom of ‘Bell in Campo’. Valeroso’s name also puts us in mind of the possible Continental, and Catholic influences on Cavendish’s ‘Bell in Campo’. As the vast

⁶³ ‘valiant, adj. (and n.)’, in *OED*.

and luxurious mausoleum dedicated to a valiant soldier with possible connections to Spain, Jantil's monument is reminiscent of the lavish Renaissance palace built by Philip II of Spain, the Escorial. The Escorial was built both as a dynastic mausoleum and as a powerful symbol of 'struggle and victory' in 'the Catholic world's Counter-Reformation struggle'.⁶⁴ Indeed, the Escorial's creation is understood by some as a consequence of the Spanish military victory at the Battle of St Quentin (1557), where Philip II's Spain defeated Henry II's France during the Italian Wars (1494-1559).⁶⁵ Jantil's monument, like the Escorial, exudes peace and order during conflict through piety on the one hand, and by acting as a place to display the rightful rulership of valiant men on the other. As Valeroso's naming suggests, like the 'Aged' man of the *Sociable Letters* he is the worthy leader who seeks to resolve the internal conflicts that threaten the unity of the state. Valeroso exhibits the key characteristics that define the leader attended by Mercury and Pallas. As the two deities take the place of the chief mourners 'at his head' ('Bell in Campo', Part I. IV. 21, p. 599) in the funeral complex, Jantil fashions her husband into a representative of rightful rule, and by extension, a public symbol of the lawful governance of the Kingdom of Reformation.

The political order that the 'Aged' patriarch Valeroso symbolises is threatened by his death in battle. As he is removed from the fabric and structure of the war-torn Kingdom, the rightful order of society is disrupted, the Kingdom's 'Sense and Reason' removed, and their ability to 'Command, Govern, or Counsel'

⁶⁴ Michael Noone, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy Under the Habsburgs, 1563-1700* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1998), p. 23.

⁶⁵ As shown by Noone, there is only circumstantial evidence that the Battle of St Quentin occasioned the creation of the Escorial. Instead, he argues that 'the concept of victory, rather than the commemoration of a specific victorious battle [...] became a recurrent theme in the Escorial's iconography.' Noone, p. 23.

disturbed.⁶⁶ Valeroso's demise symbolises the destruction of national peace and harmony. Thus, as continuity (symbolised by the 'Aged' man) is removed and family lineage obliterated, power flows to young 'Fools', those governed by Mars and Venus.⁶⁷ This political power imbalance, expressed through the upsetting of noble family lineage, is satirized in 'Bell in Campo' through the figures of Monsieur Comrade, Monsieur Compagnion, and Monsieur la Gravity. These young men destabilise the established structure of society by marrying 'Rich Widows' ('Bell in Campo', Part I. V. 23, p. 603).

The introduction of Valeroso's effigy into the landscape through the funeral monument allows Jantil to counteract the loss of the order and harmony symbolised by the wise and aged man through the language of architecture. Jantil asks for 'the best and curioust Carvers or Cutters of Stones' for her monument to display her social status. At the same time, her patronage of the most skilled artists of the day is necessary because she requires the representation of Valeroso to be made 'to the life as much as Art can make it' ('Bell in Campo', Part I. IV. 21, p. 599). Art restores order to the protagonist by physically and spatially re-instating those 'attended by Mercury and Pallas'.⁶⁸ Compagnion articulates his unease, as well as the effectiveness of this monumental symbol of an order of the past that transcends death:

MONSIEUR COMPAGNION That's all one unto us, but the noblest, youngest, richest, and fairest VVidow is gone; for though she is not promised or married, yet she is incloistered, and that is worse than marriage; for if she had been married there might have been some hopes her Husband would have died, or been kill'd, or some wayes or other Death would have found to have taken him away.

('Bell in Campo', Part II. III. 9, p. 618)

⁶⁶ Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, p. 46.

⁶⁷ Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, p. 46.

⁶⁸ Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, p. 46.

Compagnion stresses Jantil's complete removal from the social and reproductive society which her counterpart, Madam Passionate, cannot effectively escape. Jantil does this through the monument: a place of ordered, structured and harmonious living in which the family patriarch continues to provide protection even after his death. Jantil is 'gone' and 'incloistered', but Compagnion's frustration highlights that the monument did not remove her altogether. Instead, her mausoleum allows Jantil to fashion herself into a highly visible symbol of the continuing power of a pre-war order. Like Cleopatra's mausoleum in Herbert's *Antonius*, Jantil's monument is intended to act as a boundary as insurmountable as the frontier between life and death to forever keep out the advances of those seeking to upset the integrity of society and the state. Their voluntary enclosure within commemorative buildings, however, does not erase Cleopatra or Jantil from the public consciousness. Rather, Jantil, like Cleopatra, gains agency from within the confines of the monument to impose her vision of peace on the landscapes of the Kingdom. She does so by reintroducing the patriarch into society through art after his death. The reinstatement of Valeroso into the fabric of the Kingdom through the monument, as Compagnion complains, mends the fractures that death creates within the family, and by extension, in the social hierarchy they symbolise. Thus, while death finds a way to take husbands 'away' and leaves their widows vulnerable to the ambitious young men who seek to climb the social ladder by marriage, the tomb remains an enduring reminder that their social ascent rests on an act of immoral opportunism. The funeral monument is an inviolable and physical boundary that prevents 'Young men' and 'Fools' having access to the worthy ancestry of 'Aged men'.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Cavendish, *Sociable Letters*, p. 46.

A closer look at Cavendish's *Sociable Letters* shows that Jantil's efforts to protect her family identity also defended established social hierarchies of a pre-war past (in which courage and bravery ruled over young and foolish companionship and friendship). The built environment of the tomb spatially articulates the continuity and stability of rightful rulership. It does so by engaging the symbols of an ancient past in the construction of a harmonious present. Mercury and Pallas, classical figures symbolising peace and harmony intervene into a fractured contemporary landscape. Like an idealised medieval heritage, the deities enact peace by reinstating the past in the narrative of the present. Thus, 'their smell [...] of Antiquity' is a symbol of 'Laws, or Justice', 'Truth and Right', and of a 'Government' that 'did not complain'.⁷⁰ Jantil's tomb idealises an ancient and medieval past to evoke a time of stability and order. As we have seen, it allows her to fashion a daily schedule that enables her 'to converse' with her husband despite his death ('Bell in Campo', Part II. III. 10, p. 619). By allowing her to do so, the monument provides her with a point of communication with a harmonious past. Like the architecture that intended to impose order, the ruler ought to be 'Aged'. Through his maturity, he acted as the glue that would mend a fractured society by bringing the present back into dialogue with that which came before.

That Cavendish sought ways to make a former social and political hierarchy immune to the effects of civil war destabilisation in 'Bell in Campo' reminds the reader of Cavendish's own experience of the Civil War, displacement and loss. Her articulation of the destabilising effects of war on family and kingdom through Valeroso and Jantil echo her, and her husband's own experiences of war, exile and their loss of status, power and estates. Jantil's proactive solution to the disintegration

⁷⁰ Cavendish, *Natures Pictures*, p. 89.

of order and social hierarchy can provide us with a greater understanding of how the narrative of ‘Bell in Campo’ allowed Cavendish to discourse on the female role in reinstating harmony and order in an English landscape divided by the Civil War.

Exploration of the similarities between Cavendish’s experience of war and exile, and Jantil’s intervention into the landscape of ‘Bell in Campo’ builds on the findings of part one of this chapter. In it, we saw how the garden provided a way to write stability and permanence against the backdrop of Cavendish’s transience as a political exile. The space of the Rubens garden supplied Cavendish with the symbolic language for female commemoration of the mature, male ruler. A closer look at the painting by the Flemish portrait artist Gonzales Coques supports a reading of ‘Bell in Campo’ through the lens of Cavendish’s exile. As we have already seen, this painting depicts Margaret’s husband accompanied by the figures of Mercury and Pallas, like the aged ruler of the *Sociable Letters* and the experienced Valeroso of ‘Bell in Campo’.

Coques’s *Lord Cavendish* (Plate 16) illustrates how the deities of Mercury and Pallas frame William as the rightful mature leader. At the same time, the immediacy of the Rubens garden conveys William’s exclusion from the ruling elite through exile. The painting depicts the Duke and Duchess occupying the space immediately before the Ruben’s house portico in lavish costume. The painting leaves little doubt over their location, as the distinctive garden pavilion is visible in the distance, and the towering figure of Pallas, though obscured by the branches of a nearby tree, asserts the location of the couple. In a gesture of welcome, William extends his arm to lead the viewer into the garden that lies beyond the portico. In it, a group of people are engaged in conversation in the shelter of the pavilion. William’s gesture and stance exude a sense of generosity and welcome, and his gaze

communicates his position as the host inviting the viewer into the scene of repose, pleasure and tranquillity.

Ursula Härtung reminds us that this representation of William as the liberal host was dependant on the specificity of the location in which the scene unfolds. An immense amount of prestige was attached to the ownership of lavish garden space in a densely populated city such as Antwerp.⁷¹ The painting employs the urban garden setting of the Rubens house deliberately to fashion William into a lavish and generous entertainer. William's gesture is not simply one of invitation, but one that solicits the viewer to use the recognisable markers of this specific prestigious garden space to discern his social status. By letting the viewer know that William occupies the Rubens garden, the painting depicts, what Härtung terms, a 'narrative event' ('narratives Ereignisbild').⁷² William and Margaret shape their social position by encouraging the viewer to associate them with the minute details of the landscape of their luxurious home in exile, as they entertain the exiled English elite.

The Coques painting's reliance on the specificity of the Rubens garden setting allows us to surmise that William's positioning by the figures of Mercury and Pallas atop the portico structure carried significant symbolic meaning and was not simply a result of artistic licence. Their meaning in the painting was therefore tied to their purpose in the architecture of the Rubens house. To further explore the significance of Mercury and Pallas in the Coques painting, it is therefore necessary to take a moment to assess their place in the iconographic programme of the Rubens

⁷¹ Ursula Härtung, 'Lord William Cavendish und Duchess Margaret Cavendish im Rubengarten in Antwerpen', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 44 (2002), 15-28 (p. 18).

⁷² Härtung, p. 20. The term 'Ereignisbild' was introduced by art historian Werner Hager. See, Werner Hager, *Das geschichtliche Ereignisbild: Beitrag zu einer Typologie des weltlichen Geschichtsbildes bis zur Aufklärung* (Munich: Neuer Filser-Verlag, 1939).

house and in the imagination of Peter Paul Rubens, who built the home and cultivated its garden.

As suggested by D. J. Gordon, Mercury and Pallas (or Minerva) were figures particularly often coupled by, and ‘very special’ to, the artist Peter Paul Rubens.⁷³ The combination of these two deities found symbolic application in one of Rubens’s last frontispiece designs for Frederick de Marselaer’s *Legatus* (Plate 18).⁷⁴ *Legatus* was among a rising number of treatises on diplomacy printed across Europe in the seventeenth century. It encapsulates a growing need for negotiation and compromise in a developing European states system and reflects the importance of ambassadors in a time defined by reoccurring politically and religiously motivated conflict.⁷⁵ The choice of Pallas and Mercury joining hands in a gesture that symbolises the success of diplomacy over disagreement and division on *Legatus*’s frontispiece suggests that the figures were associated with political and social concord. As proposed by Hans Gerhard Evers, such a reading of the figures is further supported by the frontispiece’s lower portion, where a group of carefree children play in a symbolic expression of fecundity, peace and harmony.⁷⁶ Such a use of the deities is, in part, the result of the individual attributes of the two figures. As Pallas, understood to represent wisdom,

⁷³ D. J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975), p. 47. For the sake of clarity, all references to classical deities will employ the names used by Margaret Cavendish in ‘Bell in Campo’. Thus, Mercury (Roman), not Hermes (Greek), and Pallas [Athena] (Greek), and not Minerva (Roman).

⁷⁴ Frederick de Marselaer, *Legatus [...] ad Philippum IV Hispaniarum regem*, 2nd edn (Antwerp, 1666).

⁷⁵ Carlo Focarelli, ‘The Early Doctrine of International Law as a Bridge from Antiquity to Modernity and Diplomatic Inviolability in 16th- and 17th-Century European Practice’, in *The Twelve Years Truce (1609): Peace, Truce, War and Law in the Low Countries at the Turn of the 17th Century*, ed. by Randall Lesaffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 210-32 (p. 219); J. J. Jusserand, ‘The School for Ambassadors’, *The American Historical Review*, 27, 3 (1922), 426-64 (p. 427).

⁷⁶ Hans Gerhard Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk: Neue Forschungen* (Brussels: Verlag de Lage Landen, 1944), p. 192.

joins with Mercury, a commonly reoccurring symbol of eloquence and industry, their pairing was ideally suited to communicate resourcefulness and creativity in the attainment of political and social accord.⁷⁷

As harbingers of peace through creativity and resourcefulness, Mercury and Pallas were also figures that were regularly employed as the symbolic protectors of the artist, and artistic production. This is exemplified in a small, but undeniably rich allegorical composition scheme known as the Arts Endangered by Ignorance. In it, Mercury and Pallas are depicted as protectors of artists and artworks from the crude stares of the ignorant viewer. In Simon de Vos's *Minerva and Mercury Protecting Painting against Ignorance and Calumny* (Plate 19), Pallas comes to the assistance of the swooning Arts, protectively laying her left arm around the sitting figure. To the right, donkey-eared critics are in the process of pronouncing judgement over a painting. Mercury emerges from behind the easel and gently shields the painting from the gazes of the ignorant crowd with his caduceus. *Satire on Art Criticism* (Plate 20), a pen and brown ink drawing by Rembrandt van Rijn depicts a donkey-eared critic sitting on an empty barrel to the left, whilst a man squats to the right in the act of defecation, using his right hand to wipe his backside with artists' engravings.⁷⁸ In the centre of the composition stands a roughly outlined figure with a

⁷⁷ See, for example: Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devises* (Leiden, 1586), p. 92; Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna, or A Garden of Heroical Devises Furnished, and Adorned with Emblemes and Impresa's of Sundry Natures* (London, 1612), p. 25. For an overview of the allegorical uses of Mercury and Pallas throughout the early modern period, see Catherine E. King, *Representing Renaissance Art, c. 1500- c. 1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), esp. pp. 208-9.

⁷⁸ Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Rembrandt van Rijn: 70. Satire on Art Criticism', in *Fifteenth- to Eighteenth-Century European Drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection: Central Europe, The Netherlands, France, England*, ed. by Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, et al., The Robert Lehman Collection, VII (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in association with Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 219-28 (p. 220).

large shield, protecting the artist and artwork from onlookers behind. It seems likely that this figure depicts Pallas, in the process of driving critics away from the painting.⁷⁹ Both artworks highlight how the seventeenth-century artist elevated his status in society by expressing the arts as divinely protected. What is more, Mercury and Pallas provide shelter from those who disparage the work of the artist. The two deities are crucial in carving out safe spaces in which art, and the artist himself finds safety and repose.

With Mercury and Pallas active in the creation of protective spaces in which the arts could flourish, the position of the deities on the large portico of the Rubens residence signals the triumph of artistic pursuit over the scathing looks of critics. Thus, the portico mirrors plastically and three-dimensionally the tableau of the *Arts Endangered by Ignorance*. Placed above the heads of the visitor, they allegorically oversee the artist's home, and elevate symbolically, the corpus of Rubens's artistic achievements over criticism.

As harbingers of peace and protectors of the artist, Mercury and Pallas, as stated by Elizabeth McGrath, were deities understood as 'patrons at once of diplomacy and of art'.⁸⁰ Rubens was both an artist and a diplomat and the figures were therefore particularly suited for the design of his residence. A frieze located above the main entrance supports such a dual reading of the figures in the iconographic programme of the residence. In it, Mercury and Pallas frame a dramatic

⁷⁹ Haverkamp-Begemann proposes such a reading, though several interpretations prevail. Ernst van de Wetering suggests the 'mysterious object' is another artwork held up for scrutiny. Haverkamp-Begemann, p. 221; Ernst van de Wetering, 'Rembrandt's Satire on Art Criticism Reconsidered', in *Shop Talk: Studies in Honour of Seymour Slive*, ed. by Cynthia P. Schneider, William W. Robinson and Alice I. Davies (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995), pp. 264-70 (p. 265).

⁸⁰ Elizabeth McGrath, 'The Painted Decoration of Rubens's House', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 41 (1978), 245-77 (p. 251).

depiction of The Calumny of Apelles (*Plate 21* and *Plate 22*). As stated by David Cast, the self-consciousness of the Renaissance artist found a voice in the story of Apelles, whose tale facilitated ‘debates about the value [...] and the [...] worth of individual artists.’⁸¹ What is more, Rubens was referred to as ‘the Apelles of our age’.⁸² Incurring the wrath of his rival Antiphilus due to his unparalleled skill as an artist, Apelles is wrongfully accused of precipitating the Revolt of Tyre against Ptolemy. The ruler, enraged by such treachery, sentences Apelles to death. It is only through a dramatically-timed revelation by one of Apelles’s friends that the artist is spared. Incensed, the wronged artist then proceeds to paint the injustice done to him.⁸³ Known to the Renaissance painter through the writings of Lucian, The Calumny was a popular theme amongst artists wishing to depict the worth and status of their trade. The depiction of The Calumny allowed Rubens to portray his worth as an artist, and, like the Arts Endangered by Ignorance, served to elevate him above criticism.

As suggested by McGrath, Rubens’s *Calumny*, far from being solely about the corrosive consequences of envy, is ‘active in the defence of justice and peace.’⁸⁴ Thus, the *Calumny* echoes the symbolism of the frontispiece of Marselaer’s *Legatus*, in which Mercury and Pallas come together to display the success of diplomacy in achieving political accord. Apelles is first and foremost a political victim of injustice. His tale also starkly displays the power imbalance between the king, who is the

⁸¹ David Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study of the Humanist Tradition* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 1.

⁸² Balthasar Moretus to Balthasar Corderius, 2 August 1630, in ‘Records taken from the Correspondence of Balthasar Moretus concerning title pages designed by Rubens’, in *Rubens and the Book*, ed. by Julius Samuel Held (North Adams, MA: Excelsior Printing Company, 1977), pp. 26-48 (p. 33).

⁸³ Rudolph Altrocchi, ‘The Calumny of Apelles in the Literature of the Quattrocento’, *PMLA*, 36, 3 (1921), 454-91 (p. 455).

⁸⁴ McGrath, p. 251.

accuser, and the accused, who is his helpless subject. As Judith Dundas explains, early modern reproductions of The Calumny ‘found a universality in the theme that ignorant judges will allow sentence to be passed on innocence’.⁸⁵ What is more, the injustice committed against Apelles is precipitated by a fellow artist. The Calumny’s narrative of envy, applied to a wider context was also a potent reminder of the dangers of treachery. Rubens’s *Calumny* is not only applicable to the plight of the artist but appeals to those who have suffered injustice and treachery at the hands of their equals.

The knowing viewer couldn’t have helped but read William’s gesture of welcome in the wider context of the iconographic programme of the Rubens garden. Furthermore, as an Ereignisbild, the painting encourages these connections to be drawn by the viewer. In the shadows of the deities that signified the triumph of justice over the treachery of your equals, the painting drew the viewer into the reality of William’s status as a political exile. The painting reminds the viewer, like Cavendish’s *The Life*, of the ‘disloyal Actions of the opposite Party, of the Treacherous Cowardise, Envy and Malice of some Persons, my Lords Enemies, and of the ingratitude of some of his seeming Friends’.⁸⁶ Evoking the composition of the Rubens house’s *Calumny* frieze, the painting conveys how William’s defeat in battle and the establishment of the Commonwealth saw ‘Treachery’ have ‘better Fortune than Prudence’.⁸⁷

As personifications of the success of diplomacy, Mercury and Pallas also remind the viewer Margaret’s attempts to reclaim William’s status and estates at

⁸⁵ Judith Dundas, ‘Emblems on the Art of Painting: *Pictura* and Purpose’, in *Emblems and Art History: Nine Essays*, ed. by Alison Adams, assisted by Laurence Grove (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 1996), pp. 69-95 (p. 89).

⁸⁶ Cavendish, *The Life*, sig. (c)2^r.

⁸⁷ Cavendish, *The Life*, sig. (d)2^v.

home. As the wife to a slandered man known as ‘the greatest Traitor of *England*’ she had little success.⁸⁸ Through the writing of her husband’s biography, she continued to vindicate William from the slanderous words of his peers and negotiated his position within a society from which he was long excluded. Positioning William amidst the recognisable environs of his exile, overseen by the towering figures of Mercury and Pallas, visualised his wish to be portrayed as a continuing member of the ruling elite, and Margaret as the arbitrator who fought for his status and position at home. At the same time, the landscape of the Rubens garden and Antwerp visually dramatized the threat war and exile presented to such a position.

In ‘Bell in Campo’, Mercury and Pallas are also employed in the defence of a defeated member of the ruling elite. Furthermore, just as the two deities remind the viewer of Cavendish’s role as her husband’s negotiator and defender, they indicate Jantil’s responsibility as the protector of Valeroso’s legacy and status. Under the protection of the two deities most readily associated with the contemporary Flemish artist, Jantil transforms herself from mourning war widow into an artist, both visually through the space, and poetically, through her spoken word. Furthermore, as figures that symbolised peace and prosperity, as seen in the frontispiece of *Legatus*, and as representatives of justice and good rule through their inclusion in the *Calumny*, their placement at the heart of Jantil’s monument visually encapsulates the central narrative of ‘Bell in Campo’: a resolution of political factionalism and civil discord brokered by women.

As previously noted, Margaret Cavendish saw the preservation of family identity as a female responsibility. As shown by Lilley, such a view asserted itself on her authorial persona as ‘Cavendish’s desire for fame through writing, both in the

⁸⁸ Cavendish, *The Life*, p. 71.

present and post-humously, is figured in explicitly genealogical terms.' As Jantil's intervention into the fractured landscape of the Kingdom of 'Bell in Campo' shows, this responsibility for the maintenance of family identity did not only form an extension of the 'marital labour' of childbirth to Cavendish.⁸⁹ Rather, the preservation of lineage and genealogy by Jantil is an active form of participation in the dispute over the rightful ownership and rulership of a kingdom. Through the protection of Valeroso's place as the family patriarch beyond death, Jantil fashions her tomb into a symbol of the enduring power of an established political and social hierarchy, and the rightful rulership of the Kingdom of Reformation for which Valeroso laid down his life in battle. To Cavendish, the tomb was an instrument for female intervention into a shared topography, a way to impose order through patrilineality.

As individuals who could ensure the endurance of family lineage through commemorative building, women were instrumental in the preservation of social order. Cavendish reflects on this in *The Life*, when she outlines the destruction of her husband's estates throughout the Civil War:

[It is not] possible for him to repair all the ruines of the Estate that is left him, in so short a time, they being so great, and his losses so considerable, that I cannot without grief and trouble remember them; for before the Wars my Lord had as great an Estate as any subject in the Kingdom, descended upon him most by Women, *viz.* by his Grandmother of his Father's side, his own Mother, and his first Wife.⁹⁰

Reflecting on the wealth and position of the Cavendish family prior to war and exile, Margaret frames the protection and continuation of family interests through William's grandmother, Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of

⁸⁹ Lilley, p. 24.

⁹⁰ Cavendish, *The Life*, p. 93.

Hardwick), his mother Katherine Ogle, and his first wife Elizabeth Bassett Howard (1599-1643). Margaret rightfully isolates them as some of the most influential players in the creation of Cavendish power, since all brought with them substantial wealth, landholdings and titles. Katherine was the sole heir to her father Cuthbert, and created Baroness Ogle in the early seventeenth century, while Elizabeth was the only daughter of William Bassett of Blore. Both women fostered and consolidated Cavendish power through their status as primary heirs to their families' wealth and ancient titles. Undeniably the most influential player in placing the Cavendishes in a key social position was Bess of Hardwick, who consolidated wealth through several marriages, as well as a set of ambitious building projects, including Chatsworth House and Hardwick Hall in her native Derbyshire. The enthusiasm with which she built suggests that architecture formed one of Bess's key tactics in fashioning her family identity. Thus, as stressed by Sara L. French, building works not only represented 'Bess's return to her roots in Derbyshire' but the 'establishment of her dynastic ambitions, and the creation of landscapes that testified to her abilities and ambitions', as well as those of her family.⁹¹

The process of building commemorative space by women was an important assertion of the endurance and continuity of Cavendish family wealth and status. As will be shown, such building was also an intervention into wider civic and shared place. As intrusions into collectively experienced landscapes like Jantil's mausoleum complex, the tombs built by the Cavendish women fashioned the landscapes of Derbyshire. In doing so, they repeatedly applied the hierarchy, harmony and unity of the family, to the wider context of a shared environment.

⁹¹ Sara L. French, 'Re-Placing Gender in Elizabethan Gardens', in *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 157-75 (p. 173).

Peter Sherlock writes that the early modern tomb created ‘family fictions’ that ‘naturalised and legitimised the exercise of power by a male patriarch over his household and manor’.⁹² However, by being placed in public and semipublic spaces, these narratives of family cohesion were instrumental in shaping fictions of wider communal unity in the landscapes in which they were situated. This is exemplified by the tomb of Bess of Hardwick that forged fictions of religious cohesion in the urban landscape of Derby. Bess’s will illustrates how her tomb sits at the apex of a complex intervention into the civic and devotional fabric of the town:

my Bodie I commit [...] to be buried in All Hallowes churche at Derbye in the place of the same churche where with is appoynted and Determyned that my Tombe and monument shalbe erected and builte [...] her sonne Willm Lord Cavendishe to bestowe one hundred poundes or some thinge that the profit therof might be bestowed as occasion should require for repayingre her Almeshouse at Derbye for ever.⁹³

Bess’s will shows how the creation of her ‘family fiction’ was intimately linked to the production of public services and space. Designed by Robert Smythson between 1601 and 1603, her wall-monument occupies the south aisle of the Church of All Saints in Derby (*Plate 23*). The central focus of the tomb is the alabaster effigy of Bess, framed on either side by black columns and surmounted by a shallow coffered arch.⁹⁴ While the tomb’s heraldry narrates the complex and nuanced web of family ties Bess created between Hardwick, Barley, Cavendish, St Loe and Talbot, her monument was part of a wider commemorative landscape that included the maintenance of Derby’s alms house ‘for ever’. The alms house was linked to the

⁹² Sherlock, p. 19.

⁹³ The Will of Bess of Hardwick, Kew, NA, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/111, fols 188^r, 192^v.

⁹⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Derbyshire*, rev. by Elizabeth Williamson (London: Penguin, 2000, first published by Penguin 1953), p. 170. The inscription was only added 69 years after the completion of the monument. Susan E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485-1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons and Painters* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016, first published by Ashgate 2009), p. 14.

architectural network of the parish church. It was located on a portion of land ‘buttinge upon the river of Darwente towardes the east’ and incorporating ‘toft, steads, and garden plotts’, as well as a portion of what is now the churchyard of All Saints, effectively encasing the parish church within its landholdings.⁹⁵ This proximity was important because the eight poor men and four poor women of the institution were to ‘performe theire praiers and other duties’ in the ‘upper parte of the said south queere or cancell’.⁹⁶ Repairing to the site of Bess’s interment ‘at or near six o’clock, both in the forenoon and afternoon’, the poor would, ‘with open and audible voice’ recite their prayers overseen by the imposing monument.⁹⁷ What is more, the warden of the alms house retained the key to the church so that the poor could regularly ‘cleanse, dust, and sweep over the said Monument, and the place about it’.⁹⁸ As the poor men and women maintained the fabric of tomb, choir and chancel, and shaped the communal devotional calendar of the parish church through their regular prayer and participation in services, Cavendish family intervention within the landscape of Derby created, and sought to maintain, a harmonious communal devotional identity through its display of family cohesion.

Like the tomb of Bess of Hardwick, the monument commemorating Sir Charles Cavendish and his wife Katherine, Baroness Ogle narrates the coherence of shared landscapes. Unlike Bess’s tomb, that of her youngest son employs the monument’s ability to forge socio-religious reconciliation and cohesion to create a

⁹⁵ H. E. Currey, ‘Supplemental Notes on the Almshouse of Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury’, *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 16 (1894), 1-13 (pp. 5-6).

⁹⁶ Currey, pp. 5, 7.

⁹⁷ ‘The Orders and Statutes made and appointed by the Right Honourable Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury, the 5th day of October, in the 41st year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth’, in *A Collection of Fragments Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Derby*, ed. by Robert Simpson, 2 vols (Derby: G. Wilkins and Sons, 1826), I, 489-503 (p. 496).

⁹⁸ ‘The Orders and Statutes’, I, 496.

narrative of order through class and social status. The tomb was the responsibility of Sir Charles's wife, Katherine Ogle. Ogle employed the family architect John Smythson and the poet Ben Jonson for the construction of Sir Charles's lavish tomb that inaugurated the Cavendish chapel at St Mary and St Laurence in Bolsover (*Plate 24*). The tomb creates a visual hierarchy that places Sir Charles, the family patriarch, at the top of the composition. The deep coffered arch, contained on either side by clusters of pillars, frames the alabaster effigy of the deceased. In a devoted position of wifely subservience, Ogle occupies his side at a slightly lowered position. Finally, their children, represented as small kneeling relief figures on the tomb chest itself, sit in symbolic reverence at the foot of their father and mother's remains. Sir Charles's death precipitated the construction of a hierarchical but harmonious 'family fiction' through his funeral monument.⁹⁹

This visual display of the harmonious patriarchal household is further strengthened through Jonson's epitaph on the entablature above the arch. Taking the form of the paternal voice of Sir Charles it proclaims:

Sonnes, seeke not me amone these polish'd stones:
 these only hide part of my flesh, and bones:
 [...]
 I made my lyfe my monument, and yours:
 to which there's no materiall that endures;
 nor yet inscription like it write but that;
 And teach your nephwes it to æmulate:
 it will be matter lowd inougue to tell
 not when I die'd but how I livd farewell.¹⁰⁰

Addressing his 'Sonnes' and their 'nephws', Sir Charles's voice emphasises how the family order narrated by the tomb creates a continuous thread between past and future generations. Joshua Scodel convincingly suggests that Jonson's epitaph

⁹⁹ Sherlock, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ Reproduced as it appears in 'The Newcastle Manuscript', London, BL, MS Harley 4955, fol. 54^v.

‘exploits humanist and Protestant suspicions of aristocratic monuments in order to denigrate the very tomb on which it is inscribed’.¹⁰¹ However, as Scodel’s wording suggests, Jonson’s verse relies on the material presence of the tomb in order to articulate a departure from its ostensibly superficial benefits. Future generations shouldn’t ‘seek’ Sir Charles’s virtues among the ‘polish’d stones’. To allow them to transition from monumental commemoration to imitation they require ‘the very tomb’ as a conduit. Just as the inscription depends on the material, the monument’s inward looking dynamic draws attention to the dynasty’s conspicuous stability, and thus outwardly and ‘loudly testifies to the family’s (recently acquired) prominence’ in the landscapes of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.¹⁰² As posited by French, the architecture of elite domestic space regularly extended its reach into more widely accessible public and semipublic environments in an effort to assert the ‘patron’s courtly and social ambitions’.¹⁰³ Thus, the ‘family fiction’ created through Sir Charles’s monument and the chapel likely participated in the creation of a narrative of Cavendish family power through the manipulation of a shared landscape. Such manipulations of collectively experienced space also sought to narrate Cavendish power as an active contributor in the creation of a harmonious English topography, as shown by Bess’s tomb.

The monument’s ability to shape a collective experience of a wider landscape is revealed by the account of Ben Jonson’s travel companion on his foot voyage to Scotland (1618). Contemporaneous with the tomb’s construction, the account

¹⁰¹ Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (London: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 25.

¹⁰² Scodel, p. 27.

¹⁰³ French, p. 157.

illustrates how it shaped Cavendish identity through its intervention into a shared environment. During their stay at the Cavendish estate at Welbeck:

Sir William Candish carried my gossip [Ben Jonson] to see Bolsover [...] to meet one Smithson, an excellent architect, who was to consult with Mr Jonson about the erection of a tomb for Sir William's father, for which my gossip was to make an epitaph.¹⁰⁴

These provisions for a new Cavendish burial place and tomb were timely, since the recent death of Sir Charles precipitated his son William's need to affirm his place as the rightful successor to his father's newfound status. William and his mother Katherine consciously did so by fashioning his father Sir Charles into a symbol of Cavendish valour, intellect, and authority. As the company was entertained at Welbeck, William related tales of the late family patriarch as the company made use of the estate's 'pleasures and commodities'.¹⁰⁵ In the course of narrating the bloody encounter of Sir Charles and a group of armed men on the 18 June, 1599, for example, the company were shown 'the spoils Sir Charles had brought away from Sir John Stanhope'.¹⁰⁶ This story refers to a final Cavendish victory in a long-running feud that was precipitated by the unstable relationship between Sir Charles and his step-brother, Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury (1552-1616).¹⁰⁷ Place, and the creation of a Cavendish 'family fiction', attest to the victory of the Cavendish family in a dispute over their inheritance, lands, and titles through the appropriation of material spoils and their display at the heart of William's network of estates.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Ben Johnson's *Walk to Scotland: An Annotated Edition of the 'Foot Voyage'*, ed. James Loxley, Anna Groundwater, and Julie Sanders (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), p. 57.

¹⁰⁵ Ben Johnson's *Walk to Scotland*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ Ben Johnson's *Walk to Scotland*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁷ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Talbot and Stanhope: an Episode in Elizabethan Politics', *Historical Research*, 33, 87 (1960), 73-85 (p. 74).

¹⁰⁸ Sherlock, p. 19.

This declaration of power by William and Ogle through object and place within the halls of Welbeck extended into the green spaces beyond the walls of the private residences. As the company embarked on excursions into the landscape surrounding Bolsover and Welbeck, the consolidation of power through the family patriarch became formulated through the landscape's surrender to Sir Charles's heir. Thus, the 'huge grown stags' of Welbeck estate did not fly from the approaching company, but 'made towards us as if to entertain us'.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the horses of William's stable showed such 'readiness and steadiness' that it appeared that rider and beast 'were both one piece'.¹¹⁰

The construction of a narrative of family cohesion through the Cavendish chapel at Bolsover and the tomb of Sir Charles was part of a critical moment of transition in family structure. As the chapel expressed the harmonious and seemingly inviolable hierarchy of the dynasty through its patriarch, it participated in a wider articulation of the family's legitimacy through their successful intervention into a shared and managed environment. With the landscapes of Bolsover and Welbeck bending to the will of the new head of the family, the construction of the Cavendish chapel physically marks the triumph of a dynasty over a conquered topography. What is more, the fashioning of such a landscape was understood to be the responsibility of the deceased's wife, Katherine. This is readily, though less obviously, expressed by an additional epitaph on Sir Charles's monument, likely penned by Ogle. Collecting both the symbolic titles and corporeal bodies of her family, she asserts her role as a consolidator of family and place. Thus, her epitaph

¹⁰⁹ Ben Johnson's *Walk to Scotland*, p. 55.

¹¹⁰ Ben Johnson's *Walk to Scotland*, p. 57.

states that the tomb would serve to ‘gather’, ‘in their time’, all the members of her family in one place, in the collective hope of ‘the happy hour of resurrection’.

While the tomb of Sir Charles participated in carving out new territories of Cavendish influence through a show of familial harmony, the monument of William’s cousin, William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire and his wife Christian Bruce Cavendish employed the tomb’s role as a conciliator to speak about national cohesion (*Plate 25*). As an ancestral tomb that marked the place of the remains of their son and royalist army officer Charles Cavendish (1620-1643), the monument’s portrayal of an enduring dynasty participated in creating narratives of reconciliation and the integrity of the English state in the aftermath of the Civil War. The freestanding monument was approximately twelve feet high and took the form of a temple, supported by four pilasters forming angled corners.¹¹¹ Full length marble figures of William and Christian stood upright in anticipation of their resurrection under the domed roof. The corners of the monument were ornamented with busts of their four children: William, third Earl of Devonshire (1617-1684), Charles lieutenant general in the Civil War, Henry, who died in infancy, and Anne (1612-1638), wife of Robert Rich, third Earl of Warwick.¹¹² Through the figures of William and Christian, shrouded and emerging from the grave on the day of their resurrection, the tomb narrated Christian hope in salvation. The monument extended this hope to the coming generation through their participation in the scene’s periphery.

¹¹¹ Pevsner, p. 170.

¹¹² ‘Churches and Chapels’, in *The History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, ed. by Thomas Noble, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Derby: Henry Mozley and Sons, 1833), pp. 462-504 (p. 465).

Emphasising reconciliation in another life, the tomb demonstrates the enduring ties that link family members both living and dead. It is Christian's will that explicitly asserts this function of the monument as a place of familial reunion through her wishes concerning her own, and her son Charles's burial:

My Bodie I commite to the Earth as aforesaid, Willing and desiring that the same together with that of my deare Sonne Charles Cavendish [...] (which at present is deposited in the Church of Newarke, hee being slayne not farer from that place in his Majesties Service) may [...] be carryed by the way of Newarke aforesaid be thence removed, and both together interred at the same tyme in the Vault of St Alhallowes Chancell in the Towne of Derby next to the Corps of my deare Lord and husband the late Earle of Devonshire.¹¹³

Arranging for her son Charles's exhumation from Newark, where he fell in battle in 'his Majesties Service', Christian employs the reconciliation of the material bodies of the family within All Saints to express the enduring power of the family in the landscape of Derbyshire.

The relocation of Charles's body to his ancestral burial place also functioned as a powerful public ritual that repurposed familial reconciliation to speak about the mending of national ruptures created through the Civil War. This is expressed in the funeral sermon by William Nailour, read at Charles's reburial:

In this Church brave *Cavendish* fell , and what is more then that, in this Churches quarrel. *Abner* troubled *Israel* , though he fell in it; for he made an head, and drew his Sword against a King of Gods choosing : but *Cavendish* sided with such a King, and fought in defence of him and the Church against a generation of men, who cursed all them bitterly that came not in to the help of the Lord against the Mighty, this was the language of their *Demagogues*, thus it pleased them to Christian Rebellion.¹¹⁴

Employing biblical allegory, Nailour juxtaposes the military lieutenant general Charles, with Abner, the Old Testament commander. Unlike Abner, who 'troubled

¹¹³ The Will of Christian Countess of Devonshire, Dowager, Kew, NA, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/348/99, fols. 73^v-74^r.

¹¹⁴ William Nailour, *A Commemoration Sermon Preached at Darby, Feb. 18. 1674. For the Honourable Colonel Charles Cavendish* (London, 1675), p. 22.

Israel' through his support of the wrongful ruler Ish-bosheth, Charles sided with rightful rule, Charles I. Charles's position in the Civil War places him in a teleological battle in which he defends 'the Church against a generation of men', 'Demagogues', that stir not only political, but 'Christian Rebellion' against a 'King of Gods choosing'. At the same time, Nailour asserts the importance of place through his allegory, implicating Derby in the narrative of a reversion to national unity under one godly appointed ruler. As Charles is contrasted with Abner, and the heir to the English throne likened to David, the place of the Lieutenant General's interment becomes Hebron, the city in which kingship of all Israel was eventually conferred on David. Nailour fashioned the tomb's display of Cavendish family reconciliation into a narrative of the reunion of a fractured British Kingdom. Furthermore, he employs Charles's place of burial to formulate the dynasty's participation in the Civil War as a crucial element in the negotiation of eventual peace and unity in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. As Derby becomes the place where the new David (Charles II) symbolically unifies the new Israel and Judah, Charles becomes a public symbol of a fashioned, national, and linear cosmology that saw factionalism turned into union.

Because of the women who shaped her husband's status, Margaret Cavendish understood it to be a female responsibility to commemorate and consolidate the Cavendish family line by building monuments. As Bess and Katherine's tombs convey, building monuments made women integral agents in the shaping of a collective and harmonious landscape. Be it through the reinforcement of a devotional collective experience through the building of a monument and alms house, or the construction of a chapel that aided in the fashioning of a cultivated landscape through the family patriarch, Cavendish women employed the harmonious fictions of

lineage to assert an ordered future. Through the act of writing commemorative space in ‘Bell in Campo’, Margaret participated in an established tradition of monumental consolidation of Cavendish family power by women. Furthermore, her use of the tomb’s religious function to assert political order is mirrored in the shift from Bess’s tomb that acted as the symbolic heart of a devotional community, to Christian’s sepulchre that recounts the consolidation of power by the re-established monarch through the interment of her son.

Like Katherine Ogle and Christian Cavendish, Margaret engaged in commemorative building in order to participate actively in shaping a wider civic, as well as public and shared identity. Asserting the efficacy of the monument in preserving patrilineality, Cavendish signals the continuing social and political status of her, and her husband through the narrative of Valeroso and Jantil. At the same time, the formulation of the commemorative space as a place of an ancient and medieval past reflects Cavendish’s understanding of the tomb as an instrument of reconciliation and consolidation in a wider public context. Thus, as the ancient figures of Mercury and Pallas assert the rightful rulership of the ‘Aged’ patriarch, Margaret employs the ‘family fiction’ of tombs akin to that of Sir Charles to impose order through the enduring power of the family patriarch, brought ‘to the life as much as Art can make it’ through funerary art and beyond death (‘Bell in Campo’, Part I. IV. 21, p. 599).¹¹⁵ At the same time, as Jantil’s monument is transformed into a religious community that enforces ‘Good example’ on a fractured and war-torn community, she evokes Bess of Hardwick’s foundational role in a Cavendish ascent to power, and her concerted effort to formulate such family influence as a

¹¹⁵ Sherlock, p. 19.

conciliatory tool in the ordering and shaping of an exemplary society.¹¹⁶ Unable to fulfil her duty as a consolidator through the building of commemorative space, Cavendish employs the act of writing in lieu of constructing. By writing ‘Bell in Campo’, a narrative defined structurally and thematically by fracture, and the process of overcoming it, she participates in contemporary discourses on the Civil War, and the potential solutions to political, social and theological disagreement.

Conclusion

Through ‘Bell in Campo’, Cavendish recreates the tomb as a space in which harmony and peace are negotiated through continuity. Jantil’s employment of the mythical figures that symbolically oversee William and Margaret’s place of exile in Antwerp suggests Cavendish sought ways to create spaces that dictated harmony and order through a pre-war social hierarchy; a hierarchy in which her husband, the ‘Aged’ man, ruled surrounded by the symbols of a rightful social and political order like Jantil’s husband, Valeroso. Age and continuity were symbolically intertwined with the body of the ruling patriarch. Thus, the valiant and brave Valeroso is surrounded by an architectural environment that, like his mature body, expresses order through a continuum between past and present. The traces of an imagined medieval devotional landscape that sit harmoniously alongside classical deities is an aid in the assertion of political and social unity, as pasts are reconciled, and brought into physical contact with the present. ‘Bell in Campo’ dramatizes how Cavendish understood the landscapes of England’s past to act as symbols of national endurance and unity. In this vision of continuity, iconoclasm, as expressed through her tale of

¹¹⁶ Cavendish, *The Worlds Olio*, p. 29.

an ancient cross in *Natures Pictures*, stood not for the destruction of heretical worship, but for the destruction of a peaceful past. The articulation of socio-political stability through the intact monument, enacted by the wife of the natural ruler, exposes Cavendish's personal preoccupation with the role of women within this construction of peace, prosperity and unity against the backdrop of factionalism caused by the Civil War.

Jantil's conscious choice of the funeral monument as her primary aid in an intervention into social and political conflict reflects Cavendish's own understanding of how women facilitated and strengthened established hierarchies through the built environment of the tomb. Her understanding of the Cavendish family women as the maintainers of order despite civil crisis in *The Life* suggests that Margaret saw such figures as Bess, Katherine and Christian as enactors of collective social order and peace through their acts of commemorative building. While Holly Faith Nelson and Sharon Alker come to the conclusion that 'Bell in Campo', 'can only articulate national mourning for royalist suffering', the afterlife of Jantil's monument in perpetuity through her devotional community suggests otherwise.¹¹⁷ In its emphasis on bridging the gaps between past and present, Cavendish's 'Bell in Campo' asserts that the monument was a lasting tool of public intervention for women that stressed the undeniable victory of family hierarchy over death as well as political, social and religious factionalism.

As illustrated by the real and imagined monuments of Katherine Willoughby, Mary Sidney Herbert and Anna Bill, the monument's language of conciliation was embedded in an early modern and reformist way of viewing the funeral monument.

¹¹⁷ Holly Faith Nelson and Sharon Alker, 'Memory, Monuments, and Melancholic Genius in Margaret Cavendish's *Bell in Campo*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 21, 1 (2008), 13-35 (p. 27).

From Queen Elizabeth I's 'A Proclamation against breaking or defacing of Monuments of Antiquitie' to Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, the destruction of tombs acted as a metaphor for the fracturing of a religious consensus through the Protestant Reformation. Their integrity, in turn, symbolised the coherence of England's religious character and narrated the creation of new forms of worship as a shift in, rather than a violent break with, what came before. This is also the language employed by Margaret Cavendish. Jantil's tomb creates a place that exudes social and political peace through continuity. However, the alterations made to the landscape, like the changes made to the fabric of St James in Spilsby by Willoughby, evidence the pragmatic and the constructive characteristics of the monuments of Protestant women who sought to articulate the integrity of the English Church through objects that remained in dialogue with a religious medieval past.

Conclusion

This thesis began by asking how the funeral monument created avenues for women's involvement in the writing of the English Protestant Reformation. By contending that the tomb acted as a space of encounter with the civic and devotional elements of the English Church, we can see that women were creatively enabled by the tomb. However, this investigation also shows that mortuary conventions were radically shaped by women. We saw that the female living and dead were both participants and the subjects in communicating new forms of public worship, formulating the unique structure of the English Church, and creating narratives that stressed the cohesion of the Protestant English state.

Those who constructed tombs exploited the female to set the terms and tone of Protestant church ritual following the ascension of Queen Elizabeth I and to shape the role of the place of worship in response to the fracturing of a frail Protestant consensus in the 1620s. In turn, funeral monuments were the places where women could enter the debates surrounding the church in the public forum of collective prayer. Tombs were used by women to fashion Protestant discourses on marriage and facilitated their contributions to debates on rulership. Furthermore, they offered women a means by which to shape landscapes. Women used mortuary culture to reimagine the space of the parish church and provided a way for them to impose fictions of social and political order on an English topography.

Viewing women as agents *and* subjects in the construction of shared Protestant identities through commemorative object and text also demonstrates that a language of gender provided reformers with a vocabulary to articulate the Reformation as a negotiation between past and present. These findings support

Patricia Phillippy's work that convincingly uncovers the coexistence of masculine models of moderate and stoic Protestant mourning and its feminine counterpart, extravagant lamentation reminiscent of Catholic ritual practices.¹ In the funeral monuments of women, these were not mutually exclusive. Whether it be the literal bodies of man and wife, or the figurative male soul and female body, in the place of burial the two could harmoniously coalesce. This meeting allowed the creation of discourses that stressed the progression from medieval belief to Protestant piety. Thus, the re-imagining of the funeral monuments of women during the 'long Reformation' reveals elements of pragmatism in the development of the English Church. Instead of overlaying the old definitively with the new, tombs were places that brought into dialogue entrenched medieval religious and ritual practices and early modern and Protestant ones.

We began our investigation in the intimate spaces of the rural parish church of Spilsby in Lincolnshire and with the early Protestant Reformer Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, as her 'wearisome pilgrimage passe on apace'.² Chapter one investigates how the funeral monument was a site of encounter and negotiation with the fabric of a medieval religious past. By demonstrating how the tombs of women functioned as representations of the Protestant congregation, we can see that the monument was a site where women could participate in shaping new belief through the remaining fabric of medieval devotion.

¹ Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), p. 8.

² John Field, 'To the Vertuous and Godly Ladie, [...] the Ladie Katherine Duchesse of Suffolke', in Theodore Beza, *The Other Parte of Christian Questions and Answereares, Which is Concerning the Sacraments*, trans. by John Field (London, 1580), sigs. *2^r-**2^r (sig. *3^v).

We witness the transformation of Spilsby's pre-Reform church fabric through Willoughby's manipulation of established rituals through the funeral monument. Instead of destroying medieval church infrastructure, Willoughby positioned her tomb to 'deliberately [...] "intrude" on the rituals' of the parish to assert the primacy of a reading congregation in the nave.³ Willoughby's monument spatially imposed the ritual practices outlined in the 'Injunctions given by the Queen's Majesty' and the Book of Common Prayer through established sight lines in and into the chantry space. As the congregation turned their habituated gaze to the site of the former secondary altar of the chantry and the place from which the benefits of the ritual of the Eucharist had proceeded, they were met instead with the tomb's array of Latin biblical passages that proclaimed the primacy of the word in Protestant theology.

Furthermore, Willoughby's monument asserts the continuing significance of Latinity in Reformation devotion. Beyond repurposing a medieval practice of positioning the dead to elicit prayer, Willoughby's monument made use of a deep-rooted pre-Reform understanding of text and language to negotiate Protestant reading practices. Retaining the text and structure of the medieval 'Office of the Dead', the biblical inscriptions employ medieval ways of hearing, seeing and reading to shift emphasis on the congregation and to construct a Protestant salvation narrative. By employing medieval strategies of placing the dead in such a way as to intrude on the visual and ritual experience of the church, Willoughby fashioned Protestant forms of worship through object and text.

Willoughby was not alone in employing existing understandings of sacred place and scripture to fashion medieval church interiors into Protestant sites of

³ Simon Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies for the Afterlife* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008), p. 20.

devotion. As several examples elucidate, the monument was employed to re-structure the place reserved for the Mass into the space in which Holy Communion transpired. It helped to emphasise the increased significance of the transept and the pulpit and drew attention to the importance of the aural experience of the word in form of the sermon. In other instances, it re-shaped the congregation's perception of private devotion and employed the semi-private space of the family burial chapel to convey the significance of domestic Bible reading. In parish churches across the country, the tomb communicated new forms of worship to the assembled devotional collective through the manipulation of existing sacred space.

Women played an important function in this refashioning of public worship at the parish church level. As a closer look at the theology and semantics of early reformist figures surrounding Katherine Willoughby shows, stone was used as a metaphor to foreground central elements of Protestant thinking. By casting Christ as the cornerstone on which the 'living stones' of the congregation rest, reformists foregrounded the principles of election, accentuated the role of the congregation in the nave, and highlighted the importance of the Word. At the same time, the metaphor of the living stone was used by Protestant thinkers to express the female role in the Protestant community. From the writings of Erasmus to the works of Thomas Bentley, formulating the devotional community as 'living stones' communicated how female nurture, care and cultivation was the foundation of the church.

Tombs imparted women's function as exemplary stones in the fabric of the church edifice. From Hainton to Barton upon Humber, the parish churches near Willoughby's place of burial expressed the cohesion of the church community through the tombs of women. This evidence further elucidates Willoughby's choice

to intervene in parish church worship through the medium of stone. As an exemplary Protestant woman, her intervention into the church edifice was not a subversive act of female authorship, but the efforts of a living stone of the church who communicates collectively held beliefs. These findings highlight the close symbolic ties between the tomb and the feminine. They impart how Protestant womanhood, like the funeral monument, was defined by endurance, continuity and negotiation in the face of drastic change. Willoughby's intervention into the parish church elucidates how the funeral monument formed an accepted platform of female intervention into devotional and theological discourses.

Chapter two expands on the findings of chapter one by arguing that the tombs of women also arbitrated between competing elements of a developing Protestant Church. Beginning with Mary Sidney Herbert's translation of Robert Garnier's *Antonius* and moving to the tombs of Mildred Cooke Cecil and Elizabeth Brooke Cecil in Westminster Abbey, we can see how spousal love, narrated on the tombs of women, enabled female involvement in the affirmation the Elizabethan state, and in debates on Protestant female rulership.

The moment of Cleopatra's sequestration through the funeral monument in *Antonius* marks her transition from sensual temptress to distraught wife. Through the tomb, she simultaneously asserts her love for Anthony, while the physical barrier of stone and mortar protects the Egyptian queen from the carnal advances of Octavius Caesar. The monument's ability to sequester Cleopatra from transgressive sexuality shows that *Antonius* reinforced Elizabethan socially sanctioned sexual mores. At the same time, the play conveys how enclosure through the funeral monument facilitated the female voice, and by extension, Cleopatra's agency in love. By enclosing herself willingly, Cleopatra chooses marital love and spousal devotion for Anthony over the

sensual and carnal love of his rival. The tomb of *Antonius* is a place of negotiation in which male and female converge, and sexual passion and spiritual love meet through explicit female consent. Herbert sought ways to portray her own female ruler's place in a precarious political marriage economy by using the monument as a place from which to assert agency in love. This agency preserves the integrity of the state. The Egyptian queen dies but through her marriage to Anthony retains the sovereignty of Egypt until the end. The Tudor line ended with Elizabeth's choice to marry her kingdom, but the self-determination of the Protestant English state was assured by her decision.

A closer look at Cleopatra's language of love reveals that a contemporary audience also understood the reunification of loving spouses in the grave as a symbol of the unity between the Church and the collective of believers. Contemporary conduct literature reveals that through the image of the knot of amity, Cleopatra evokes both the harmonious meeting of man and wife in marriage and the meeting of the church militant with Christ. Furthermore, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* intimates how the matrimonial knot extended its symbolic meaning to the political landscape of Reformation England. As a metaphor used to speak of the bond between Christ and the rightful ruler, the knot of amity aroused in the contemporary reader the political and theological unity of the monarchy and the English Church.

Herbert's use of the tomb as a place that negotiates church, government and sovereign through the union of man and wife reflects contemporary Elizabethan commemorative practices. This is made apparent by a closer look at St Nicholas Chapel in Westminster Abbey under the stewardship of William Cecil, Baron Burghley and his son Robert, first Earl of Salisbury. Evoking the bond of marriage, Mildred Cooke Cecil's tomb further strengthens the findings of chapter one by

showing how the English Church formed a continuation of, rather than a severance from, a Christian historiography. It did so by placing early eastern patristic writings within the context of the Elizabethan place of worship, intimating that contemporary theology formed a natural progression in the development of centuries of Christian belief. By acting as a place to expound on Christian teachings, the monument also expands the symbolic meaning of the bond between William and Mildred into a collective symbol of the concord between the earthly and spiritual: between the church militant and Christ.

Instead, Elizabeth Brooke Cecil's monument exemplified how the bond of matrimony communicated the ties between the congregation (or, the church) and the English monarch. On the one hand, the metaphor of marriage allowed the viewer to perceive Robert and Elizabeth's love as a microcosm of the 'inviolable faith' that bound them to God.⁴ The repeated references to Elizabeth's role as an attendant to Queen Elizabeth I, on the other, reveals how the bond between Christ and Church was indivisible from Elizabeth's identity as a loyal subject to a reigning monarch. The Cecil tombs relate the role of matrimony in the portrayal of the relationship between subject, government and church under female rulership.

In chapter three our investigation continues in the aftermath of the death of Robert Cecil and the heir apparent to the English throne Henry Frederick in 1612. One death marks the end of an administrative continuity in the English Church, the other the loss of a staunchly Protestant future monarch. Thus, by the 1620s, when William Laud entered court life, it became increasingly apparent that the remaining

⁴ Translation as it appears in Patricia Phillippy, 'Living Stones: Lady Elizabeth Russell and the Art of Sacred Conversation', in *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500-1625*, ed. by Micheline White (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 17-36 (p. 31).

grievances that were voiced at the Hampton Court Conference and at the accession of the King were unlikely to be addressed to the satisfaction of reactant Protestant communities. Instead, the future Charles I compounded anxieties over the breakdown of an English Protestant state in such circles by making plans for his marriage to the resolutely Catholic Henrietta Maria.

The commemorative volume, *A Monument of Mortalitie* in dedication of Anna Mountfort Bill reveals that the funeral monument continued to function as a place to negotiate and fashion the identity of the English Church against this backdrop of an uncertain religiopolitical future. It did so by being a mediator between the potentially individualised, textual and scriptural experience of devotion that defined communities of the ‘hotter sort’ of Protestant, and the decorous and material in religion advocated by the likes of Lancelot Andrewes and Laud. Written by a chaplain in ordinary to the King, and printed in the King’s printing house, *A Monument* was a conscious intervention from above to mend an increasingly fractured English religious landscape.

In *A Monument*, theological tensions are portrayed through an unease over how language complicates meaning. Bill’s monument provides a way to resolve this strain. As the readers were drawn to Anna’s place of burial, they were reminded of the guiding function of public worship that would allow them to ‘*Gaze each on other*’, to find hope in salvation through the collective experience of church ritual.⁵ By providing a ritual framework for the proper comprehension of scripture, *A Monument* eased the tensions that arose through the variety of meaning inherent in the word. This resolution of an anxiety over language through the material and visual

⁵ Martin Day, ‘Peplum Modestiæ, The Vaile of Modestie’, in *A Monument of Mortalitie* (London: 1621), sigs. A2^r-B5^r (sig. A3^v).

was also a way to forge a reconciliation in a fractured religious consensus: between those who wished for an English Church guided by the Word alone, and those who believed in the instructive powers of the decorous and ceremonial in church worship.

Part two of this chapter tells us that *A Monument*, alongside texts such as *A Lasting Jewell* and *Deaths Advantage Little Regarded*, uses female spiritual voices in these attempts at creating a conciliatory Jacobean church. Building on the findings of chapter two, we can see that the monument's ability to reconcile the male and female continued as an analogy for English Protestant selfhood. The tombs of women that populated the funeral books of the 1620s dramatized the meeting of exterior femininity, the '*sad and sencelesse lumpe*', with the masculine soul, the '*hidden man of the heart*' at the Last Judgement.⁶ Doing so allowed male authors to stage the voice of the female dead to declare their status as members of the elect from the liminal space of death. In *A Monument*, the marriage of the female and male also facilitates the development of female agency. Rather than asserting the self-determination of the female ruler, the funeral book or commemorative volume employs the tomb to allow female devotional experiences to shape collective beliefs in salvation.

These voices not only declare a hope in deliverance but serve to draw the reader from private devotion to the benefits of collective church worship. In *A Lasting Jewell*, Mary Cross stresses the importance of the 'publike assembly' in nourishing her soul.⁷ Katherine Brettergh's exclamations as she lay dying, in turn,

⁶ 'The Vaile of Modestie', sig. A8^r; Martin Day, 'A Mirror of Modestie', in *A Monument of Mortalitie* (London: 1621), pp. 1-71 (sig. A1^v).

⁷ William Crompton, *A Lasting Jewell, for Religious Woemen. In the Summe of a Sermon, Preached at the Funerall of Mistris Mary Crosse, Late Wife of Mr. Henry Crosse of Barnestaple in the Countie of Devon Merchant, Novemb. 11. 1628* (London: 1630), sig. F2^v.

were transported from the deathbed to the place of collective worship through the words of the preacher: to those who stand literally and figuratively at the place of her ‘buriall’.⁸ This reminded the reader that her private moment of despair and eventual hope leads back to the collective experience of the congregation. As her words are recited in the confines of the public place of worship, her suffering can be understood as the trials of the Christian collective as a whole. The female voice, speaking from the confines of the funeral monument, was therefore an arbitrator in the fashioning of a Jacobean religious consensus, forging links between those that saw ‘the canonical scriptures’ as the sole support structure of the Church, and those that wished to emphasise ceremony and the ‘comeliness’ of religion through the church building.⁹

In the final chapter, we enter the fraught years of the Civil War and the Interregnum and return to the tomb’s ability to intrude into shared environments through Margaret Lucas Cavendish’s ‘Bell in Campo’. Instead of shaping the interior of the sixteenth-century parish church space, the tomb of the war widow Madam Jantil imposes itself on a seventeenth-century garden. Rather than using the tomb to negotiate between medieval forms of worship and Protestant theology, Cavendish employs the monument to stress the importance of continuity to combat and resolve civil war social and political fracture. Thus, ‘Bell in Campo’ elucidates that the

⁸ William Harrison and William Leigh, *Deaths Advantage Little Regarded, and The Soules Solace Against Sorrow Preached in Two Funerall Sermons at Childwal in Lancashire at the Buriall of Mistris Katherin Brettergh the Third of June. 1601. The One by William Harrison, One of the Preachers Appointed by her. Majestie for the Countie Palatine of Lancaster, the Other by William Leygh, Bachelor of Divinitie, and Pastor of Standish. Whereunto is Annexed, the Christian Life and Godly Death of the Said Gentlewoman* (London: 1602), p. 1.

⁹ ‘The Millenary Petition’, in *Protestant Nonconformist Texts: Volume 1 1550-1700*, ed. by R. Tudur Jones, Arthur Long and Rosemary Moore (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2007), pp. 103-9 (pp. 105, 107).

tomb's function as a 'presencing mechanism' that mediated old and new persisted, but that its purpose changed. The funeral monument's ability to assert continuity aided Cavendish in shaping her understanding of good rulership that was defined by age. 'Bell in Campo' suggests that the tomb continued to symbolise endurance, negotiation and continuity, but did so to engage women in debates about rulership and political order rather than the discourses surrounding public devotion and theology.

Madam Jantil's funeral monument is a place where both ancient and medieval imagined pasts meet. At the same time, the tomb incorporates elements of the iconography of the environment of Cavendish's exile, the garden of Rubens' house in Antwerp. A brief look at Cavendish's literary corpus conveys that the garden symbolised an incongruous permanence through the unbroken cycle of the seasons. In this way, the cultivation of nature provided Cavendish with a way to express the endurance of authorship through fame. At the same time, the close visual parallels between the funeral monument of 'Bell in Campo' and elements of the garden space of the Rubens house encourage the reader to see the play as the product of Cavendish's engagement with the temporality of her place of exile. Drawing on these parallels allows us to read the funeral monument of Madam Jantil as an act of recovery by Cavendish. Jantil does locally through the act of building what Margaret was only able to do remotely through the written word: assert political allegiance, order and rightful rule, whilst defending her family's claim to their lands and titles.

Jantil's assertion of order through the symbolic language of the garden is further supported by the tomb's medieval architecture. While the garden stresses permanence, the elements of an imagined medieval past instead assert continuity. As Jantil transforms her mausoleum into a chapel and the perpetual home of '*ten*

religious persons', the monument becomes the enduring legacy of man and wife.¹⁰

Simultaneously, Jantil's transformation of the tomb into a religious community exhibits how she employs medieval forms of asceticism to presence political order, obedience and harmony within landscapes defined by civil unrest. What is more, the funeral monument transposes a medieval past to a seventeenth-century present to evoke the unbroken continuity of the kingdom's coherence, despite internal divisions.

The borrowings from antiquity and classical mythology in the tomb's structure likewise impose unity and order on the fractured kingdom of 'Bell in Campo'. This is evidenced by the similarities between the meaning of the classical deities Mercury and Pallas in the writings of Cavendish and in the iconographic programme of the Rubens garden. Cavendish's *Sociable Letters* contend that the two deities attend the 'Aged' ruler who is characterised by maturity and experience. Like the monument, good rulership therefore expresses stability and order through continuity: the ability to bind past and present. As figures that represent the 'Aged' ruler, the deities allow Jantil to fashion her husband's tomb into a public display of the enduring and rightful rule of the Kingdom of Reformation. Furthermore, as the agents that reinstate the dead Valeroso into the fabric of the kingdom, Mercury and Pallas repair the fractured realm. By righting the wrongs committed by a nation torn by civil strife, Jantil's funeral monument actively participates in the resolution of conflict.

'A True Relation' tells us that Cavendish viewed the imposition of unity and order onto a shared landscape through the built environment as the business of

¹⁰ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, 'Bell in Campo' in *Playes Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London, 1662), pp. 579-633, Part II. IV. 19 (p. 628).

women. The tombs of the female Cavendish family members by marriage show that the construction of ‘family fictions’ through the monument was a way to impose order on Cavendish landholdings in Derbyshire.¹¹ From Bess of Hardwick’s imposing monument that formed the focal point of a network of charitable institutions, to Katherine Ogle’s use of the tomb to create a narrative of the harmonious rulership of her husband over the groves, woods and fields of Bolsover and Welbeck, the Cavendish women used funerary art to enact fictions of social order in shared environments. Jantil’s funeral monument in ‘Bell in Campo’ relates the way in which the intervention of women into the shared spaces of public worship endured. Instead of expressing women’s role as exemplary members (or ‘living stones’) of the church, Jantil’s tomb shows they were actively involved in creating narratives of social and political order in an English landscape through commemorative building.

The evidence of female involvement in the construction of Protestant identity through the funeral monument is promising and further highlights the need for a deeper engagement with cultural production of all kinds to trace female authorship on the one hand, and female participation in the developments of the Reformation on the other. The work here presented provides opportunities for the development of future research into the cultural and devotional function of the tomb, and the development of new areas of research into women’s involvement in shaping sacred sites and religious ‘public spheres’.

To convey a coherent view of theological change over time, this study focuses on the religious developments of England. As Andrew Spicer has found,

¹¹ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 19.

attitudes to sacred space in Scotland, for example, often varied drastically from developments in England, not least because of the Kirk's firm disapproval of burial within the fabric of the place of worship.¹² Such differences in the structure and ritual of the church no doubt also affected the specific function and meaning of funeral monuments. In Ireland, an Elizabethan push for conformity was met by most bishops in a 'resolutely minimalist manner'.¹³ The increased use of inscription on Irish funerary art during the early modern period was therefore experienced differently by early modern Irish men and women to the English Lincolnshire communities that encountered the profusion of biblical writing on Katherine Willoughby's monument.¹⁴ The ways in which Irish and Scottish women sought to engage with the religious changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through the tomb is a fertile and as yet largely unexplored topic in its own right.

Focusing on the monument and its role in Protestant identity building, this thesis cannot give us an insight into the cultural, social and devotional work the monument did in Catholic communities of early modern England. This does not mean that commemoration may not have functioned as a platform for female engagement in Catholic recusant networks. Peter Marshall and Susan Quinn-Chipman illustrate that English Catholics sought to maintain burial practices because they were excluded from English parish church interments.¹⁵ The Catholic

¹² Andrew Spicer, "‘Defyle not Christ’s kirk with your carrion’: burial and the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland”, in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 149-69 (p. 150).

¹³ Henry A. Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates of Armagh in the Age of Reformation, 1518-1558* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), pp. 146-7.

¹⁴ Clodagh Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 109.

¹⁵ Peter Marshall, ‘Confessionalisation and Community in the Burial of English Catholics, c. 1570-1700’, in *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England - Essays in Honour of Professor W. J. Sheils*, ed.

Shireburnes of Stonyhurst in Lancashire, for example, acquired the advowson to All Hallows Church, Great Mitton and actively sought to construct sacred spaces for themselves and other recusants. Furthermore, as John Callow and Michael Mullett remind us, ‘the recusancy of the Catholic gentry was conserved more actively by the women than by the men of that class’.¹⁶ This thesis’s focus on the interaction between textual and material production can be particularly relevant for a better understanding of recusant commemorative practices as English Catholics had to ‘shift their understanding of sacred places and the centrality of the physical church to their faith’ following the passing of the Act of Uniformity (1559).¹⁷ While the findings presented give us a picture of the ways in which the tomb functioned for those who actively sought to align themselves with the religious changes enacted from above, there is scope to place these findings in a wider picture by exploring the funeral monument’s role in those communities that did not.

The tomb is an elite intervention into shared devotional environments. From Spilsby’s parish church to the funeral monuments that populated the landscapes of Bolsover and Welbeck, we have seen that commemorative building was largely available as a medium of communication to those with exceptional social status and financial means. While these monuments tell us more about the way in which

by Nadine Lewycky and Adam Morton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 57-75; Susan Guinn-Chipman, *Religious Space in Reformation England: Contesting the Past* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), p. 90. See also, Christopher Haigh, ‘The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation’, *Past & Present*, 93 (1981), 37-69.

¹⁶ John Callow and Michael Mullett, ‘The Shireburnes of Stonyhurst: memory and survival in a Lancashire Catholic recusant family’, in *Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 169-85 (p. 174).

¹⁷ Lisa McClain, ‘Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559-1625’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33, 2 (2002), 381-99 (p. 381).

Reformation changes developed over time, they also inherently play into a perception of the religious changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth century as a set of movements enacted from above. Especially chapter one, however, divulges that viewing monuments as mediators within shared devotional spaces necessitated a level of dialogue with the social, political and religious expectations of the tomb's collective audience. Such findings suggest that further research into funeral monuments as enactors of Reformation change should not be viewed as exclusionary. What is more, a closer look at the funeral book and commemorative volume suggests that print provided a wider social spectrum of non-elite women with a form of material commemoration. Complementing the findings of this thesis with additional enquiries into the more ephemeral elements of funerary ritual can provide further evidence of this reciprocal relationship. Most notably the verses attached to hearses and the poems fastened to monuments in the aftermath of funerals may shed further light on non-elite avenues of participation in material public and semi-public commemorative practices by women.

As has been shown, female participation in reformist discourses through commemorative art can be viewed as an extension of the 'period's discrimination between clearly gendered versions of mourning'.¹⁸ Beyond giving us insight into the role of women in shaping affective structures of a Reformation and post-Reformation England, the funeral monument tells us how gender informed the language through which contemporaries articulated the religious and political shifts of the period. What is more, by acting as spaces that reconciled the 'excessive and feminine' with the controlled and masculine, tombs functioned as the connective

¹⁸ Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature*, p. 6.

tissue between medieval forms of worship, and approved reformed piety.¹⁹ As Margaret Aston argues convincingly in her studies of the stubborn presence of the ruinous remains left in the wake of iconoclastic attacks, the display of the old was essential in the formulation of the new. Like iconoclasts that relied on the ‘broken statues and scarred walls in cathedral and parish churches’ as ‘continuing reminders of their achievement in breaking from past corruption’, the builders of tombs depended on shared reference points (the ingrained, familiar and medieval) to position emerging, unfamiliar and new forms of devotion.²⁰ The funeral monuments of women employed gender in the expression of this coalescence of past and present to formulate Reformation change as a progression, rather than simply a departure from what came before. This study is therefore a step in a larger methodological reorientation in the study of the history, culture and literature of the early modern period that increasingly questions the tight boundaries drawn by traditional forms of historical periodisation.²¹ What is more, this thesis illustrates that broadening our understanding of the continuities that existed between the medieval and the early modern period can provide us with new avenues to investigate the participation of women in Reformation culture, society and religion.

¹⁹ Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature*, p. 9.

²⁰ Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), p. 14.

²¹ Brian Cummings and James Simpson, eds., *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History* (Oxford: OUP, 2010); Ronald Hutton, ed., *Medieval or Early Modern: The Value of a Traditional Historical Division* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015). See, for example: E. A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion c. 1400-1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010); Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010); Julia Boffey, *Manuscript and Print in London, c. 1475-1530* (London: British Library, 2012).

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Image Appendix

**Women's Mausoleums Imagined: Reformation,
Text and Tomb c. 1550-1650**

Eva-Maria Lauenstein

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English and Humanities
Birkbeck, University of London

Image Appendix

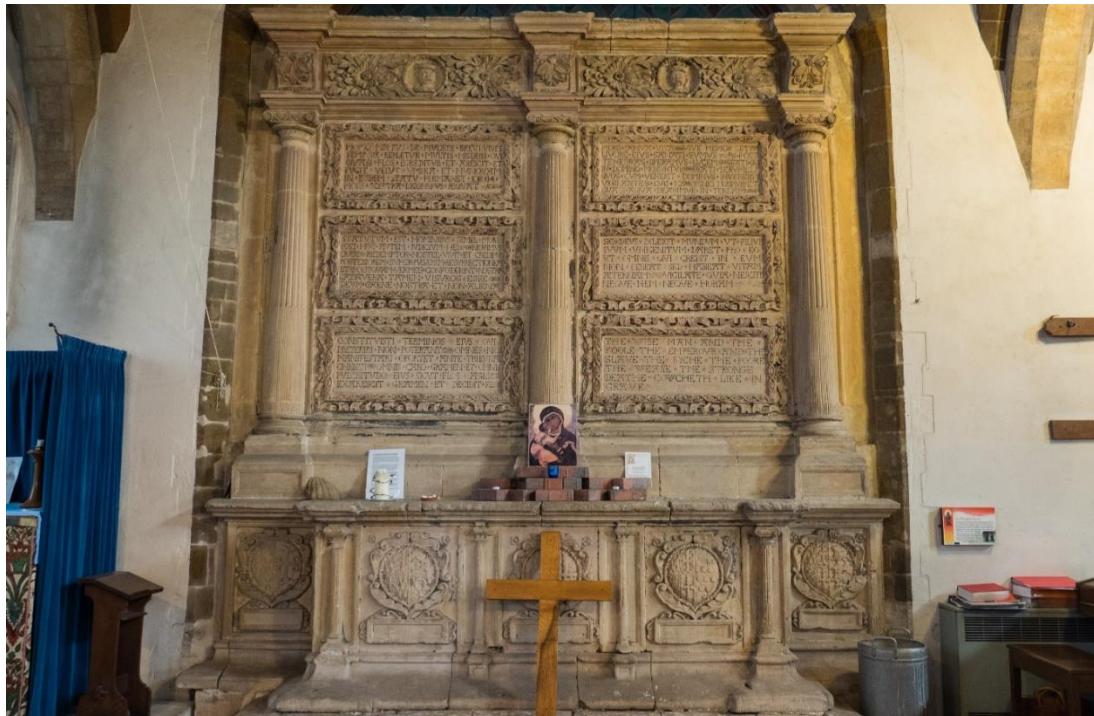


Plate 1 The tomb of Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Countess of Suffolk and Richard Bertie (west-facing side), c. 1580, St James, Spilsby, Lincolnshire. © Benjamin Hall



Plate 2 The tomb of Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Countess of Suffolk and Richard Bertie (east-facing side), c. 1580, St James, Spilsby, Lincolnshire. © Benjamin Hall



Plate 3 The parish church of St James viewed from the nave facing north-east. St James, Spilsby, Lincolnshire. © Benjamin Hall

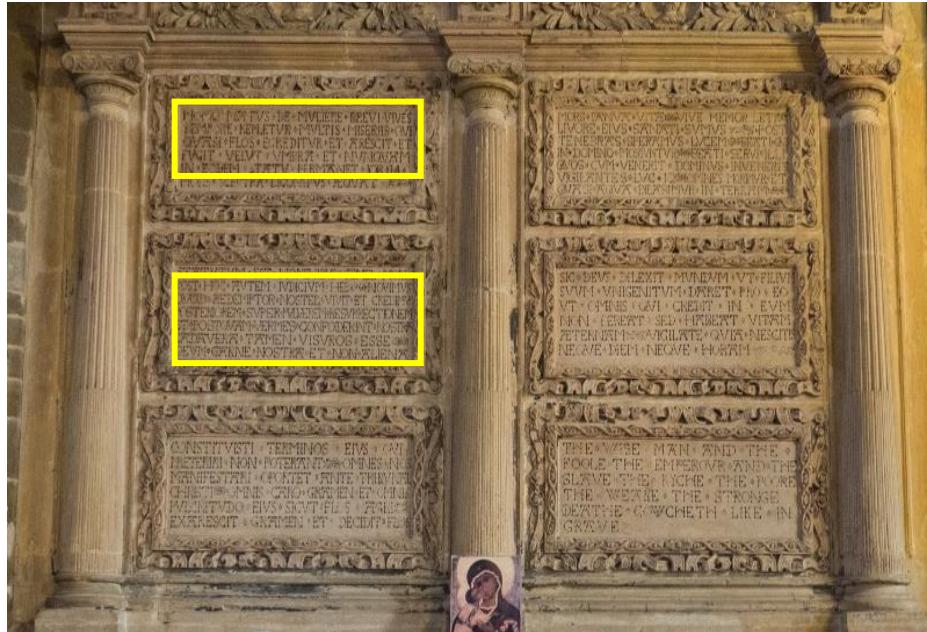


Plate 4 Panel one (top left) containing Job 14. 1-2 and panel two (left, second from top) containing Job 19. 25-27, representing the ritual beginning of the burial service according to the Book of Common Prayer's 'Order for the Burial of the Dead'. The tomb of Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Countess of Suffolk and Richard Bertie (west-facing side), c. 1580, St James, Spilsby, Lincolnshire. © Benjamin Hall

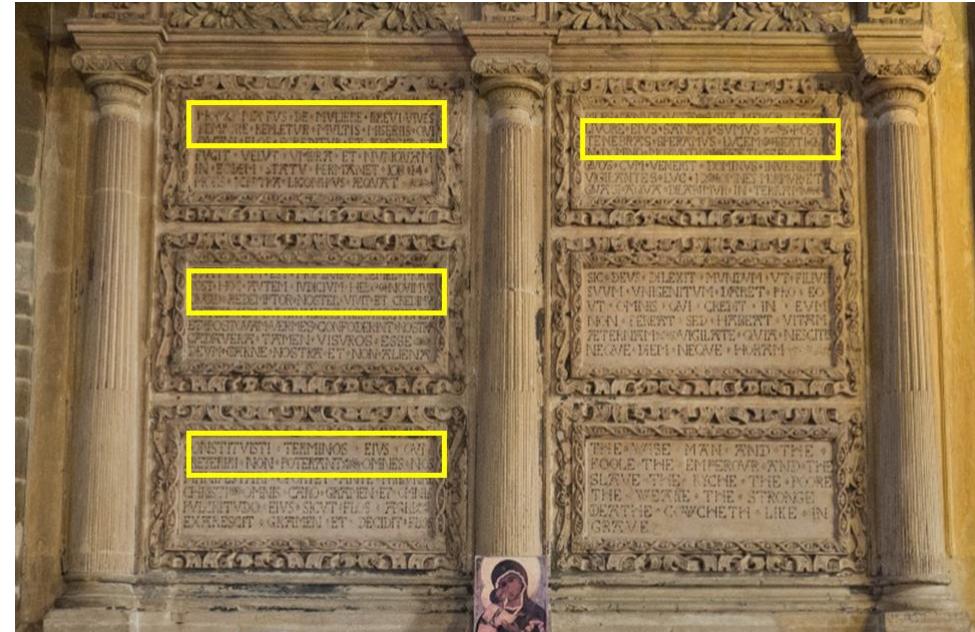


Plate 5 Panel one (top left) containing Job 14. 1-2, panel two (left, second from top) containing Job 19. 25-27, panel three (bottom left) containing Job 14. 5 and panel four (top right) containing Job 17. 2 representing the sequence of the service of Matins in the medieval 'Office of the Dead'. The tomb of Katherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Countess of Suffolk and Richard Bertie (west-facing side), c. 1580, St James, Spilsby, Lincolnshire. © Benjamin Hall



Plate 6 Thomas Browne, The tomb of Sir William and Lady Bellasis, c. 1603, St Michael, Coxwold, North Yorkshire. © Mike Searle



Plate 7 Thomas Browne, The tomb of Sir William and Lady Bellasis (detail), c. 1603, St Michael, Coxwold, North Yorkshire. © Andrew Green



Plate 8 Southwark Workshops, The tomb of Sir William Heneage and his two wives, Anne Fishbourne and Jane Brussels, c. 1610, St Mary, Hainton, Lincolnshire. © The Church Monuments Society



Plate 9 The tomb of Sir Richard Knightley (the Knightley Family Tomb), c. 1580, St Mary, Fawsley, Northamptonshire. © Walwyn



Plate 10 The Monument of Susanna Kirkman, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, St Helen, East Keal, Lincolnshire. © Dave Hitchborne



Plate 11 The monument of Jane Shipsea, c. 1626, St Mary, Barton upon Humber, Lincolnshire. © Rob Barnard



Plate 12 The tomb of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley and Anne Cecil de Vere, Countess of Oxford, c. 1588, Westminster Abbey, London. © Dean and Chapter of Westminster



Plate 13 The tomb of Elizabeth Brooke Cecil, Countess of Salisbury, c. 1597, Westminster Abbey, London. © Dean and Chapter of Westminster

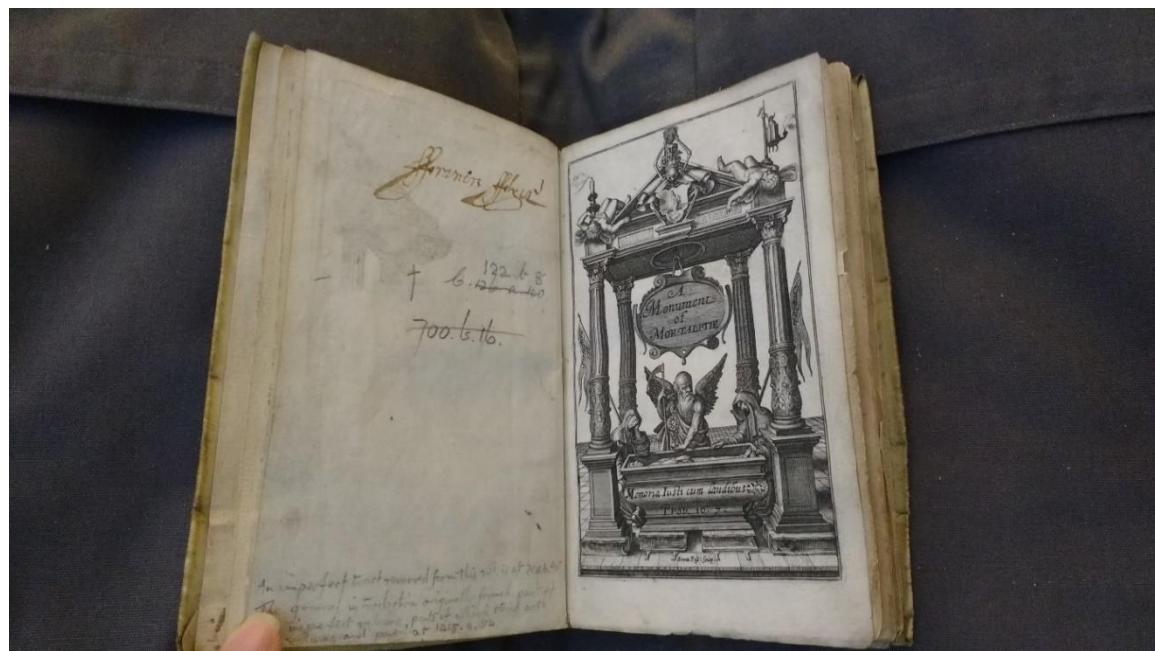


Plate 14 Simon de Passe, *A Monument of Mortalitie* (frontispiece), early seventeenth century, line engraving, BL, London. © BL (photograph by the author)



Plate 15 Simon de Passe, *Anne Bill*, early seventeenth century, line engraving, 167 × 104 mm, NPG D28126, NPG, London. © NPG



Plate 16 Gonzales Coques, *Lord Cavendish und seine zweite Frau Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle* (Lord Cavendish and his second wife Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle), c. 1650, oil on canvas, 239 × 174 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. © Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (photographer: Jörg P. Anders)



Plate 17 Conrad Reitter, *Mortilogus F. Conradi Reitterii Nordlingensis prioris monasterii Cæsariensis* (Augsburg, 1508), sig. C4^v.



Plate 18 Cornelis Galle the Younger after Peter Paul Rubens, *Title-Page for F. de Marselaer, Legatus*, c. 1666, engraving, 311 × 207 mm, The British Museum, London. © The British Museum



Plate 19 Simon de Vos, *Minerva and Mercury protecting Painting against Ignorance and Calumny*, c. 1618-1676, oil on panel, 40.6 × 57.8 cm, Private Collection. © artnet



Plate 20 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Satire on Art Criticism*, 1644, pen and brown ink corrected with white, 15.5 × 20.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Plate 21 The central frieze, above a round window depicting The Calumny of Apelles. Jacobus Harrewijn after J. van Croes, *View of the Garden of the Rubenshuis, Antwerp* (detail), c. 1675-1732, engraving, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Plate 22 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Calumny of Apelles*, c. 1606, pen, ink and chalk, 38 × 30.6 cm, The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London. © The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery



Plate 23 John Smythson, The tomb of Bess of Hardwick, c. 1601, All Saints (Derby Cathedral), Derby. Photograph by the author.



Plate 24 John Smythson, The tomb of Sir Charles Cavendish and Katherine Ogle (detail), c. 1617, Cavendish Chapel, St Mary and St Laurence, Bolsover. © Bolsover Parish Church



Plate 25 Engraving of the tomb of William Cavendish, Second Earl of Devonshire and his wife Christian Bruce Cavendish after George Bailey (monument no longer extant). George Bailey, *Monument to William Second Earl of Devonshire & Christian his wife*. From: John Charles Cox, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church or Free Chapel of All Saints, Derby [...] Illustrated by George Bailey* (Derby: Bemrose & Sons, 1881), Plate VIII. © BL (photograph by the author)