

# Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

An NEH Summer Institute

- Introduction by Richard C. McCoy
- The Institute's Syllabus
- Manuscript Sources at the Folger
- Director and Faculty Biographies
- Participant Biographies
- Suggested Reading



Detail of St. Paul's from Sir William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral*, 1658.

## ● Illustrating the Sacred: A Sampler



Traditional  
Devotional  
Practices



Effects of  
Doctrinal  
Conflict



Martyrologies



Constructing  
a New  
Monarchical  
Divinity



Invective  
and the  
Book Trade



Strange  
Recoveries



[Return to the Folger Institute](#)

Working with materials prepared for distribution in the course of the institute as well as those assembled by participants for their own classroom use, the Folger Institute staff, including Kathleen Lynch, Carol Brobeck, Martha Fay, and Roqué Rueda, created this sampler of the program as well as the web pages on which it is posted. We are grateful for Laetitia Yeandle's careful preparation of manuscript transcriptions.

Scans courtesy of Folger photographer Julie Ainsworth.



# Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

## The Institute's Syllabus

22-25 June

### Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

#### Monday 6/22 Introduction

#### Tuesday 6/23 Laetitia Yeandle: Late Medieval Primers and Reformation Manuscripts

#### Wednesday 6/24 Peter Blayney: Early Tudor Book Trade

#### Thursday 6/25 Rich McCoy: Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

- John Bossy. "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700." *Past and Present* 100 (1983), 29-61.
- Mervyn James. "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town." In *Society, Politics, and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge, 1986), 16-47.

29 June-2 July

### Early Stages of the Reformation: Heresy and Schism

#### Monday 6/29 Rich McCoy: John Skelton: Carnival to Crackdown

##### Primary Sources:

- John Skelton. "Collyn Clout," "Ware the Hauke," "A Replycacion." In *The Complete English Poems*, John Scattergood, ed. (Harmondsworth, 1983).
- John Foxe. "The Troubles and Martyrdom of Bilney." In *Acts and Monuments*, George Townsend, ed. vol. 4 (New York, 1965), 620-625, 631-632, 642-643, 652-655.

##### Secondary Sources:

- A.G. Dickens. "Lutherans and Humanists." In *The English Reformation*, (London, 1989), 82-105.
- Eamon Duffy. *Stripping of the Altars*. (New Haven, 1992), 377-477.
- Christopher Haigh. *English Reformations*. (Oxford, 1993), 1-102.

#### Tuesday 6/30 Eamon Duffy: Traditional Religion and the Onset of Reform

##### Primary Sources:

- Roger Martin. "Long Melford Church." In *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook*, David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds. (London and New York, 1996), 11-13.
- Selected Prayers. In *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, W. Maskell, ed. (London, 1846-7), 2.255-265.
- *The Miracles of Henry VI*. R. Knox and S. Leslie, eds. (Cambridge, 1923), 77-79.
- John Colet. "Convocation Sermon." In *A Life of John Colet*, J. H. Lupton, ed. (London, 1909, 2d ed.), 293-304.
- Richard Whitford. *A Werke for Householdiers*. James Hogg, ed. (Salzburg, 1979).
- Selected Wills. In *Catholic England*, R. N. Swanson, ed. (London, 1993), 244-58.

##### Secondary Sources:

- Eamon Duffy. *Stripping of the Altars*. (New Haven, 1992), 1-376.
- Christopher Haigh. *English Reformations*. (Oxford, 1993), 105-167.

##### Additional Recommended Reading:

- Colin Richmond, "Religion," and Margaret Aston, "Death." In *Fifteenth Century Attitudes*, R. Horrox, ed. (Cambridge, 1994), 183-228.
- Christopher Harper Bill. "Dean Colet's Sermon and the Pre-Reformation Church in England." In *Impact of the English Reformation* (London, 1997), 17-37.
- Richard Rex. *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1993).

## Wednesday 7/1 Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh: The Henrician Schism: Principle, Politics, and Polemic.

### Primary Sources:

- W. Roper. "Speech at Trial." In *Two Early Tudor Lives*. (Yale, 1962), 248-250.
- 1533 Act of Appeals. In *Statutes of the Realm*, iii. (London, 1810-22), 3.427-29; or slightly abbreviated in G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*. (New York, 1982), 344-49.
- Hugh Latimer. 1536 Convocation Sermon. In *Works of Latimer*. (Cambridge, 1844-45), 33-40; or extracts in *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook*, David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds. (London, 1996).
- Controversy between Henry VIII and Cranmer over revision of the 1537 *Bishops' Book*. In *The Works of Thomas Cranmer*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1844-46), 83-86, 93, 95, 100-1, 106
- *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* ("The King's Book") 1543. "Preface", "An Article of Justification", "Of Prayer for souls departed". In *Formularies of Faith*, C. Lloyd, ed. (Oxford, 1825), 215-19, 363-69, 375-77.

### Secondary Sources:

- Duffy. chs 11-12
- Haigh. chs. 6-9.
- D. MacCulloch. *The Reign of Henry VIII*. (New York, 1995), ch.7.
- ——. *Thomas Cranmer*. (New Haven, 1996), chs. 3-8.
- A. Fox and J. Guy. *Reassessing the Henrician Age*. (Oxford, 1986), esp. ch.7.  
Richard Rex. *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1993).

## Thursday 7/2 Christopher Haigh: The Marian Church: Reform, Revival or Reaction?

### Primary Sources:

- E. Bonner, ed. "The Preface." In *A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine with certain homilies* (1554), Sig. A.
- J. Standish. "A Question to be moved to the high court of the Parliament." In *A Discourse wherein it is debated whether the Scripture should be in English* (1554), Sigs. A-Biii.
- T. Watson. *Wholesome and Catholic Doctrine concerning the Seven Sacraments*. (1558).
- *Accounts of the Wardens of Morebath*. In *Devon & Cornwall Notes and Queries*, J. E. Binney, ed. (supplement, 1904) pp. 181-91, 200-1.
- "Robert Parkyn's narrative of the Reformation," ed. A.G. Dickens. In *English Historical Review*, 62 (1947), 58-83.

### Secondary Sources:

- Duffy. ch. 16
- Haigh. chs. 12-13

### Additional Recommended Reading:

- A.G Dickens. "The Last Medieval Englishman" (on Parkyn). In *Reformation Studies* (London, 1982).
- D. Loades. "The piety of the Catholic restoration in England" In *Humanism and Reform*, J. Kirk ed., Studies in Church History, Subsidia. (Oxford, 1991).
- C. Litzenberger. *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580*. (Cambridge, 1997).

6 July - 10 July

## Edwardian Revolution: Anti-Sacramentalism

### Monday 7/6 Rich McCoy: Miracles, Mysteries, Mockeries

- Croxton. *Play of the Sacrament. Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*. Norman Davis, ed. EETS, s.s.1. (London, 1970), 58-89.  
*John Bon and Mast Person*. In *Three Tudor Dialogues*. Dickie Spurgeon, ed. and comp. (Delmar, NY, 1978).

### Tuesday 7/7 Diarmaid MacCulloch: Strategy for a Revolution

### Primary Sources:

- 'Articles to be followed and observed, according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Proceedings' [1550]. In *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, G. Burnet, ed. (J.F. Dove for Richard Priestley, 3 vols in 6, 1820), pp. 226-7 [in all edns., Part II Bk. i, no. 33]; or in *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, Frere and Kennedy, eds., vol. 2 (London, 1910) p. 190.
- R.B. Bond, ed. *Certain Sermons or Homilies (1547) and A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570)* (Toronto, 1987), homilies on justification and on good works [any earlier edition will do].
- Cranmer's letter to Bishop Bonner, 27 January 1548. Bonner's Register, London Guildhall Library MS 9531/12 pt. 1, f. 117r.
- Cranmer's 1548 articles for Canterbury diocese. In *Works of Thomas Cranmer*, John Edmund Cox, ed., vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1844-6), 154-9; or in *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, Frere and Kennedy, eds., vol. 2.
- N. Ridley. London diocesan articles and injunctions, 1550. In Frere and Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. 2, 230-45.

### Secondary Sources:

- S. Anglo. *Spectacle, Pageantry and early Tudor Policy*. (Oxford, 1969), 283-95, on Edward's coronation celebrations
- M. Aston. *England's Iconoclasts. I. Laws against Images*. (Oxford, 1988), ch. 6.
- M.L. Bush. *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*. (Edward Arnold, 1975), ch. 5.

### Additional Recommended Reading:

- *Answer*, incorporating the *Defence*. In *Works of Thomas Cranmer*, J. E. Cox, ed. 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1844-6); or in *Remains of Thomas Cranmer*: H. Jenkyns, ed. 4 vols., (Oxford, 1833); vol. 2, (1846).
- House of Lords debate on the eucharist, December 1548. (British Library Royal MS 17 B XXXIX, ff. 1-31) In Appendix to *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* F.A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, eds. (London, 1890).
- J. Ketley, ed. *The Two Liturgies ... set forth by authority in the reign of King Edward VI ...* (Cambridge, 1844), or in *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI*, introd. E.C.S. Gibson (Dent-Dutton, 1910, rpt. 1964).
- S. Brigden. "Youth and the English Reformation." In *The impact of the English Reformation 1500-1640*, P. Marshall, ed. (London and New York, 1997), 55-84; repr. from *Past and Present* 95 (May, 1982), 37-67.
- P.N. Brooks. *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist. An Essay in Historical Development* (2nd ed., 1992, superseding 1965 edn.).
- C.M.F. Davies. "'Poor persecuted little flock' or Commonwealth of Christians: Edwardian Protestant concepts of the Church." In *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, P. Lake and M. Dowling, eds. (1987), 36-77.
- D. MacCulloch. *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. (London and New Haven, 1996).
- N. Tyacke. "Re-thinking the 'English Reformation.'" In *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800*, Tyacke, ed. (Los Angeles, 1998), 1-32.

## **Wednesday 7/8 Diarmaid MacCulloch and Janel Mueller: Plots and Intrigues**

### Primary Sources:

- Selections from Foxe on Henry VIII, Catherine Parr, and Thomas Cranmer.

## **Thursday 7/9 Janel Mueller: Gender, Prayer, and Witness**

### Primary Sources:

- Katherine Parr. *Lamentation of a Sinner*. Janel Mueller, ed. (work-in-progress).
- Anne Askew. *The Examinations of Anne Askew*. Elaine V. Beilin, ed. (NY, 1996).
- John Foxe. "The Story of Queen Katherine Parr: What Trouble She was in for the Gospel." In *Acts and Monuments*, George Townsend, ed. (New York, 1965), 5.553-561.

### Secondary Sources:

- Janel Mueller. "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice: Katherine Parr's Lamentation of a Sinner." In *The Historical Renaissance*, Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier, eds. (Chicago, 1988), 15-47.
- ——. "Complications of Intertextuality: John Fisher, Katherine Parr, and the Book of the Crucifix." In *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, Cedric C. Brown and Arthur Marottie, eds. (Basingstoke and New York, 1997); or in *Representing Women in Renaissance England*, Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, eds. (1997), 24-41.

## The Elizabethan Settlement: Compromise and Confusion

### Monday 7/13 Rich McCoy: Maimed Rites

- William Shakespeare. *Hamlet*.
- ----. *The Phoenix and the Turtle*.

### Tuesday 7/14 Patrick Collinson: The Construction of Religious Identities in Elizabethan England: The Interaction of Stigmatization and Self-Scrutiny/Fashioning

#### Primary Sources:

- *An Admonition to the Parliament*. In *Puritan Manifestoes*, W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas, eds. (London, 1952).
- Gregory Martin. *Treatise of Schisms*. (1578)

#### Secondary Sources:

- Francis Bremer, ed. *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, 1993) (essays by Peter Lake and Patrick Collinson).
- Patrick Collinson. *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture*. (Los Angeles, 1989).
- ----. "Windows in a Woman's Soul: Questions About the Religion of Queen Elizabeth I." In *Elizabethan Essays*, P. Collinson, ed. (London, 1994).
- ----. "The Religion of Elizabethan England and of its Queen." In *Giordano Bruno 1583-1585: The English Experience*, Michele Ciliberto and Nicholas Mann, eds. (Florence, 1997).
- Alexandra Walsham. *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK, 1993).

#### Additional Recommended Reading:

- Patrick Collinson. *English Puritanism*. (Historical Association pamphlet, 1989).
- Helen Hackett. *Virgin Mother; Maiden Queen*. (New York, 1995).
- Christopher Marsh. *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630*. (Cambridge, 1994).
- Michael Questier. *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580-1625*. (Cambridge, 1996).

### Wednesday 7/15 Patrick Collinson and James Shapiro: Literature and Religious Anxiety, 1588-1593: Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and the question of Atheism

#### Primary Sources:

- Christopher Marlowe. *Doctor Faustus. A- and B- Texts. Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, eds. (Oxford and New York, 1995), pp. 139-246.

#### Secondary Sources:

- C.F. Tucker Brooke. *The Life of Marlowe and the Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage* (New York, 1966).
- Nicholas Davison. "Christopher Marlowe and Atheism." In *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, Darryll Grantley and Peter Roberts, eds. (Aldershot, Hants, England, 1996).
- Michael Hunter. "The Problem of 'Atheism' in Early Modern England." In *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35 (1985), 135-158.

### Thursday 7/16 James Shapiro: Turning Turk

#### Primary Sources:

- Christopher Marlowe. *Jew of Malta*, Bevington and Rasmussen, eds. (Oxford, 1995)

#### Secondary Sources:

- Philip Massinger. *The Renegado. The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson, eds. vol. 2 (Oxford, 1976). James Shapiro. *Shakespeare and the Jews*. (New York, 1996), pp. 13-42, 131-165.

20 July - 24 July  
Stuart Divine Right

**Monday 7/20 Rich McCoy: Courtly Apotheoses**

Primary Sources:

- Ben Jonson. *Oberon*. In *Selected Masques*, Stephen Orgel, ed. (New Haven, 1969).
- William Davenant. *Salmacida Spolia*. In *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605-1640*, Michael Lindley, ed. (Oxford, 1995).

**Tuesday 7/21 Lori Anne Ferrell: Political and Nuptial Unions**

Primary Sources:

- Thomas Campion. "Lord Hay Masque." In *Court Masques*, Lindley, ed., 18-34.
- Robert Wilkinson. *The Merchant Royall*. (1607)
- Ben Jonson. "Hymenaei." In *The Complete Masques*, Stephen Orgel, ed. (New Haven, 1969).

Secondary Sources:

- Lori Anne Ferrell. *Government by Polemic*. (forthcoming)
- Kenneth Fincham, ed. *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642*. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1993)
- Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts, eds. *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain*. (Cambridge, 1994).
- Jonathan Goldberg. *James I and the Politics of Literature* (Baltimore, 1983).

**Wednesday 7/22 Lori Anne Ferrell and Debora Shuger: Divine Right**

Primary Sources:

- James I. "Meditation on the 27.28.29 Verses of XXVII. Chapter of Saint Matthew, or a Paterne for a Kings Inauguration." In *King James VI and I: Political Writings*, Jonathan Sommerville, ed. (Cambridge, 1994), 229-249.
- Lancelot Andrewes. "Sermon Preached before the King's Majesty at Whaitehall on the Fifth of November, 1606." In *Works*. vol. 4 (Oxford, 1841-1854).

Secondary Sources:

Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier. *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*. (New York, 1996).

**Thursday 7/23 Debora Shuger: Royal Prerogative**

Primary Sources:

- William Shakespeare. *Measure for Measure*.
- Francis Bacon. "An explanation of what manner of persons those should be, that are to execute the power or ordinance of the king's prerogative." In *Works of Francis Bacon*, vol 4 (1826), 305-8.
- Samuel Daniel. "To Sir Thomas Egerton." In *The Complete Works*, Alexander Grosart, ed., vol. 1 (London, 1885), 191-198.
- William Hudson. *A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber*. In *Collectanea Juridica*, Francis Hardgrave, ed., vol. 2 (1792), 1-130.
- William Lambarde. *Archeion: Or, a Discourse upon the High Courts of Justice in England* (1635); or in *Archeion*, Charles H. McIlwain and Paul L. Ward, eds., (Cambridge, 1957).

27 July - 31 July  
Civil War and Restoration: The Trauma of Regicide

## Monday 7/27 Rich McCoy: True and Substantial Liberty

### Primary Sources:

- John Milton. Selections from *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. In *John Milton*, Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg, eds. (Oxford and New York, 1991) 182-226.
- ——. *Areopagitica*. In Orgel and Goldberg, eds. 236-273.

## Tuesday 7/28 Peter Lake: Puritanisms, Radical and Extreme

### Primary Sources:

- Thomas Case. *God's rising his enemies scattering*. In *Fast Sermons to Parliament*, vol. 4 (London, 1970-71), 169-227.
- Thomas Edwards. *Gangraena*. Selections (1646).
- Paul Hobson. *Practical divinity*. (London, 1646).
- John Tombs. *An apology*. (London, 1646).
- W. Walwyn. *The power of love*. In *The Writings of William Walwyn*, Jack R. McMichael and Barbara Taft, ed. (Georgia, 1989).

### Secondary Sources:

- D. Como and P. Lake. "'Orthodoxy' and its Discontents: Dispute Settlement and the Manufacture of Consensus in the London (puritan) Underground." Forthcoming. Typescript supplied.
- A Hughes. "Popular Presbyterianism." In *England's Long Reformation*, Nicholas Tyacke, ed. (London, 1997).
- G. Nuttall. *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*. (Chicago, 1992).
- M. Tolmie. *The Triumph of the Saints*. (Cambridge, 1977).
- T. Webster. *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England*. (Cambridge, 1997).

## Wednesday 7/29 Peter Lake and Barbara Lewalski: Civil Idolatry

### Primary Sources:

- *Eikon Basilike*. Philip A. Knachel, ed. (Ithaca, 1966).
- John Milton. "Eikonoklastes." In *Prose Works 1641-1650*. (Menston, England, 1967-1968).

### Secondary Sources:

- Richard Helgerson. "Milton Reads the King's Book." In *Criticism* 29 (1987), 1-25.
- Steven Zwicker. "The King's Head and the Politics of Literary Property: The *Eikon Basilike* and *Eikonoklastes*" In *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Culture 1649-1689*, Steven Zwicker, ed. (Ithaca, 1993).

## Thursday 7/30 Barbara Lewalski: Milton's Politics and Theology

### Primary Sources:

- John Milton. *Paradise Lost*. In *John Milton*, Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg, eds. (Oxford, 1991).
- ———. *Paradise Regained*. In Orgel and Goldberg, eds.
- ———. *Samson Agonistes*. In Orgel and Goldberg, eds.

### Secondary Sources:

- Sharon Achinstein. "Samson Agonistes and the Drama of Dissent." In *Milton Studies* 33, 133-59.
- Laura Knoppers. *Historicizing Milton: Spectacle, Power, and Poetry in Restoration England*. (Athens: University of Georgia, 1994). Chs. 3-4, 6.
- Barbara K. Lewalski. *Paradise Lost and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms*. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985).
- ———. "Milton's Samson and the 'Acquist of True [Political] Experience'" *Milton Studies*. 24 (1988), 233-51.
- David Loewenstein. "The Kingdom Within: Radical Religious Culture and the Politics of *Paradise Regained*." In *Literature and History* 3 (1994), 63-89.
- Mary Ann Radzinowicz. "The Politics of Paradise Lost." In *Politics of Discourse*, Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker, eds. (Berkeley, 1987).

### Additional Recommended Reading:

- John Milton. "De Doctrina Christiana." In *Prose Works 1641-1650*. (Menston, England, 1967-1968). Chs. 1-11, 27.





# Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

## Introduction

By Richard C. McCoy

After nearly twenty years in abeyance, religion has returned as a major subject for early modern cultural studies, as literary critics and historians shift their attention from short-term political calculations and contingencies to broader issues of ideology, principle, and belief. At the same time, newer, revisionist views of the English Reformation are more conflicted, complex, and pluralistic. Older notions of a progressively secular Protestant ascendancy have been replaced by a sequence of erratic and precarious "reformations."<sup>1</sup> The English church gradually dismantled much of the sacramental system of traditional religion, attacking what John Calvin called "carnal fancies" of "a local presence that the papists dream about."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, though it eliminated the Mass, the Elizabethan religious settlement was denounced by many reformers as a "cloaked papistry or mingle-mangle," and it remained haunted, in the words of Diarmaid MacCulloch by the "ghost ... of an older world of Catholic authority and devotional practice."<sup>3</sup> Subsequent Stuart claims to divine right authority combined with Archbishop Laud's devotion to liturgical decorum to form what Debora Shuger describes as a "concerted effort to 'remystify' church, state, and the social order."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the Laudian emphasis on the sacrament and the altar as the site of "God's more especial presence," was denounced in the Root and Branch Petition in 1640 as an attempt at "putting holiness" back in churches and "a plain device to usher in the Mass."<sup>5</sup> Puritan opposition eventually erupted in the Civil War. Yet, while King Charles lost the war and his head, his execution in 1649 enveloped him in an aura of sanctity. Works like the *Eikon Basilike* revived older notions of sacred kingship alongside an image of Charles the Martyr, and such beliefs were certainly a factor in the restoration of Charles II.

In the summer of 1998, [sixteen college teachers](#) gathered at the Folger Shakespeare Library for a collaborative investigation of these conflicted histories of the Reformation in England. The National Endowment for the Humanities generously sponsored the program, which also included a visiting faculty of [twelve senior scholars](#). The Institute began with the premise that the texts of the period—the plays of Shakespeare, the poetry of Donne and Milton, the polemical tracts of the English civil war, the published and unpublished works by women—could not be taught successfully without a working knowledge of the religions beliefs and controversies of the period and an array of strategies for bringing that material to life in the classroom. To that end, the teacher participants culled [the images posted here](#) from the Folger Library's rich collections so that they might share with their classes examples of the lived experience of religion in the early modern period.

Those examples include some of the many books, manuscripts, and images reviewed in the summer institute that bear clear traces of the intense religious struggles under discussion. These traces include the mutilated books of hours and early prayer books, such as the Folger copy in which references to Thomas Becket, other saints, and popes are crossed out. The iconoclastic assault on ecclesiastical structures can also be traced in church wardens' accounts, detailing as one Folger manuscript does, declining payments for wax and a large-scale repainting of the inside of the church, covering over the medieval wall paintings. Such attacks reflect what Patrick Collinson has called the iconophobia of the English Reformation.

At the same time, other works entail what John Bossy calls "a migration of the holy" in which notions of the sacred shift from the church and its sacraments "to the rituals of monarchy and of secular community."<sup>6</sup> In works printed after the break with Rome, older images of Mary and the saints are replaced by icons of royalty. Henry VIII appears on the title pages of the "Great Bible" as the church's supreme head seated below Christ and distributing the word of God to both the clergy and the laity, and Edward VI and Elizabeth I are portrayed in a comparably evangelical role. What John King calls "the triumph of the regal crown over the papal tiara" recurs throughout Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* as do those memorably searing images of Protestant martyrs burned at the stake.<sup>7</sup> Counter Reformation iconography matches these scenes of martyrdom with equally dramatic pictures of the grisly ends of Archbishop Fisher and the Jesuit Edmund Campion. Mementos of Catholic martyrs like the prayer roll with a copy of Sir Thomas More's last devotion are also preserved in the Folger's manuscript collection. Its simple style persists in the illustrations of traditional Shepherds' Calendars later in Elizabeth's reign. At the same time, Catholics also showed an enthusiasm for mutilation of texts. One of the most striking traces of the Counter Reformation, unique to the Folger collection, is the second folio of Shakespeare's works owned by the director of the English seminary in Valladolid, Spain, who was authorized by the Inquisition to censor its contents. In addition to crossing out every reference to Cranmer and Elizabeth, he simply excised the entire text of *Measure for Measure*.

The conflict between iconoclasm and more incarnate ideas of the sacred persists throughout the period, and it is never entirely resolved. John Milton's attacks on both religious and civil idolatry in the aptly named *Eikonoklastes* seeks to expose what he calls the "Stage-work" of the *Eikon Basilike*. Indeed, he insists that the "quaint Emblems and devices" borrowed

from masques at Whitehall "will doe but ill to make a saint or Martyr"<sup>8</sup> Yet, paradoxically, the artistry of many Renaissance poets, playwrights, and painters often proves more effective than theology or liturgy at preserving a sense of prophetic authority and religious mystery. Milton's own *Paradise Lost* stands as the climactic, epic expression of this conflict, evoking the most awesome sense of God's majestic power and distance. After his fall, Adam comes to accept that he must now "love with fear the only God,/ . . . [and] walk/ As in his presence" (12.562-563).

Ranging from works of private devotion to polemical contestation, these images and their annotations reflect the concerns of the institute. The images are designed for use in the classroom. By posting a selection of them here, together with other materials from the institute, we are pleased to think that others will make use of and build upon the work done in the institute. We will have succeeded if, with our colleagues and our students, we continue to start conversations and to complicate assumptions in order to broaden our collective understanding of devotional exercise and sectarian polemic--the material culture and the metaphysical aspirations--of early modern England.

<sup>1</sup> See Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1993)

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700): The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984), 186.

<sup>3</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Debora Kuller Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1990), 124.

<sup>5</sup> *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*. ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (3rd ed., Oxford: Clarendon P, 1902), 140-141.

<sup>6</sup> John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), 145 and "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 59.

<sup>7</sup> John King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989), 117.

<sup>8</sup> John Miton, "Eikonoklastes" in *The Complete Prose Works*, Don M. Wolfe, ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1952), 3.530 and 343.



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## Introduction

By Richard C. McCoy

After nearly twenty years in abeyance, religion has returned as a major subject for early modern cultural studies, as literary critics and historians shift their attention from short-term political calculations and contingencies to broader issues of ideology, principle, and belief. At the same time, newer, revisionist views of the English Reformation are more conflicted, complex, and pluralistic. Older notions of a progressively secular Protestant ascendancy have been replaced by a sequence of erratic and precarious "reformations."<sup>1</sup> The English church gradually dismantled much of the sacramental system of traditional religion, attacking what John Calvin called "carnal fancies" of "a local presence that the papists dream about."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, though it eliminated the Mass, the Elizabethan religious settlement was denounced by many reformers as a "cloaked papistry or mingle-mangle," and it remained haunted, in the words of Diarmaid MacCulloch by the "ghost ... of an older world of Catholic authority and devotional practice."<sup>3</sup> Subsequent Stuart claims to divine right authority combined with Archbishop Laud's devotion to liturgical decorum to form what Debora Shuger describes as a "concerted effort to 'remystify' church, state, and the social order."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the Laudian emphasis on the sacrament and the altar as the site of "God's more especial presence," was denounced in the Root and Branch Petition in 1640 as an attempt at "putting holiness" back in churches and "a plain device to usher in the Mass."<sup>5</sup> Puritan opposition eventually erupted in the Civil War. Yet, while King Charles lost the war and his head, his execution in 1649 enveloped him in an aura of sanctity. Works like the *Eikon Basilike* revived older notions of sacred kingship alongside an image of Charles the Martyr, and such beliefs were certainly a factor in the restoration of Charles II.

In the summer of 1998, [sixteen college teachers](#) gathered at the Folger Shakespeare Library for a collaborative investigation of these conflicted histories of the Reformation in England. The National Endowment for the Humanities generously sponsored the program, which also included a visiting faculty of [twelve senior scholars](#). The Institute began with the premise that the texts of the period—the plays of Shakespeare, the poetry of Donne and Milton, the polemical tracts of the English civil war, the published and unpublished works by women—could not be taught successfully without a working knowledge of the religions beliefs and controversies of the period and an array of strategies for bringing that material to life in the classroom. To that end, the teacher participants culled [the images posted here](#) from the Folger Library's rich collections so that they might share with their classes examples of the lived experience of religion in the early modern period.

Those examples include some of the many books, manuscripts, and images reviewed in the summer institute that bear clear traces of the intense religious struggles under discussion. These traces include the mutilated books of hours and early prayer books, such as the Folger copy in which references to Thomas Becket, other saints, and popes are crossed out. The iconoclastic assault on ecclesiastical structures can also be traced in church wardens' accounts, detailing as one Folger manuscript does, declining payments for wax and a large-scale repainting of the inside of the church, covering over the medieval wall paintings. Such attacks reflect what Patrick Collinson has called the iconophobia of the English Reformation.

At the same time, other works entail what John Bossy calls "a migration of the holy" in which notions of the sacred shift from the church and its sacraments "to the rituals of monarchy and of secular community."<sup>6</sup> In works printed after the break with Rome, older images of Mary and the saints are replaced by icons of royalty. Henry VIII appears on the title pages of the "Great Bible" as the church's supreme head seated below Christ and distributing the word of God to both the clergy and the laity, and Edward VI and Elizabeth I are portrayed in a comparably evangelical role. What John King calls "the triumph of the regal crown over the papal tiara" recurs throughout Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* as do those memorably searing images of Protestant martyrs burned at the stake.<sup>7</sup> Counter Reformation iconography matches these scenes of martyrdom with equally dramatic pictures of the grisly ends of Archbishop Fisher and the Jesuit Edmund Campion. Mementos of Catholic martyrs like the prayer roll with a copy of Sir Thomas More's last devotion are also preserved in the Folger's manuscript collection. Its simple style persists in the illustrations of traditional Shepherds' Calendars later in Elizabeth's reign. At the same time, Catholics also showed an enthusiasm for mutilation of texts. One of the most striking traces of the Counter Reformation, unique to the Folger collection, is the second folio of Shakespeare's works owned by the director of the English seminary in Valladolid, Spain, who was authorized by the Inquisition to censor its contents. In addition to crossing out every reference to Cranmer and Elizabeth, he simply excised the entire text of *Measure for Measure*.

The conflict between iconoclasm and more incarnate ideas of the sacred persists throughout the period, and it is never entirely resolved. John Milton's attacks on both religious and civil idolatry in the aptly named *Eikonoklastes* seeks to expose what he calls the "Stage-work" of the *Eikon Basilike*. Indeed, he insists that the "quaint Emblems and devices" borrowed

from masques at Whitehall "will doe but ill to make a saint or Martyr"<sup>8</sup> Yet, paradoxically, the artistry of many Renaissance poets, playwrights, and painters often proves more effective than theology or liturgy at preserving a sense of prophetic authority and religious mystery. Milton's own *Paradise Lost* stands as the climactic, epic expression of this conflict, evoking the most awesome sense of God's majestic power and distance. After his fall, Adam comes to accept that he must now "love with fear the only God,/ . . . [and] walk/ As in his presence" (12.562-563).

Ranging from works of private devotion to polemical contestation, these images and their annotations reflect the concerns of the institute. The images are designed for use in the classroom. By posting a selection of them here, together with other materials from the institute, we are pleased to think that others will make use of and build upon the work done in the institute. We will have succeeded if, with our colleagues and our students, we continue to start conversations and to complicate assumptions in order to broaden our collective understanding of devotional exercise and sectarian polemic--the material culture and the metaphysical aspirations--of early modern England.

<sup>1</sup> See Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1993)

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700): The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984), 186.

<sup>3</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Debora Kuller Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1990), 124.

<sup>5</sup> *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*. ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (3rd ed., Oxford: Clarendon P, 1902), 140-141.

<sup>6</sup> John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), 145 and "The Mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700," *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 59.

<sup>7</sup> John King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989), 117.

<sup>8</sup> John Miton, "Eikonoklastes" in *The Complete Prose Works*, Don M. Wolfe, ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1952), 3.530 and 343.



# Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

## Manuscript Sources at the Folger

This list of manuscripts is drawn from the collections at the Folger to illustrate some of the varieties of religious thought and experience expressed during the English Reformation. It was compiled by Laetitia Yeandle, curator of manuscripts at the Folger. The items are listed here by their main entry in the Folger card catalogue. Folger call numbers are referenced at the beginning of each entry.

### Catholic and pre-Reformation manuscripts and books

- STC** Letter of Confraternity for the Hospital of St. Roch, Exeter, ca. 1510.  
**10617.5** A unique example of an Indulgence.
- V.a.228** Catholic Church. Liturgy and ritual. Hours. *Hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum Sarum*. ca.1500.
- STC** Catholic Church. Hours. *Officium beate Marie virginis ad usum Sarum . . .* Paris, ca. 1512.  
**15913** Printed on vellum.
- X.d.532** More, Sir Thomas, Saint, 1478-1535. [A devout prayer, made after he was condemned to die, July 1535]. Contemporary copy in the form of a prayer roll.
- V.a.473** Digby family. Spiritual exercises, ca.1650.  
Collection of readings from Catholic authors.
- V.a.252** Pope, Thomas. English phrases and their Latin equivalents, 1654.  
Includes the catechism, 1655.

### Wills, one drawn up before the Reformation and the other after

- X.d.428** Barbur, Thomas. Will, Aug. 3, 1529.  
Contemporary copy.
- Z.c.9** Forde, Robert. Will, March 2, 1575/76.  
**(416)**

### The new statutes and directive—signs of their implementation

- L.b.339** Great Britain. Sovereigns, etc., 1509-1547. (Henry VIII). Letter to the Justices of the Peace of Surrey, June 9, [1535]. Copy ca. 1600.
- L.b.84** Blechingley, Surrey. Church of Saint Mary. Churchwardens' accounts, 1546-1552.  
Reflect the changing laws.
- L.b.85** Blechingley, Surrey. Church of Saint Mary. Churchwardens' accounts, 1546-1552.  
A fair copy of L.b.84, with the addition of 14 items on Fol. 3 verso .
- V.a.197** Bacon, Sir Nicholas, 1509-1579. Speeches made before Parliament . . . , 1559-ca. 1576.  
Copy ca. 1600.  
Includes his speech as Lord Keeper at the opening of Elizabeth's first Parliament, Jan. 25, 1558/59, setting forth what she wished them to accomplish.
- X.d.85** Great Britain. Sovereigns, etc., 1558-1603. (Elizabeth). Proclamation against seditious books, March 1, 1568/69.
- X.d.87** Great Britain. Sovereigns, etc. (Elizabeth). Proclamation against seditious books against the Prayer Book, June 11, 1573.  
Particularly directed against a Puritan publication, An admonition to the Parliament, 1572.
- STC** Church of England. Articles of religion, 1593.  
**10046** At the end Thomas Whittington, rector of Rissington, has subscribed to these Articles, Oct. 15, 1602, as is attested by various witnesses.
- V.a.324** Salisbury (Diocese). Dean. Articles of inquiry for the Dean's visitation at Hungerford parish, Berks, to be held

Oct. 7, 1613.

- V.a.244** Harrison, William, 1553-1621. Prohibition, March 9, 1617/18.  
Harrison was the last Catholic archpriest and he forbade Catholic secular priests to attend plays acted by common players without special licence. The volume includes Thomas Leke's letter protesting against Harrison's prohibition, April 25, 1618, and Harrison's answer.

### **Disarming subjects suspected of possible disloyalty**

- L.b.55** Saunders, Sir Thomas. Bill witnessing that he . . . has seized arms and armor from Lady Elizabeth Cawarden, Jan. 29, 1553/54.
- L.b.65** Saunders, Sir Thomas. Letter to Lady Elizabeth Cawarden, Feb. 11, 1554.  
Thanks her for her gentle entertainment and in bearing with the rudeness of himself and his followers.
- L.b.243** Great Britain. Privy Council. Letter to the high sheriff . . . of Surrey, Jan. 10, 1612/13. During the early part of this year, the government feared a Spanish invasion.

### **Recusants**

- L.b.309** Cole, Robert. Letter to Sir William More, April 4, 1580.  
Cole was vicar of Epsom and was asking for protection from Nicholas Saunder, a recusant, whom he had presented.
- L.b.208** Stanton, John. Answers to articles, 1581.  
Stanton, vicar of Egham, and his churchwardens answer questions about recusants in the parish. With the increased activity of Catholic priests in England, an Act had recently been passed requiring more vigilance and heightening the fines imposed.
- L.b.199** Stanton, John. "Examination of John Stanton (spelled Standon)," vicar of Egham, and others, July 8, 1581.  
Concerning a Jane Hornyall, alias Hornyfall, gentlewoman.
- L.b.202** Catisby, John. Certificate concerning certain Catholic prisoners in the Queen's Bench prison, March 11, 1581/82.  
Catisby was deputy marshall of the prison.
- L.b.216** Ede, Richard. Information, [1585?].  
Ede, porter of the Marshalsea prison, tells about the financial condition of three recusants.
- L.b.237** Surrey. Commission concerning Jesuits . . . List of Surrey recusants, ca. 1585/86.
- L.b.223** Middlesex. Justices of the peace. Certificate to Sir William More and other Commissioners for Religion in Surrey, May 17, 1586.  
About Thomas Fryer, doctor of Physic, who has compounded.
- K.b.1** The examination of Jesuits and Seminary priests in prison, 1587.  
Preceded by a list of the Interrogatories.
- L.b.100** Great Britain. Privy Council. Letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, January 4, 1587/88.  
Recusants are to be examined and the most obstinate imprisoned. This was the year of the Armada and the government was already taking precautions.
- L.b.204** Ridley, Thomas, 1550?-1629. A true certificate made by Ridley unto the . . . commission appointed for the county of Surrey for the inquisition of such persons as refuse to come to church, December 27, 1591.  
Ridley was an official of the Archdeaconry of Surrey. Recusants are listed by parish.
- L.b.217** Hogge, Thomas. Certificate concerning recusants, January 8, 1591/92.  
Hogge, the minister of Seale, and the two [churchwardens?] certify that there are no recusants ... in the parish.
- L.b.203** More, Sir William, 1520-1600. Warrant to the High Constables of the Hundred of Blackheath, January 12, 1591/92.  
The constables are to warn Richard Lumleigh to appear before the commissioners and answer for his refusal to come to church.
- V.a.421** Southwell, Robert, 1561?-1595. Letters, 1589-1593.  
Copy ca. 1610.  
Southwell was a Jesuit who had been captured in 1592. This volume includes the only known copy of his letter to Sir Robert Cecil, April 6, 1593, in which he requests that if he was to die he die soon.

### **One dissenting sect—The Family of Love**

- L.b.98** More, Sir William, 1520-1600. The depositions of Thomas Chaundeler . . . and Robert Sterte, May 28, 1561.  
Two former members describe the practices of the sect of the Family of Love.

**X.d.30** Great Britain. Privy Council. Letter to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace in Cambridge, November 30, 1582. Order the release from prison of certain persons of the sect of the Family of Love.

### Various records and writings relating to Catholics and Protestants

- L.b.8** Great Britain. Office of the Revels. Charges incurred at the time of the coronation of Edward VI, 1546/47. Among the charges are ones for the costumes for a Pope and priests.
- V.a.482** B., I. A book of certain devout and godly prayers . . . to the use of the devout and godly disposed Christian, 1564.
- V.a.459** [Stonley, Richard], ca.1520-1600. Diary, 1581-1582.  
Stonley was a Teller of the Exchequer living in London. Folios 30v, 31r, and 33v contain reports of Edmund Campion (1540-1581), the Jesuit poet, his trial and execution.
- V.a.4** Sibbes, Richard, 1577-1635. Certain collections taken out of his sermons preached at Grays Inn and elsewhere, ca.1630.
- V.b.261** A treasury of Christian doctrine, begun in January 1636/37.  
Arranged alphabetically by subject.
- V.a.178** Grocer, Thomas. A banquet of sweetmeats, 1657.  
Arranged alphabetically by subject, with a table of contents.
- V.b.93** [Evans, John. Hesperides or The Muses Garden], compiled ca.1655-1659.  
An anthology of quotations arranged alphabetically by subject. At the end is a key to the sigla, or initials used to identify the sources of the quotations.
- K.b.2** Luttrell, Narcissus, 1657-1732. Popish and Protestant controversies, ca.1687-1715.  
Luttrell was an avid collector and here he arranged alphabetically by subject, the pros and cons in facing columns.
- X.d.488** Dering, Sir Edward, bart., 1598-1644. Note-book, 1639-1640.  
Notes on his theological dispute with a Catholic, "Anonymous Eremita," alias Thomas Doughty.  
An early manuscript draft of the letter published in the following item.
- Wing** Dering, Sir Edward. The Fower Cardinall-Vertues of a Carmelite-Fryar . . . , 1641.
- D1110** A publication resulting from Dering's dispute with "Anonymous Eremita."
- V.a.248** Puritan pieces, ca.1638-ca.1650.  
Includes Archbishop Laud's speech against the bishop of Lincoln in the Star Chamber, 1637, and "The downfall of Dagon," showing the unlawfulness . . . of altars, a burning issue of the time.
- V.a.137** Collection of poems, ca.1630.  
Many have a pronounced anti-Puritan ring.



# Redefining the Sacred in Early Modern England

## Biographies

### Director

**Richard C. McCoy**, Professor of English at Queens College and the Graduate School and University Center at the City University of New York, will direct the institute. He is currently completing *Alterations of State: Sacred Kingship in the English Reformation*, a major study of changing conceptions of royalty and the sacred from the reign of Henry VII to Charles I. Professor McCoy is the author of *Sir Philip Sidney: Rebellion in Arcadia* (1980) and *The Rites of Knighthood: the Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (1989).

### Faculty

**Peter W.M. Blayney**, Distinguished Resident Fellow at the Folger Shakespeare Library and author of *The Bookshops of Paul's Cross Churchyard* (1990) and *The Texts of 'King Lear' and their Origins, vol. 1: Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto* (1982).

**Patrick Collinson**, Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, Emeritus, and author of *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (1979), and *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1988).

**Eamon Duffy**, Director of Studies in Theology at Magdalene College, Cambridge and author of *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (1992). He is a founding member of the Editorial Board of the journal *The Seventeenth Century*.

**Lori Anne Ferrell**, Associate Professor of History at the Claremont Graduate School, and coeditor, with David Cressy, of *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Source Book* (1996).

**Christopher Haigh**, Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Oxford and author of *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (1993) and *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (1975).

**Peter Lake**, Professor of History at Princeton University, author of *Anglicans and Puritans?: Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (1988), and coeditor, with Kevin Sharpe, of *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (1994).

**Barbara Lewalski**, Kenan Professor of English Literature at Harvard University, and author of *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (1979), *Writing Women in Jacobean England, 1603-1625* (1993), and *"Paradise Lost" and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms* (1985).

**Diarmaid MacCulloch**, Lecturer in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Oxford and author of *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (1996) and *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (1986).

**Janel Mueller**, William Rainey Harper Professor of Humanities at the University of Chicago and editor of *Modern Philology* and author of *Donne's Prebend Sermons* (1971). She is currently editing the works of Queen Elizabeth and of Katherine Parr.

**James Shapiro**, Professor of English at Columbia University, author of *Shakespeare and the Jews* (1996) and *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare* (1991).

**Debora Shuger**, Professor of English at the University of California, Los Angeles, and author of *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (1988), *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (1990), and *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Subjectivity, and Sacrifice* (1994).

**Laetitia Yeandle**, Curator of Manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library, coauthor of two handbooks on English paleography in the early modern period, and coeditor of *The Journal of John Winthrop* (1997).

### Participants

**Ana Mercedes Acosta** received her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from Columbia University in 1997 and has just completed her first year as an Assistant Professor of English at SUNY College at Buffalo. She is preparing her dissertation on "Revolutionary Visions: Between Genesis and Utopia" for publication. With a study of the ways in which authors ranging from Milton to Mary Shelley reinterpreted and recast the Bible, she demonstrates that a wealth of perspectives, positions, and beliefs are not comprehended in historical models of linear continuity and progression towards secularization.

**Jennifer Andersen** is an Assistant Professor of English at California State University at San Bernadino. She received her Ph.D. from Yale in 1996. Professor Andersen is coediting a volume of essays generated by her colleagues in the 1997 NEH summer institute directed by Steven Zwicker,



"Habits of Reading in Early Modern England." Her dissertation examined changing perspectives on the purposes of reading from pre- to post-Reformation England. Her current research focuses upon literary responses to the threat of separatism that Puritanism posed to a comprehensive sense of church. She seeks to locate symptoms of anxiety or of recuperation in the works of Donne, Herbert, Burton, Webster, Middleton, Crashaw, and Traherne.

**Paula S.D. Barker** is an Associate Professor of Historical Theology at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, where she is currently redesigning a core course on the origins and development of Anglicanism. In 1990, she received her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago Divinity School. In 1993, she was ordained as an Episcopal priest. Professor Barker's early scholarship focused upon the resistance to the Lutheran Reformation by such figures as Nuremberg abbess Caritas Pirckheimer, who refused to allow her convent to be closed. Her more recent research on English topics includes Richard Hooker's concept of participation in God and the appropriation of late medieval mystical theology by the recusants Augustine Baker and Gertrude More.

**Tom Bishop** is an Associate Professor of English at Case Western Reserve University, where he is also director of the Baker-Nord Center for the Humanities. In his book *Shakespeare and the Theater of Wonder* (1996), he examined the relations of charismatic experience to theatrical fictions. In general, he is interested in the ways in which the category of the sacred can provide an orientation for reading Shakespeare. In particular, he is interested in how contemporary readings of the Bible and para-Biblical works, such as those by Foxe and Calvin, shaped early readers' expectations about the power of texts to gather and illuminate patterns of experience.

**Elizabeth Burow-Flak** is an Assistant Professor of English at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana. In 1997, she received her Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin, where she coauthored a textbook for first-year writing students. Professor Burow-Flak is currently revising her dissertation for publication. In it she connects two trends in seventeenth-century women's writings: the increase in printed works by women and a tendency by women writers to equate print authorship with sainthood. In case studies of such authors as Aemelia Lanyer, Anna Trapnel, Anne Bradstreet, and Mary Rowlandson, she finds the writer's self-representation shaped by the conventions of hagiography.

**Susan E. Dinan** received her Ph.D. in 1996 from the University of Wisconsin at Madison and is an Assistant Professor of History at the C.W. Post campus of Long Island University. A scholar of the counter-Reformation in seventeenth-century France, Professor Dinan examines the confraternity of the Daughters of Charity who avoided the Council of Trent's dictated enclosure of all religious women. In the ability of the Daughters of Charity to both challenge and cultivate the ideals of the Catholic Reformation, Professor Dinan finds exemplary tensions and balances between local initiative and institutional controls and between clergy and laity for the authority to define the sacred.

**Karen Guest** is an Assistant Professor of History at Georgetown College in Kentucky. She has a strong background in imperial and Asian history, but the subject of her Ph.D. dissertation, at the University of Virginia, was the oppositional relationship between Bishops Thomas Cranmer and Stephen Gardiner over almost every issue of the Henrician reformation. Her current project studies Gardiner's use of traditional protestant "weapons" such as vernacular language, patristics, and scripture in resistance to evangelical religious practices in the early Reformation. Her next project will be a biography of another bishop, Gilbert Burnet.

**Elena Levy-Navarro** wrote her dissertation at Yale under the direction of Thomas Greene. She is now an Assistant Professor in the Department of Languages and Literature at the University of Wisconsin at Whitewater. Her scholarly interests center upon how members of the Church of England reconciled Calvinist doctrine with inherited Catholic rituals. How, she asks, do different individuals conceive of their Church Settlement? Her book-length study of John Donne demonstrates that while he supports the broad outlines of the Jacobean Church settlement, Donne is also careful in sermons to restrict the King's authority to the civil sphere, thus reserving for preachers like himself the real divine authority of the church.

**Catherine M. A. McCauliff** holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Toronto and a J.D. from the University of Chicago. She is Professor of Law at Seton Hall University School of Law, where she teaches a course on English legal history, in addition to standard business law courses. The treason trials of More, Laud, and Charles II and their religious contexts are one of the topics she teaches; an examination of the founding of Newark, NJ, by Connecticut dissenters in 1666 is another. She is currently designing a new humanities seminar for law students that would explore the interrelationships of the sacred with public and private law in seventeenth-century England.

**Debra A. Meyers** is an Assistant Professor of History at the C.W. Post campus of Long Island University, where she is a member of a committee exploring the feasibility of a religious studies program. She received her Ph.D. in history in 1997 from the University of Rochester. Professor Meyers is currently revising her dissertation, "Religion, Women, and the Family in Maryland, 1634-1713." She reconstructs the mentalité of early modern Marylanders on the basis of such documents as wills, gravestone verses, court records, and family genealogies. Among other things, she traces the impact of piety on familial relations, as manifest in property distribution.

**Maryclaire Moroney**, Associate Professor of English at John Carroll University, received her Ph.D. in English from Harvard University in 1991. She has published on Spenser and is currently writing a book that investigates early modern Britain's self-construction after the Dissolution as expressed through literary and antiquarian representations of the medieval past. She examines the way such authors as Bale, Spenser, Herrick, and Dugdale test the literary and figurative boundaries between secular and sacred spaces, and she compares the rhetoric of these discussions with those concerning "unreformable" Ireland.

**Scott R. Pilarz, S.J.**, is an Assistant Professor of English at Georgetown University. In addition to degrees in philosophy, divinity, and theology, he obtained a Ph.D. in English in 1996 from the City University of New York. He wrote his dissertation on John Donne's and Robert Southwell's understanding of the nature and function of the priesthood, an institution much affected by the Reformation. A study of Southwell's spiritual and intellectual formation is among his works-in-progress. In the Institute, he hopes to find pedagogical strategies with which to complicate his students' Whiggish notions of the Reformation.

**Colleen M. Seguin** is a Lilly Fellow in the Humanities and Arts at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana. In 1997, she received her Ph.D in history from Duke University. In a revision of her dissertation, "Addicted Unto Piety": Catholic Women in England, 1590-1690," Professor Seguin challenges contemporary readings of the early modern patriarchy with an examination of the quietly efficacious and pragmatic activism of pious recusant women (wives, penitents, mothers, and nuns). She looks forward to a summer with such basic research tools as the Calendar of State Papers near at hand.

**Olga Valbuena**, an Assistant Professor of English at Wake Forest University, received her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from the State University of New York at Buffalo. The book she is currently researching, "Equivocal Subjects: Writing and Resistance to Tyranny in Early Modern England," explores the use of oppositional religious discourse as a justification for opposing tyranny. She locates narrative and political resistance *within* texts by Shakespeare, Cary, Donne, and Milton to make the case that a climate of repression and self-censorship invited authors to engage in a productive concealment that might protect the boundaries of interpretation while still allowing for the expression of individual conscience.

**John N. Wall** is a Professor of English at North Carolina State University, with a Master's of Divinity from the Episcopal Theological School. He returns to full-time teaching in the fall after years of administrative work. Author of *Transformations of the Word: Spenser, Herbert, Vaughan* (1988), Professor Wall has published widely on subjects that include Shakespeare, Erasmus, Hooker, and the Book of Common Prayer. His current research project is a study of Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* in its literary, spiritual, and social contexts. He argues that Donne's pastoral style—one that ministers by being ministered to—derives from Reformation interpretations of sickness as a visitation from God.

**Jeffrey M. Wheeler** is a Visiting Professor of English at Pepperdine University. He received his Ph.D. in English from the University of Southern California in 1996, where his dissertation had a bibliography that looks very much like the Institute's list of visiting faculty. He is currently revising the dissertation for publication with the tentative title of *Firebrands of Reform*. In it, he examines the transformation of popular medieval religious forms, especially religious relics, into points of Protestant attack. In the course of the summer, he hopes to focus on the strategic deployment of Protestant hagiography, replete with polemical humor, in the works of Bale and Foxe.

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## Suggested Reading

### Theology and Theory

- Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London, 1973)
- Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology* (Princeton, 1961-75)
- Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (New York, 1915)
- Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1957)
- Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957)
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