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“The text and the occasion mingled together make a
chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white,
mourning and joy”: Visual Elements of
the Printed Funeral Sermon in
Early Modern England

Hannah Yip

It is the intention of this article to draw attention to printed images and visual elements of the sermon in early modern England, which have not constituted a serious area of focused enquiry thus far. Although scholars have long recognised the centrality of the sermon to post-Reformation worship, its printed form and the way it was read has remained a secondary consideration, too often regarded as an inert “postscript” to the original performance. This essay will therefore highlight the visual signals provided for the reader’s interpretation and edification in the preacher’s absence. It brings the printed image in one of the most disseminated religious literatures of the period to the fore, questioning its role in relation to the text and considering its ambiguous status in an era in which the Christian religion was constantly negotiating its relationship with images. Focusing in particular on the portrait of the deceased and the representation of epitaphs in two seventeenth-century funeral sermons, it offers a reinterpretation of these texts as illustrated books which shared fundamental values with the portrait miniature in gift culture, and with the funeral monument in its visual and textual aid to remembrance of the exemplary dead.

Broadly defined as a discourse upon a chosen Biblical text delivered by a preacher to a congregation or auditory, the Protestant sermon in early modern England sought to apply these selected passages to the listeners’

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lives, exhorting them to act upon the lessons learnt in order to achieve salvation (McCullough, "Sermons" 566). Over the past two decades, scholars have devoted considerable attention to this genre of oral text, acknowledging its status as "the era's most characteristic religious genre" (Morrissey, "Interdisciplinarity" 1112), "the ideal vehicle to express the bibliocentric core of Protestantism" (Pettegree 38) and "the most significant expression of the English church's values and authority" after the Reformation (Shami 155). In particular, there has been much valuable interdisciplinary scholarship that considers the sermon in light of its original contexts as preached, from a comprehensive overview of preaching in various architectural settings within early modern London (Rhatigan) to an exhaustive reconstruction of the heraldic funerals of Sir William Cokayne in December 1626, with John Donne's sermon as the centrepiece (McCullough, "Preaching and Context"). However, amidst this outpouring of studies addressing preaching, audiences and circumstances of delivery (in particular, Kirby and Stanwood; Hunt; "Virtual St Paul's Cathedral Project"), scholarship which centres on the sermon in print is comparatively limited, despite its integral place in the early modern book trade (Green 194; Rigney 204; McCullough, "Sermons" 560). Routinely classified as "static, typeset texts" (Walsham, *Providence* 282) which were "postscripts" to performance (Ferrell 199), commentators have tended to concentrate primarily upon the logistics of the movement of sermons from pulpit to page (Hunt 131-63; Morrissey, *Politics* 42-49; Rigney 200-02). Consequently, the minutiae concerning the intended manner in which consumers were to read and interpret these religious texts have only been partially addressed (Lund 147-53).

It is, therefore, the objective of this essay to argue the case for an additional interdisciplinary focus for the early modern sermon; specifically, one which considers the printed sermon as an historical, material artefact in its own right. The quotation in the paper's title is derived from Edward Rainbowe's sermon preached at the funeral of Susanna Howard, Countess of Suffolk in 1649. The lugubrious "occasion" and the "text" are not only drawn vividly together with Rainbowe's "chequer-worke" of "black and white"; such a metaphor is also exploited in the printed version (British Library, E.532.[40.]). The "sad occasion" of the congregation's meeting, which set "a black and mournfull Preface before the Text" (Rainbowe Br), is represented in print by a solid black rectangle placed before the chosen Biblical text of Ecclesiastes 7:1, inviting contemplation without the preacher's exhortation (Figure 1). Rainbowe immediately continues by counselling the reader to take comfort from both the text and Howard's virtuous memory; like the printed

page itself, “[t]he text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy” (Br).

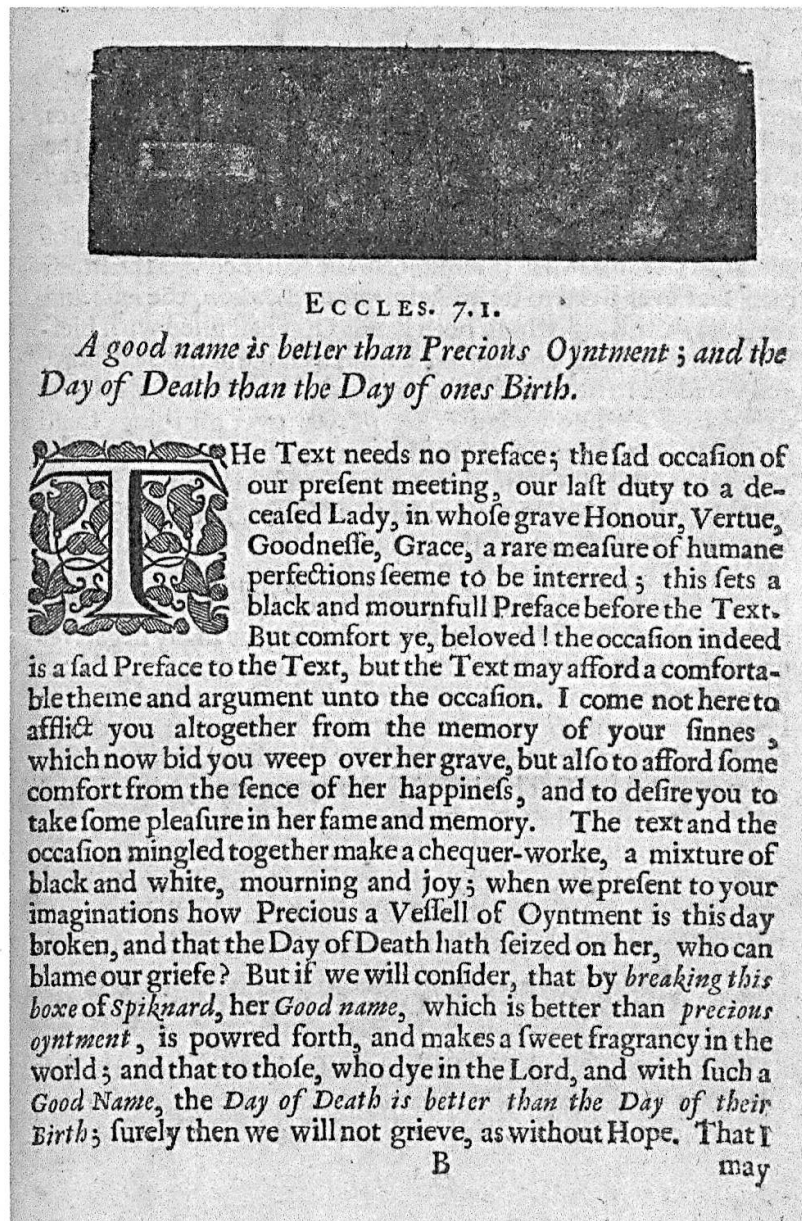


Figure 1: Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at Walden in Essex, May 29th, &c.* London: W. Wilson for Gabriell Bedell, M. M. and T. C., 1649. 4°. © The British Library Board, General Reference Collection E.532.(40.). Reproduced by kind permission.

By drawing attention to some of the ways in which early modern printed sermons made use of visual stimuli to guide a reader's spiritual edification, this paper aims to give prominence to the intrinsic value of a bibliographical and art-historical reading of these religious texts. Such an approach builds upon the typical concentration upon textual imagery

which lies at the heart of the current scholarship on early modern printed sermons (Hodgson 4-6; Lund 156-57). Furthermore, by highlighting the prevalence of visual forms in a printed text which represents "the core of all Protestant worship" (Pettegree 38), this article seeks to support ongoing debates refuting older arguments for Protestant "iconophobia" and the entrenched perception of the religious persecution of the image in post-Reformation England (Hamling and Willis; Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia* 8 and 22-29; Barber and Boldrick 6, 9, 20-21 and *passim*). Tessa Watt, Tara Hamling, David J. Davis and Alexandra Walsham (see works listed in the Bibliography; Walsham, "Idols"), among others, have argued persuasively for a more nuanced interpretation of the manner in which images could operate within a Protestant framework, revealing their presence in diverse contexts from the Protestant household (Hamling) to the Protestant emblem book (Diehl). Nonetheless, within meticulous surveys of the relationship between Protestantism and the illustrated print culture of the era (Watt, particularly 131-50; Davis, particularly 45-69; Walsham, "Idols" 23-27), the printed sermon represents a prolific and somewhat overlooked source which might substantially endorse these claims for a variegated Protestant visual culture in post-Reformation England.

In an essay of minor proportions, an analysis of two particular features of a specific type of sermon must suffice. This essay will therefore focus on the "pictorial migration" (Aston, "Bibles to Ballads" 113; Walsham, "Idols" 45) of two forms of commemorative material culture to two seventeenth-century Protestant funeral sermons: namely, the portrait miniature in *The Churches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly* by Richard Stock (1614; Bodleian Library, 8° L 100(2) Th.), and the epitaph in *Death and the Grave* by Thomas Dugard (1649; British Library, 1417.c.19.). Notable for their "blend of biographical detail and exemplary purpose" (Molekamp 44), scholars have made various observations upon the preaching of funeral sermons, within the context of the extravagant visual culture of commemoration, as an exclusive privilege of the social elites of early modern England (Gittings 175-76 and 217; McCullough, "Preaching and Context" 229-31). However, printed funeral sermons, considered as gifts intended to secure noble patronage, have not thus far been subjected to close scrutiny for their active reflection of this culture. These two works have been selected from a period in which published funeral sermons first began to thrive in the book trade (Collinson, "Magazine" 245; Tromly 310-11), with a prominent peak in publication during the Civil Wars and Interregnum (Collinson, "Magazine" 246; Houlbrooke 298). With its striking woodcuts that al-

lude to the portrait miniature in their idiosyncratic construction, *The Churches Lamentation* will be understood as a memorial token of condolence and gratitude for Richard Stock's bereaved patrons. The carefully annotated portrait of the deceased, situated amongst a series of visual representations of heraldic and personal prestige, also contributed significantly to the didactic value of the sermon for the wider reading public, giving weight to its portrayal of the deceased as a paragon of exemplarity. In his funeral sermon for Lady Alice Lucy, Thomas Dugard portrays her commissioned funeral monument and its epitaphs as a prime example of the deceased gentlewoman's modesty (Cust). An examination of the reproduction of these epitaphs in the printed sermon-book not only observes the transfer of this message for the benefit of subsequent readers, but also looks closely at their formation as composites of text and printers' designs, questioning their classification as images.

Considered tangentially from the perspective of authorship, reception and reputation, portraits of preachers are the most recognised visual element of the early modern printed sermon (Howe 477; Hunt 19; Dixon 465, 468, 473 and 475). Printed portraits of the deceased subjects of funeral sermons, on the other hand, have been little explored and have been regarded, if at all, as curiosities to be mentioned only in passing (Collinson, "Magazine" 245 n. 98). It is possible that this oversight stems from the need for a deeper understanding of the printed funeral sermon as a commemorative artefact within the culture of public gift-giving and patronage (Lund 149). Ralph Houlbrooke (302-03), Paul Seaver ("Puritan Preachers" 131-34) and Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos have taken useful steps in this direction. The latter describes published funeral sermons as "often the product of the relations between clergymen and their lay patrons, to whom a sermon for a deceased relative was presented at their request and as a tribute and 'return of gratitude' for their favours" (Krausman Ben-Amos 229). Developing these observations further, an analysis of the portrait of the deceased within *The Churches Lamentation* by Richard Stock, alongside due consideration for the work's patronage, foregrounds the printed sermon's affinity with the material gift of the portrait miniature, described by Roy Strong as "an art form peculiarly expressive of Protestant England" ("Introduction" 9). Moreover, it will be suggested that, together with the preceding symbols of family standing and personal achievement, this portrait served

not merely to enhance but to exceed certain biographical elements of this particular sermon.

It was certainly the case that many seventeenth-century Protestant preachers regarded portraiture and biography as “sister arts” (Wendorf 120), their final duty to the deceased being to imitate the painter in this respect. Such connections, as part of the large stock of “figurative embellishment[s] in word painting [. . .] appropriated by preachers” (Aston, “Art and Idolatry” 250), were expressed either within the accounts of the deceased in the sermon proper or in the dedicatory epistles to the published sermons. These were often addressed to the preachers’ (prospective) patrons. Gaspar Hicckes, in his obsequious epistle to Sir Edward and Lady Frances Barkham, writes of the deceased’s “*excellencies, which deserve to be drawn and flourished by the most curious pencill*” (A2^v). Addressing his congregation at the funeral of Sir John Gayr, Nathaniel Hardy wishes for “time to draw his Picture to the length, and skill to doe it to the Life” (25). Robert Willan, writing to the Right Honourable Anne Bayning, Viscountess of Sudbury, is more confident: “*Accept then these lines wherein you may behold so true a Portrayture of your deceased Lord, that those which enuyed him cannot obiect flattery, nor such as lou’d and honour’d him, detraction to the Pencill*” (A3^v). Finally, Jeremy Taylor takes these metaphors further by intermingling tears of grief with an artist’s palette, presenting Richard Vaughan, Second Earl of Carbery, with his wife’s “*picture; drawn in little and in water-colours, sullyed indeed with tears and the abrupt accents of a reall and consonant sorrow; but drawn with a faithfull hand, and taken from the life*” (A2^v). The biographical “portraiture” within the funeral sermon might therefore be profitably placed alongside the “water-colours” of the portrait miniature. Preaching upon the death of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Samuel Fairclough draws the parallels between his own art, manuscript illumination and the related art of limning:

[. . .] I *actually* perform *no more* then he that undertook to represent the beams and body of the *Sun*, onely by making a *pricke* or *dot* of gold with his pen, in a fair sheet of paper; or *that Limner*, who having undertaken to draw a most beautifull picture, finding his skill *insufficient*, cast a vail over the face of it, to *cover his own ignorance*, as well as the beauty of the piece. (11)

In an insightful article on limning in sixteenth-century England, Katherine Coombs traces the origins of the term as “coming from the Latin ‘luminare,’ to give light”; that is, to illuminate meaning (“Limning” 78). Fairclough’s analogy aptly relates these delicate arts to his central task of deciphering the Biblical text, illuminating its meaning, and succinctly

framing the life of the deceased in such a way that the auditors can learn by example. From these initial accounts, it is possible to draw comparisons between a preacher's depiction of the illustrious deceased for the benefit of the living and as consolation for his distinguished patrons, and the limner's highest aims to portray the best moral aspects of the sitter (Hilliard 54) for the edification of an exclusive group of onlookers.

Such a conceit is carried out to its fullest iconographical extent in Richard Stock's *The Chvrches Lamentation*, preached at the funeral of John Harington, Second Baron Harington of Exton and published in 1614. Perhaps best remembered today as John Milton's boyhood minister, London preacher Richard Stock was the Rector of All Hallows, Bread Street from 1611 until his death in 1626 (Seaver, "Stock, Richard" 240). Although little has surfaced regarding the particulars of Stock's relations with the Harington family (Pebworth 19-20 n. 4), it is notable that this handsomely illustrated text represents the only funeral sermon within Stock's extremely slim output of publications, suggesting the importance attached to his homage to them. The early demise of Harington, an eminent courtier and close friend of Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, inspired an outpouring of public grief from artists, poets, and the godly clergymen who he had patronised alike (Pebworth 27-31; Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales* 20-22; Healy), and elements from their tributes seem to unite in this printed text.

The title page of *The Chvrches Lamentation* is immediately followed by an escutcheon containing the Harington family crest (Figure 2). This dynastic symbol comes directly before a double-page spread displaying a fascinating image purporting to represent Harington's medal commemorating his knighthood (Pebworth 29; Healy), but which also strongly resembles a portrait miniature locket and pendant (Coombs, *Portrait Miniature* 22 and 62). The portrait of Harington, within an "intimate small oval" characteristic of the early seventeenth-century English portrait miniature (Coombs, *Portrait Miniature* 45), is identically proportioned and adjacent to this image, almost as if the two pictures constitute the two opened halves of the locket (Figures 3 and 4). All three images are accompanied by epigrams in both Latin and English contributed by an anonymous author and Harington's friends, John Playfere and Francis Herring (Robbins 775), summarising the lineage, accomplishments and virtues of "that truly noble, and most hopefull young Gentleman" (Stock title page).

In the epistle dedicated to Harington's sister, mother and aunt, Stock expresses concern that "any should taxe [him] with flattery" (a^r), revealing a major preoccupation of early modern Protestant preachers who were

anxious to avoid charges of “pagan” over-zealous praise of the dead by radical reformers (Willan A3^v; Tromly 301). At the same time, however, he also wishes to reconcile “*the loue and honour*” that he bore towards Harington with the instructive function of the sermon, “*to make euident to others for imitation, that grace which God had made so eminent in [Harington]*” (Stock n.p.). As “commemorative aids” (Diehl 56), these printed, annotated images seem to compensate for several omissions made by Stock in the sermon. Dedicating most of his eulogy, which begins at page 61, to an appropriately godly discussion of Harington’s “*Sobriety, Iustice, [and] Piety*” (Stock 71-105), he deigns to “*passee by the birth of this honorable person, and his progenitours*” (Stock 64), already represented in the “ample Coate” (Figure 2), actively omits “*to speake of his education and bringing vp*” and declines to “*stand vppon his naturall parts of wit, memory, sweetnes of nature [and] habilitie of body*” (Stock 66), all depicted in the epigrams underneath Harington’s portrait (Figure 4). The representative portrait miniature jewel also evokes Stock’s intentions for the octavo-format sermon to serve “*as a small testimonie of [his] thankfull minde*” (a2^r); namely, as a token exchanged in favour for the continued patronage of the Harington family. David L. Gants notes that two-thirds of single sermon-books published between 1614 and 1618 were in the larger quarto format (Gants 190; Hunt 169; Morrissey, *Politics* 42-43). This additional perspective underlines the more personal and intimate nature of this printed sermon.

Their evident value to the work notwithstanding, it is important to recognise that it was clearly necessary to relegate these images to their proper place by means of the accompanying epigrams, which ensured the reader’s correct assimilation of them. Thus, although the “ample Coate speaks auntient vertues praise,” it is determinedly inferior to Harington’s “greater merits” which “nobler trophe’s raise.” This tiny poem hints that these qualities will be divulged for the curious reader, encouraging them to look beyond this initial page. Playfere’s pithy couplets inscribed underneath the representation of the medal direct the reader’s thoughts away from worldly successes – and indeed earthly possessions such as a portrait miniature jewel – and towards heaven (“*In caelis illum proxima pene locant*”; “[. . .] he climbs beyond the Spheares”). Finally, while Herring presents Harington’s portrait as a beautiful depiction of the features of the deceased (“*Aspicias Herois vultum, graphicamque figuram*”), in which the viewer is able to see the “true likenesses” (“*Effigiem verae*”) of virtue, nobility, candour and religiosity, he deems it impossible for anyone to “paint” his spirit. Playfere goes even further with this point;



Figure 2: Richard Stock, *The Churches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly*. London: John Beale, 1614. 8°. First woodcut after title page. Page size: 164 × 110 mm. With permission from the Bodleian Library, 8° L 100(2) Th.

as a “dead picture” which portrays but a Lord, the portrait cannot depict Harington’s soul, and that “[i]f his soules portrait ’twere,” it would be able to speak of the achievements and virtues which once characterised the Baron. Ultimately, despite the portrait’s commendable efforts to achieve the limner’s ideal, the reader is firmly reminded that it is still only a “likeness.” These thought-provoking images, placed at the very beginning of the work in order to set up its principal objective to “*keep the righteous in a blessed memoriall or remembrance [. . .] to make that common to others*” (Stock n.p.), also appear to complement the very nature of Stock’s chosen Biblical text around which the sermon is based (Micah



Figure 3: Richard Stock, *The Churches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly*. London: John Beale, 1614. 8°. Second woodcut after title page. Page size: 164 × 110 mm. With permission from the Bodleian Library, 8° L 100(2) Th.

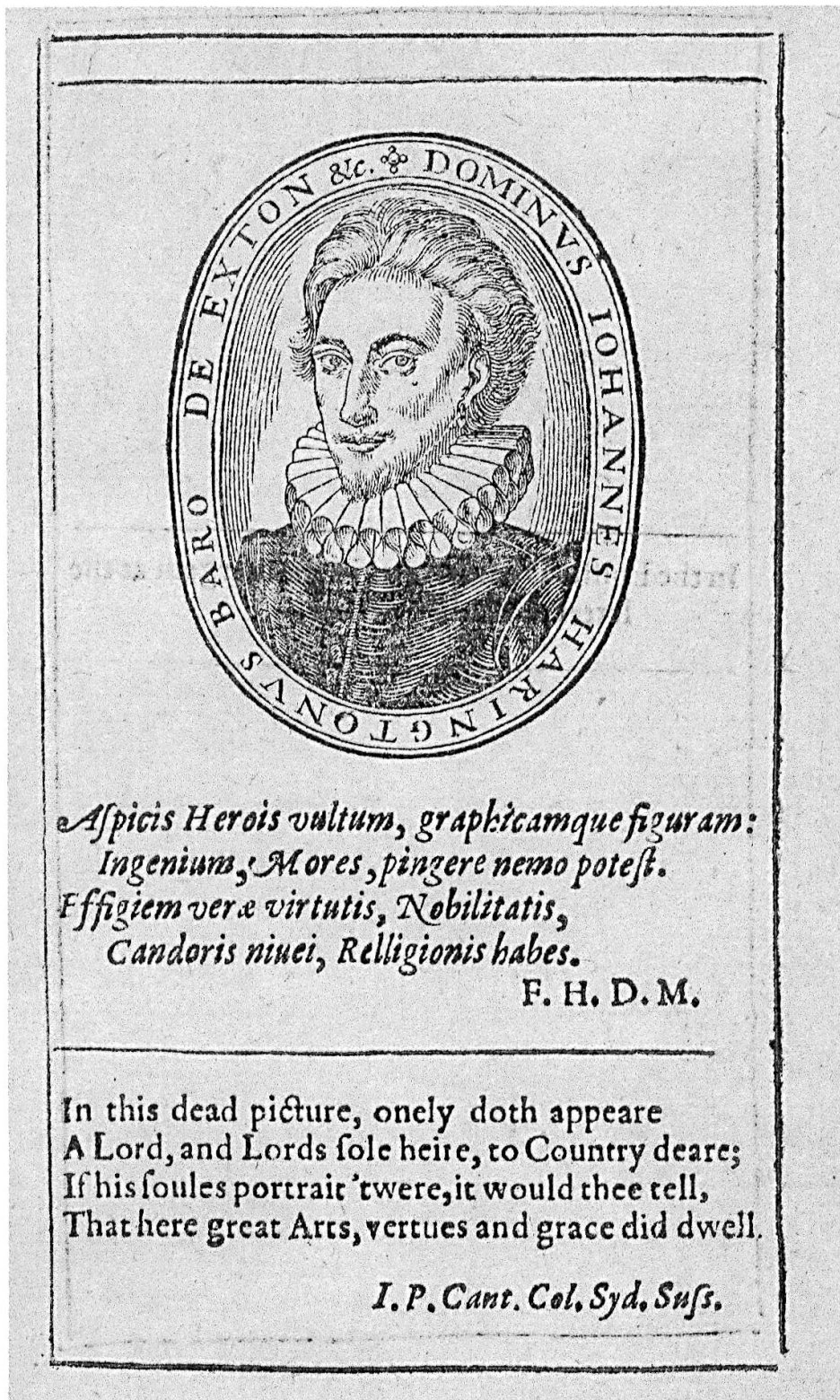


Figure 4: Richard Stock, *The Churches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly*. London: John Beale, 1614. 8°. Third woodcut after title page. Page size: 164 × 110 mm. With permission from the Bodleian Library, 8° L 100(2) Th.

7:1-2). The preacher states that the first part of the text is “set downe first vnder a Parable and similitude, which helps both present attention, and future memory, being delightfull” (5). On the other hand, the second part “without parable [. . .] truly enformeth the iudgement, being perspicuous” (5). Indeed, a final image, placed at the very end of the printed sermon, requires no explanatory verse. The representation of a coffin draped with a black pall is an unmistakable summation of the occasion and the latter part of the text: “*The good man is perished out of the earth, and there is none righteous among men*” (Stock 1).

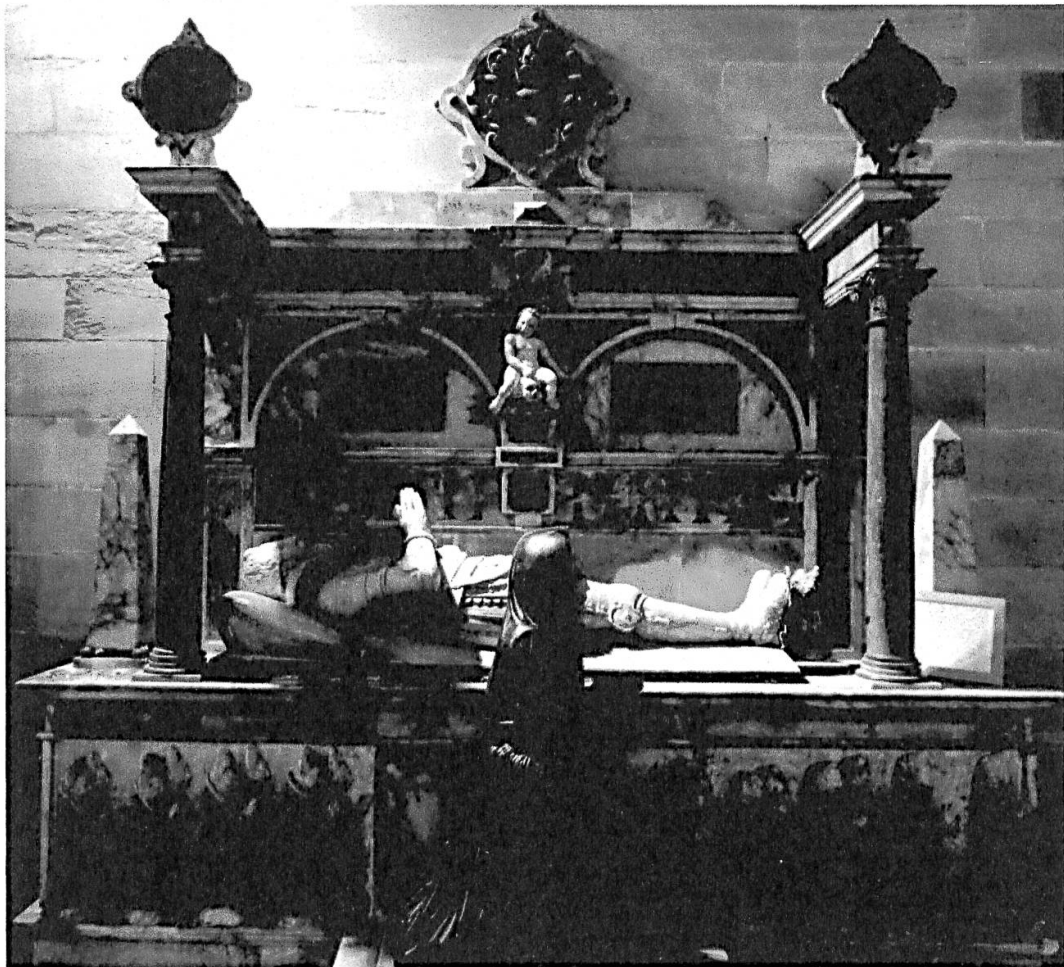


Figure 5: Bartholomew Ayte and Isaac James, Sir Thomas and Lady Constance Lucy monument. St Leonard's Church, Charlecote. Alabaster, marble and oolite. c. 1605. © Hannah Yip

The final part of this essay turns to the representation of what was arguably “the most important kind of church art” made in post-Reformation England (Llewellyn, “Honour” 179) within the printed

funeral sermon. Thomas Dugard's *Death and the Grave*, preached at the funeral of Lady Alice Lucy in August 1648 and published in 1649, features various allusions to the funeral monument, from the verbal description of the actual funeral monument of Sir Thomas and Lady Alice (42-43) to the distinctive typographical designs of the first and final pages of the printed text. Like Stock's sermon, *Death and the Grave* represents the only funeral sermon in Dugard's published oeuvre. Dugard was Lady Alice's household preacher for three years (Dugard a^r; Cust), an occupation which required considerable dedication as she was an invalid, unable to "*visit the Hous of God*" (Dugard 45-46). The Warwickshire gentlewoman was, like Lord Harington, a committed patron of godly preachers (Cust); such was her piety that Samuel Clarke dedicated an entry to her in his *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (Part the Second 140-43), reproducing much of Dugard's eulogy.

Attention is immediately drawn to the visual elements of the printed page with the intriguing inscription of the names of Lady Alice's children at the beginning of the dedicatory epistle (Dugard a^r). "The Remain's of that Honorable Pair, Sir THOMAS LUCIE Knight, and the Ladie ALICE his Wife" (Dugard a^r) are divided into two adjacent lists according to gender, calling to mind contemporary funeral monuments which would sometimes include effigies of the offspring, separated by gender, on their parents' tombs. The children would undoubtedly have known about such monuments as their grandfather's memorial at their family seat in Charlecote, Warwickshire featured this specific arrangement (Figure 5). Identifying the children as the patrons of the published sermon, Dugard writes: "*I was in a manner necessitated, as before to the Pulpit, so now to the Press; my former relation to your Noble Familie [. . .] not excusing mee from the one, nor your Pietie toward your dearest Parent from the other*" (a^r-a^v). Dugard's textual "monument" constructed for the offspring of Sir Thomas and Lady Alice Lucy can be viewed in light of the significance which he accords to "that *Magnificent Monument*" (42) commissioned by Lady Alice for her husband. Reproductions of the epitaphs from this monument appear as an appendix in the printed funeral sermon (Figures 6 to 8).

The "title page" of the epitaphs is noteworthy in its economical construction. The imprinted borders of Sir Thomas's epitaph on the verso are clearly visible, thus forming part of the design on this page which represents "THE MONUMENT" to the deceased. Sir Thomas's epitaph is set out on a double-page spread to facilitate reading of the text, which is taken directly from his original epitaph and recounts his numerous virtues. The shapes of both epitaphs correlate to the originals (Figures 9

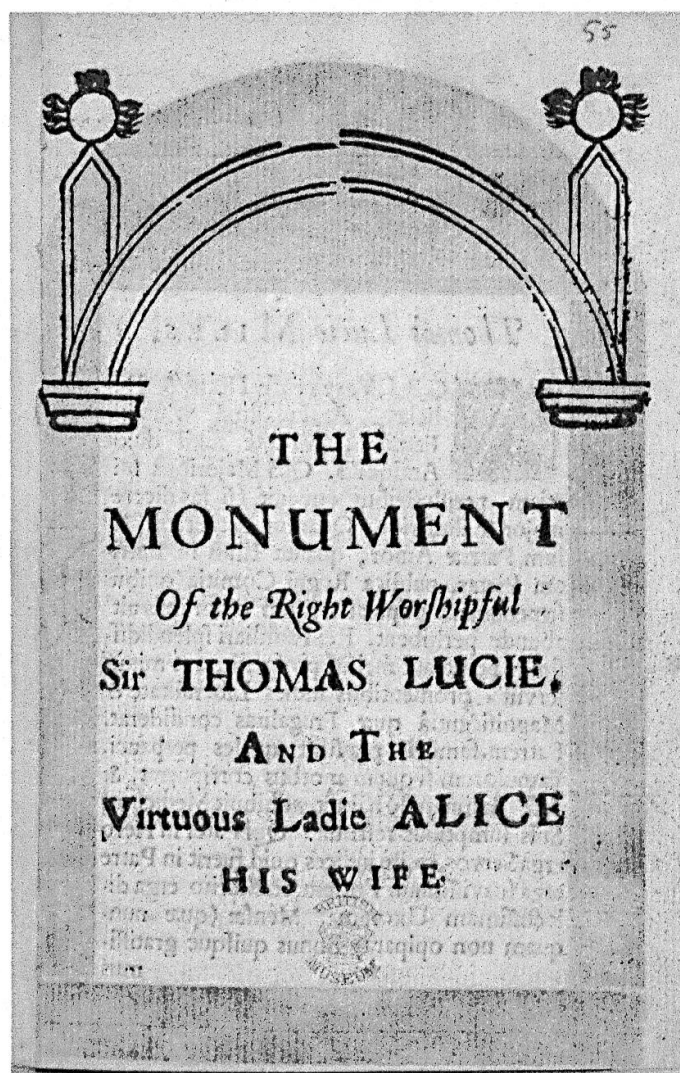


Figure 6: Thomas Dugard, *Death and the Grave: Or a Sermon Preached at the Funeral of that Honorable and Virtuous Ladie, the Ladie ALICE LUCIE, August 17. 1648*. London: William Dugard, 1649. 4°. Page size: 176 × 120 mm. © The British Library Board, General Reference Collection 1417.c.19. Reproduced by kind permission.

and 10), and are outlined by mourning borders which more frequently adorned the title pages of printed elegies and funeral sermons from the 1640s onwards (C.; Sedgwick). The principal departure from the monument, apart from the insertion of “*Domina*” in Lady Alice’s epitaph, is found in the floral elements which are incorporated into both image-designs. Foliated initials are used in both epitaphs and an arabesque fills the remaining space left after Lady Alice’s considerably shorter epitaph, upon which Dugard had previously placed emphasis in the sermon as a hallmark of her own modesty (“such was her *modestie*, that [. . .] shee would not *suffer* her *Epitaph* to *bear* anie *proportion* with *His*”, 42). The arabesque is also possibly suggestive of the common con-

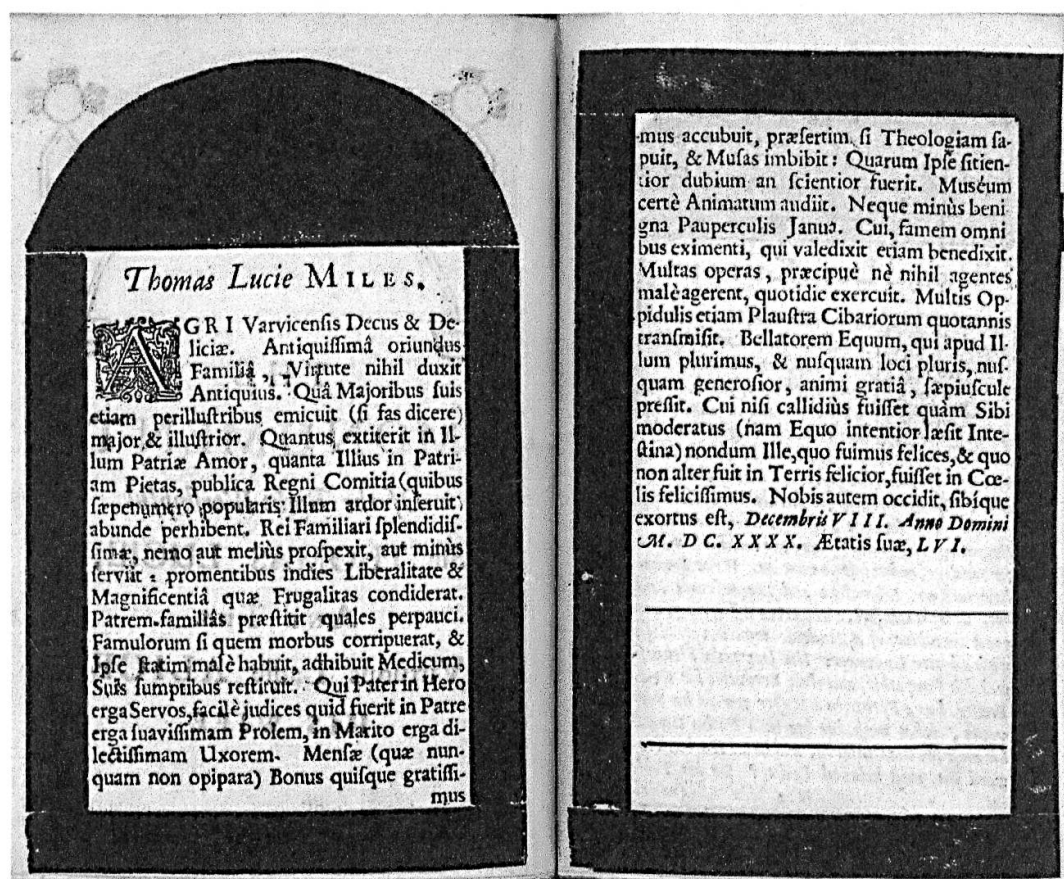


Figure 7: Thomas Dugard, *Death and the Grave: Or a Sermon Preached at the Funeral of that Honorable and Virtuouse Ladie, the Ladie ALICE LUCIE, August 17. 1648*. London: William Dugard, 1649. 4°. Page size: 176 × 120 mm. © The British Library Board, General Reference Collection 1417.c.19. Reproduced by kind permission.

ceit of “flowers for the hearse” used by many preachers to characterise their verbal tributes to the deceased (Watson 28; Cartwright n.p.). Indeed, Dugard unleashes a eulogistic spate of floral imagery towards the end of the sermon, describing the gentlewoman as “a *choice Garden*; not onely free from *eminent weeds*, but *richly furnished* with all manner of *fragrant flowers* and *delicate fruits*” (51). Although Juliet Fleming has underscored the dangers of reading too much into “printers’ flowers” within sixteenth-century texts, which “elaborated, for the first time, an aesthetic order freed from the obligation to signify” (“Printed flower” 187), she concedes that “[i]conic connections” could be established in some later seventeenth-century texts; in particular, funeral sermons with imprinted borders of “death’s heads and hour-glasses” (“Changed opinion” 49).

Taking into account their simple composition of standard printers’ designs and text, it might be difficult to classify these printed epitaphs as images. Yet, their idiosyncratic framing and faithful adherence to the or-

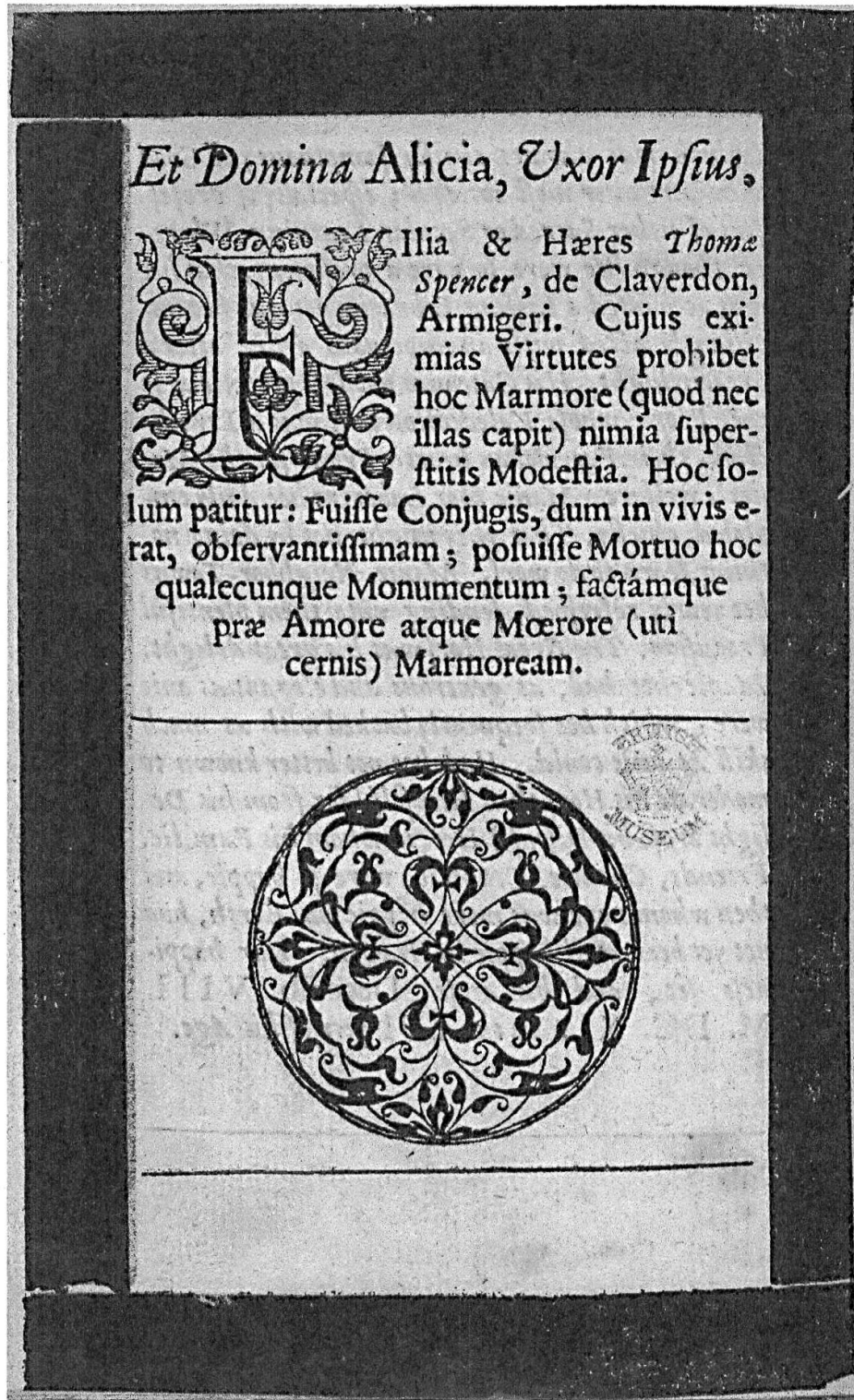


Figure 8: Thomas Dugard, *Death and the Grave: Or a Sermon Preached at the Funeral of that Honorable and Virtuous Ladie, the Ladie ALICE LUCIE, August 17. 1648.* London: William Dugard, 1649. 4°. Page size: 176 × 120 mm. © The British Library Board, General Reference Collection 1417.c.19. Reproduced by kind permission.

iginals leaves little doubt as to their intended visual representation of the funeral monument. Moreover, as mentioned above, Dugard alludes to the centrality of the “*Magnificent Monument*” within his exhortation, desiring his auditors – and his subsequent readers – to “expect no more but what may bee a Supplement or addition to [Lady Alice’s] Epitaph” (43). Acquainting his auditors and readers with the virtues “*forbidden*” by Lady Alice “*to make their appearance in that Marble*” (45–54), he describes in detail her godly reading and prayer (46–47), the religious upbringing of her children (47–48), and her charitable deeds (48–50). Notably, while the images in *The Churches Lamentation* served to offset Stock’s abridged tribute to Harington, the restrained epitaph of Lady Alice, which chiefly depicts her devotion to her husband (“*Fuisse Conjugis [. . .] observantissimam*”, Figure 8), is highlighted and bolstered by Dugard’s lengthy testimonial. These image-designs therefore constituted reference points for the reader at the end of the sermon-book. Translated into English and placed directly after the original Latin versions, the epitaphs were also accessible to a wider range of readers upon the sermon’s distribution, as compared with the inevitably limited number of onlookers who could read Latin within the parish at Charlecote. While the imposing nature of the marble monument, with Lady Alice’s epitaph at its foot to symbolise her subservience, was unable to translate onto the printed page, it is noteworthy that Sir Thomas Lucy’s epitaph on the double-page spread revealed more words than the original, which is forever partially obscured behind his effigy in real life.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that Dugard’s views on Lady Alice’s birthright, the first and only sentence dedicated exclusively to her in the epitaph, are in accord with Stock’s equivalent omission. “*Her Birth was none of Hers: and therefore cannot bee either her Virtue or her Prais*” (Dugard 43). By prioritising godly concerns over the worldly attributes of the deceased, Dugard guides the reader’s interpretation of the imminent printed epitaphs in a similar manner to the epigrams inscribed underneath the images in *The Churches Lamentation*. Further similarities can also be found in the ways in which the illustrative matter of the two sermons seems to complement the preachers’ interpretations of their chosen Biblical texts. Psalm 89:48 (“*What man is hee that liveth, and shall not see death? Shall hee deliver his soul from the hand of the grave? Selah*”, Dugard 1) is, for Dugard, “one of the Psalmist’s Winter-drops; a black line from that Pen, which erstwhile was so filled with Joy” (2). Such imagery evokes once more Rainbowe’s “black and mournfull Preface before the Text”; in *Death and the Grave*, the black lines from the printer’s

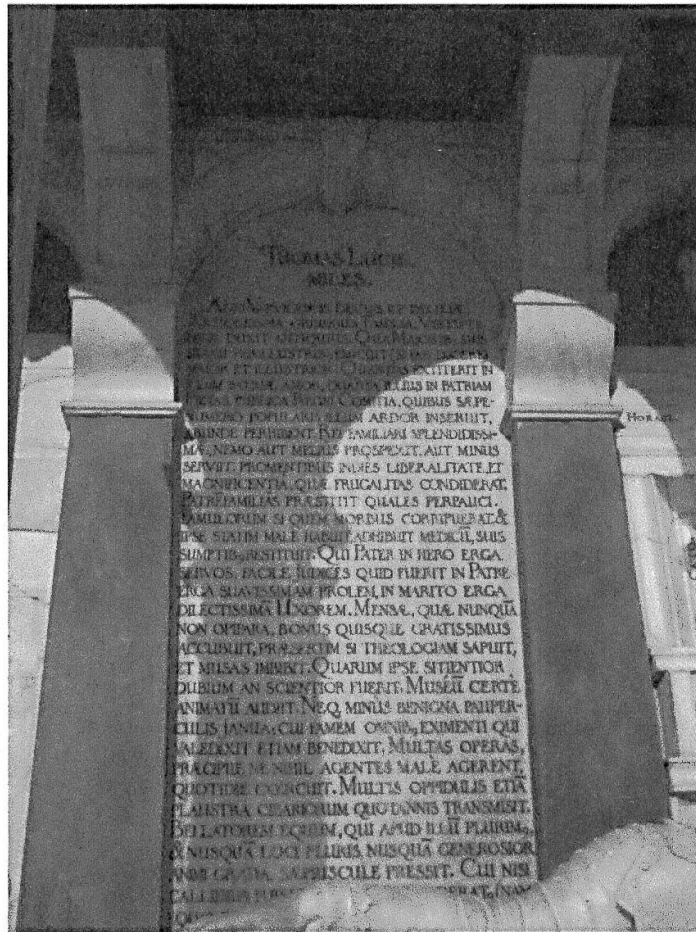


Figure 9: Nicholas Stone and John Schurman, Sir Thomas and Lady Alice Lucy monument. St Leonard's Church, Charlecote. Carrara marble. c. 1640. © Hannah Yip

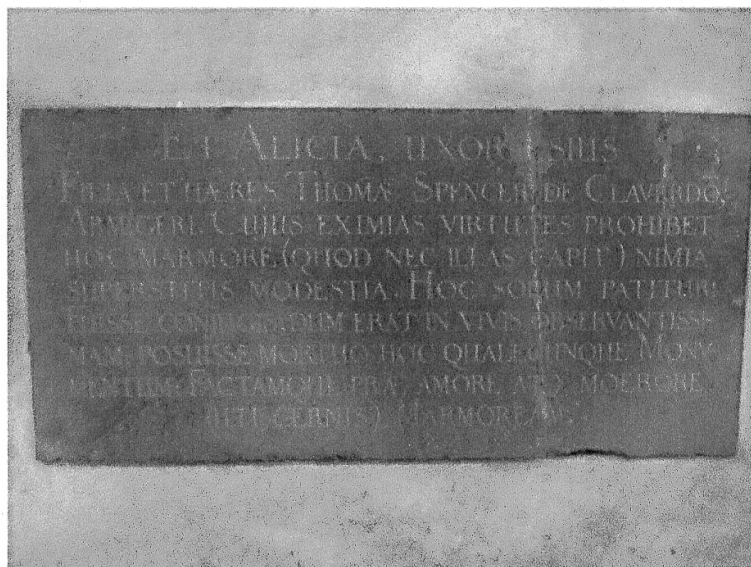


Figure 10: Nicholas Stone and John Schurman, Sir Thomas and Lady Alice Lucy monument. St Leonard's Church, Charlecote. Carrara marble. c. 1640. © Hannah Yip

“Pen” serve to illustrate the sombre verse, occasion and “Winter” of Lady Alice’s life.

The notoriously popular conception of “puritan barbarism” and widespread iconoclasm, particularly in the post-Reformation and Civil War periods (Parry 6 and 177), has obscured scholarly understanding of Protestants’ appropriation of visual culture in early modern England. Commentators focusing on the seventeenth century have emphasised the “censorious” godly preacher’s antagonistic attitudes towards the Laudian ascendancy that sought to promote a new visual culture of religion (Parry 5), and the propagandistic implementation of sermons, preached and published, to endorse parliamentary attacks on images during the Civil War (Spraggon 50-51). However, these two case studies have revealed that image and design could work in tandem with the text in the printed Protestant funeral sermon of the first half of the seventeenth century, providing models of exemplarity for the instruction of the living. To borrow a phrase from Tara Hamling, these visual elements were not merely decorative but constituted “intrinsically meaningful comments on religious and social concerns” (284). The printed portrait in *The Churches Lamentation* was analogous to the portrait miniature in its intimate visual depiction of the deceased, who was to be regarded by the common onlooker as an elite paradigm of godliness. Like the original epitaphs, the monumental allusions in *Death and the Grave* illustrated the Lucy family’s lineage and prestige within the community, but principally served to prompt pious meditation upon the dead as patterns for imitation (Llewellyn, *Art* 101-2). As bespoke publications, the two sermons clearly exhibit their origins as gifts from indebted preachers to bereaved patrons. This essay has gestured towards a vital consideration for the integral place of the printed sermon within the material and illustrated print cultures of the era. The printed funeral sermon was a record of an event which happened in the past; the hearse and funeral monument could be immortalised on paper by a portrait and a reproduction of the epitaph.

Indeed, a certain tension between the hierarchy of the senses is at play when considering the printed sermon as an oral text once spoken, heard and then adapted to be seen in material form, of which published preachers were very much aware. To “wrap my selfe in dead letters,” wrote Nathaniel Delaune, was to “helpe memorie in those that were

present, and to extend the benefit of Gods word to others that were absent" (A2^v-A3^r). Edward Boteler's "*Sheets*" as depicted within his dedicatory epistle to Elizabeth Sheffield, Countess of Mulgrave, constitute a pun on winding sheets and his own printed sheets, which showed "*more White in the gracious Life of [her] deceased LORD, then will chequer all the Blacks of his Death and Funerals*" (A3^v-A4^r). Thomas Gataker's *Saint Stevens Last Will and Testament*, which includes a winged death's head and the accompanying motto "SPES ADDIDIT ALAS" ("Hope has added wings") on its title page, is presented to his friend and fellow preacher Daniel Featley as a "private Monument, to lye by you as a memoriall of [the deceased]" (n.p.), demonstrating the fluidity of the visual, material and textual as forms of memorialisation, and accentuating the funeral sermon's possibility to serve as a "walking monument [. . .] in paper to all the World" (Shute A2^r).

Numerous avenues for further enquiry are still outstanding. This essay has merely hinted at the blurred boundaries between image and typographical design in Dugard's printed funeral sermon. A detailed analysis which fully unpacks the definition of the "image" in the printed sermon, coupled with a statistical evaluation of its frequency in the formidable volume of material to be examined, has been beyond the scope of this small study. Archival research which investigates, for example, preachers' extant manuscript drafts of sermons prepared for publication, or printers' records beyond the Stationers' Register, might uncover the extent of preachers' interventions in determining the appearance, and not simply the content, of their printed sermons. While the visual elements of both *The Chvrches Lamentation* and *Death and the Grave* seem to contribute much to the texts in terms of enhancing their content and structure, did these preachers actively collaborate with the printers, poets and anonymous artists also involved in the creation of their printed tributes to the deceased? A forthcoming online database of early modern manuscript sermons, to include preachers' notes, promises to facilitate such potential endeavours ("GEMMS"). Did ornate woodcuts and engravings indicate the social standing or wealth of the patron, much like the gradations of splendour for contemporary funeral monuments? The intricate woodcuts of *The Chvrches Lamentation*, as compared with the relatively modest designs in *Death and the Grave*, seem to invite further probing into this line of enquiry. And what of the sermons which did not require patronage, or which were published without the preacher's knowledge or permission? As Rosemary Dixon has demonstrated in her work on sermons printed in the latter half of the seventeenth century, published sermons could also fall into the category of cheaper print

(474-76); further inspection might reveal if there were other particular considerations given to the appearance of these sermons for the wider reading public.

Scope for yet further work lies in the assessment of extant contemporary commentary on these images. As the more sophisticated pictorial representations within Stock's sermon appeared to require careful verification, it would be fruitful to consider any documented diatribes and criticism against the appealing visual aspect of these particular printed texts. In the prefatory material to Robert Farley's emblem book of 1638, John Hooper complains of flamboyant bookbindings in which can be discerned "[m]ore of the Carvers than th'Authors skill," also commenting wryly on the interior: "I Need not praise thy Booke: No more to tell, / Then that it Pictures hath, will make it sell" (Farley n.p.). Research into the presence of printed images as featured in both sermons and popular printed literatures may contribute to an understanding of how and why sermons played such a major role in the commercial success of the religious print industry (Morrissey, "Sermons" 491; Dabbs 225). Arnold Hunt has remarked that the printed sermon was often more intellectually demanding than the sermon as preached (148); there is a strong case to consider the visual elements which stimulated a reader's contemplation as a significant contribution to these intellectual pursuits. Indeed, the readership of the early modern sermon merits a full-length study in itself. Far from having a negligible afterlife in print, these best-selling texts stirred not only the aural imagination with their rousing evocation of the rhetoric of the past event (Houlbrooke 304), but also, with the visual elements of the printed page, a response which prompted one contemporary commentator to depict a deceased preacher as "living, though long dead, / In this white paper, as a winding-sheet [. . .] Speaking now to our eyes" (Fletcher 20^v).

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