Jacolien Wubs

To Proclaim, to Instruct and to Discipline

The Visuality of Texts in Calvinist Churches in the Dutch Republic

Arts and confession in the early modern period, Vol. 8

SCHNELL + STEINER

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KUNST UND KONFESSION
IN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT

Herausgegeben von
Jan Harasimowicz, Emese Sarkadi-Nagy, Herman Selderhuis,
Albrecht Weiland, Ulrich A. Wien

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Cover image: View on the chancel of the Der Aa-kerk, Groningen (Groningen).
Photo: Archive Regnerus Steensma.

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Preface

This book is the result of my doctoral research, conducted between September 2015 and October 2021, at the University of Groningen (the Netherlands). It is with much gratitude that I write the names of the individuals whose involvement and support were vital to my research and the publication of this book. Professor Raingard Esser (University of Groningen) acted as a supervisor of my PhD project, and her encouragement and confidence in my work were of great value, as were her thoughtful reflections that helped shape my research. She shared this task with Professor Justin Kroesen (University Museum of Bergen, Norway), whose expertise proved invaluable. His unwavering enthusiasm for church art and my research was contagious and a constant stimulus. I am also grateful to Professor Andrew Spicer (Oxford Brookes University, UK) for his encouragement to publish my research and for his valuable critical readings of parts of the manuscript.

I am grateful for the support and the input provided by my colleagues in the Early Modern History department at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Groningen, of which I was part. My research benefited profoundly from a research stay at the University Museum of Bergen (Norway) in 2018. I am thankful to the museum for hosting me during this period, and granting me access to their extraordinary church art collection. My gratitude also goes out to Professor Henning Laugerud and the research group 'Images of Knowledge' at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Bergen, who cordially welcomed me during this time.

This is also the place to acknowledge the importance of the work of the late Dr Regnerus Steensma, whom I never met in person, but got to know through the work he left behind. This work laid the foundation for my study, and without his vast and impressive photo archive, this book would have looked very different. I thank the fellow researchers, museums and heritage institutions, and individual church photographers who shared additional photographs that illustrate this publication. For their names, I gladly refer to the image credits included in this book. The many church wardens and volunteers I met throughout the years remain anonymous here, but their kind opening of the doors of 'their' churches was crucial for my work.

Last but not least, the support of family members and friends was and is most meaningful to me; their willingness to keep sharing in the highs and lows of my working toward this book fills me with heartfelt gratitude.

It might seem curious for an art historian to devote so much time and attention to a seemingly liminal place and time – the church after Iconoclasm – in which there was such pressure on pictorial art, and which saw the removal of the very objects that had been so religiously and aesthetically admired up to that time, and to which so much art-historical value is often attributed in our days. The fieldwork underlying this book involved many church visits, in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Northern Europe. My wonder at the richness of church interiors as cultural-historical sources grew; church interiors are inexhaustible containers of stories of religious and political beliefs and strife, of key moments in people's lives and of family histories, of significant events in local, regional and (inter)national communities, of the ways in which those were remembered, of faith lived out and ritual traditions meandering, of enduring attachment to holy places, and of the continuous search for tangible forms of expression and visible splendour – also, and in some ways especially, in Protestant times. I owe this sense of wonder also to the above-mentioned researchers – and many others – who broadened my view and taught me to look better. It is my hope that this book will inspire some of that same sense of wonder in its readers.

Introduction

In 1614, an ornately framed panel inscribed with a number of Bible verses was installed in the Reformed, formerly Catholic medieval village church in Rijswijk (South-Holland) (Fig. 1). The heading of the panel informs us about the aim of its commissioners. It reads:

'Ter eeren en uyt liefde	('To honour and out of love
van Gots woort Hebben wy	for the Word of God we have,
als goede beminders Hoordt	as good devotees should,
dese Kerck met dit Tafereel vereert	honoured this church with this picture.
Om de Duyster Oogen wat te	To enlighten darkened eyes
verlichten is ons begeert.'	is our desire.')

The Bible verses inscribed on the panel below this heading express a central tenet of Reformed faith, by presenting faith in Christ as the way to salvation.[1] The Rijswijk churchgoers who saw this panel were supposed to be enlightened by the compilation of excerpts from the Bible painted on the panel. Turning the Word, which was so central to Reformed doctrine and worship, into a 'tafereel' – which can be translated as a picture or tableau – as an alternative to the banished Catholic image, made such a text panel a fitting element in a Reformed church interior. In Rijswijk, this panel is one out of nine that were installed between 1597 and 1631, many of which are decoratively framed and all of which are inscribed with Bible verses or other pious Reformed texts.

The village church in Rijswijk is one of many churches throughout the Dutch Republic that became adorned with texts, painted on panels installed in the church or directly on church walls and columns, and sometimes on church furniture. This display of text became a common way of outfitting a Reformed church in the late sixteenth

1 John 6:27, John 3:16, John 12:46, Sirach 24:19-22. (These are the corresponding verses in the RSVCE. The panel reads "ECCLESIASTICUS. CAP. XXIII. VER. XXvi.", and the inscription corresponds to Ecclesiasticus Iesus Syrach 24:26–31 in the Dutch Deux-Aes translation of 1562).

van Godts woort Hebben wy
Om de Duyster Ogen watte
verlichten is ons begeert.
1 6 9 4.
ECLESIASTICVS. CAP.XXIIII.VER.xxvi.
oomt herwaerts tot my alle gey die
myner begeert ende versadicht u van myne
ruchten. yne predicatie is soeter dan
honich. nde mijne gauen soeter dan honich
seem.
altoos na my.
Werckt niet om die spyse die vergaet.
om die spyse die tot in het eewige leven blijft.
ant alsô lieff heeft od de wereldt gehadt.
heeft.
hebbe.
Ick ben een Licht Inde
Werelt gecomen. op dat sou
Inde Duysternisse blyve
Johă 12 vel.
46.

and seventeenth centuries and was part of the more encompassing refurnishing of the formerly Catholic medieval churches, which had been 'cleansed' by the Calvinists. The statement on the Rijswijk panel briefly encapsulates the multifaceted and somewhat paradoxical nature of text decoration in Reformed churches, which is the main point of departure of this study. Referencing the inscribed panel itself as a 'tafereel', this heading points at the nature of a text panel as both a visual and a textual medium. The purpose given to 'enlighten darkened eyes' suggests that the panel is meant to please the human eye and enlighten its audience spiritually. Moreover, in stating that the panel is installed to 'honour' the church and to enlighten those who see or read it, it refers to the Reformed church space as its functional context and churchgoers as its beholders or audience – factors considered in this study as essential to fully understand what text panels were and how they operated.

The display of texts in Dutch Reformed churches through text panels, texts painted on church walls and columns, and inscribed on church furnishings, from the late sixteenth century onwards, is the subject of the present study. This study set out to examine the aims and functions of the text panels and text paintings, so characteristic to the Dutch Reformed church, in the context of the outfitting and adaptation of the churches' interiors according to Reformed doctrinal and utilitarian requirements. Two subsidiary objectives serve this main research aim. Firstly, the study aims to examine the precise nature of text panels and text paintings, both as conveyers of meaning expressed by written text and as objects or images with a material and visual nature. Secondly, it considers the placement and setting of text panels and text paintings in the interior furnishings of churches that were adapted to accommodate Reformed use. As such, this study is about the transformation that the medieval Catholic church interior underwent through the impact of the Reformation from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. In examining text decoration as a means of adapting and appropriating formerly Catholic church interiors, this study sheds light on larger issues, such as the changing relationship between the image and the Word across the Reformation and the impact of the Calvinist Reformation on the understanding and the significance of the physical church space; or, in sum, on degrees of change and continuity in Dutch church interiors brought about by the Calvinist Reformation.

◂ Fig. 1. Text panel, Rijswijk (South-Holland), 1614. Photo: Author.

Protestant visual and material culture

With objects displaying texts as its subject, and in the way they are approached, this study is located in the field of historical Protestant visual and material culture. The rise of this field is part of the broader 'material turn', which has also marked historical studies and the study of religion.[2] While the study of material and visual culture considers a broader range of objects and imagery, not limited to material made for artistic purposes or with distinct aesthetic qualities, the field builds on and overlaps with the more traditional discipline of art history. In that sense, the study of Protestant material and visual culture is perhaps not so much new, but the field witnessed a renewed theoretical discourse and an increased interest, especially over the last two decades.[3] The label of this field may seem a contradiction in terms. After all, Protestantism, and Reformed Protestantism in particular, is known as a religion of the Word. Especially in Calvinism, there was a strong emphasis on the idea that only Scripture, read, preached, and heard, in all its immateriality, was the way to true faith and salvation. The role and significance of devotional images was heavily debated in Protestantism, with Reformed attitudes towards religious images in churches being particularly strict; generally, Lutheranism allowed considerably more room for the educational and decorative religious image in churches. The Calvinist Reformation brought about the defacement and removal of objects and furnishings that were of artistic, devotional and liturgical value in the late medieval Catholic church.[4] The impact of the Reformation on formerly Catholic church interiors in the Netherlands was particularly significant. Therefore, is not surprising that the classical notion of a Dutch Reformed church interior is that of a soberly outfit-

2 Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Are Things 'Indifferent'? How Objects Change Our Understanding of Religious History', in: *German History*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2016), pp. 88–112, Dick Houtman and Birgit Meyer (eds.), *Things. Religion and the Question of Materiality*, New York, 2012, Suzanna Ivanič, Mary Laven and Andrew Morrall (eds.), *Religious Materiality in the Early Modern World*, Amsterdam, 2019, Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture. A Student's guide to approaching alternative sources*, London, New York, 2009, Arie L. Molendijk (ed.), *Materieel christendom. Religie en materiële cultuur in West-Europa*, Hilversum, 2003, Leora Auslander, 'Beyond Words', in: *The American Historical Review,* vol. 110, no. 4 (October 2005), pp. 1015–1045, Ann-Sophie Lehmann, Frits Scholten, H. Perry Chapman (eds.), *Meaning in Materials, 1400–1800. Netherlandish Yearbook for History of Art,* vol. 62 (2012), Leiden, Boston, 2013, Andrew Spicer, 'The Material Culture of Early Modern Churches' in: David Gaimster, Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Farnham, 2016, pp. 82–97.

3 For example, Caroline Walker Bynum stated in 2016 that 'The field of 'material culture' is not a new field at all, but it has recently been newly conceived by historians, art historians and literary critics.' Walker Bynum 2016 p. 112.

4 A recent overview is offered by Elizabeth den Hartog, *Een spoor van vernieling. Het Noord-Nederlandse katholieke kerkinterieur voor, tijdens en na de Beeldenstorm*, Hilversum, 2019.

ted space with whitewashed walls, with the pulpit, from where the Word was preached, taking centre stage and attracting all the attention of the faithful. However, the strong Protestant theological emphasis on Scripture as the only source and guide of true faith and worship and the rejection of imagery can also easily obstruct historians' view on various and innovative forms of Protestant visual and material culture.

That is what Dick Houtman and Birgit Meyer highlighted in their recent contribution to the more theoretical discourse on the materiality of Protestantism. They considered the implications for the study of religious objects and art of the alleged antitheses of belief and matter, of word and image, of transcendent ideals versus mere earthly physical matter and between spirituality and tangible objects. Houtman and Meyer highlighted how the latter in each opposition is traditionally regarded secondary in meaning and significance in religion to the former, and that this notion is deeply rooted in Protestant theology. By contrast, they argued for an understanding of objects and images as an integral part of religion, suggesting that instead of taking the antagonism between religion and things as a point of departure, things should be seen as an inextricable part of religion.[5] Following from this understanding of religious materiality, objects and images can be thought of as having the potential of impacting practices and beliefs, rather than being only reflections or expression of beliefs. As Meyer put it in a later exposé on religious visual culture '(…) far from being mere representations of underlying concepts and ideas, images play a central role in shaping religion and communicating religious meaning'.[6] In highlighting the relevance and value of material culture as an historical approach, Leora Auslander expressed a similar view in an article that she tellingly entitled 'Beyond Words'. She proposed an understanding of objects as constituting a shaping force: objects are 'not only (…) the product of history, they are also active agents in history. In their communicative, performative, emotive, and expressive capacities, they act, have effects in the world.'[7] Building on a similar understanding of the relevance of objects in religion and in the writing of religious and art history, particularly concerning the history of Lutheran Protestantism, Caroline Bynum argued that objects carry their own chronology and tell a story of change and continuity that is often slower paced and more complex than a narrative based on textual sources.[8]

Text panels and text paintings are both the subject matter and the primary sources of this study. Contrary to a use of objects as mere illustrations of a Reformation history

5 Dick Houtman and Birgit Meyer, 'Introduction: Material Religion – How Things Matter', in: Dick Houtman and Birgit Meyer (eds.), *Things. Religion and the Question of Materiality*, New York, 2012, pp. 1–23.

6 Birgit Meyer, 'Picturing the Invisible. Visual Culture and the Study of Religion', in: *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, vol. 27, no. 4/5 (2015), pp. 333–360, here: p. 341.

7 Auslander 2005 p. 1017.

8 Bynum 2016.

narrative, the aim is to let the objects themselves determine the narrative of material decline and renewal brought about by the Reformation, of textuality and visuality, of Word and image, and of change and continuity in the Dutch Calvinist church interior. As such, the present study builds on the insight from the field of historical and religious material culture that objects and images constitute a shaping force. Text panels and text paintings are viewed as more than decorative elements in church interiors and as more than a reflection of beliefs and practices of worship taking place in church spaces. While Regnerus Steensma, whose work that was foundational to this book is further discussed below, explained the significance of text panels as 'a very compelling mirror of the belief pattern of the Calvinists of the Golden Age', the underlying premise of this study is that, beyond being a mirror of beliefs, text panels and text paintings also had the potential to impact and shape beliefs and practices among those present in the church.[9]

In putting the spotlight on text decoration as an innovative form of religious imagery in the Dutch Reformed church, and as visual and material culture beyond the destruction of Catholic figurative and devotional images, the current study draws on recent studies that highlight various forms and aspects of Protestant material and visual culture. Recent research in particular has challenged the notion of Protestant faith and worship as, by definition, immaterial and non-visual and has profoundly broadened our view on the role of the object and the image within Protestantism in general, on the relation between Calvinism and the arts, and, most relevant in this regard, on the outfitting of the Dutch Reformed church interior. The function and perception of objects and images in devotion is a prominent focus in studies in this field. Most illustrative of this branch of recent literature is the title of Bridget Heal's 2013 article 'The Catholic Eye and the Protestant Ear: the Reformation as a Non-Visual Event?' in which she re-evaluates the role of the visual in Lutheran piety.[10] Joseph Leo Koerner's wide-reaching, thematically organised study *The Reformation of the Image* should also be mentioned here, in which the interpretation of the nature of (Lutheran) text decoration receives considerable attention.[11]

9 'Hoewel de inhoud hiervan een uiterst boeiende spiegel vormt van het geloofspatroon van de gereformeerden uit de Gouden Eeuw, zijn deze borden tot op heden nauwelijks onderzocht.' Regnerus Steensma, *Protestantse Kerken. Hun pracht en kracht,* Gorredijk, 2013, p. 184.

10 Bridget Heal, 'The Catholic Eye vs the Protestant Ear: the Reformation as a Non-Visual Event?', in: Peter Opitz (ed.), *The myth of the Reformation*, Göttingen, Bristol, 2013, pp. 321–355.

11 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, London, 2004. A more recent volume on similar subject matter and edited by both authors whose works are mentioned here is: Bridget Heal and Joseph Leo Koerner (eds.), *Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe*, Hoboken, 2018.

A recurring theme in the recent historiography of iconoclasm is the notion of 'the image beyond the image', considering new or innovative forms of and movements in the arts that followed after phases of decline and destruction. The cycle of image-breaking and image-making was termed 'Iconoclash' by Bruno Latour, in the catalogue of the exhibition about the generative power of iconoclasm.[12] A similar search after the image beyond image-breaking is the starting point of the study on the impact of Dutch Calvinism on the arts, in an earlier collection of essays edited by Paul Corby Finney, entitled *Seeing Beyond the Word. Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*.[13] The balanced assessment of the relation between Calvinism and the arts in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlands by Ilja M. Veldman in this volume provided an especially helpful background sketch for the current study.[14] Other works, published earlier in the 1990s, arose from the common notion in art history that the profound Calvinist restricting of devotional art and pictorial religious imagery in the church furthered the shift to genre painting and the flourishing of Old Testament scenery, which can be observed in a public and domestic context.[15] The painting of church interiors was a flourishing subcategory of seventeenth-century genre painting. The renderings of church interiors, as created by Emmanuel de Witte, Pieter Saenredam and others, and the effects of these images on the contemporary and present-day perception of Dutch church interiors after the Reformation, are another research theme at the crossroads of art history and the history and materiality of Dutch Calvinism.[16] In recent years, a variety of studies have been published on Protestant iconoclasm, art in the wake of iconoclasm and on Protestant or, more narrowly, Reformed material and visual culture, inside and outside the church.[17]

12 Bruno Latour, Peter Weibel (eds.), *Iconoclash. Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie, Karlsruhe (exh. cat.), Karlsruhe, Cambridge, 2002, p. 15.

13 Paul Corby Finney (ed.), *Seeing Beyond the Word. Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, Grand Rapids, 1999.

14 Ilja M. Veldman, 'Protestantism and the Arts: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Netherlands', in: Paul Corby Finney (ed.), *Seeing Beyond the Word. Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, Grand Rapids, 1999, pp. 397–425.

15 Christian Tümpel (ed.), *Het Oude Testament in de Schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw,* Joods Historisch Museum Amsterdam (exh. cat.), Zwolle, 1991, Tanja G. Kootte (ed.), *De bijbel in huis. Bijbelse verhalen op huisraad in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht (exh. cat.), Zwolle, Utrecht, 1991.

16 Almut Pollmer-Schmidt, *Kirchenbilder. Der Kirchenraum in der holländischen Malerei um 1650*, Weimar, 2017, Gary Schwarts and Marten Jan Bok, *Pieter Saenredam. De schilder in zijn tijd*, Maarssen, 1989, Liesbeth Helmus (ed.), *Pieter Saenredam, the Utrecht Work. Paintings and Drawings by the 17th-century Master of Perspective*, Centraal Museum Utrecht (exh. cat), Utrecht, 2000, Angela Vanhaelen, *The Wake of Iconoclasm. Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic*, University Park PA, 2012.

17 Cécile Dupeux, Peter Jezler, Jean Wirth (eds.), *Bildersturm: Wahnsinn Oder Gottes Wille?*, Bernisches Historisches Museum (exh. cat.), München, 2000, Koenraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm. Experiments in Decorum, 1566–1585,* Brussel, New Haven, 2012, Andrew

The emergence of both scholarly and more popular publications such as exhibition catalogues has also been fostered by the commemorations of the 450th anniversary of the 1566 'Beeldenstorm' in 2016, the 500th anniversary of, as the story goes, Luther nailing his 95 theses to the door of the All Saints' Church in Wittenberg in Reformation year 2017, and the 400th anniversary of the Synod of Dordt in 2018–2019.[18]

The current study is specifically indebted to research that is focused on the interiors of the Dutch Reformed churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A landmark study on the fabric of the Dutch Protestant church interior is *Een Huis voor het Woord. Het Protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* by Van Swigchem, Brouwer and Van Os, dating from 1984. It systematically discusses every element of the interior furnishings, not only of Calvinist but also other types of Protestant churches in the Northern Netherlands, as if it were a catalogue of church interiors.[19] Its concise section on text panels or 'kerkborden' was particularly relevant for the current study.[20] One of the most recent publications to have a similarly strong focus on the interior furnishing of Dutch Protestant churches is the posthumously published book *Protestantse kerken. Hun pracht en kracht* by Regnerus Steensma, which includes an exploratory chapter on text panels.[21] Together with the works of Van Swigchem and Steensma, the comprehensive accounts of (elements in) the Dutch church interior and the impact of the Calvinist Reformation on the Dutch late medieval church interior furnishings by Justin Kroesen have been a main point of departure for the present study.[22] The most specific work on

T. Coates, *What is Protestant Art?*, Leiden, 2018, Martin L. van Wijngaarden, Marijke Tolsma (eds.), *Prachtig Protestants*, Zwolle, Utrecht, 2008, Jan Harasimowicz, *Sichtbares Wort. Die Kunst als Medium der Konfessionalisierung und Intensivierung des Glaubens in der Frühen Neuzeit,* Regensburg, 2017.

18 A special issue of the journal *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* on the 1566 'Beeldenstorm' was published in 2016: Anne-Laure van Bruaene, Koenraad Jonckheere, Ruben Suyerbuyk (eds.), *Beeldenstorm: Iconoclasm in the Low Countries, BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, vol. 131, no. 1 (2016). A comprehensive overview on studies on Iconoclasm is provided in: Andrew Spicer, 'Iconoclasm', in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 70, no. 3 (1 September 2017), pp. 1007–1022. The Dordrechts Museum held an exhibition on Calvinism and the arts at the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the synod of Dordt in 2018–2019: Marianne Eekhout, *Werk, bid & bewonder: een nieuwe kijk op kunst en calvinisme*, Dordrechts Museum (exh. cat.), Zutphen, 2018. The Reformation year 2017 produced a big stream of conferences, exhibitions and publications. An example consulted for this study is: Katrin Herbst (ed.), *Martin Luther. Treasures of the Reformation*, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Pierpont Morgan Library, Pitts Theology Library (exh. cat.), Dresden, 2016 (2 volumes).

19 C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer, W. van Os, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het Protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900*, 's-Gravenhage, 1984.

20 Van Swigchem et al. 1984 pp. 268–289.

21 Regnerus Steensma, *Protestantse Kerken. Hun pracht en kracht,* Gorredijk, 2013.

22 Justin E.A. Kroesen, 'Accommodating Calvinism. The Appropriation of Medieval Church Interiors for Protestant Worship', in: Jan Harasimowicz

text panels in Dutch Reformed churches is Mia Mochizuki's *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672. Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age*.[23] In this case study of the refurnishing of the Haarlem Great or St Bavo's church after its take-over by the Calvinists, the analysis of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century text panels plays an important role. Mochizuki clearly positioned this study in the present-day field of Protestant visual and material culture, by emphatically making a point of dispelling a 'mythic vacuum' in addressing the 'paradox of a Protestant church decoration thought by definition not to exist'.[24] A number of Dutch-language case studies also deserve mention, most notably the discussion of the late medieval image of the Mass of St Gregory that was turned into a text panel, in the Utrecht church of St Jacob, written by Truus van Bueren and Corinne van Dijk.[25] Monographs on the Leiden St Peter's church and the Gouda St John's church include sections on the text panels preserved in these churches.[26] The study of text decoration in early Dutch Calvinist churches has so far been fragmentary, as this brief overview shows. While the mentioned authors have made significant contributions to our understanding of the nature and development of text panels and text paintings as a way to furnish and adorn the Dutch Reformed church interior, a more comprehensive and systematic inventory and analysis of preserved material was previously lacking.[27] That is the lacuna this book attempts to fill.

(ed.), *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der Frühen Neuzeit in Europa. Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte*, Regensburg, 2015, pp. 81–98.

23 Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672. Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age*, Aldershot, 2008.

24 Mochizuki 2008 p. 1.

25 Truus van Bueren and Corinne van Dijk, *Overschilderd: Van Gregoriusmis naar Bijbeltekst. De Reformatie van de Utrechtse Jacobikerk*, Hilversum, 2017.

26 Elizabeth den Hartog, 'De gildeborden', in: Elizabeth den Hartog, John Veerman (eds.), *De Pieterskerk in Leiden. Bouwgeschiedenis, inrichting en gedenktekens*, Zwolle, 2011, pp. 253–261. See also: Elizabeth den Hartog and John Veerman, 'Het interieur na de Reformatie', in: Elizabeth den Hartog, John Veerman (eds.), *De Pieterskerk in Leiden. Bouwgeschiedenis, inrichting en gedenktekens*, Zwolle, 2011, pp. 185–209, Henny van Dolder-de Wit, *De Sint-Janskerk in Gouda. Mensen en monumenten in een oude stadskerk*, Delft, 2013, pp. 156–179. See also: Regnerus Steensma, 'Protestantse tekstschilderingen in Groninger kerken', in: *Groninger Kerken*, 2000, no. 2, pp. 36–47.

27 'Door een systematisch onderzoek van alle borden, wat tot op heden niet is gebeurd, zal dit beeld waarschijnlijk iets bijgesteld moeten worden'. Steensma 2013 p. 164. 'Hoewel de inhoud hiervan een uiterst boeiende spiegel vormt van het geloofspatroon van de gereformeerden in de Gouden Eeuw, zijn deze borden tot op heden nauwelijks onderzocht.' Steensma 2013 p. 184.

Sacred Space

By zooming out from the material and visual characteristics of text panels and text paintings to examine their place and function in church space and its use, this study is situated in the research field of sacred space. A spatial perspective in the history of religion and the material approach have in common that they offer views on religion beyond ideology and doctrinal discourse and on the practices and experiences of religion. More specifically, 'sacred space' can be understood as a place of convergence of the doctrine and the practices and experiences of religion, of a community in all its diversity and its leaders, of the material organisation of space and its ritual and other uses, and of its history and the present, or tradition and innovation. A spatial perspective allows for the study of these aspects in their interrelatedness. The study of sacred space extends to the concept itself, by studying its demarcation, perception and reception, including its doctrinal understanding and through material markers and immaterial practices.[28] The use of the terms 'sacred space' with regard to early modern Calvinist churches may cause confusion; after all, Reformed Protestantism emphatically renounced the Catholic understanding of the sacrality bound to church space as God's dwelling place, and with that the Catholic rites of consecration. Nevertheless, the term is used freely in Anglophone literature in the context of Reformed Protestantism. Moreover, exploring the understanding and perception of the 'sacredness' of church space, as this study aims to do, is particularly relevant in the study of Reformed Protestantism; in seeking a more spiritual and ephemeral understanding of sacrality, invoked through worship practices and by definition unbound to physical places and objects, it attempted to change the meaning and the ways of manifesting the status of church spaces.

Over the last two decades, the relevance of the spatial approach for the study of early modern religion has been substantiated and its potential and ambit explored, most notably in the volumes *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe,* edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, and *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, both published in 2005.[29] *Sacrale ruimte in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden*, compiled by Violet Soen and Liesbeth Geevers, is a more recent Dutch-language study showing a spectre of what a spatial

28 Sarah Hamilton, Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space', in: Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* Aldershot, 2005, pp. 1-23, Will Coster, Andrew Spicer, 'Introduction: the dimensions of sacred space in Reformation Europe', in: Will Coster, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 1–16.

29 Sarah Hamilton, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot, 2005, Will Coster, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2005.

perspective has to offer.[30] Andrew Spicer's *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* provided a useful overview of the architecture and interiors of Calvinist churches in various areas in Europe, and applies a comprehensive approach in its including of material, liturgical and socio-political aspects.[31] Some earlier studies on the outfitting of Dutch Protestant churches, mentioned above, were already adding to the field of sacred space before the 'spatial turn' so explicitly took hold. The 'catalogue' of the Dutch Protestant church interior by Van Swigchem explained the interior furnishing and organisation of churches as being determined, to a certain extent, by their liturgical and other use.[32] A similar approach determines much of the work of Regnerus Steensma.[33]

A branch of research in the field of 'sacred space' is more particularly located on a crossroads of the material outfitting of churches and the liturgies that were performed there. A reference work in this respect is Nigel Yates' *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500–2000*.[34] The same holds true for Andrew Spicer's more specific analyses of 'Sites of The Eucharist', in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, edited by Lee Palmer Wandel.[35] Studies specifically of Dutch Reformed liturgical practices, which were important sources for this book, should also be mentioned here; this is a subject that deserves more attention than it has received thus far, as the main publications on this subject are still those by Schotel and Dankbaar, dating from 1906 and 1984, respectively.[36]

In assessing the role of text panels and text paintings in the adaptation of church interiors according to the demands of Calvinist doctrine and worship, the current project builds onto the above-mentioned research. At the heart of the current study lies the examination of the text panels and text paintings with a religious content and profoundly connected to Reformed worship; this mostly concerns the ensembles of texts in which the Ten Commandments had a central position. The analysis of the interconnection between this type of displayed texts and Reformed doctrine and liturgical practices, particularly of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, sheds light on their aim and function in instructing on and guiding the practice and experience of Reformed faith and worship. In examining the role of text decoration in the Reformed transformation of the

30 Liesbeth Geevers and Violet Soen (eds.), *Sacrale ruimte in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden*, Leuven, 2017.

31 Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe,* Manchester, 2007.

32 Van Swigchem et al. 1984 p. 63.

33 Steensma 2013.

34 Nigel Yates, *Liturgical space: Christian worship and church buildings in Western Europe 1500–2000,* Ashgate, 2008.

35 Andrew Spicer, 'Sites of the Eucharist', in: Lee Palmer Wandel (ed.), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation'*, Leiden, Boston, 2013, pp. 323–362.

36 W.F. Dankbaar, *Communiegebruiken in de eeuw der Reformatie*, Groningen, 1987, G.D.J. Schotel, *De Openbare Eeredienst der Nederl. Hervormde Kerk in de zestiende, zeventiende en achttiende eeuw,* Leiden, 1906 (second edition, revised by H.C. Rogge).

physical church space and its meaning and status, the current study also contributes to our knowledge of the Reformed ritual use of church space and of our understanding of the Reformed construct of sacred space, from a material perspective.

Church historical background: Revolt and Reformation

The history of the Revolt against the Spanish Habsburg rule and the establishment of the Calvinist church as the public church in the emerging Dutch Republic form the historical background for this study. The political history of the Revolt and the emergence of the Dutch Republic, and the socio-religious and church historical development of the Calvinist Reformation and the formation of the Dutch Calvinist church are inextricably intertwined. The Revolt was presented as a Calvinist cause by its leaders and supporters, while Catholic faith and support of Spanish rule became increasingly identified with each other as the Revolt unfolded.[37] The 'Nederduytsch gereformeerde kerk' became the public church of the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth century; a status that meant that it was the church supported and privileged by the public administration of the Dutch Republic. As a result, almost all medieval church buildings that had served for Catholic worship were taken over by the Calvinists.

The later flourishing of text decoration in churches had its origins in the 1566 'Beeldenstorm', as one of the critical events in the lead-up to the Dutch Revolt against Catholic Spain and a defining episode for the outfitting of what would become Calvinist church interiors. In 1566, political and religious tension culminated in a wave of iconoclastic riots spread over the southern and northern Netherlands. The 'Beeldenstorm' followed the petition by the Compromise of Nobles, which begged Margaret of Parma to loosen measures against Protestant 'heresy', and it was reciprocated with severe repression under her successor, the Duke of Alba. The victory over Alba in the seizure of Den Briel by the Sea Beggars in 1572 is often highlighted as a turning point in the early history of the Revolt, decisively furthering the cause of the Dutch Calvinist rebels.[38] An important step towards the establishment of the Dutch Republic was the Union of Utrecht, formed in 1579, which led in 1588 to only the seven northern provinces becom-

37 Joris van Eijnatten and Fred van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis,* Hilversum, 2005, p. 154, G. Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness: the Dutch Republic as the New Israel', in: A.C. Duke, C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands. Church and State Since the Reformation,* Den Haag, 1981, pp. 118–133.

38 Spicer 2007 p. 118, Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg 2005 p. 154, Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation. Europe's House Divided 1400–1700,* London, 2003, p. 337.

ing the Dutch Republic. The province of Groningen and the county of Drenthe were exceptions in that they returned to Spanish rule in 1580, soon after the Utrecht Union, becoming part of the Dutch Republic only in 1594.

While the article on religion in the tract of the Utrecht Union ensured some form of religious freedom, in reality public Catholic worship became increasingly restricted during the 1580s. The Reformed religion became the only publicly allowed religion in the provinces of the Dutch Republic.[39] Freedom of religion was limited to the mere freedom of conscience, allowing an individual to hold on to his or her religious beliefs, if other than Reformed, in private. The recognition of the Calvinist church as the public church of Dutch Republic did not necessarily mean that Reformed faith had become a widely supported people's religion: only a minority of the inhabitants of the United Provinces were members of the Calvinist church, among a wider group of supporters of the Reformed religion who were not officially members of the Reformed church. Precise membership numbers for the Dutch Republic as a whole are not available, and the popularity of Reformed faith also differed from region to region. Generally speaking, members of the Calvinist church remained a minority among the Dutch population, although membership numbers increased in the first half of the seventeenth century.[40] The Calvinists had a privileged position in a pluralistic society made up of Catholics, adherents of other Protestant denominations such as Mennonites and Lutherans, Jews, and people without a clear religious affiliation, all of whom had limited freedom to exercise their religion and had, to differing degrees, a disadvantaged position in the public domain.[41]

The first Reformed synod was held in Emden in 1571, just beyond the borders of Dutch territory due to the threat of Alba, and laid the foundation for the future of the 'Nederduytsch gereformeerde kerk'. While the Revolt advanced from 1572 onwards, more and more churches were taken over by the Calvinists, initially in the most strongly Calvinist provinces of Holland and Zeeland and thereafter in other provinces. The alteration – a term for a churches' transition to Calvinism – of churches in Groningen and Drenthe only followed in 1594 and 1598, respectively. In this way, the moment of the alteration of churches differed from region to region, from town to town and from church to church.[42] Moreover, the transition to Calvinism was not always a clear-cut

39 Spicer 2007 p. 120, Henk van Nierop, 'Sewing the bailiff in a blanket: Catholics and the law in Holland', in: Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 102–111, here: pp. 105–108.

40 Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg 2005 pp. 178–187, Arie Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits van Oldenbarnevelt*, Franeker, 1998 (third edition), pp. 128–135.

41 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Reformation and the Practice of Toleration. Dutch Religious History in the Early Modern Era*, Leiden, Boston, 2019, Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, Cambridge, 2002.

42 Den Hartog 2019 pp. 64–66.

process. The struggle for power that the Revolt was could also result in churches going back and forth to Calvinism and Catholicism within a relatively limited number of years, in line with respective changes in the regime.

The iconoclastic riots, which were religiously motivated to a certain extent, and violent ransacking of churches as excesses of the Revolt, impacted the church interiors before the definitive takeover of the formerly Catholic churches of medieval origin by the Calvinists.[43] As Elizabeth Den Hartog noted in her recent survey of its concrete impact, it is a misconception to think that the 1566 'Beeldenstorm' hit each and every Dutch church, and that emptied whitewashed churches were its direct result.[44] The art and furnishings of a number of churches in the Low Countries were defaced and destroyed in 1566, and the degree of harm done varied from church to church. While restorations of church interiors were set in in several places after the iconoclasm of 1566, new waves of destruction followed. In particular, the violent looting of groups of Beggars in 1572 had a severe impact on church interiors.[45] After the takeover of the churches by the Calvinists in the late sixteenth century, a more orderly and systematic process of 'purification' and adaptation of church interiors commenced. The interior furnishing of a church had to be in accordance with Reformed doctrinal requirements on religious imagery, and also had to meet the more practical demands of Reformed liturgical use. This was an ongoing process, as will become clear in the course of this study, that could continue throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even thereafter.[46] The installation of text panels and the painting of texts on church walls, which can be observed especially in the late sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth century, was part of this adaptation of the church interior for Reformed use.

Beyond borders: A North Sea perspective

This book revolves around text panels and text paintings preserved in Calvinist churches in the Dutch Republic. Nonetheless, the display of texts in churches was not exclusively a Dutch Reformed phenomenon. In the final chapter of this book, a comparison of forms of text decoration in churches that belonged to different Protestant confessions around the North Sea provides a broader context to the Dutch material. The North Sea can be viewed as a geographical border, or dividing body, between the various regions along its shores, and at the same time a pathway for connection and a vehicle

43 David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566–1609*, New York, London, 1988.

44 Den Hartog 2019 pp. 33, 59.

45 Den Hartog 2019 pp. 63–64, Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg 2005 p. 154.

46 Den Hartog 2019 pp. 70–74.

for exchange between regions. On the shores of the North Sea, a range of Protestant denominations developed, from forms of Reformed faith and worship in the Church of England to Scandinavian Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway, and the coexistence of and strife between Lutheranism and Calvinist groups in northwest Germany. These different denominations all incorporated the display of texts in the adaptation of the interior furnishings of their inherited medieval and formerly Catholic church interiors. A comparison across regions and confessions highlights how the Reformation impacted church interiors in different ways and to different degrees in various confessional regions. Such a perspective serves to highlight similarities, differences and connections between regions and confessions. In this way, this chapter sheds light on the view of the Reformation as a process of profound disruption of the cultural unity of the late medieval Catholic Church, from a material and ritual perspective. While several studies have been carried out on text decoration within the borders of the different regions and confessions considered, a comparative study was lacking thus far. In adopting a border-crossing perspective, the fourth chapter of this book builds on studies that acknowledge the Reformation as an international movement in their wider geographical perspectives. Recent examples include the volumes *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der Frühen Neuzeit in Europa. Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte*, edited by Jan Harasimowicz, and *Parish Churches in the Early Modern World*, edited by Andrew Spicer, of which the scope extends to colonial churches outside Europe.[47]

Scope

The heyday of the installation of text panels and text paintings lies in the early phase of the Dutch Reformed church: a major part of the material dates from ca. 1575 to ca. 1650. This early phase is a most dynamic and interesting period with regard to the impact of the alteration of churches on church interiors. Accordingly, this early phase is the main focus of this book. The painting and installation of texts in Reformed churches remained nevertheless common throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, to a lesser degree, thereafter. The end of the eighteenth century is set as the limit of the scope of this study, as the developments of that time, with the ideals of the French

47 Jan Harasimowicz (ed.), *Protestantischer Kirchenbau der Frühen Neuzeit in Europa. Grundlagen und neue Forschungskonzepte*, Regensburg, 2015, Andrew Spicer (ed.), *Parish Churches in the Early Modern World*, Farnham, 2015. Other examples include: Andrew Spicer (ed.), *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe,* Farnham, 2012, Nigel Yates, *Liturgical space: Christian worship and church buildings in Western Europe 1500–2000,* Ashgate, 2008, Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation. Europe's House Divided 1400–1700*, London, 2003.

Revolution and Enlightenment and the establishment of the French regime, had their own particular and significant impact on the status of the Dutch Calvinist church and on the interiors of its churches.[48]

The display of texts in church interiors and inscriptions on church art and furnishings were not a complete novelty after the Reformation. For example, inscriptions such as on banderoles were a common element in late medieval religious art. Moreover, the display of various sorts of texts on paper and on panels can be seen in medieval painted scenery situated in church interiors.[49] This study discusses some examples of the display of texts in the late medieval Catholic church in the search for the pre-Reformation roots of text decoration in Reformed churches, and in considering degrees of change and continuity in religious visual culture brought about by the Reformation. To let the material dictate its own chronology, the year of the establishment of the Dutch Reformed church and the moments of the alterations of individual churches are not taken as an all-too-absolute starting point in the examination of the rise and development of text decoration. As we will see, especially the chronology of the painting of texts on church walls appears more ambiguous.

The geographical scope of the discussion of the Dutch material, which forms the core of this study, is defined by the borders of the former United Provinces, including the Generality Lands. That way, material from the larger city churches in Holland is included, as in various ways the central and leading province of the Republic, as well as examples from village churches in more rural or peripheral areas in the north and east. The large majority of the examples discussed in this study is located in churches of medieval origin, from which the Catholic Mass had been abolished and which had been occupied by the Reformed. Also included are text panels that were installed in some of the newly built Reformed churches, much smaller in number, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To describe the religion of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch Reformed Church, the terms 'Reformed Protestantism' and 'Calvinism', and 'the Reformed' and 'the Calvinists' for its adherents, are used interchangeably in this book, following conventions in Anglophone literature. However, this is not without awareness of the negative connotations that the term 'Calvinism' often carried at the time Calvinism emerged.[50] As described above, a North Sea-perspective is adopted in the final chapter, through which material from all borders of the North Sea, from Lutheran Scandinavia, Lutheran and Calvinist, or interconfessional churches in northwest Germany and the Church of England is included. The discussion of material from these regions has a more

48 Cf. Van Swigchem et al. 1984 p. 155.

49 Samuel Mareel, 'Tekens aan de wand. Het ophangen, lezen en verwijderen van gebeden en gedichten in katholieke religieuze ruimtes (15de–16de eeuw)', in: *Spiegel der Letteren*, vol. 59, no. 2–3 (2017), pp. 231–259.

50 Cf. MacCulloch 2003, pp. xix-xxv.

exploratory character: the most eloquent and illustrative examples are selected, largely based on available studies of each region, to enable a comparative analysis.

A categorisation of types of texts is offered in Chapter 1 of this book. It provides an overview of the full width of the 'text landscape' that rose after the banishment of religious imagery from churches. The chapter includes texts with a more worldly content, related to the more secular uses of the church, and texts with a profound Reformed religious character and particularly related to the use of the church for Reformed worship. The subsequent chapters concentrate on the latter, with the focus narrowed to religious texts and especially on the ensembles of texts in which the Ten Commandments were the central element. This category of texts provides insight into the effects of the Reformed image prohibitions in the church interior, and in the interplay of text decoration and the Reformed ritual use of the church.

The display of texts could take on different material forms. The core of the body of material under scrutiny is formed by texts painted on wooden panels and directly on church walls. Although technically not text panels or text murals, rare examples of texts painted on canvas are shared among text panels and text paintings. In Dutch-language studies, various and somewhat undefined terms for text panels in Reformed churches are in use, such as 'tekstborden' or 'kerkborden', and 'tiengebodenborden' or 'wetsborden', for Ten Commandments panels as the most often occurring type of text panel. In Anglophone literature on similar objects in English churches, the terms 'text boards' or 'Ten Commandments boards' are used for objects made of different materials, besides 'text panels', used in this study.

Texts were also added to church furnishings, both preserved pre-Reformation fittings and newly installed ones. This study includes inscriptions added to various types of church furnishings, in so far as they served to replace or transform pre-Reformation images and objects. Chancel screens are relevant in that they could form the support for text panels, placed on top of them. Texts inscribed directly on chancel screens are also included, as screens were important in the organisation and use of church space before the Reformation, and texts added to them are particularly relevant in the study of the Reformed adaptation and use of the church interior. Preserved pre-Reformation pulpits that were stripped of their imagery and decorated and adapted by means of inscriptions after the Reformation, are similarly relevant. A handful of church pews on which texts were directly painted have been preserved and some examples are discussed in this study, also for similar reasons. Inscriptions on pulpits that were newly installed after the Reformation, in the course of the seventeenth century, often had a more marginal role in their overall design and ornamentation, and because they are less illustrative of how the display of texts was deployed in the early Reformed adaptation of formerly Catholic church interiors, they are generally not included. Commemorative inscriptions honouring generous donors of newly added items in the Reformation era, including

engravings on organs, on communion tables (few of which with such inscriptions exist), and inscriptions in stained glass windows, are also left aside in this study.[51]

Collection of data and methods of source-analysis

This study is based on a comprehensive inventory of text panels and text paintings that are preserved today. The main focus is on extant items, while some occasional lost-but-well-documented examples are also included. In inventorying extant text panels and text paintings, a main starting point was the extensive archive of photographs of church architecture and interiors taken by the late Regnerus Steensma, from which he himself had already selected and ordered photographs of text panels. The online database 'Kerken in beeld' of his former home institute, the Centre for Religion and Heritage at the University of Groningen, provided equally helpful imagery of church interiors.[52] I also consulted the records of Dutch church interiors in the database 'Kerkcollectie digitaal', by Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht, and the image database of the Cultural Heritage Agency ('Collectie Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed') of the Dutch government.[53] Furthermore, the digitised and searchable volumes of the reference work *Monumenten in Nederland* proved helpful in locating material.[54] Besides examples preserved in churches, I also encountered a few text panels that are part of Dutch museum collections. To add to the body of material traced through these sources, but mostly to be able to examine the actual material in its original context of churches' interiors, I visited churches in the Netherlands, and in Norway, England, and East Frisia in Germany.

51 For organ shutters, see: Mieke M. van Zanten, *Orgelluiken. Traditie en iconografie*, Zupthen, 1999. See on stained-glass windows from after the Reformation: Steensma 2013 pp. 217–224, Van Swigchem et al. 1984 pp. 288–291, Andrew Spicer, ''So Many Painted Jezebels'. Stained Glass Windows and the Formation of an Urban Identity in the Dutch Republic', in: Judith Pollmann, Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Leiden, Boston, 2007, pp. 249–277, Judith Pollmann, 'The cleansing of the Temple. Church Space and its Meanings in the Dutch Republic', in: José Pedro Paiva (ed.), *Religious ceremonials and images: power and social meaning (1400–1750)*, Coimbra, 2002, pp. 177–190.

52 The Centre for Religion and Heritage is the successor to the former 'Instituut voor Liturgiewetenschap' at the University of Groningen. This database is accessible online via: kerkeninbeeld.nl.

53 The 'Kerkcollectie Digitaal' database is accessible via: kerkcollectie.catharijneconvent.nl. Data from this database is referred to in this study by the inventory number of the object under consideration, in the following way: 'kerkcollectie digitaal, inventory no. xx'. The image database of the 'Collectie Rijksdienst voor het cultureel erfgoed' is accessible via: beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl.

54 Ronald Stenvert, Chris Kolman et al., *Monumenten in Nederland. Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg*, Zeist, Zwolle, 1996–2006 (12 volumes), available via: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/sten009monu00_01/.

Aiming for comprehensiveness can be treacherous. Despite the thoroughness of the search for preserved material, I have undoubtedly overlooked worthwhile examples. Perhaps needless to say, making an inventory as comprehensive as possible was not an aim in itself; it was a means of charting material from a variety of churches throughout the United Provinces and writing a study that is based on an overview of preserved material rather than a set of case studies, in order to produce a valuable addition to the studies available, as highlighted above. Moreover, the numbers provided in this study of panels and paintings counted and shared among a certain category can be seen as well-grounded indications of preserved material rather than as absolute numbers.

Drawing conclusions from the examination of material objects that have lived through about four centuries comes with certain caveats, as changes in the material itself and in its setting have often been made. Text paintings on walls are particularly vulnerable to decay and whitewash, while text panels can, and often are, moved within the church. The intention in the study of each example has been to trace, as accurately as possible, the original state and setting of the material. The encounter with the text panels and text paintings themselves, in addition to the initial study through photographs, often revealed changes such as overpaintings or alterations made in modern restorations. Moreover, this examination of a selection of examples in situ advanced the reconstruction of the precise settings of text panels and text paintings in church interiors in general, and their possible effects or impact on the experience and use of the church space. The reconstruction of the original state and setting of material was also aided by secondary sources such as contemporary paintings and drawings, and by written sources such as accounts from church archives. While archival information such as notes from church records, is occasionally included in this study, the scope of this study, including an extensive body of material, did not leave room for in-depth archival research.

Establishing the dating of a panel or painting involves a level of uncertainty. It is not unusual for text panels and text paintings to bear a date. If so, the dating given in the discussion of examples in this study refers to the date given on the material itself. In some cases, more than one year is inscribed on a panel, whereby the later date usually refers to a secondary reworking. However, in the many cases where the common 'Anno (…)' with the number of a year is lacking, a dating is established based on aspects of form and style, and sometimes on the spelling of a text or the dating of the Bible translation on which the text inscribed may likely be based. In some cases, historic data such as the date of the alteration of a church, or archival information such as payments for work on church furnishings recorded in contemporary church accounts, provide an indication of the time period in which the text panel or text painting was likely made or installed. Estimated dates of examples that lack an inscribed dating are indicated in this study by 'ca.' (circa) before the number of the year(s).

Inscriptions in churches drawn up in the Dutch and Low German languages are described in English. For the sake of readability, English translations are usually given in the main text, while a transcription of the text as it can be read on a text panel or in a text painting, or the relevant fragments thereof, is given in a footnote. The Bible book and verse numbers of Bible texts and the Bible translation used for the English translation of inscriptions are also given in the footnotes. English translations of Bible verses are taken from the *King James Version* (KJV), the *New King James Version* (NKJV), the *New Revised Standard Version* (NRSV), or the *Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition* (RSVCE) for an occasional verse from a deuterocanonical Bible book, as they are available via the website www.biblegateway.com. In some cases, the comparison of an inscription with a contemporary Dutch Bible translation appeared helpful in dating a text panel or text painting. Because textual aspects in themselves are not a main focus in this study, and for reasons of feasibility, Bible verses inscribed on panels and painted on church walls have not systematically been traced back to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bible translations.

The organisation of this book

The first chapter gives an account of the 'landscape of texts' in its full width and variety as it could be found in an early modern Dutch Protestant church. The nature and use of church space, as a public space in a pluralistic society and as a place for Reformed worship, is the perspective that determines the categorisation of types of texts in Chapter 1. The last part of this chapter focuses on the main types of religious texts related to the use of the church for Reformed worship, and especially the various sets of texts in which the Ten Commandments were the central element. As such, it can be read as an introduction to the remaining chapters, which revolve around the appearance, place and function of this category of texts. An in-depth analysis of the visual and material characteristics of these text panels and text paintings is offered in Chapter 2, set against the Reformed views on and restrictions of church art and furnishings and religious imagery. A contextual approach characterises Chapter 3: it discusses the spatial setting of text panels and text paintings in order to better understand their function in the Reformed transformation of the church space, previously used for Catholic worship. The study concludes with a virtual tour along the shores of the North Sea in Chapter 4, to present Dutch Calvinist text decoration in a geographical and confessional wider comparative perspective. The overall conclusion of this study recollects the main findings of each chapter, to further reflect on the questions of why and how the 'visuality of texts' was developed and deployed within the Dutch Calvinist church to proclaim and to instruct on Reformed faith and worship and to, in various respects, discipline the churchgoers.

Chapter 1

A text landscape: The variety of texts and the use of the Reformed church space

Introduction

Protestantism, and Reformed Protestantism in particular, is known as the religion of the Word. Where all things material became viewed as potentially deceitful and the image as merely leading away from true faith, Scripture was the reliable source for true faith. The rise, in a wider perspective, of a renewed valuation of the written word in a day and age characterised by a desire to return to ancient and original sources, ran parallel with a shift to the vernacular and increasing literacy rates.[55] In churches that were taken over by the Calvinists, the defacement and removal of images and objects connected to the former use of the church for Catholic ways of worship went hand in hand with the inscription of texts that were partly profoundly connected to Reformed worship and partly pertaining to other uses of the church. A variety of inscriptions were painted on panels, walls, columns and furniture in the churches for an equally varied range of purposes.

This variety among the body of texts that can be encountered in Dutch Calvinist churches is closely bound with the nature and status of the Reformed church as the public church of the Dutch Republic. As the favoured religion, the Calvinist church was a public institution that, as a matter of principle, had to serve the whole of society. After the take-over of the formerly Catholic churches, the now-Calvinist church buildings remained public places, open to all. The church was a place where people could stroll around, marvel at the churches' architecture and monuments, see and meet other people, or just find shelter from the rain. Outside of church services, people could sometimes enjoy organ music while wandering around.[56] Church services, which took

55 Mochizuki 2008 pp. 271–273, Jean François Gilmont, 'Protestant Reformations and Reading', in: Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 213–237.

56 Van Swigchem et al. 1984 pp. 158–159, Pollmann 2002 pp. 180–182.

place on Sunday and also on weekdays, were open to all. The service was publicly announced by the ringing of the church bells. Especially in the first decades after the alteration, public announcements from the local government, such as certain sales, or leases of properties, could be made at the beginning of the church service. This sometimes troubled Reformed ministers, who preferred to keep the church service a religious event, undisturbed by distracting 'political and worldly' business.[57] The church and the church yard remained sites for burial across the Reformation, for Protestants and Catholics alike, and for those belonging to other Christian denominations.[58] This way, the church also remained the place where the deceased members of the community were remembered. The sacrament of Baptism was not reserved to the children of parents who were members of the Reformed church, but the Reformed ministers were, in principle, expected to baptise children from parents from all Christian confessions.[59] Although no longer a sacrament, marriage in the Reformed church and by the minister was, somewhat more exclusively, usually reserved to Reformed couples; others had to turn to the magistrates.[60] Only the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was, most exclusively, reserved to admitted members of the Reformed church.

The community present in the church as a public building and at these various moments and events was diverse, both in terms of religion and in socio-economic and political respects. Only a minority of the Dutch population were members ('lidmaat') of the Calvinist church, submitted to the discipline of the consistory and admissible to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Those who sympathised with the Reformed religion without being official members of the church were called 'liefhebbers'. Moreover, the church building would also be open to enter for others, either Catholic, or linked to various Protestant denominations, and those without a clear religious affiliation.[61] Without belonging to the Reformed congregation, a certain sense of belonging to the church as a communal public building and as a space significant because of its long history as a sacred space was present among those groups.[62] The society in which the Calvinist church became the public church was not only religiously and socially diverse but also divided, both along lines of faith and, in connection with that, of politics. The Calvinist

57 Van Deursen 1998 p. 21, Joke Spaans, 'Stad van vele geloven 1578–1795', in: Willem Frijhoff, Maarten Prak (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Centrum van de wereld 1578–1650*, Amsterdam, 2004, pp. 384–465, here: p. 397.

58 Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg 2005 p. 203.

59 Van Deursen 1998 pp. 135–143, Huub Noordzij, *Handboek van de Reformatie. De Nederlandse kerkhervorming in de zestiende* eeuw, Kampen, 2003, pp. 377–383, Spaans 2004 p. 396.

60 Spaans 2004 p. 396.

61 Kaplan 2019 pp. 27–30.

62 Cf. Judith Pollmann, 'Burying the dead; reliving the past: ritual, resentment and sacred space in the Dutch Republic', in: Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk van Nierop and Judith Pollmann (eds.), *Catholic communities in Protestant states. Britain and the Netherlands c.1570–1720*, Manchester and New York, 2009, pp. 84–102.

Reformation of the Catholic church became inextricably intertwined with the push for the liberation of Spanish Catholic rule. The Revolt was an endeavour for political and also religious liberation, although the ideal of religious freedom soon became the much more limited freedom of conscience, in which public religious practice was a privilege reserved to the Calvinists. While pragmatic tolerance and degrees of social interaction characterised daily life in a diverse society, an ideal of a Calvinist Republic and its inhabitants as a uniform and godly Calvinist nation occurs in Republican propaganda and in the Calvinist church.[63] Moreover, the local churches' communities comprised people of all social strata. They included members of the elites, who held positions of power because they belonged to the nobility or magistracy, members of (various ranks of) the craft guilds, and the poor in need of communal support. They were women and men, adults and children, and even the deceased retained a place in the community as their memory was kept alive by the living. The variety of types of text panels and text paintings reflects the different purposes for which and the diversity among the people who entered the church buildings at various moments. Conversely, text panels and text paintings further our insight in the uses and users of the Reformed church space.

After the Reformation, the church space became, as it were, overwritten with a broad range of inscriptions. Generally, types of texts wit a more practical or representative and commemorative nature and aimed at the larger and diverse community of churchgoers were placed in, or facing, the nave and ambulatory of the church. This area comprised the 'preekkerk' or preaching church around the pulpit in the nave, as the liturgical centre of the Reformed service of the Word, and the remaining space termed the 'wandelkerk', or walking church, the area to freely stroll around. Sets of texts in which the Ten Commandments were a key element were placed particularly on the borders of and within the chancel to accommodate the celebration of the Reformed Lord's Supper. The third chapter deeply delves into the relations between the content of inscriptions and their placement in church space, but those different placements already begin to emerge in this first chapter.

63 This pragmatic tolerance was termed 'Omgangsoecumeniciteit' or 'ecumenicity of everyday life', by Willem Frijhoff. Benjamin Kaplan, more precisely, speaks of spheres of social interaction and degrees of social integration. Willem Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation for the future at the time of the Dutch Republic. Structure, and base lines to interpretation', in: Willem Frijhoff, *Embodied belief*, Hilversum, 2002, pp. 153–180. First published as: Willem Frijhoff, 'Katholieke toekomstverwachtingen ten tijde van de Republiek: structuur, en grondlijnen tot een interpretatie', in: *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden,* vol. 98, no. 3 (1983), pp. 430–459. G. Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness: the Dutch Republic as the New Israel', in: A.C. Duke, C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands. Church and State Since the Reformation,* Den Haag, 1981, pp. 118–133. Kaplan 2019 pp. 22–24, 316–335.

This chapter aims to sketch the landscape of texts with which a Dutch Reformed church could be outfitted, by charting and categorising the various types of text panels and text paintings preserved in churches. It broadly distinguishes four aims and functions of texts displayed in churches. The first part discusses text panels that are related to the more practical functions of the church. It includes panels with ordinances, calling all churchgoers to behave properly in the church, or, more specifically, inform on ordinances concerning rites and customs of burial. That section also includes texts that show that the church was a place where support was provided for those of the community in need, calling to give alms generously. Secondly, types of panels are discussed that in various ways concern the identity of the church and its history, and the history of the town and the community to which the church belonged. It includes text panels that proudly present the church building as an emblem of local identity, or underline its particular Reformed use and identity. Text panels and paintings in the third section reflect the nature of the church as a social sphere, in which different groups and individuals presented themselves by means of Reformed text panels. The fourth part focuses on text panels and text paintings that are closely connected to the use of the church for Reformed worship. This section revolves mainly around the display of the Ten Commandments and the ensembles of texts of which it usually was a part. In anticipation of Chapters 2 and 3, which focus respectively on the material aspects and the implications of the spatial distribution of texts in the church interior, this section takes a closer look at the selection and content of texts combined with the Ten Commandments. Rather than an in-depth theological analysis, the aim is to present a comprehensive chart of commonly occurring texts. Moreover, some of the more original texts displayed in churches have found their ways into Chapters 2 and 3.

1.1 The church as a public building: Practicalities and public functions of the church

1.1.1 Panels with 'house rules': Practical ordinances to discipline the behaviour of all churchgoers

Seventeenth-century images paint a picture of the church space as a lively place, filled with strolling burghers, nursing mothers, digging grave delvers, children playing and dogs running around (Fig. 2). In a different way, text panels with ordinances provide us with an equally fascinating peek into this very ordinary everyday life in and around the church. As a negative of a picture, the prohibitions show us something of the doings and dealings of people in the church; that which is forbidden must have happened regularly or occasionally in and around the church. The practical ordinances generally addressed

Fig. 2: Daniël de Blieck, *Interior of the St Laurence church in Rotterdam*, 1654, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, on permanent loan in Museum Rotterdam, Rotterdam, object no. 11002-A-B.

every visitor of the church, and seem to have applied particularly to those who came for a stroll in or through the church. On behalf of the worldly authorities, usually the burgomasters, the magistrates and the custodian ('schout, schepenen en burgermeesters'), people are instructed to behave properly in the church and around the churchyard. In the Enkhuizen Westerkerk (North-Holland), people 'either young or old' are exhorted not 'to walk, rage, frolic, shout, or make any inappropriate sound or behave impertinent in any other way' (…), as is inscribed on the panel with a lengthy set of ordinances, preserved in the church and dated 1594 (Fig. 3).[64] The ordinance panels

64 '(…) dat van nu voortan nijemant 'tsij Jonck ofte oud hen sal vervorderen inde kercke deser stede te loopen raesen stoeijen getier ofte onbehoorlijck geluijt te maken ofte enige insolentie te bedrijven (…)'.

Is bij mijne heerè de schout·burgemeesterè
en schepenen deser stede·gekeurt en geordoneert·
keuren en ordonerè bij desen·dat van nu voortan
nijemant·ijlij Jonck ofte out·hè sal vvorderè inde kerckè deser
stede te loopè·raselè·stoeijen·getier ofte onbehoorlijck geluijt te
makè ofte enige insolentie te bedrijvè op pene và 'topperste cleet·of
tien stuijvers daer voor.
Sal ock nijemant hè vvorderè met crijt·houtcool ofte
ander materijalè te schrijvè an enige muerè ofte colommè binnè
de kerckè deser stede·noch inde banckè ofte houtwerck te snidè op pene
als bovè.
Voort sal ock nijemant·ijlij Jonck ofte out·inde kerckè mogen
spelè met cloten·knickerkens ofte andè instrumentè op pene als bovè.
Nock sal hè nijemant vvorderè met slijck·steenè en andè matery
te werpè inde kercke glasen·noch ock de kerckè ofte kerckhovè
met dreck ofte vuijlens te ontreijnigè op pene và drie pondè·en
wat de kinderè misdoè an ouders te vhalè·dexecutie te dreygè an
'topperste cleet.
Voort sal hè nijemant vvorderè te schietè met enige roers ofte
bogen an kerckè ofte opde kerckhovè·op pene drie pondè als bovè.
Nock sal hem nijemant vvorderè enige cleerè te blekè op de
kerckhoven op pene van tien stuijvers.
Alle dese boetè dene helft tot profijt và officier en dandè helft
tot profijt và opsiender vande kerckè·daertoe geordoneert.
Vende wie hè oppoleert tegens de vvlchrevè opsiender·ijlij met
woordè ofte werckè·op pene drie ponde tot profijt als boven.
DEN 16 JANVARIVS. Aº 1594.

Fig. 4: Ordinance panel, Schermerhorn (North-Holland), 1622. Photo: Author.

of Schermerhorn (1622) and Alkmaar (1645) (North-Holland) explicitly demand tranquillity when preaching or catechesis is going on in the church (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5). The ordinance panel in the Utrecht Buurkerk (1612) urges church visitors to go stroll elsewhere when there is a church service going on (Fig. 6). Most captivating on the Utrecht panel are the ordinances that prohibit the carrying of 'packets, sacks, baskets and barrels through the church (…)' or driving through the church 'some horses, sheep, pigs or any other animals', during 'the preaching of God's Word or another type of Christian service'.[65] Apparently, the church was used as a shortcut by those going to or coming from the adjacent market.[66] The ordinances on this type of panels show that the idea

65 '(…) en verbiet bij desen wel scherpelijkck eene ijegelijck (…) geduijrende de predicatie des Godelijcken Woordts off andere Christelijck Oeffeninge binnen deser kercke door het volck of vergaderinge te gaen, off dringen off elders gaen wandelen, veel min tot eeniger tijt eenich water packen sacken manden corven tonnen off ijetwes anders onbehoorlijck door de voorseijde kercke te dragen off met cordewagens door te cruijen off eenige peerden schapen verkens off andere beesten door te jagen of drijven (…)'.

66 Steensma 2013 p. 211.

◂ Fig. 3: Ordinance panel, Westerkerk, Enkhuizen (North-Holland), 1594. Photo: Archive Regnerus Steensma.

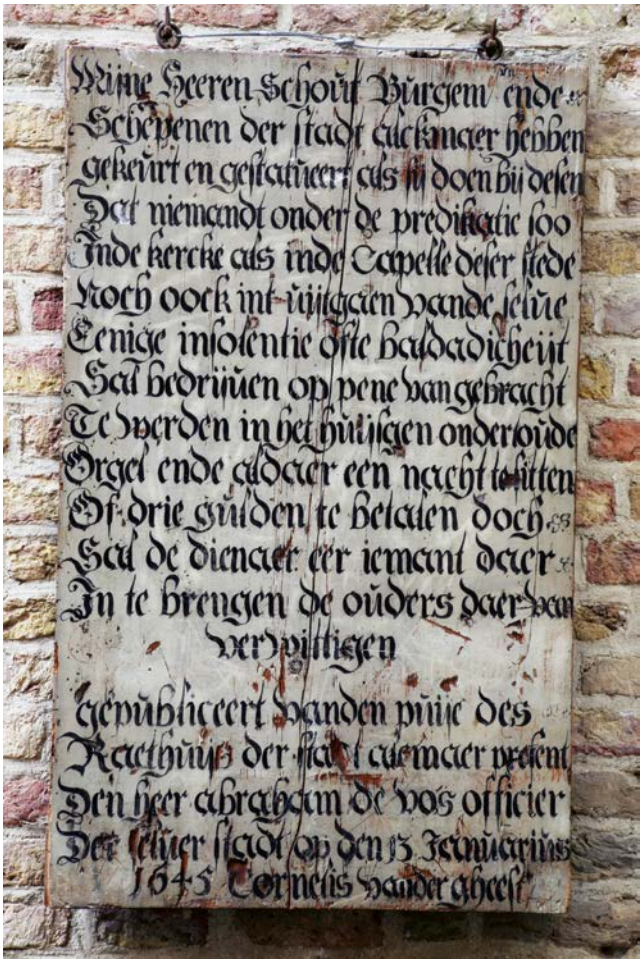

Fig. 5: Ordinance panel, Alkmaar (North-Holland), 1645. Photo: Archive Regnerus Steensma.

of a church as a place to find peaceful silence and serenity hardly was an early modern notion. Keeping the church building and the church yard in good order was also an area of concern; the Enkhuizen panel prohibited throwing stones or mud at the church windows, or bleaching clothes on the churchyard, all under penalty of 10 'stuijvers'.[67]

67 '(…) Oock sal hem nijemant vervorderen met slijck, steenen en ander materij te werpen inde kercke glasen, noch oock de kercke ofte kerckhoven met dreck ofte vuijlens te ontreijnigen (…) Oock sal hem nijemant vervorderen enige cleeren te bleken op de kerckhoven op pene van tien stuijvers. (…)' See also: Steensma 2013 pp. 208–210.

Fig. 6: Ordinance panel, Buurkerk Utrecht (Utrecht), 1612. Photo: Archive Regnerus Steensma.

With members of the magistracy as the consignors of the given ordinances, this type of panels illustrates the organisational and power structures of the public church. The so-called church factory ('kerkfabriek') was the responsibility of the worldly authorities, with the day-to-day business delegated to a church warden appointed by the local administration. The church factory comprised the church buildings and the organisation and financing of its upkeep and management, including the supervision of the work and the workers involved, such as dog whippers, sextons, cleaners, chair- and stove setters, bookkeepers and organ players, as well as the practical organisation of the church services. Although all matters regarding the church factory thus fell outside of the power and responsibility of the consistory, who led the Reformed congregation,

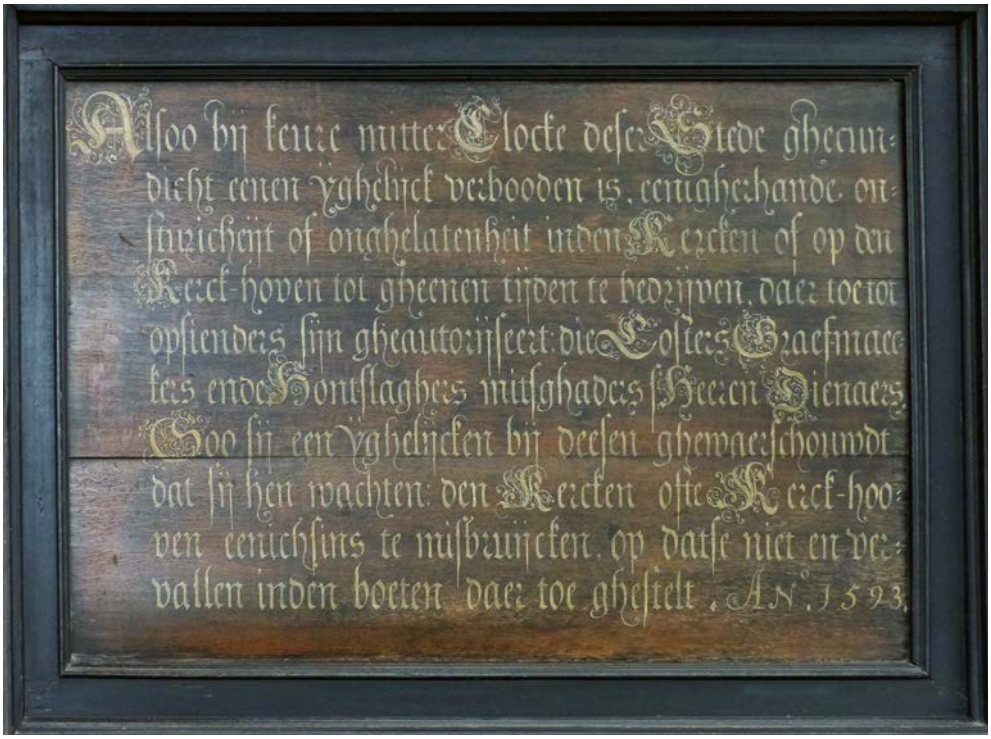

Fig. 7: Ordinance panel, Oude Kerk, Amsterdam (North-Holland), 1593. Photo: Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

both were often intertwined, with members of the nobility or magistracy also having a seat in the consistory as an elder or deacon.[68] Insightful in this regard is the remark on the ordinance panel in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam (North-Holland) (1593), which notes who is authorised to control the observance of the rules in the church; namely the sexton, the dog whipper and the grave digger and the Lord's servants (Fig. 7).[69] The panel in Enkhuizen mentions that the earnings of the fine that could be issued for breaking the rules had to be split between the officer (presumably the one who issued the fine) and the churches' custodian.[70] In Alkmaar, the potential trespasser was not only threatened with a fine but also with being imprisoned for a night in the churches' 'little house under the organ'. Young potential wrongdoers and their parents were primarily

68 Van Swigchem et al. 1984 p. 59, Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg 2005 pp. 172–178.

69 '(…) daer toe tot opsienders sijn gheautoriiseert: die Costers Graefmaecers ende Hont-slaghers mitsgaders sHeeren Dienaers. (…)'. Precisely which type of servant ('Dienaers') are referred to here lastly is unclear.

70 Steensma 2013 pp. 208–211.

addressed in this panel, as the remark that 'parents of the wrongdoer will be informed before a person is imprisoned' shows.[71]

Only five panels in this category have been preserved, mostly in churches in North-Holland. A plausible explanation for this relatively small number is that ordinance panels may have soon become outdated or irrelevant. A particular aspect of this kind of panels is that a precise date of the issuing of the rules is often given on the panel, mentioning a precise day, month and year. The panels have likely been valued as a suitable way of publicly issuing rules in the times in which they were made and in which the rules applied, somewhat similar to paper pamphlets with announcements or rules. In subsequent times, ordinance panels may not have been viewed so much as valuable parts of church interiors, worth keeping for aesthetic reasons or because of their textual message, different from other types of panels.

An ordinance panel in the church of Haringhuizen (North-Holland) (1663, renewed 1786) is something of an exception in this category, in that it displays ordinances of a slightly different nature. It aims to discipline the behaviour of the attendees of the church service, and especially their behaviour during the sermon. People are instructed to pay attention and listen carefully to what is being said. Those who were tempted to close their eyes for a minute and 'felt the need to give their body some rest' should better stay at home, according to this panel. Its inscription reads: 'who wants to sleep sleeps at home, who is deaf cannot hear, who is blind cannot see, and those who sleep are deaf and blind'.[72] The benefits of listening attentively to the Word are underlined. The reader of the panel is admonished to 'receive the godly Word which is alive and powerful', because 'blessed is he, who embraces it in his heart and can make it his own, for self-improvement and comfort.'[73] Admonitions like these, which emphasize the importance of the Word preached in this church for the attendees of the church service, are akin to inscriptions about the church as the 'House of the Lord', which mark the church as a place for Reformed worship, set apart from its Catholic past, as is discussed more at length in Chapter 3.[74]

71 '(…) op pene van gebracht Te werden in het huijsgen onder t oude Orgel ende aldaer een nacht te sitten Of drie gulden te betalen. Doch sal de dienaer eer iemant daer In te brengen de ouders daer van verwittigen (…)'.

72 '(…) Die rust neemt voor het lijf behoeft hier niet te wesen
Die slapen wil slaapt thuis di blint is kan niet lezen
Die doof is hoort geen stem die slaept is doof en blint (…)'

73 '(…) Ontfangt het godlik woort welk levend is en kragt
Die t oplsuijt in zijn hert en zig toe-eijgenen kan
Tot betering en troost wel salig is die man. (…)'

74 See Chapter 3.2.2 'My house shall be a house of Prayer': Emphasising a break with the Catholic past.'

1.1.2 Burial in the church: Ordinances and price lists

The church and the church yard of the formerly Catholic churches remained public sites of burial after the Reformation. Text panels with ordinances and prices regarding all kinds of rites and customs of burial in churches inform us about the more practical side of burial in and around Reformed churches. Panels with ordinances for burial, of which I have found preserved examples in four churches, are akin to the above-discussed panels with ordinances addressing the behaviour of church visitors in that they only comprise practical ordinances, without any religious references such as Bible verses or admonitions with pious overtones. However, they do illustrate religious tension between the Reformed rejection of pre-Reformation Catholic rites and customs of burial and the continued use of the church as a public site of burial for a community that was religiously diverse and included Catholics. In this field of tension, the Reformed opted for a somewhat pragmatic approach, also with a view to the financial interests of the church factory.

Usually, only the medieval churches taken over by the Calvinists were designated sites for burial, as a continuation of the situation before the Reformation, and the right to bury often also extended to newly built Calvinist churches. Part of the reasons why the churches remained the sites of burial for people of all walks of life was that the sale or rent of graves and the charging of a range of services concerning burial were an important source of income for the church factory.[75] The Reformed did attempt to secularise the ritual of burial. For example, ministers were not involved with burial after the Reformation. Holding funeral sermons ('lijkpredicatieën') that included prayer was discouraged. Such sermons were thought to foster pre-Reformation 'papist' rituals around burial, such as kneeling and prayers for the souls of the deceased, and would encourage unjust personality cults.[76] As Catholics also continued to be buried in and around the church, Catholic rituals such as kneeling, prayer, or throwing clods of hallowed ground on the coffin were sometimes still performed, on the occasion of the burial or later, although Reformed authorities naturally frowned upon this. The ringing of bells, associated with pre-Reformation Catholic prayer for the dead, was sometimes debated after the Reformation, but seems to have been appropriated rather than radically abolished. It remained in use as the local public announcement of a death and as an expression of communal grief.[77]

75 Van Swigchem et al. 1984 pp. 254–255, Pollmann 2002 pp. 182–183.

76 Koen Goudriaan, 'De opkomst van de lijkpreek', in: Peter Bitter, Viera Bonenkampová, Koen Goudriaan (eds.), *Graven Spreken. Perspectieven op grafcultuur in de middeleeuwse vroegmoderne samenleving*, Hilversum, 2013, pp. 91–120.

77 Andrew Spicer, ''Rest of their bones': fear of death and Reformed burial practices', in: William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (eds.), *Fear in early*

The extensiveness alone of the body of ordinances concerning burial, inscribed on three panels in the church of Alkmaar, mainly revolving around costs for grave digging and other burial-related services, such as the lifting of a tomb slab or the ringing of the church bells, indicate that burial was an important source of income for the church factory. No fewer than sixty different ordinances have been inscribed on the Alkmaar panels, which are dated 2 December 1672 (Fig. 8). The first rule of the first panel underlines that the upkeep of the church is a heavy financial burden, implying that the charges for burial have been set up to contribute to the church factory financially.[78] The final ordinances on the third panel concern the ringing of bells, which was apparently quite customary, despite the Catholic 'superstitious' roots of the tradition. It could last from half an hour up to an astounding but not extraordinary three hours.[79]

In the late medieval Catholic church, the preferred and most prestigious site in the church for burial had been the chancel, as the most sacred area of the church and the site of the presence of the divine. The Reformed rejection of any pre-Reformation notions of (gradations of) holiness of the church space did not eradicate this traditional preference. A panel in Poortugaal (South-Holland) illustrates that, as late at 1668, the chancel of the church still was preferred over the nave as a site for burial, despite the indifferent attitude toward church space and the rejection of its holiness in Reformed doctrine. The price for an adult's grave in the choir of the church was eight guilders, which was twice as expensive as a grave for an adult in the nave of the church (Fig. 9). For the church factory, a burial in the chancel remained the most profitable burial. As a fascinating alternative to the pre-Reformation preference for the east end, contradictory to the abolition of the sacredness of church space in Reformed doctrine, some preferred a place close to the pulpit or at the site of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as Van Swigchem has noted.[80]

modern society, Manchester and New York, 1997, pp. 167–183, here: pp. 174–176. For the practices and implications of the continuation of burial in the church by Catholics after the Reformation, see: Pollmann 2009. On burial in Reformed churches, see also: Spaans 2004 pp. 391–395.

78 'Eerstelijkck dat tot verval vande sware onkosten der hoognodige Onderhoudinghe vande groote Kerck alhier voortaen over het begraven Van een lijck zal met een Bare van vieren of meerder gedragen werdt Voor het recht vande Kerck ontfangen sal werden ses guldens.'

79 Spaans 2004 p. 392, Spicer 1997 pp. 174–176, Pollmann 2009 p. 97.

80 Van Swigchem et al. 1984 p. 255, Pollmann 2002 pp. 182–183.