

FACT AND SANCTITY
Authenticating Laudianism in the English *Monasticon Anglicanum*'s Architectural Prints (1655)

by
Caroline Murphy

Bachelor of Arts, Architectural Studies
University of Toronto, 2014

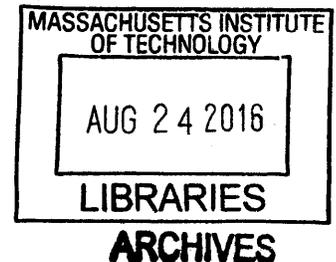
Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science in Architecture Studies
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ABSTRACT

This thesis takes as its focus the set of illustrated plates of monastic churches and cathedrals that interleave the first volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, a monumental Latin antiquarian tome on England's dissolved monastic establishments published in 1655. It was arranged by the antiquaries William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth from compiled transcriptions of monastic foundation charters, and was illustrated in the early 1650s by the engraver Daniel King with over fifty full-page plates of dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals. The etcher Wenceslaus Hollar also contributed a few etchings to the project.

The ambitions of this antiquarian endeavor were articulated in the publication's preface. The *Monasticon* was to preserve a memory of the institutional histories of monasteries, which had been dissolved and dismantled by Henry VIII's administration at the outset of the Reformation in the 1530s and 1540s, and attacked again by iconoclasts during the early years of the Civil War in the 1640s. A second objective was to record the appearances of monastic churches and cathedrals that had been converted for Protestant worship during the monastic dissolutions, and were thus among the few medieval religious structures to have weathered the iconoclastic storms largely intact. In the *Monasticon*, however, antiquarian desires to preserve were also underpinned by the political ambitions of its royalist, Laudian creators and benefactors to authenticate their conservative vision of the Church of England at a time when they faced persecution under Oliver Cromwell's republican regime.

This thesis examines how the illustrated plates in the *Monasticon*'s first volume depict dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals to advance and justify the aims of embattled Laudian royalists. By analyzing the graphic construction of these pictures in relation to seventeenth-century antiquarian practices and Laudian religious beliefs, these representations emerge as complex visual statements that stage monastic churches and cathedrals simultaneously as factual, historical antiquities, and also as sanctified religious spaces. Moreover, as a series of prints, these images form a collection of "paper monuments" that are recruited as artifactual evidence in support of a historical narrative that seeks to legitimize a Laudian vision of the Church, by demonstrating that it had deep roots in England's past. This thesis interrogates a set of compelling, yet overlooked antiquarian representations to open a window onto the complex and entangled meanings that were ascribed to medieval religious architecture after the Reformation, and in so doing it aligns with a growing body of scholarship that seeks to question the Weberian notion that this religious revolution heralded the "disenchantment of the world."

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I must thank David Ungvary from the Department of the Classics at Harvard University for translating several Latin passages into English. Various aspects of this research would have been impossible without his aid.

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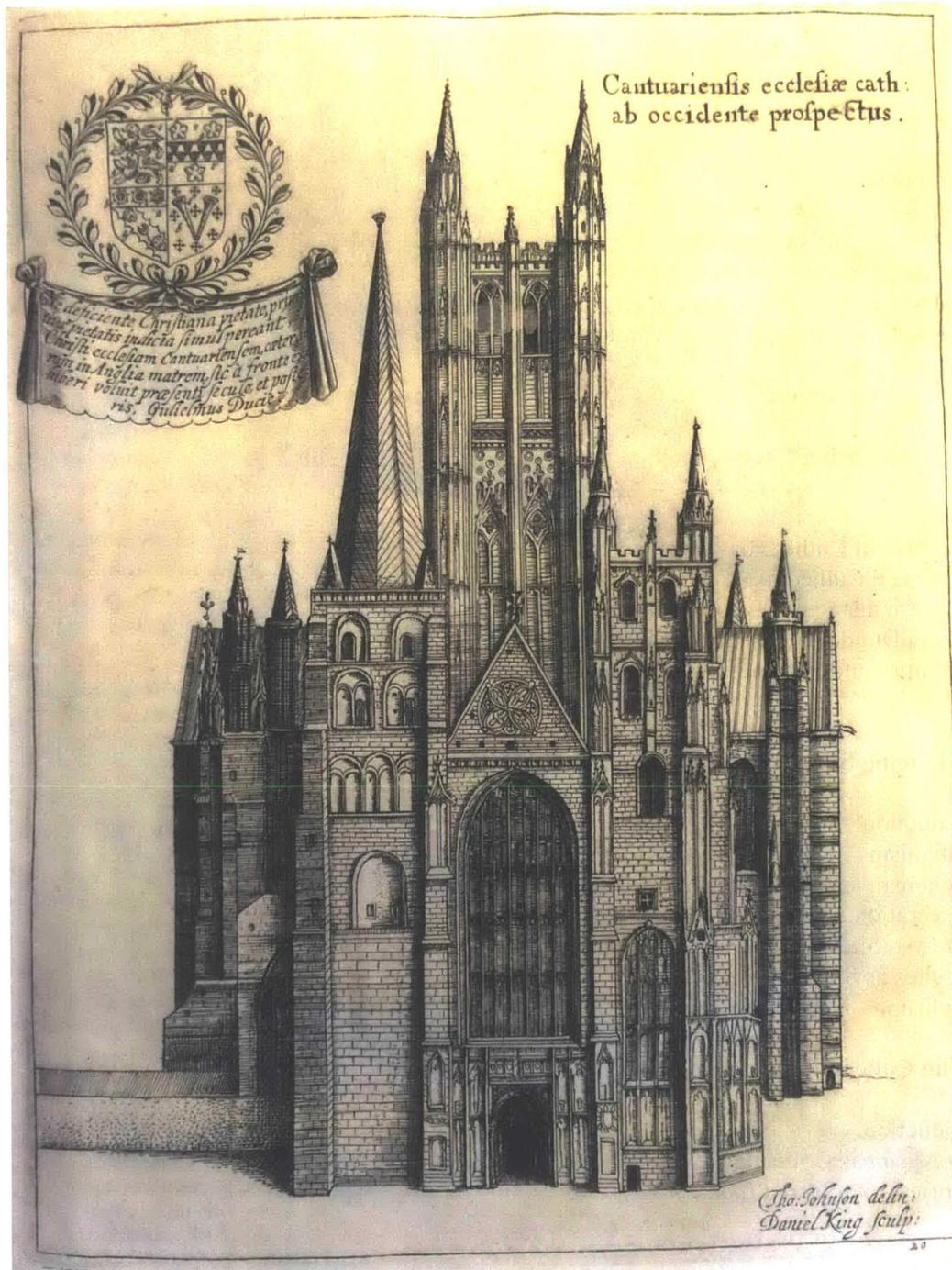


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Figure 0.1
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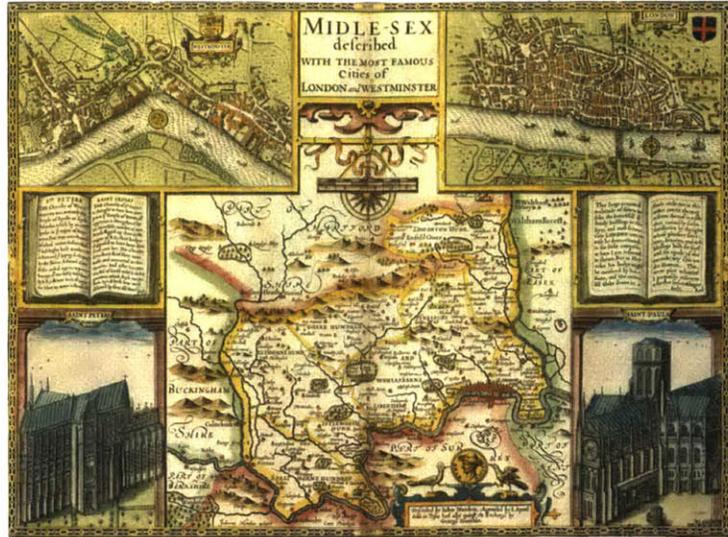


Figure 0.2

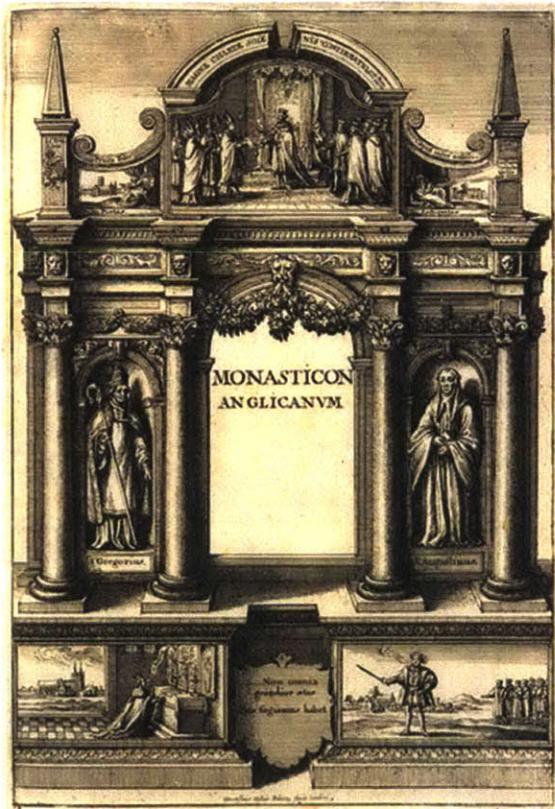


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The British Library, London. 081332.

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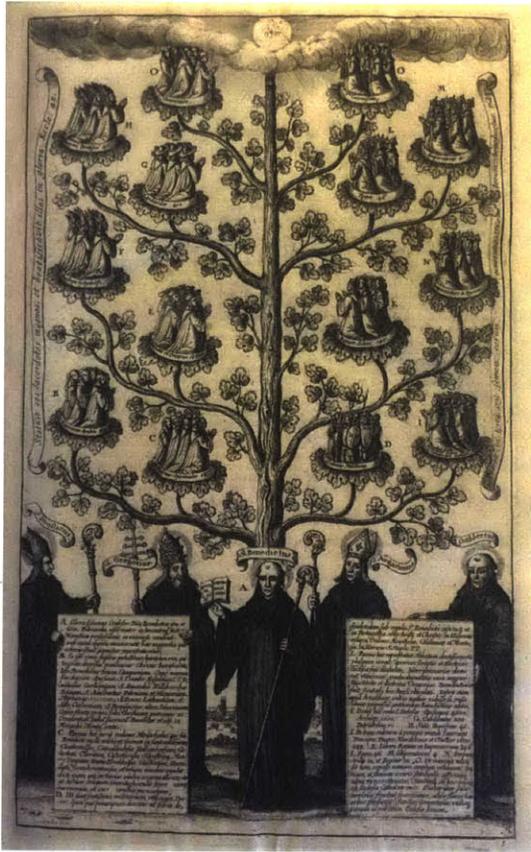


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INTRODUCTION

Prolegomenon

In the 1650s, England was reeling from a century of political and religious change. Over a hundred years earlier, in the early 1530s, the kingdom had split from the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and began on its long path to religious reform.¹ In the decades that followed, zealous iconoclasts decimated medieval monastic establishments in fits and starts with the aim of extirpating all signs of traditional Catholic religion in England, while the form that the Church of England should take was debated at the pulpit and in the press. Protestants became divided on this issue, among others more political in nature, breeding tensions that eventually erupted in 1642 in a bloody civil war between the king and Parliament.² Parliamentarians emerged victorious, and with their ascendancy the ancient institutions of the episcopacy, House of Lords, and even monarchy itself were all abolished, giving way in 1651 to a decade of republican government. The medieval monastic ruins that dotted the countryside, battered in successive cycles of reformist anger and militant destruction, served as poignant signs of the strife of the times. The scores of royalists and religious conservatives who deplored England's sharp fracture from its past spent the middle years of the seventeenth century attempting to piece together a sense of the older religious and political order that had been lost.³

This thesis studies one artifact of these efforts. In the following pages I examine the set of printed representations of monastic churches and cathedrals that were published in the first

¹ Nicholas Tyacke, "Introduction: Re-Thinking the 'English Reformation,'" in *England's Long Reformation, 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, The Neale Colloquium in British History (London ; Bristol, Pa: UCL Press, 1998), 1–2.

² Kenneth Fincham, "Introduction," in *The Early Stuart Church: 1603–1642* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 1–22; Tyacke, "Introduction."

³ Patricia Fumerton discusses how the regicide was construed as an historical fissure, and elaborates on ways in which King Charles I's supporters aimed to perpetuate his memory after his death. *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 11–17.

volume of the seventeenth-century antiquarian tome, the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.⁴ This book, published in 1655, was the first installment of a monumental antiquarian study of England's dissolved monastic establishments, whose later volumes appeared in 1661 and 1673. This project was arranged by the Warwickshire antiquary William Dugdale (1605–1686) and the Yorkshire scholar Roger Dodsworth (1585–1654) from transcriptions they had compiled of the foundation charters and land records of religious orders and monastic houses in England. In the early 1650s, soon before the first volume went to press, Dugdale hired the engraver Daniel King (ca. 1616–ca. 1661) to create a series of over fifty full-page, copperplate engravings of the major dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals to illustrate the text (for example, fig. 0.1). The renowned Bohemian émigré etcher Wenceslaus Hollar was also enlisted for the project, but his sole contributions were five of the church illustrations, the architectural frontispiece, and four additional plates depicting monks in the garb of the various monastic orders represented in the text.

In the preface to the *Monasticon*, the antiquary John Marsham (1602–1685) stated that the endeavor was motivated by a desire to preserve a memory of the institutional histories of monasteries, and of the appearances of their churches and cathedrals. “To such as are capable of understanding the Advantages of looking back into Antiquity,” he wrote, “it cannot but be the greatest Satisfaction to see the History of ancient Christian Discipline reviv'd, and the Originals of Monasteries Rescu'd from the Death of Oblivion.”⁵ By the time he was writing, after all, monasteries in England had suffered extensive damages: Henry VIII's administration (r. 1509–1547) dissolved all monasteries in England in the 1530s and 40s, and orchestrated iconoclastic

⁴ William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum, sive, Pandectæ cænobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1655). I have chosen to focus on this first installment due to its intriguing polemical aims, as it was released during the Interregnum at a time when royalists and supporters of the Laudian movement faced persecution. The two subsequent volumes were issued in 1661 and 1673 in a changed religious and political climate, after the Restoration and revival of several aspects of the Laudian Church.

⁵ William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum: Or, The History of the Ancient Abbies, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, With Their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, trans. John Stevens (London: R. Harbin et al., 1718), v.

campaigns to dismantle their buildings. The churches on their sites, however, on the whole survived intact: their interiors alone were purged of images and other incitements to idolatry, and were converted for Protestant worship. In the 1640s, after a period of church refurbishment and beautification under Charles I's Personal Rule (the period from 1629–1640 when the king ruled without recourse to Parliament), the auxiliary monastic buildings that had already been reduced to ruins were targeted again by iconoclasts, along with ecclesiastical interiors. The edifices pictured in the *Monasticon* were among the only monastic and ecclesiastical structures to have weathered these destructive storms intact.

As a book, the *Monasticon* belongs to an antiquarian tradition that emerged on the heels of the Reformation. By the late sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth, the visible losses inflicted by the iconoclastic surges of this religious revolution had helped to stimulate consciousness of a lost, medieval past⁶—much of which had been eradicated along with the monasteries—and motivated antiquarian desires to preserve and assemble a memory of it through the assiduous collection and study of its surviving textual and material fragments.⁷ English antiquaries were at first ambivalent about the decaying monasteries that marked the countryside, torn between an impulse to preserve their memory and fears that doing so was sinful in the eyes of their converted countrymen. Antiquarian publications from the latter decades of the sixteenth century thus mentioned these sites only obliquely, and never included visual representations of them. By the early seventeenth century, Protestant contempt for the pre-Reformation Church had quelled considerably, giving way to a growing tide of nostalgia for the decaying monuments of medieval piety; nevertheless, antiquarian efforts to preserve traces of the monastic past remained predominantly textual. Puritan iconoclasm during the early stages of the Civil War in the 1640s

⁶ Alexandra Walsham has charted how the English Reformation was construed by some Protestants as an historical fracture that gave rise to the concept of a “modern” era separate from the preceding “medieval” one. See her article, “History, Memory, and the English Reformation,” *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 04 (December 2012): 901, doi:10.1017/S0018246X12000362.

⁷ Margaret Aston, “English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 231–232, doi:10.2307/751164; Walsham, “History, Memory, and the English Reformation,” 907–919.

further galvanized antiquarian efforts to preserve this history, yet visual representations of formerly monastic ecclesiastical structures remained exceedingly rare.⁸

The *Monasticon* is in fact the first antiquarian publication in England to picture the architectural survivals of the medieval era as its principal subject matter. Created at a time when few printed images of buildings were in circulation,⁹ and when monasteries and ecclesiastical monuments still smacked of “popish” error to the hotter sort of Protestants and remained sites of politico-religious contention,¹⁰ this book, with its numerous plates of monastic church and cathedral edifices, was an anomalous and provocative endeavor.

The *Monasticon*, however, was not a neutral act of preservation. Rather, like much early modern antiquarianism, this project was underpinned by a political agenda of authentication.¹¹ It was coordinated and overwhelmingly financed by embattled, royalist religious conservatives who were disenfranchised under the new republican regime. As many historians have noted, the majority of those men connected to the project supported the Laudian movement, a group of clerics installed at the head of the Church of England under Charles I and his Archbishop, William Laud, who aimed to strengthen the ecclesiastical polity and reinstate aspects of medieval liturgy and theology that had been abolished in the early phases of England’s Reformation. As an antiquarian endeavor, the *Monasticon* was intended to legitimize and justify the Laudian vision of the Church of England by showing that it had deep roots in the English past, and an unbroken

⁸ For more on antiquarian attitudes toward monasteries, see Alexandra Walsham, “‘Like Fragments of a Shipwreck’: Printed Images and Religious Antiquarianism in Early Modern England,” in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 89–92. Some early images of former monastic cathedrals may be found in vignettes in the margins of maps in John Speed’s *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (London, 1616). The map of Flintshire, for example, carries an image of a church built over St. Winifred’s Spring at Holywell, and the map of Middlesex is flanked by miniatures of St Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey (Fig 0.2). While these early cartographic representations do present images of churches, they are not the principal subject matter of Speed’s book, and take up little space in the margins of his maps.

⁹ Walsham, “‘Like Fragments of a Shipwreck,’” 89; Marion Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated*, The University of Delaware Press Studies in 17th- and 18th- Century Art and Culture (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press ; Associated University Presses, 2002), 15–16, 91–92.

¹⁰ Walsham, “‘Like Fragments of a Shipwreck,’” 99.

¹¹ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1984), 140.

institutional succession up until the Reformation. It is the labor of this thesis to unveil how the often-overlooked engravings of ecclesiastical monuments that interleave Dugdale's text were integral to these efforts.

Producing the *Monasticon Anglicanum*

Numbering at over a thousand pages, the first published volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* was the fruit of an enterprise that engaged an assortment of antiquaries, heralds, artists, gentlemen and noblemen for over four decades.¹² In 1615, Dodsworth began conducting visits to various archives and private libraries in England, such as those of Sir Robert Cotton (ca. 1570–1631) and Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel (1586–1646), to view and transcribe the monastic records and muniments that had been transferred there by antiquaries in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, from the possession of those families whose ancestors acquired monastic properties after the dissolution.¹³ In 1635, the antiquary Henry Spelman (ca. 1562–1641) encouraged Dodsworth to partner with the then-novice scholar Dugdale to bring the project to completion.¹⁴ By this point, Dodsworth had transcribed the greater part of the requisite

¹² In early modern English society, gentlemen were a class of landowning men who were legally entitled to bear heraldic arms, but did not rank among the nobility. See Oxford English Dictionary, “Gentleman, N.,” n.d., <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/77673?redirectedFrom=gentleman>.

¹³ C. E. Wright, “The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The English Library before 1700: Studies in Its History*, ed. Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (London: The Athelone Press, University of London, 1958), 151; C. E. Wright, “The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and the Formation of the Cottonian Library,” in *The English Library before 1700: Studies in Its History*, ed. Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (London: The Athelone Press, University of London, 1958), 191; Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 49.

¹⁴ Dugdale, who was twenty years Dodsworth's junior, wrote in his autobiography that he was enjoined in that “comendable work” by “reason of his youth, and forwardnesse to prosecute those Studies,” so that they “might in time be brought to some perfection.” It is possible that Spelman encouraged Dugdale to cooperate with Dodsworth out fears that the elder antiquary would not live to see the work through to press. William Dugdale and William Hamper, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale: With an Appendix, Containing an Account of His Published Works, an Index to His Manuscript Collections, Copies of Monumental Inscriptions to the Memory of the Dugdale Family, and Heraldic Grants and Pedigrees* (London: Harding & Lepard, 1827), 10, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000232259>.

materials for the project, and Dugdale agreed to help him organize these notes and collate remaining sources.¹⁵

After years of travel and research to source and assemble archival documents, the process of publishing the *Monasticon* was no easier feat. The first volume was ready for the press in 1651, and “an offer was made to severall Booksellers, of the Copies,” but, as Dugdale recalled in his autobiography, “the Booksellers [were] not willing to adventure thereon.”¹⁶ This was perhaps because, as Marion Roberts has suggested, the Puritan leanings of the incumbent Cromwellian regime would have fostered a political and religious climate inimical to a publication on medieval monasteries.¹⁷ To bring their work to fruition, Dodsworth and Dugdale were obliged to coordinate and finance it on their own, contributing out of their own pockets and soliciting support from friends. After Dodsworth died in August 1654, Dugdale was left to complete the publication arrangements.¹⁸

Sometime between 1651, when the text of the *Monasticon* was complete, and 1655, when the book was published, a decision was made to illustrate the work with engraved views of the churches and cathedrals of the dissolved monastic establishments whose charters were transcribed in the text. The circumstances behind this decision are unclear: it is not discussed in Dugdale’s autobiography, diary, or correspondence, and in fact no explicit mention is made of any such

¹⁵ Ibid., 266.

¹⁶ Ibid., 24–25.

¹⁷ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 50.

¹⁸ Ibid. Uncertainty ensued over the *Monasticon*’s authorship. Although both Dodsworth’s and Dugdale’s names appear at the bottom of the printed title page, the large space under the *Monasticon Anglicanum* title on Hollar’s engraved frontispiece remained blank. The concept of authorship in the seventeenth century was far more nebulous than our modern definition of the term. As Adrian Johns has shown, “an *author* is taken to be someone acknowledged as responsible for a given printed (or sometimes written) work; that is, *authorship* is taken to be a matter of attribution by others, not of self-election. A *writer* is anyone who composes such a work. A writer therefore may or may not attain authorship.” Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), xxi. John Stevens, the translator of Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, also explained the book’s authorship: “Sir *William Dugdale* had the supervising of it, and added so much of his own, that he has well deserv’d the name of an Author; but the chief Praise is due to Mr. *Roger Dodsworth*, who gather’d these precious Remains of Antiquity from the dark Recesses where they were bury’d, and spent 30 Years in this commendable Employment.” Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1718, v.

plates in these sources until 1654.¹⁹ Indeed, while most of the *Monasticon*'s plates are undated, a few, such as Wenceslaus Hollar's plate of Westminster Abbey, are inscribed with the year 1654, corroborating the timeline suggested by Dugdale's archive.²⁰

The copperplate illustrations for the *Monasticon* were among the first in England to be financed through subscription.²¹ For this process, Dugdale solicited individual patrons to donate around £5 to underwrite the costs of preparing a single plate. As word of the project spread, some noblemen and gentlemen also voluntarily subscribed to donate funds toward the project.²² The benefactors were honored in the upper corner of each illustration, where Hollar etched an emblem composed of their names and coats of arms, along with a pithy Latin inscription lamenting the wanton Puritanical attacks and asserting the enduring sanctity of churches and cathedrals.²³

By the end of 1654 when the materials for the *Monasticon* were nearly completed, Dugdale had still not been able to find a publisher, so he hired the printer Richard Hodgkinson to print the text and plates for the *Monasticon*'s first volume.²⁴ Once printing was complete in 1655, Dugdale sold and distributed the books himself.²⁵ By summer, 400 copies had sold, half of which went to foreign buyers.²⁶ The varying number of engraved plates to be found across different extant copies of the first installment of the *Monasticon*—some count only forty, while others have

¹⁹ However, as Jan Broadway has noted, Hamper did not collect all of Dugdale's letters for inclusion in *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*. As discussion of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* is conspicuously absent from Dugdale's correspondence collected in Hamper's publication of his archive, it is possible that letters from these years are missing. See her article "Unreliable Witness: Sir William Dugdale and the Perils of Autobiography," in Christopher Dyer and Catherine Richardson, eds., *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605–1686: His Life, His Writings and His County* (Rochester, N.Y: Boydell Press, 2009), 36–43.

²⁰ William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1655), 56.

²¹ David Vander Meulen, "Sir William Dugdale and the Making of Books," in *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated*, The University of Delaware Press Studies in 17th- and 18th- Century Art and Culture (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 108.

²² Walsham, "Like Fragments of a Shipwreck," 94.

²³ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 51.

²⁴ Dugdale, letter to John Reppes, Dec. 10, 1654, in William Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. William Hamper (London: Printed for Harding, Lepard, 1827), 284, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000232259>.

²⁵ Vander Meulen, "Sir William Dugdale and the Making of Books," 108–109.

²⁶ Jan Broadway, "'The Honour of This Nation': William Dugdale and the History of St Paul's (1658)," in *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum*, ed. Jason McElligott and David L. Smith, Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 198.

up to seventy²⁷—indicates that this book was issued in bundles of unbound sheets for the purchaser to later bind, as was customary at the time.²⁸ While the identities of the purchasers of the *Monasticon*'s first volume have proven difficult to ascertain, it is plausible that those who subscribed to underwrite the costs of the copperplates counted among them. Dugdale may have even gifted bound presentation copies to these benefactors and to other royalist acquaintances, as he did with some of his later antiquarian works, in order to generate publicity and build patronage networks.²⁹

The *Monasticon*'s Contents

Prefacing the first volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* are two illustrated plates etched by Hollar, which set the tone of the book by conveying through figural historical scenes the Laudians' disapproval of assaults on the fabric of medieval piety (fig. 0.3). The first plate, an ornate architectural frontispiece, features a classicizing three-bay portal resting atop a massive plinth.³⁰ Five figural historical scenes that compare the hierarchical order and religiosity of the monastic era with the sacrilege of the Henrician Reformation appear as tableaux inset on the frontispiece. Over the central arch, a large scene depicts Henry III standing in a hall with the Lords Temporal and the Lords Spiritual, grasping the *Magna Charta* with the Archbishop of Canterbury. To the left of this image, below a volute inscribed with the phrase, "*Prisca Fides*" (in English, "the faith of early times"), is a smaller scene displaying the female allegory of Piety pointing to a large, stately cathedral. This scene contrasts with another one to the right of the central framed image, below a volute inscribed with the phrase, "*Caput inter nubila*" ("head in

²⁷ The copy at the University of Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library contains 44 engraved plates, while the copy Marion Roberts refers to contained 69. Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 51.

²⁸ Vander Meulen, "Sir William Dugdale and the Making of Books," 109.

²⁹ Ibid.; Ann Hughes, "William Dugdale and the Civil War," in *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605–1686: His Life, His Writings and His County*, ed. Christopher Dyer and Catherine Richardson (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2009), 63.

³⁰ This paragraph's description of the iconography of Hollar's frontispiece is taken from Margery Corbett, "The Title-Page and Illustrations to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1655–1673," *Antiquaries Journal* 67, no. 1 (1987): 105–106.

the clouds”, an expression that meant something was hidden or obscure) showing the female allegory of Antiquity seated against a wall, looking to her left toward a crumbling cathedral. She is illuminated by a beam of light emitted by the pages of an Anglo-Saxon book, affixed to a pilaster framing the right edge of the scene, and captioned by the inscribed words, “*Hinc Lucem*” (“from this source, light”). The two lower scenes also contrast medieval piety with reformist sacrilege. On the left, Edward the Confessor, an estimable patron of the church, kneels before an altar mounted with a painted triptych depicting three monks, and a stately cathedral looms large in the landscape beyond.³¹ On the right, Henry VIII stands imperiously before a crowd of royal commissioners and churchmen, gesturing with his sword toward a cluster of ruinous ecclesiastical buildings. A scroll issuing from his mouth reads, “*Sic volo*” (“so I want”).

In the preface that follows, the antiquary John Marsham outlines the origins of the institutions of monasticism and episcopacy in the Holy Land and their early history in England, and asserts the importance of the monastic era to the historical development of the English Church. The following passage, excerpted from the preface of John Stevens’s (ca. 1662–1726) English translation of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* from 1718, furnishes a précis of his argument:

This is a plentiful Addition to *English History*, whence very many and those uncommon Matters may be collected, relating to the Church and State, whose Affairs are commonly so interwoven, that they can scarce be rightly understood asunder. The ancient Structure and Polity of our Church is imperfect without the History of Monasteries. The Monks were formerly the greater Part of the Ecclesiasticks, and the Walls of Convents were for a long time the Fences of Sanctity, and the better sort of Literature. From that Seminary came forth those mighty Lights of the Christian World, *Bede, Alcuinus, Willebrod, Boniface*, and others worthy of much Ho or for their Learning, and for propagating the Faith. Were it not for the Monks, we had certainly ever been mere Children in the History of our Country.³²

Like Hollar’s plate that precedes it, this translation of Marsham’s text reads as an exculpation of monasticism and medieval religion, which formed a key feature of much Laudian polemic. As we will later see, Laudian writers sought to authenticate their vision of religion by claiming that it

³¹ Jennifer Andersen, “Posh Print and the Polemicization of William Dugdale’s *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655),” in *The Reader Revealed*, ed. Sabrina A. Baron, Elizabeth Walsh, and Susan Scola (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library; Distributed by University of Washington Press, 2001), 67.

³² Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1718.

was rooted in the apostolic age, and was carried forward through the Middle Ages up until the Reformation by a continuous succession of bishops, who they claimed presided over monasteries.

Hollar's second plate immediately follows the preface. It bears a diagram in the form of a tree that displays the various classes of monastic orders and holy and secular offices that abided by and propagated the Rule of Saint Benedict. Each class is poised as a small, condensed group of figures kneeling in prayer on leafy blooms branching out from the trunk of a tree rooted in the figure of Benedict (fig. 0.4). Each grouping is labeled with a letter that corresponds with a description of that station inscribed on one of two large stone slabs supported by Saints Dunstan, Gregory, Augustine, and Cuthbert in the plate's bottom register.³³ The diagram is not intended to present a chronology of institutional developments under Benedictine monasticism, but merely shows all the "wondrous things", which "under his rule... flashed forth,"³⁴ and was intended, like the preface, to cast medieval piety, along with monasticism, in a more favorable light.

The main content of the book follows. This principal section—a lengthy 1,034 pages—contains individual entries on dissolved monastic foundations.³⁵ The entries on some of the more significant establishments are accompanied by King's illustrated plates of their churches and cathedrals. Entries of individual monasteries are ordered into four sections based on their religious order, and then chronologically by date of foundation: the first section thus contains the oldest Benedictine monasteries, followed by sections on monasteries of the Cluniac, Cistercian, and Carthusian orders.³⁶ All four sections are prefaced by an illustration etched by Hollar of a monk in the garb of the respective orders. Concluding the text is a long, 120-page appendix,

³³ A. Saint Benedict; B. apostolic priests who propagated the Christian religion; C. monastic orders that follow the Rule of St. Benedict; D. leaders of Benedictine enrollees; E. abbots; F. bishops and archbishops; G. cardinals and patriarchs; H. popes; I. princes, dukes, marquises, and counts who converted to monasticism; K. children of kings and emperors; L. kings; M. emperors; N. empresses and queens; O. saints. Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655), sig. M2r.

³⁴ In Latin: "...sub cuius regula emicuerunt hoc magnolia quæ arboris istius iconismo representantur." From "A", *ibid.*

³⁵ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 46, 51.

³⁶ These four orders were the largest and most significant in England. R. Liddesdale Palmer, *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages: An Outline of Monastic Architecture and Custom from the Conquest to the Suppression* (New York: R. Smith, 1930), 6.

which includes a chart of the monetary value of each suppressed monastic establishment,³⁷ indexes of people, places, and sites mentioned in the book, and a section of *errata*, or corrections for errors occurring in the text.

Afterlife of the *Monasticon*

The project of the *Monasticon* continued long beyond the issue of the first tome in 1655. The manuscript materials and copperplate illustrations for the second installment were complete and ready for publication in the 1650s, but were printed only in 1661 after enough copies of the first volume had been sold to amass the funds needed to finance the new book.³⁸ The second volume expanded the scope of the first to cover English establishments of the Canons Regular (communities of clerics who led public ministries in urban centers and lived under the Rule of St. Augustine). In contrast to the first volume, the second volume contains only a few illustrated plates, and most of the buildings represented, such as Gisburne Priory and Osney Abbey, are in advanced states of ruin (fig. 0.5). In the early 1670s, Dugdale hired Hollar to create a second run of plates for a third and final Latin volume, which covered the establishments of the Secular Canons, namely non-monastic cathedral and collegiate churches, and was published in 1673. Hollar's plates for this last installment, as we will see in chapter 2, differed greatly from King's original engravings: they locate ecclesiastical edifices in recognizable settings and present them as exalted, idealized monuments.

The illustrations produced for the project's first volume had a long afterlife, both within and outside of the covers of *Monasticon* reprints. In 1656, one year after the first volume went to

³⁷ Margery Corbett has suggested that the *Monasticon* was a project intended to aid in the recovery of impropriated tithes, but Roberts has countered that there is no evidence in Dugdale's autobiography that this was a motivation of his. Nevertheless Laudian denunciations of sacrilege, as Anthony Milton has pointed out, often warned that God would mete out judgment to owners of impropriated properties. Corbett, "The Title-Page and Illustrations to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1655–1673," 103; Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 106; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 333.

³⁸ Dugdale, letter to John Reppes, Dec. 10, 1654, in Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 284.

press, King, who retained the rights to all the copperplates, including those few produced by Hollar, republished all the church images from the *Monasticon* alone, without any of its accompanying text, in a pamphlet titled *The Cathedrall and Conventuall Churches of England and Wales*.³⁹ Less expensive than Dugdale's erudite tome, the several copies extant suggest that King's illustrations of monastic churches and cathedrals enjoyed considerable popularity.⁴⁰ After King died in 1661, the printer John Overton gained possession of his plates and made several reprints from them between 1670 and 1672.⁴¹ Many subsequent editions were republished through the end of the seventeenth century and thereafter, which continued to circulate King's and Hollar's architectural depictions.

England's Long Reformation⁴²

The *Monasticon* is an antiquarian project that took form against the backdrop of the religious and political upheavals of Civil War and Interregnum England. This fraught period in England's history ensued in large part from the Protestant Reformation, a protracted religious revolution that saw many areas of northern Europe turn away from Roman Catholicism and establish their own reformed confessions over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These changes left an indelible and enduring mark on English religious and political life, and the *Monasticon* is a project that responds to them. Its printed representations, I contend, should be examined within this context of drawn out change and conflict.

The Reformation in England was motivated by a variety of factors. Its heretical currents may be traced back to the Lollard movement established by the Oxford theologian John Wycliffe

³⁹ Daniel King, *The Cathedrall and Conventuall Churches of England and Wales Orthographically Delineated by D.K. Anno MDCLVI* (London: s.n., 1656); Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 72.

⁴⁰ An English Short Title Catalog search for King's publication yields twenty copies in held by libraries in the United Kingdom and North America. While this figure is lower than the number of copies of the first volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* that have been accounted for, its less expensive, more ephemeral pamphlet format likely means that fewer have survived.

⁴¹ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 55.

⁴² I adopt this phrase from Tyacke, "Introduction," 1–32. See note 1.

(ca. 1320–1384) late in the fourteenth century, which advocated for reform of the Catholic Church. The Church had all but suppressed Lollardy during the early fifteenth century by persecuting its followers and driving the movement underground, but historians nevertheless agree that Lollard ideas influenced sixteenth-century reforms to some degree. Reformist thought from the Continent, which reached London as early as the 1520s and spread through printed pamphlets and preached sermons, also played a formative role in inciting religious change.⁴³ Moreover, during the early sixteenth century certain English clerics and secular rulers also began to express concern over the state of monastic life, which many felt had deviated from historic ideals of piety.⁴⁴ In the late 1520s and early 1530s, these religious sentiments mounted and coincided with Henry VIII's quarrel of a more political nature with Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–1534), over the pontiff's denial of the king's request to have his marriage to Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536) annulled.⁴⁵ This dispute ultimately led to England's break from Rome: to grant the king's desire to extend his sovereignty over religious matters in England, Henry's commissioners, led by the quietly evangelical chief minister Thomas Cromwell, crafted a series of parliamentary acts from 1532 to 1534 that designated Henry "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England",⁴⁶ and the first king in Europe to break with Rome.⁴⁷

This split was followed by the dissolution of the monasteries, a series of legal and administrative procedures that occurred over the 1530s and 1540s by which Catholic monasteries, priories, friaries, and convents in England, as well as in Wales and Ireland, were suppressed and disbanded, spelling the swift and decisive end of traditional Christianity in much of the British Isles. While historians generally agree that the dissolution was among the most revolutionary events of the English Reformation, they differ on its causes. One view holds that Cromwell was

⁴³ Ibid., 7–10.

⁴⁴ G. W. Bernard, "The Dissolution of the Monasteries," *History* 96, no. 324 (October 2011): 395–397, doi:10.1111/j.1468-229X.2011.00526.x.

⁴⁵ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation* (New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 2005), 198.

⁴⁶ Gerald Lewis Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation 1526–1701* (James Clarke & Co., 2004), 115.

⁴⁷ MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, 199.

largely responsible for the dissolution, and took advantage of the power he wielded as the king's delegated chief minister of English religion to pedal many of his own evangelical agendas, while Henry welcomed the financial windfall that came from selling monastic properties to nobles and high-ranking gentry.⁴⁸ Another interpretation highlights Henry's role in driving the monastic suppressions, and posits as a chief motivation a desire on the king's part to assert his new authority over English religion and impose corrective reforms to religious life.⁴⁹

To the dismay of Dugdale's generation of antiquaries, the dissolution and Reformation also resulted in the iconoclastic—and to their eyes, sacrilegious—destruction of monasteries, sacred sites, and religious images. After their seizure by the Crown, monastic establishments met a variety of fates. Some, such as Lacock Abbey, were sold to landowners and had their buildings converted to stately country homes, while others, such as Glastonbury Abbey, were simply abandoned and left to ruin in the landscape. Still others were targeted by iconoclasts and reduced to quarries for their building materials, which were sold off or pilfered for new construction projects.⁵⁰ As we saw above, the churches and cathedrals attached to dissolved monasteries were spared and reformed for use by Protestant congregations,⁵¹ but even so, religious sites in England had never before been so thoroughly defaced.⁵²

The physical violence inflicted during the Reformation was orchestrated to effect an institutional and symbolic break with the past.⁵³ As Alexandra Walsham has astutely noted, “in a world in which the art of remembering was primarily an art of mental visualization, the reformers recognized that removing physical reminders of popish error was vital to the task of transforming mentalities.”⁵⁴ The destruction of the material fabric of England's monastic past helped to usher along religious change in other ways, as well. In particular, attacks on sites, objects, and images

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 200–201.

⁴⁹ Bernard, “The Dissolution of the Monasteries,” 398–404.

⁵⁰ Aston, “English Ruins and English History,” 242.

⁵¹ MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, 199–201.

⁵² Aston, “English Ruins and English History,” 231.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Walsham, “History, Memory, and the English Reformation,” 907.

helped to reinforce the doctrine of justification by faith alone, a central tenet of the new Protestant theology that undermined the eminence that sacred sites and objects, along with medieval religious rituals and observances, had formerly enjoyed as loci of the divine in the Catholic architecture of spiritual good works.⁵⁵

Early in the reign of Henry's son Edward VI (r. 1547–1553), the Church of England's Protestant doctrine was established. Through the late 1540s and early 1550s, continued iconoclastic purges and growing volumes of reformist literature helped to propagate Protestantism in England, and in 1552 a revised Book of Common Prayer was issued which furnished a written exposition of reformed Protestant theology and liturgy.⁵⁶ These developments, however, were short-lived: after Edward fell ill in and died in 1553, he was succeeded by his Catholic half-sister Mary I (r. 1553–1558) who restored Catholicism to England.⁵⁷ This too was nevertheless a brief spell, for immediately after Mary's death, her half-sister and successor Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) passed legislation now known as the Elizabethan Religious Settlement (1558–1559) which saw the Church of England's autonomy from Rome renewed, the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer reissued, and Protestantism effectively reestablished in England. The Prayer Book had, however, undergone minor revisions, reflecting a newer, more moderate form of Protestantism than the kind established by Edward's administration. This notion was reinforced by the Thirty-Nine Articles issued in 1563, which explicitly charted the doctrine of the Church of England as a *via media*, or "middle way", between the continental Reformed Calvinist tradition and Roman Catholicism. It thus encompassed elements of both faiths, bringing together the central Calvinist tenets of predestination and justification by faith under an episcopal ecclesiastical government, a

⁵⁵ Tyacke, "Introduction," 11.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 18–20.

traditional Catholic form of church polity.⁵⁸ By accommodating aspects of both doctrinal extremes, the moderate Protestantism spelled out by the Elizabethan Settlement was intended to unify the diverse and discordant religious arena of English society.⁵⁹

Protestant Polarization, Civil War, and Restoration

Under James I (r. 1603–1625), the English Church continued to pursue religious unity by enforcing doctrinal moderation, but toward the end of James’s reign it proved increasingly difficult to appease the polarizing religious spectrum within English society. For one, Catholicism lingered—there were many recusants, and Romanist polemic continued to make its way into England from the Continent—provoking concerns that Protestants might become tempted to convert back to the Church of Rome.⁶⁰ To endear recusants to the English Church and mitigate the threat of Protestant defection, the Church of England became increasingly tolerant of popery. While some welcomed this growing moderation, it was a cause for alarm among more hardline Protestants, or Puritans, who feared that the ideals of the Reformation were being abandoned.⁶¹ They grew critical of the established Church’s moderation, and advocated for far-reaching reforms to purify it of what they claimed were popish remnants that continued to corrupt true religion.⁶² In response, some conformist English Church divines began to see Puritans as a menace to the nation’s policy of religious unity.⁶³ By the 1620s, relations between these groups had sufficiently deteriorated, yielding distinct doctrinal factions within the Church.⁶⁴

The situation grew even more polarized under Charles I (r. 1625–1649). The king appointed to high positions in the Church those conformist churchmen who were tolerant of

⁵⁸ Peter White, “The *Via Media* in the Early Stuart Church,” in *The Early Stuart Church: 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 212.

⁵⁹ Tyacke, “Introduction,” 12–22.

⁶⁰ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 31–33.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 48.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

popery, and implemented policies to suppress Puritanism, which he believed posed a pernicious threat to the order of Church and state.⁶⁵ First, he enhanced the powers of bishops and dispatched them to their sees to quash Puritan dissent in the counties.⁶⁶ Then in 1633, he appointed to the post of Archbishop of Canterbury the cleric William Laud who introduced ecclesiastical policies intended to impose religious conformity and repress Puritanism.⁶⁷ Among these measures, Laud freed the clergy from lay control and emphasized a form of ceremonial worship focused on the sacraments and the adornment and beautification of churches and cathedrals, which will be discussed further in chapter 2.⁶⁸

Charles's style of secular rule only exasperated these religious tensions. He dissolved Parliament in 1629 and ruled as an absolute monarch throughout the 1630s. In 1640 he summoned Parliament again to raise funds for the Bishops' Wars, and in 1642, after a series of power struggles with its members, declared war against it. The Puritans overwhelmingly backed Parliament, while conforming members of the Stuart Church, along with several Catholics and nobles, supported the king.

The English Civil War raged throughout most of the 1640s. In its early stages, the Parliamentarian army carried out iconoclastic attacks against remaining monastic buildings, and purged church and cathedral interiors of the images, decorations, implements, and furnishings that had been added them under the Laudian regime. Some monastic and ecclesiastical buildings also suffered incidental damage from wartime artillery fire. Signs of this destruction, as we shall see in chapter 1, are visible in King's prints. After early victories for both sides, Parliament dominated in the middle stages of the war, and seized the opportunity to reform aspects of ecclesiastical governance. In 1645 they executed Archbishop Laud, and in the following year

⁶⁵ To many, the king seemed to even embrace Catholicism: at court he surrounded himself with Roman Catholic artists and aristocrats from the Continent, and took the Catholic princess Henrietta Maria of France (1609–1669) as his wife. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 62.

⁶⁶ Peter Lake and Kenneth Fincham, "The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I," in *The Early Stuart Church: 1603-1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 48.

⁶⁷ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 65.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9, 71.

they abolished the episcopal polity and replaced it with a Presbyterian system.⁶⁹ In 1647, they captured and imprisoned the king. He was held for two years at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight, and in 1649 charged with high treason and executed. The war continued on for two years after the regicide, and Parliament emerged victorious.

In the decade that followed, England was governed as a republic, first under the Commonwealth of the Rump Parliament and the Council of State (1649–1653), and then under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1653–1658) and his son Richard (1658–1659). During this period, royalists were brought to submission.⁷⁰ Several of them, including Dugdale, were initially put under house arrest, and faced travel restrictions for the rest of the decade.⁷¹ Many also had their estates sequestered, and some went into exile. Although the Church under the Commonwealth and Protectorate was officially Presbyterian, in 1650 Cromwell abolished the old Elizabethan policy of religious uniformity, inaugurating (at least in theory) a period of religious liberty. In reality, however, this privilege did not extend to Stuart and Laudian churchmen and their supporters, who found their freedoms restricted and faced heavy censure throughout the period.⁷² For many royalists, their allegiances to the Crown and the abolished episcopalian, Laudian Church were inextricably tied, and they longed for the restoration of monarchy and the revival of reverent forms of worship.⁷³ This occurred in 1660, when Charles II returned to London after a decade in exile, and was crowned King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Soon after the Restoration, Laudian doctrine went on to exert a marked influence on the renewed Church of England.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ “Presbyterian” refers to a form of church polity governed by local ministers rather than by bishops.

⁷⁰ Paul H. Hardacre, *The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), 64.

⁷¹ Broadway, “‘The Honour of This Nation’: William Dugdale and the *History of St Paul’s* (1658),” 209.

⁷² For more on this process, see Hardacre, *The Royalists during the Puritan Revolution*, 39–105.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷⁴ Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 274.

Literature Review

The *Monasticon* is a project that emerges from and critiques these tumultuous politics. Hollar's frontispiece and Marsham's preface present indignant Laudian criticisms of the Puritanical republican regime and Presbyterian Church, and mourn the sacrilege that destroyed the "beauty of holiness" which flourished under Laud's tenure. While scholars have acknowledged the polemical tenor of Dugdale's project as a whole, many have neglected to examine how King's prints helped to inform it. As we have seen, these pictures were a late addition to the project, prepared entirely in the early republican period. The prohibitions that royalists faced during these years makes these novel prints all the more extraordinary. Nevertheless, an aesthetic bias that dismisses King's artistic efforts in favor of Hollar's work courses through the prevailing historiography, and has hindered the kind of sustained and critical investigation that these prints require. In my study, the idiosyncratic visual qualities that might have caused these prints to be passed over—such as their spare, nondescript backgrounds and elevated vantage points—form the center of my analysis and are, I contend, crucial to the meaning of these prints.

Margery Martin cast a cursory glance at the *Monasticon* in her 1960 study of Hollar's working relationship with British antiquaries active from the 1650s to the 1670s.⁷⁵ She framed this project as an effort to visually preserve the appearances of ecclesiastical monuments and edifices that had come under the axe of reformist and Puritan iconoclasm, and offered a descriptive account of Hollar's frontispiece to the first volume. She was, however, dismissive of King's contributions: she noted that he supplied sketches of churches for the project and etched many of his own plates, but remarked that "his style derives entirely from Hollar but he is at no time his equal as an artist,"⁷⁶ and offered no further evaluation of his illustrations. In her study from 1987, Margery Corbett suggested that the purpose of the entire three-volume endeavor was

⁷⁵ Margery Martin, "Wenceslaus Hollar and the British Antiquaries," *Motif*, no. 4 (March 1960): 68–81.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

intended to supply a history of English monastic foundations. She also furnished a detailed explication of the iconography of Hollar's architectural frontispiece, and argued that its allegorical elements and historical scenes were intended to make an overtly polemical statement about the enduring sanctity of religious sites. Further, she suggested that the purpose of compiling charters and land endowments for the *Monasticon* was to "produce a record which should serve as a basis for the recovery of impropriated property", but others have challenged this assertion, pointing to a lack of evidence that this was a motive of either Dodsworth or Dugdale.⁷⁷

Marion Roberts devoted a chapter to the *Monasticon*'s illustrations in her book-length study of Dugdale's and Hollar's antiquarian collaborations.⁷⁸ She first asked why King was commissioned to prepare the majority of the plates for the project when the talented Hollar was also involved, and suggested that Sir Thomas Fairfax, Dodsworth's patron, knew him and might have been responsible for his hire. She also noted that the church and cathedral buildings are depicted consistently in a state of isolation, and suggested that this may reflect a decision to omit the claustral monastic buildings that would have surrounded the cathedrals to efface their former monastic, and thus Catholic, affiliations. While it is possible that Dugdale and King sought through their project to define an identity for Laudian royalists as distinct from Catholic ones, I submit that this graphic decision was in fact intended to represent the Laudian belief in the enduring sanctity of churches and cathedrals, a doctrinal point they shared with Catholics. Finally, Roberts concluded that the illustrations functioned to visually preserve the memory of monuments that antiquaries feared would be destroyed, and to beautify the text to make it more appealing to purchasers.

The *Monasticon* was also featured in an exhibition on early modern reading practices, titled *The Reader Revealed*, mounted at the Folger Shakespeare Library in 2001. Jessica

⁷⁷ Corbett, "The Title-Page and Illustrations to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1655–1673"; Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 56.

⁷⁸ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 46–72.

Andersen offered a concise analysis of this book in the exhibition's catalog.⁷⁹ She first discussed the iconography of Hollar's frontispiece, and concluded that it conveyed royalist ideas about the necessity of the king as the unifier of church and state, spoke to the antiquarian community about the collective nature of their endeavors through references to past works, and construed history typologically, framing events in the present as echoes of past ones pictured as historical scenes on the frontispiece. In the second part of her article, Andersen attempted to resolve the apparent contradiction posed by the involvement of Fairfax, Lord General of the Parliamentary army, as Roger Dodsworth's patron in this decidedly royalist publication. This may be explained, she noted, by recognizing the project's long history: from the time Dodsworth began transcribing monastic charters in 1618, up until the mid-1630s when Dugdale joined the project, the pronounced rift that separated Parliamentarians and Royalists at mid-century had not yet developed.

Alexandra Walsham has authored the most recent study of these prints. In her 2010 article, "'Like Fragments of a Shipwreck': Printed Images and Religious Antiquarianism in Early Modern England", she examined the purpose and significance of the church and cathedral representations published in all three volumes of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and in an additional publication that Dugdale and Hollar collaborated on, titled *History of St Paul's Cathedral* (1658).⁸⁰ She first charted the emergence of this variety of antiquarian representation, suggesting that conditions were ripe for their mid-seventeenth-century appearance because by this time negative attitudes toward the monastic past had sufficiently quelled among a large portion of the population, and that additionally, Parliamentary iconoclasm and the ascendancy of Puritanism under the Commonwealth made many fear that church monuments continued to face real existential threats. Together, these circumstances drove antiquarian efforts to preserve a memory of these monuments. In the second part of her article, she grouped the printed

⁷⁹ Andersen, "Posh Print."

⁸⁰ Walsham, "'Like Fragments of a Shipwreck.'"

representations from the four publications into two categories: those few that depict ruinous structures, and those that do not. Walsham frames the first type of image as a conservation effort and a warning about possible future damages that might befall cathedrals. She also sees these images as condemnations of the greed that many Anglicans saw to be a driving force behind the dissolution, and of the sacrilege that continued in their present. Depictions of intact buildings, by contrast, functioned as polemical expressions of Anglican desires to “repossess spaces that had been desecrated” by pictorially effacing signs of iconoclastic damage and weathering. In this way, she writes, they were involved in shaping how the past was to be remembered.⁸¹ While Walsham’s analysis helpfully casts these images against the religious and political context in which they materialized, her encompassing overview of the plates from all four publications, produced over a period of twenty years, flattens the nuances that define and differentiate each individual project. It overlooks the varied states of structural coherence and decay on display in the *Monasticon*’s first volume, which I take as an indication that these plates operated as political statements not through pictorial fabrication, but on the contrary by averring to fact.

Summary of Argument

The first chapter, “Demarcating Fact,” seeks to demonstrate that the representations in the first volume of the *Monasticon* were intended to operate as statements of visual fact that inscribed dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals as historical items of evidence. It looks to situate these images among the practices of early modern English antiquaries, a distinctive class of historian concerned above all with collecting and studying old legal records and antique objects, such as coins, seals, and monuments, rather than received literary narratives or historical sources. Antiquaries regarded such items as impartial, unbiased items of historical evidence, and often transcribed and pictured them in their works to authenticate their claims. Unveiling early modern antiquarian methods helps in thinking about how visual truth was graphically constructed across

⁸¹ Ibid. 101.

the illustrated pages of the *Monasticon*. King's images, as the second part of this chapter explores, do not present ecclesiastical edifices as a grounded spectator might view them in real space, but rather decontextualize these monuments in undifferentiated surrounds. They offer a pictorial parallel to antiquarian methods that endeavored to elevate old objects, denuded of rhetoric, in order to make factual statements about the past. Averring to make truthful claims was a crucial aspect of this period's religious debates, and by presenting dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals as real, artifactual monuments, the royalist Laudian creators and benefactors of the *Monasticon* could demonstrate a historical legacy for their vision of ecclesiastical polity and reverent piety.

The second chapter, "Tracing Sanctity and Containment," continues to probe the significance of the graphic conventions on display across the *Monasticon's* engraved plates. It posits that these visual elements not only helped to elevate these representations into the realm of factuality, but also caused these illustrations to reflect Laudian ideas about the sacred status of the church as a site and physical building. King's plates of immaculate, isolated monuments pictorially evoke the ritual of consecration, a medieval ceremony of singling out and designating the church building as a sacred site that was revived by Laudians and their followers during the 1630s. These images moreover miniaturize and condense cathedrals to make them resemble an array of sacred micro-architectural objects, such as funerary monuments, shrines, and reliquaries, that populated pre-Reformation churches and which Laudians and their followers considered to be holy even after the break from Rome. This chapter finally also details how King's illustrations not only cast churches and cathedrals in a relationship of resemblance with micro-architectural containers, but also demonstrated how they function like them. It emerges that the *Monasticon's* plates drew upon a rich network of visual and conceptual associations to stage ecclesiastical edifices as physical loci of God's holy presence. These representations thus also functioned as strident Laudian statements about the localization of the divine on earth.

In the epilogue, “The Collection and the Index,” I consider King’s illustrations as a series, and suggest that these prints condense, collate, and order dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals into a collection of small monuments to construct a legitimizing historical narrative for the Laudian vision of religion. Finally, I explore the complex entanglements between the qualities of historicity and sanctity that the *Monasticon* bestowed upon ecclesiastical structures. The Peircean index—a class of sign that references the presence of an object or being beyond itself by virtue of having come into a relationship of physical contact with it—presents a useful conceptual tool for framing these associations. By highlighting the operation of the *Monasticon*’s representations within both sacred and historical domains, moreover, I suggest that this book offers a fruitful case study for revising the notion that the Protestant Reformation witnessed the “disenchantment of the world.”⁸² This thesis charts just one example of how certain practices of object-veneration persisted well beyond this religious schism, and coalesced with newer, more recognizably “modern” habits of mind.

⁸² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (Allen & Unwin, 1930), 125; Walsham has pointed out that this version translates the German phrase, “*entzauberung der welt*” as “the elimination of magic from the world.” See her article, “The Reformation and ‘The Disenchantment of the World’ Reassessed,” *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 2 (2008), 498.

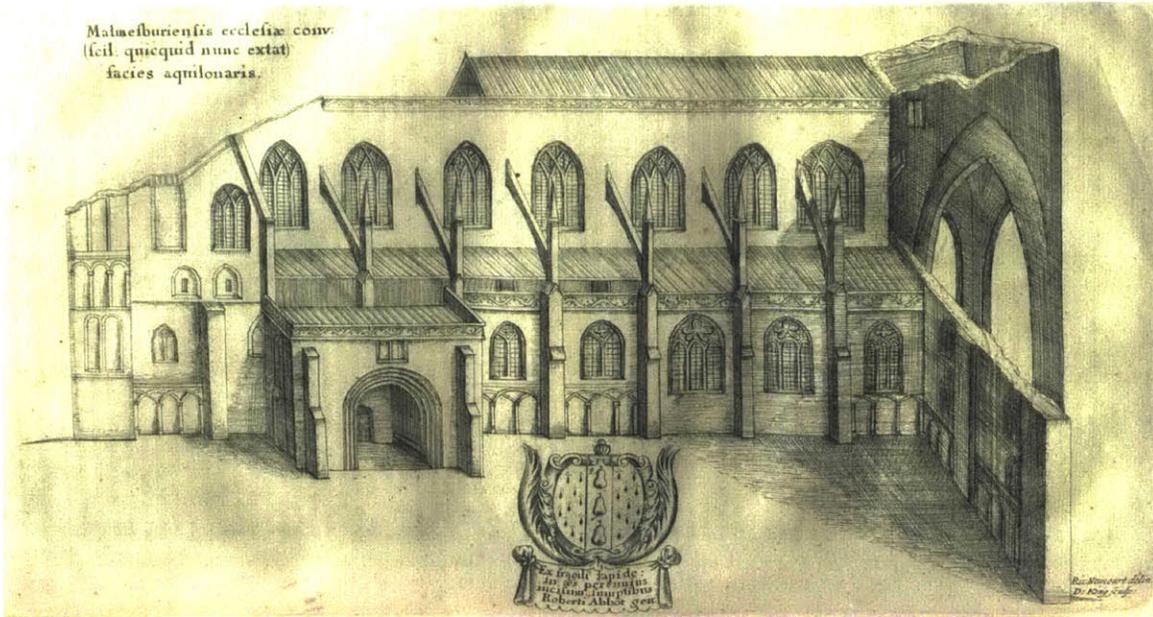


Figure 1.1

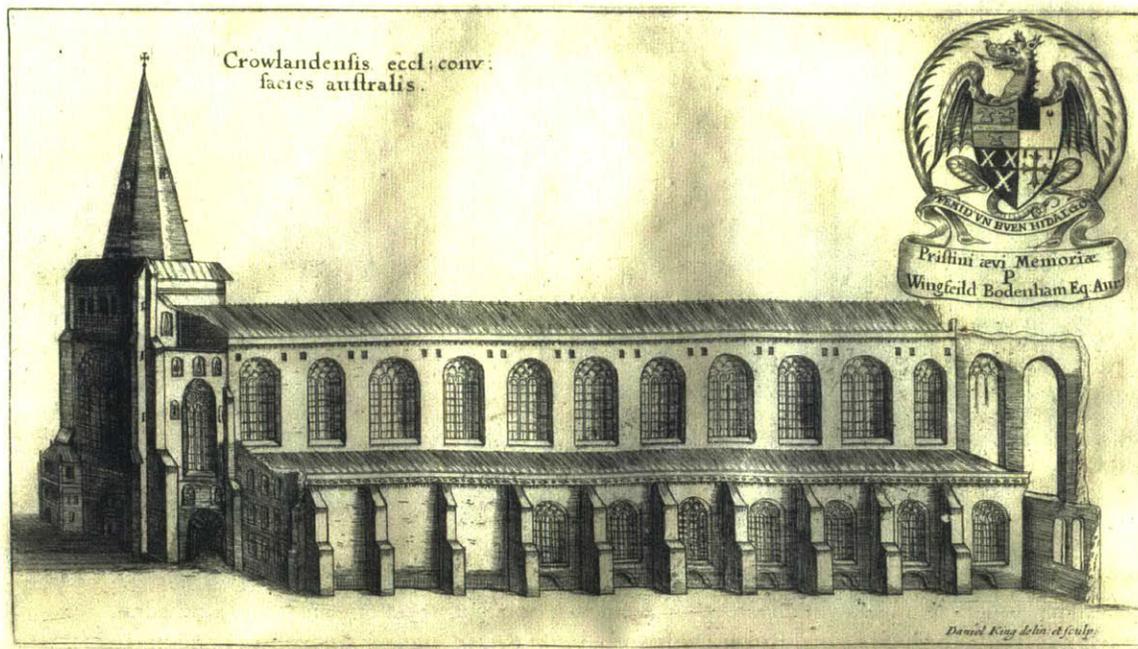


Figure 1.2

Figure 1.1
 Daniel King, North prospect of Malmesbury Abbey, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), facing p. 50.

Figure 1.2
 Daniel King, South Prospect of Crowland Conventual Church, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), facing p. 164.

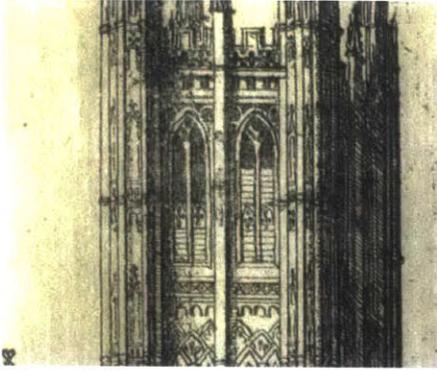


Figure 1.3

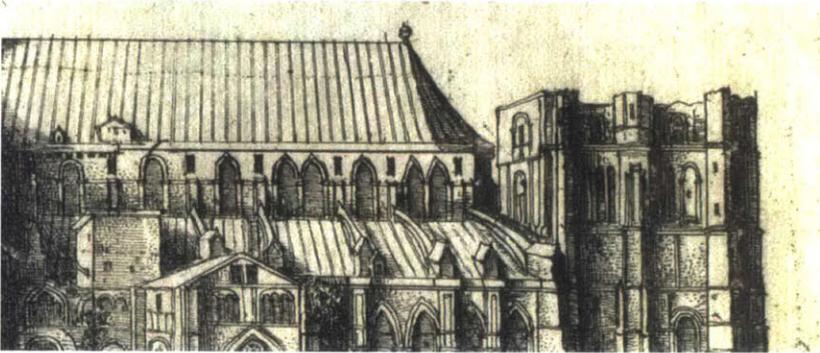


Figure 1.4

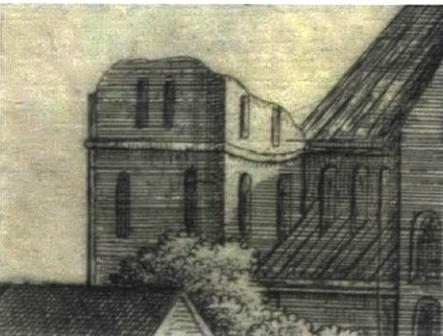


Figure 1.5

Figure 1.3

Wenceslaus Hollar, detail showing boarded-up windows, South prospect of Canterbury Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), facing p. 19.

Figure 1.4

Wenceslaus Hollar, detail showing clerestory window openings, South prospect of Canterbury Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), facing p. 19.

Figure 1.5

Daniel King, detail showing ruination of apsidal tower, North prospect of Canterbury Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), spread between p. 18 and 19.

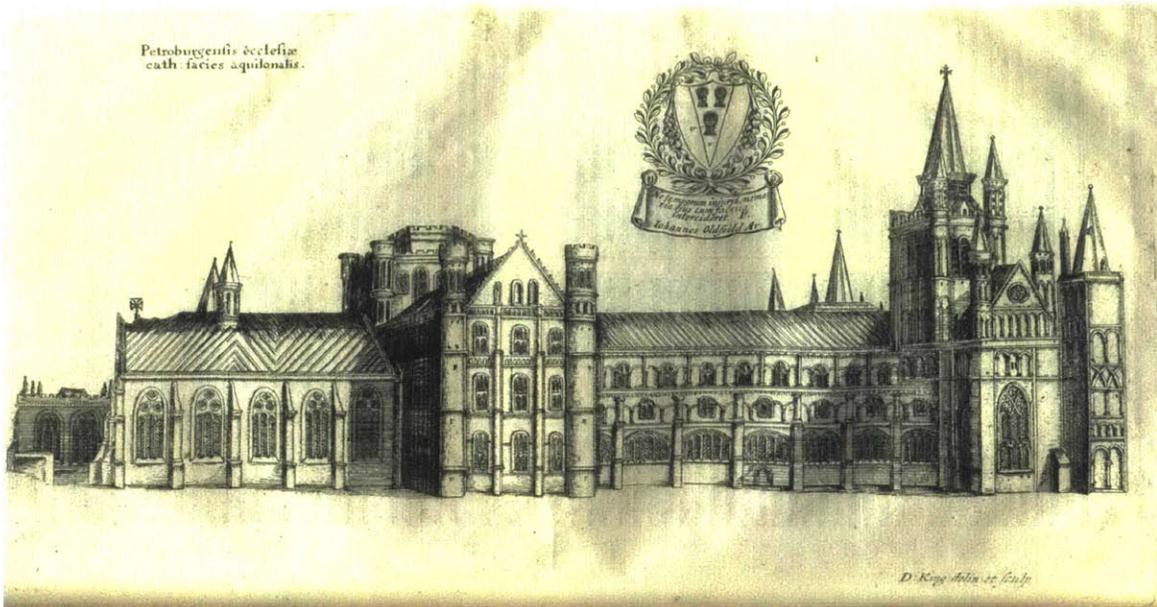


Figure 1.6

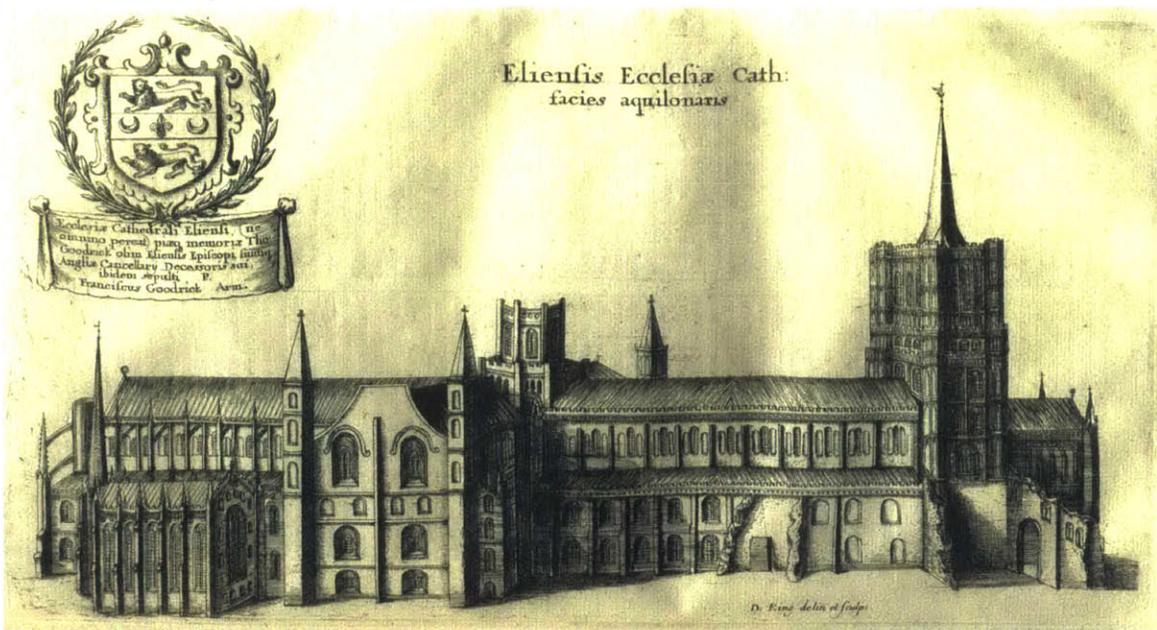


Figure 1.7

Figure 1.6

Daniel King, North prospect of Peterborough Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), facing p. 64.

Figure 1.7

Daniel King, North prospect of Ely Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), before p. 98.



Figure 1.8

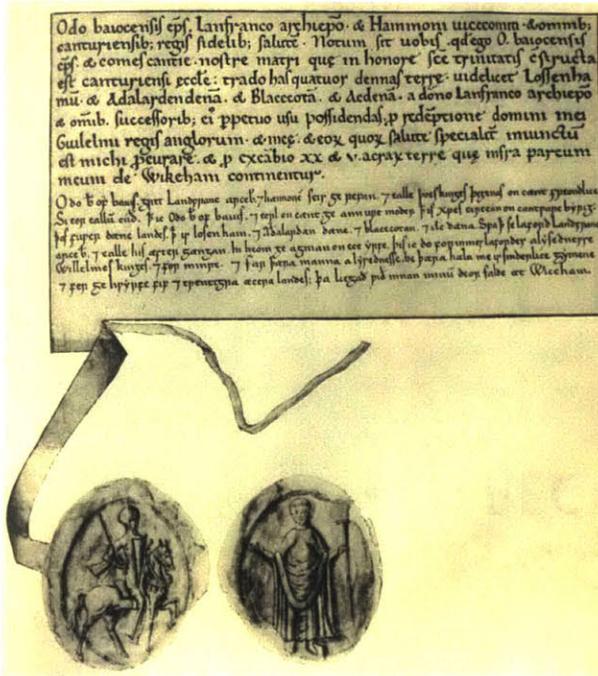


Figure 1.9

Figure 1.8
Wenceslaus Hollar, Tomb of Thomas Mason and transcription of its epigraph, in William Dugdale, *History of St Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658), 95.

Figure 1.9
Anon., notification by Odo bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent that he has given land to Christchurch, Canterbury in exchange for that which he has enclosed in his park of Wickhambreux. Facsimile of graphite drawing from Lewis C. Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton eds., *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), plate VIII no. 431, p. 304.

CHAPTER 1

DELINEATING FACT

Introduction

Apart from Alexandra Walsham's study, the extant literature on the *Monasticon Anglicanum* neglects to consider in any sustained manner the engravings of monastic cathedrals that interleave its pages. These images, however, have not so much escaped attention as they have, like many English images and objects produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the shadow of Italian visual culture, been acknowledged and subsequently dismissed, judged as they so often are by modern scholars as samples of mediocre, inaccurate art.¹ Wenceslaus Hollar's few contributions to this project, admired for their exceptional aesthetic qualities and iconographic complexity, have received a disproportionate amount of attention while Daniel King's prolific output has inspired only minor curiosity, prompting one scholar to even ask why such a "clumsy" draughtsman was awarded this substantial commission, when the more artistically accomplished Hollar might have been a better candidate for the job.² Neglected by these more traditional connoisseurial engagements, which judge seventeenth-century English images against modern standards of pictorial veracity, are questions of how these representations operated for their seventeenth-century viewers. To understand their function and significance, these prints must be examined against the methods and epistemologies of the antiquaries and artists responsible for their creation, and within the context of the political and religious to which

¹ An exception is Alexandra Walsham, "'Like Fragments of a Shipwreck': Printed Images and Religious Antiquarianism in Early Modern England," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 87–109. For an overview of some of the methodological approaches that have yielded negative appraisals of early modern English art, along with some possible alternatives, see Tatiana C. String, "The Concept of 'Art' in Henrician England," *Art History* 32, no. 2 (April 6, 2009): 290–306, doi:10.1111/j.1467-8365.2009.00670.x and Lucy Gent, "'The Rash Gazer': Economies of Vision in Britain, 1550-1660," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain*, ed. Lucy Gent, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 377–92.

² Marion Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated*, The University of Delaware Press Studies in 17th- and 18th- Century Art and Culture (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 46.

they were responding. What emerges from such an approach is an overarching antiquarian preoccupation with making, and averring to make, truthful claims about the past. This was a culture that viewed old age and lineage as markers of legitimacy, an outlook that drove sparring religious factions to the archives to authenticate their confessional beliefs.³ As different groups sought to root their beliefs and positions in the deep past, attempts to make factual statements about history became central to the polemical debates of this period.⁴

While Walsham's recent study stands out as an exception from the prevailing historiography in that it is the first to examine King's representations in the context of the virulent religious and political struggles of Civil War and Interregnum England, it too emphasizes the inaccurate nature of these images. Of these plates, Walsham writes:

They employed nostalgia, invention and censorship as weapons to discredit contemporary events and to shape how they were recalled by subsequent generations. Eschewing accurate representation of these architectural structures in favour of an imagined landscape of the past, they were pictorial fictions that involved the art of forgetting as well as that of remembering.⁵

In the creation of these cathedral prints, she suggests, concerns for documentary accuracy were subordinated to political will. Evidence of iconoclastic sacrilege was effaced by Dugdale, King, and the antiquarian draughtsmen with whom they collaborated in the hopes of cultivating and advancing a particular royalist, and specifically Laudian, view of history, by pictorially “[repossessing] spaces that had been desecrated and which they feared would soon come under the axe of puritan fanatics.”⁶ Although Walsham is right to read these pictures as polemical interventions, designating pictorial invention and falsification as their *modi operandi* is not entirely correct. To the contrary, these representations were, I submit, intended to be factual.

³ D. R. Woolf, “In Praise of Older Things: Notions of Age and Antiquity in Early Modern England,” in *Historians and Ideologues: Essays in Honor of Donald R. Kelley*, ed. Donald R. Kelley, Anthony Grafton, and J. H. M. Salmon (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 123; Alexandra Walsham, “History, Memory, and the English Reformation,” *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 04 (December 2012): 901, doi:10.1017/S0018246X12000362.

⁴ Walsham, “History, Memory, and the English Reformation,” 907.

⁵ Walsham, “Like Fragments of a Shipwreck,” 96–97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

Averting to accuracy, after all, was central to their effective operation as Laudian political statements.

In this chapter, I analyze the *Monasticon*'s plates of churches and cathedrals against seventeenth-century antiquarian epistemologies, rhetoric, and drawing practices, a framework within which these representations emerge not as doctored images of architectural refurbishments, but rather as veracious records of visual fact. As factual representations, these images inscribe dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals as items of artifactual evidence for the long, institutional succession of episcopal religion and reverent piety in England which Laudians wished to reinstate. Before launching into this discussion, however, it is worth pausing to closely examine these plates. The relatively consistent graphic strategies visible across this vast series of images has the effect of flattening differences and forming a conventional pictorial typology, but careful inspection yields detailed traces of damage that distinguish each of these pictures from their counterparts. These visual features are so varied and meticulous—and also measure up well against the evidence of contemporary eyewitness accounts—that it is plausible that they reflect the very real, contingent states of cathedrals as Dugdale's heralds and draughtsmen encountered them.⁷ While it is impossible to know for certain how "accurate" they are, it is also beside the point. What interests me is not how well they stand up to objective standards of pictorial veracity, but rather that they professed to represent things simply as they were.

The States of Cathedrals

It is difficult to discern the architectural conditions of English monastic cathedrals in the early 1650s. By the time a decision was made to illustrate the text, these structures had suffered two major iconoclastic purges: one during the initial stages of the Reformation in the 1530s and

⁷ Julie Spraggon in her book, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, Studies in Modern British Religious History (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003), has gathered together much of this evidence, on which I have relied. See note 9.

1540s, and another in the early 1640s at the hands of Parliamentary soldiers at the outbreak of the Civil War. While many monastic buildings were razed to the ground or left abandoned in the wake of the dissolution, the architectural fabrics of these foundations' churches and cathedrals were, as we have seen, among the small minority of structures to have survived the iconoclastic storms relatively unscathed. Their interiors did, however, suffer damages: during the dissolution they were purged of their images and liturgical objects so that these buildings could be repurposed for Protestant worship, and after being refurbished under Archbishop Laud, they were purged once more during the Civil War.⁸ Compounding these difficulties in discerning the states of ecclesiastical architecture during the mid-seventeenth-century is the fact that many cathedral records terminated or were lost during the Civil War. Historians interested in this question must therefore piece together an idea of how different edifices fared by weighing the testimony of surviving images and eyewitness accounts, such as personal journals and letters.⁹

Judging from this evidence, it would appear that the church plates in the first volume of the *Monasticon* are relatively forthright about the contemporary states of the cathedrals they depict. This possibility may best explain the varied structural conditions represented in the first volume of the *Monasticon*. While many cathedrals appear unscathed, a total of ten of the depicted churches exhibit explicit signs of damage. Of these, two are in particularly dire states: Malmesbury Abbey is shown with only a portion of its nave intact, flanked by sloping crumbled walls and a hollowed, leveled tower, and Crowland Conventual Church is depicted both from the south and from the west with a decaying, skeletal apse (figs. 1.1 and 1.2).¹⁰ It is very unlikely that such dramatic destruction would be pictorially fabricated across the pages of an antiquarian project that professes to preserve. Indeed, the parenthetical phrase, "*scil: quicquid nunc extat*" in the title of the Malmesbury print tells us that the picture shows "what now exists" of this abbey. This qualifier endows the representation with the credit of a recent witness, much like

⁸ Ibid., 177.

⁹ Ibid., 200. Julie Spraggon has gathered much of this evidence in her study, on which I rely in this section.

¹⁰ William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 1 (London, 1655), 50, 164.

contemporary prints of *naturalia* whose captions asserted that their representations were taken *ad vivum*—from the life—by a faithful observer.¹¹

The cathedrals of Canterbury, Peterborough, Ely, Gloucester, and St Albans are also represented with minor traces of damage, while their structures remain largely intact.¹² In these prints, signs of decay are only evident upon careful inspection. King's and Hollar's plates of Canterbury Cathedral present a typical case.¹³ In both Hollar's depiction of the cathedral's south façade and King's representation of the west front, for instance, the windows in the tower over the crossings are missing the panes of glass that are intact elsewhere, and are instead shown partially boarded up with planks of wood (fig. 1.3). Many of the clerestory windows in Hollar's plate, shaded in with dark hatch lines, also appear to have been demolished (fig. 1.4). It is also clear from Daniel King's engraving of the cathedral's north face that the eastern apsidal tower, visible in the left margin of the print, has been leveled to some degree (fig. 1.5). This is corroborated as well in Hollar's view from the south of the tower's craggy upper ledge (see again fig. 1.4). Indeed, in 1642, Parliamentary soldiers raided Canterbury Cathedral to dismantle offending interior images and fittings, and in the following year a splinter group of city officials continued this task.¹⁴ Some of the cathedral's medieval windows, which carried images of God, Christ, Mary, and angels and saints, including a depiction of St. Thomas Becket, who was buried and enshrined at the cathedral, were smashed. Inside the church, statues of saints and crucifixes were pulled down, and the organ was removed and burnt.¹⁵ Peterborough, Ely, Gloucester, and St Albans cathedrals suffered similar attacks at the hands of the Parliamentarians. Traces of

¹¹ Claudia Swan, "Ad Vivum, Naer Het Leven, from the Life: Defining a Mode of Representation," *Word & Image* 11, no. 4 (October 1, 1995): 353–72, doi:10.1080/02666286.1995.10435926.

¹² See Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (1655), 18–20, 64, 90, 109, 176, 178.

¹³ See Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 1 (1655), 18–20.

¹⁴ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, 182.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 183–184, 186.

structural damage shown in their plates correspond with contemporary accounts of ruination on the exterior fabrics of these cathedrals (figs. 1.6–1.7).¹⁶

This variety of iconoclasm—the destruction of glass, communion rails, altars, organs, choir stalls, seats, funerary monuments, and monumental brasses—was a fate that many cathedrals suffered. Again, this spoliation affected only church and cathedral interiors, leaving broken windows as the only outwardly noticeable signs of plunder. Additionally, there was no encompassing program to demolish ecclesiastical edifices, and after interior Laudian innovations were eliminated from some of them during the early years of the Civil War, many of these structures retained their religious functions and were repaired, although some remained under the control of Parliamentary soldiers and were used as garrisons and stables.¹⁷ This varied state of affairs may best explain the differences in structural condition across the plates of cathedrals in the *Monasticon*.

As this admittedly empirical, yet worthwhile comparison of the *Monasticon*'s church plates with the evidence compiled from surviving textual descriptions suggests, these images were more than likely meant to accurately document the architectural states of these structures as they stood in the early 1650s. This challenges Walsham's sweeping claim that "these pictures blot out the memory of the defilement and destruction to which so many churches were subject during the military conflicts and political turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century."¹⁸ While her conclusion may apply more appropriately to the pictures in the *Monasticon*'s third volume, published nearly twenty years after the first one, it does not seem to correctly characterize the purpose of the plates in the 1655 publication. Instead, it appears that it was the intention of the first volume to visually present the cathedrals factually. Dugdale, as we will soon see, was scrupulous in his historical methods about adhering to the facts of documents and old objects, and it is no surprise that the heralds and draughtsmen he hired to document cathedrals worked in a

¹⁶ Ibid., 197–207.

¹⁷ Ibid., 198–199.

¹⁸ Walsham, "Like Fragments of a Shipwreck," 100.

manner consistent with his own practices. Any noticeable contravention of his historical ethics would undermine the thrust of this antiquarian endeavor, and its claims to verity.

Church and Cathedral Prints and Visual Fact

How did the *Monasticon*'s pictures tell the truth? What kind of visual fact did they convey to their spectators? As we have seen, Daniel King's images more than likely depicted cathedrals in their contemporary structural states, but they certainly do not present them as they might have been encountered in their earthly settings. Although they lack realism by our modern standards, extracting ecclesiastical structures as they do from their ordinary topographical settings and displaying them on the page from an elevated vantage point, these representations still, I submit, functioned factually for seventeenth-century spectators. They inscribe monastic cathedrals as historical artifacts—or what were at this time called “antiquities”—and emblemize an early modern antiquarian episteme that elevated old things, both textual and material, as evidence that could be drawn into the historical enterprise to make factual statements about the past. I will first examine this antiquarian episteme and locate it within Dugdale's working methods, and will then suggest how this may guide an interpretation of the unique graphic strategies deployed across the *Monasticon*'s plates. As I will show, King's pictorial methods operated as rhetoric *against* rhetoric: like contemporary illustrations of *naturalia* produced for the purposes of natural historical inquiry, they conveyed only the facts of the objects depicted, or, as Ann Bermingham has noted of this kind of image, they “privileged the content of the drawing and not the tricks of illusion that made it appear real.”¹⁹ By serving as factual statements, the *Monasticon*'s images proffered churches and cathedrals as items of historical evidence which, as I will describe later on, were deployed to construct claims about the historical longevity of reverent piety and episcopal religion in England, which Laudians hoped to reinstate.

¹⁹ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*, Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 73.

Antiquarianism and Historical Truth

In the early modern period, European intellectuals became preoccupied with notions of accuracy and verification.²⁰ In the English context, the practitioners of Restoration natural philosophy, or the “new science”, are perhaps most frequently credited with inaugurating an interest in the grounds of truthful knowledge, but recent scholarship has shown that these concerns indeed have earlier roots.²¹ Barbara Shapiro has convincingly shown, for instance, that interests in ascertaining factual knowledge—or, real statements or notions worthy of belief—can be traced to sixteenth-century English legal practices, from whence they went on to inform other disciplines and intellectual pursuits, such as history, in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.²²

In the legal arena in fifteenth-century England, the notion of the “fact” first referred to a human deed or action that had the potential to be true, and one which was subject to verification based on evidence in the form of witness testimony or written documents.²³ Soon enough, however, the meaning of “fact” shifted from referring to past actions and events with truth-potential, to ones whose truth had already been ascertained.²⁴ In the latter half of the sixteenth century, methods of determining legal facts began to inform the practices of historians seeking to make truthful claims about the past. Historians began relying on eyewitness testimony as evidence for accounts of more recent history, and looked to documentary evidence when this was not available, or when writing on older time periods.²⁵ By the early seventeenth century, original documents became a preferred and more important form of evidence than eyewitness testimony,

²⁰ Jacob Soll, “Introduction: The Uses of Historical Evidence in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (2003): 150.

²¹ On the practices and social formation of the concept of scientific, factual knowledge in England, see Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton University Press, 2011); Lorraine J. Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (New York: Zone Books, 2001).

²² Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550–1720* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003), especially chapters 1 and 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

as they were seen as more impartial.²⁶ The affinity between legal investigations and historical practices at this time are evidenced by things such as the infiltration of legal language into historical discourse—historians, for instance, began to refer to themselves as impartial witnesses and judges to enhance their credibility—and by the fact that lawyers and historians began to socialize and work together in forums such as the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, where they spent time collecting and studying old legal documents.²⁷

Those historians with an especially strong penchant for sourcing, collecting, deciphering, and publishing documentary evidence, as well as material antiquities—indeed, those who prioritized this above all else, including the writing of historical narratives based upon these sources—formed a class of scholars known as antiquaries. Put simply, antiquarianism refers to the activities of recovering, understanding, and preserving the physical objects and fragments of the past. In England, antiquarianism coalesced within a cultural and epistemological milieu preoccupied, as I outlined above, with questions of veracity.²⁸ It also, however, emerged on the heels of the Henrician monastic dissolutions, an event that, through targeted acts of iconoclasm, had the effect of singling out and bringing to the attention of the general populous a mass of old books, buildings, and objects that otherwise receded into the fabric of everyday life. Antiquarian habits of mind may thus also, as Margaret Aston has convincingly and influentially argued, emerge as a product of the widespread destruction wrought by the violence of the Reformation, and later the Civil War. The spectacle of physical, material loss, in other words, may have stimulated efforts to preserve the fabric of the past.²⁹

In the sixteenth century, it is difficult to distinguish between what is meant by “antiquarianism”, as opposed to “history” in a more general sense, and efforts to differentiate two

²⁶ Ibid., 49–50.

²⁷ Ibid., 34–37.

²⁸ Ibid., 51.

²⁹ Margaret Aston argues that the ruins of monastic foundations catalyzed historical consciousness and antiquarian activity: see Margaret Aston, “English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 231, doi:10.2307/751164; Walsham, “History, Memory, and the English Reformation.”

separate categories for this time period are anachronistic.³⁰ Those men (they were all men) who modern historians now remember as the era's greatest antiquaries, such as John Leland, William Camden, and John Stow, referred to themselves variously as antiquaries and as historians, and to their works as both antiquities and histories interchangeably. While these categories frequently blurred prior to the seventeenth century, some distinctions were drawn thereafter. In *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), for example, Francis Bacon (1561–1626) defined antiquarianism as the study of the “remnants of history.” Antiquaries, he stated, were “industrious persons,” who “by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time.”³¹ He contrasted antiquarianism, “unperfect” by virtue of its incomplete nature, with perfect history, which comprised narrative accounts such as chronicles and lives, and which, he explained, “representeth a *time*, or a *person*, or an *action*”, respectively.³² Because antiquarianism traded in fragments, “any deficiency in [it] is but [its] nature,” but the writer of a perfect history “must be forced to fill up” any “blanks and spaces ... out of his own wit and conjecture.”³³ Readers also often looked to works of perfect history for causal explanations, or for analyses that could furnish political lessons or serve as a guide to the present.³⁴ According to Bacon's logic, antiquarianism and history differ in terms of authorship and intentionality: while the historian weaves a story from old accounts and antique authorities, the antiquarian's flotsam and lacunae stand alone and speak for themselves. Bacon's definitions have survived largely intact, informing the modern characterization of antiquaries as historical researchers who privilege the recovery and display of original written documents and physical objects, over the

³⁰ Arnaldo Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 3/4 (1950): 293, doi:10.2307/750215.

³¹ Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. G. W. Kitchin (London, 1965), 73.

³² *Ibid.*, 74.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 37.

task of forming narratives grounded on the received authority of literary sources and ancient scholars.³⁵

At first, English antiquaries gravitated primarily toward textual documents such as manuscript charters and public records.³⁶ John Leland (c. 1503–1552), perhaps England’s first self-styled antiquary, received a commission from Henry VIII in 1533, during the early stages of the dissolution, to tour England’s monastic libraries and produce lists of their inventories. This project piqued his historical interests and in the 1540s he undertook further journeys around the English countryside. Leland’s travel notes were published by the churchman and historian John Bale (1495–1563) in 1549 under the title *The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees*, now recognized as England’s first chorographical survey.³⁷ Many Elizabethan and Stuart antiquaries followed Leland’s footsteps, and produced chorographical descriptions of different counties and records of local history and family lineages from the evidence of the legal documents and public records they sourced during their travels.³⁸

As time wore on, these antiquarian texts became increasingly informed by the observations their authors made about their surroundings.³⁹ By the mid-seventeenth century, antiquaries had become so keenly interested in the old objects and monuments they encountered during their travels that they began to depict them frequently through images, prompting modern

³⁵ Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” 296; F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, 1967), 124–166; D. R. Woolf, “The Dawn of the Artifact: The Antiquarian Impulse in England, 1500–1730,” in *Medievalism in England*, ed. Leslie J. Workman, *Studies in Medievalism* 4 (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 1992), 5–35; D. R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1730* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 141–182.

³⁶ Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, 143–144.

³⁷ John Leland and John Bale, *The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees* (London, 1549). See for example William Camden, *Britannia Siue Florentissimorum Regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum Adiacentium Ex Intima Antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio* (London, 1587). Chorography is a genre of antiquarian writing that describes a region and recounts its history. It is characterized by a narrative structure subsumed to the order of the natural and architectural topography of the place it describes; in other words, instead of structuring the past chronologically, chorography locates the history of a region in its natural and built features, such as landforms and architectural monuments. See Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 57.

³⁸ Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, 360–362.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 144.

historians to posit a “visual turn” in historical methods to have occurred over the middle years of this century.⁴⁰ Antiquaries active at this time, such as William Dugdale, John Weever, Thomas Greaves, Thomas Browne, and John Aubrey, to name only a few, commissioned draughtsmen and heralds to accompany them on their peregrinations and produce sketches of the various old tools, sculptures, buildings, and sites that formed the focus of their examinations. They then commissioned engravers to produce copperplates from the travel drawings sketched by their hired draughtsmen to adorn their publications.⁴¹

Antiquarian enthusiasm for textual documents persisted throughout this shift, but the sheer number of sketches and prints produced during the 1640s and 1650s that depict the appearances of engraved epigraphs and ancient scripts attest to new ways of thinking about these textual artifacts as physical, material objects.⁴² William Dugdale’s *History of St Paul’s Cathedral* (1658), for example, contains several pages that pair funerary epitaphs, transcribed in letterpress text, side-by-side with engraved, visual depictions of the very monuments and plaques into which these passages were inscribed (fig. 1.8).⁴³ The redundancy was intended to demonstrate the specific, physical origin of the textual passage. In the middle decades of the seventeenth century Dugdale also helped to compile medieval charters for inclusion in Sir Christopher Hatton’s *Book of Seals*, a project begun in 1640. Just under half of the charters included in this volume, such as the late-eleventh century charter sealed by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, are recorded visually as physical, archival objects on the page (fig. 1.9).⁴⁴ The illustrations that supplemented these works and several others produced during the years of the so-called “visual turn” suggest that

⁴⁰ Peter Burke, “Images as Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Europe,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 2 (April 2003): 273; Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past*, 183–197.

⁴¹ Jan Broadway, “‘Ocular Exploration, and Subterraneous Enquiry’: Developing Archaeological Fieldwork in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,” *The Antiquaries Journal* 92 (September 2012): 364, doi:10.1017/S0003581512000054.

⁴² Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 204.

⁴³ William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London, from Its Foundation Untill These Times: Extracted Out of Originall Charters, Records, Leiger Books, and Other Manuscript., Beautified with Sundry Prospects of the Church, Figures of Tombes and Monuments* (London, 1658).

⁴⁴ Lewis C. Loyd and Doris Mary Stenton, eds., *Sir Christopher Hatton’s Book of Seals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 304.

appearance of historical objects, even if they were simply supports for textual content, were privileged as much as, or even more than, the messages they might have carried.

The sheer “thingness” of a document or antiquity—its contingent nature and appearance—made these objects more reliable sources of factual knowledge than the testimony of received historical accounts, which could be erroneous or, worse, intentionally false.⁴⁵ While physical antiquities did not carry verbal, factual statements in the same way that textual documents did, they were nevertheless treated as impartial witnesses to the past.⁴⁶ In 1664, the Swiss diplomat and scholar Ezekiel Spanheim (1629–1710) articulated this idea with respect to coins: durable and unbiased, they could function to validate and supplement the historical record as passed down by texts which, written by humans with agendas, may not always be trusted.⁴⁷ The English writer John Evelyn (1620–1706) echoed Spanheim in his discourse on the uses of coins and medals. He stated that these objects offered “clear and perspicuous Testimony,”⁴⁸ and “are, for ought appears, the most lasting and ... Vocal Monuments of Antiquity.”⁴⁹ Around this time, larger monuments were too becoming suitable items of evidence. In his study of Stonehenge, Inigo Jones wrote that ruins of buildings offered “*Demonstration*, which obvious to sense, are even yet as so many eye-witnesses of ... admir’d achievements”,⁵⁰ and John Aubrey expressed the view that “Stones give Evidence for themselves”.⁵¹ While voiced shortly after the period under examination here, these assertions articulate a mentality that certainly prevailed in England during the middle decades of the seventeenth century, and may begin to shed light on

⁴⁵ Burke, “Images as Evidence,” 274.

⁴⁶ Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 51.

⁴⁷ Ezekiel Spanheim, *Dissertatio de Praestantia et Usu Numismatum Antiquorum* (Rome, 1664), as discussed in Burke, “Images as Evidence,” 273.

⁴⁸ John Evelyn, *Numismata: A Discourse of Medals, Together with Some Account of Heads and Effigies of Illustrious, and Famous Persons, in Sculps, and Taille-Douce, of Whom We Have No Medals Extant, and of the Use to Be Derived from Them* (London, 1697), 71.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁰ Inigo Jones, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly Called Stone-Heng, on Salisbury Plain. Restored by Inigo Jones Esquire, Architect Generall to the Late King*, ed. John Webb (London, 1655), 108.

⁵¹ John Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica, Parts 1 and 2*, ed. John Fowles and Rodney Legg (Sherborne: Dorset Publishing Company, 1980), 32, quoted in Michael Cyril William Hunter, *John Aubrey and the Realm of Learning* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 180, and Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 51–52.

why the *Monasticon* might have been illustrated. It would seem that the church and cathedral monuments themselves functioned as material evidence for the history divulged by the charters transcribed in the *Monasticon*, which, when depicted visually, authenticated the account. The buildings, in other words, were framed as evidence, and their representations as facts.

The growing prominence of antiquarian methods that foregrounded one's direct observation of, and first-hand engagement with, old documents and objects over this period registers the growth and influence of empirical habits of mind—the belief that knowledge was acquired through direct, sensory experiences—and of the growing importance of grounding factual historical knowledge in material evidence. When antiquaries “found themselves reaching the boundary of what literary sources could tell them”, they invoked documents and objects as evidence to support their claims.⁵² At this time, Peter Burke explains, “artifacts, including images, were taken increasingly seriously as evidence of what were increasingly called historical ‘facts’.”⁵³ Indeed, sometimes old documents and objects were seen not simply as evidence, but as facts themselves.⁵⁴ Despite the denigration and ridicule that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquaries often faced for their fondness of dusty books and recondite objects,⁵⁵ modern historians overwhelmingly agree that the antiquarian movement in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England laid the groundwork for our current scholarly and historical methods which value critical engagements with documentary and material evidence.⁵⁶ From them we may very well inherit, to use Derrida's poignant phrase, our *mal d'archive*.⁵⁷

Dugdale, one of the most eminent antiquaries of the middle of the seventeenth century and our celebrated author, completely inhabited this antiquarian episteme. His working methods,

⁵² Broadway, “Ocular Exploration, and Subterraneous Enquiry,” 365.

⁵³ Burke, “Images as Evidence,” 293; Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 51–53.

⁵⁴ Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 49.

⁵⁵ Daniel Woolf, “Images of the Antiquary in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1717–2007*, ed. Susan M. Peirce (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 18.

⁵⁶ Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” 293, 313; Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 51; Burke, “Images as Evidence,” 296.

⁵⁷ Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz, “Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,” *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (1995): 9, doi:10.2307/465144.

as I will survey in the next section, are deeply informed by a respect for the evidence of original sources. Although neither Dugdale nor his antiquarian interlocutors fully articulate the reasons behind their decision to have depictions made of the ecclesiastical survivals of monastic estates, less so the visual strategies that were deployed in the crafting of these images, an excavation of his antiquarian and scholarly practices can, I submit, begin to shed light on how these images were intended to function. The *Monasticon*'s pictures, as we will see, devote a high degree of visual attention to church and cathedral edifices to the exclusion of anything else, and may serve as pictorial analogies for the antiquarian practice of elevating antique objects as evidence for impartial statements of fact.

William Dugdale, “The Historian of Truth”⁵⁸

William Dugdale in many ways exemplified the practices of the truthful, fact-oriented antiquary.⁵⁹ He was born into a family of minor gentry, and had the means to study law and history in his youth. Although he did not attend university, during his twenties he became acquainted with the antiquarian community in his home county of Warwickshire. Through this network he was introduced to the prominent lawyer and antiquary Sir Henry Spelman (1562–1641), a founding member of the Society of Antiquaries, who helped him to gain an appointment as a herald to the College of Arms in 1638. By the time he joined Roger Dodsworth in work on the *Monasticon* in his thirties, he had already gained much experience collecting and organizing antiquarian and legal materials.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ William Hamper calls Dugdale “The Historian of Truth” in his introduction to Dugdale’s collected archive. William Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. William Hamper (London: Printed for Harding, Lepard, 1827), <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000232259>.

⁵⁹ For a longer discussion of these attributes, see the essays by Graham Parry, Jan Broadway, Ann Hughes, and Stephen K. Roberts in Christopher Dyer and Catherine Richardson, eds., *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605–1686: His Life, His Writings and His County* (Rochester, N.Y: Boydell Press, 2009).

⁶⁰ Graham Parry, “Dugdale, Sir William (1605-1686),” in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8186>.

In his autobiography and written letters, Dugdale presents himself as an honest reporter of the archive, and by extension, as a trustworthy historian. The language he employs, coupled with the investigative methods he so frequently professes to follow, project a distinct antiquarian sensibility in which old things—be they documents or physical objects, such as tomb inscriptions or monuments—are poised as unimpeachable items of historical evidence.

Dugdale makes frequent mention of his engagement with authentic, original documents. Upon partnering with Roger Dodsworth on the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, he began to organize foundation charters that Dodsworth, he assures us, “copied for the most part from the Originalls, remaying in sundry large chests, deposited in St. Maryes Tower at Yorke.”⁶¹ He writes also of his fortune to access “divers Leiger-bookes, and other choyse manuscripts,” in archives such as the Tower of London and the Cottonian library, to round out research for the *Monasticon*.⁶² The epithet “original”, moreover, appears regularly in many other instances to describe a variety of charters, deeds, and documents. In Dugdale’s letter from 15 May 1638 to his fellow antiquary Simon Archer, he outlines his reasons for privileging original documents:

And herewth all lett me be bold to give you this caution, y^l to depend on any mens collections or transcripts wth out comparinge them wth the originalls will but deceive you, have they bin never soe judicious. My self can instance and shew you by experience out of some of the laborious gatheringes of Mr. Thynn, sometymes Lancaster, and Mr. Charles his successo^r, nay S^r Richard S^t George, and Glover Som’set himself, w^{ch} I have had recourse to, y^l there is noe trust in them; for besides a world of grosse mistakes in names of men and places w^{ch} (not for want of heed) they have passed, they have here and there gleaned accordinge to their fancye, and left behinde them as materiall thinges as they have taken, and this I know you finde by Mr. Ferrers. For each man knowes his owne end in what he doth, but not another’s; like as you see the costlyest worke in stone or tymber not reared by him y^l framed it, is not soe good as the rough Quarryes or Tree, to him y^l shall have occasion to build therwth after his owne fashion.⁶³

⁶¹ Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 22. St. Mary’s Tower was a part of St. Mary’s Abbey in York that survived the dissolution. Monastic charters were stored in the treasuries of monastic churches and libraries before the Reformation, but were dispersed as the foundations were suppressed. Some documents might have taken longer to be removed, if Dodsworth was able to access records at St. Mary’s Tower in the early seventeenth century. For more on the dispersal of the monastic libraries, see C. E. Wright, “The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The English Library before 1700: Studies in Its History*, ed. Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (London: The Athelone Press, University of London, 1958), 148–75.

⁶² Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 12.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 182–183.

Truthful knowledge, Dugdale asserts, may only be gleaned through direct study of the “original” document. Several problems arise when relying on copied transcripts for historical information. These derivative sources may contain errors, and they also only provide a selective sample of the original, created as they were by other scholars with their own unique agendas, who have variously extracted and omitted passages according to their own needs. Copies, in other words, do not contain pure, unadulterated facts, but rather show us facts impressed as evidence in the service of arguments. Dugdale’s passage seemingly adumbrates the modern distinction between facts and evidence that began to take form during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: facts, as Lorraine Daston has put it, are “innocent of human intention,” like “mercenary soldiers of argument, ready to enlist in yours or mine,” while evidence, on the other hand, “might be described as facts hammered into signposts.”⁶⁴ By Dugdale’s lights, original documents are the raw materials, the “rough Quarries or tree”, from which one can build historical claims. His close study and observation of the “originals”, not to mention his frequent affirmations that he has done so, are the pillars of his work’s credibility.

These scholarly preferences certainly informed the structure of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. From its first page, the book itself proclaims the truth of its contents. Its complete Latin title indicates that the book was “made from manuscript charters” from former monasteries, and lists the archives and private libraries where these documents were consulted.⁶⁵ These charters—which were also *bona fide* legal records—were not cited, paraphrased, or subsumed to a composed historical narrative, but were instead copied wholesale into the book in chronological order. Indeed, this format lent the *Monasticon* so much credence as a work of truthful history,

⁶⁴ Lorraine Daston, “Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe,” *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 93.

⁶⁵ Original text: “*Monasticon Anglicanum, sive Pandectae Coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum, A primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem, Ex MSS. Codd. Ad Monasteria olim pertinentibus; Archivis: Turrium Londinensis, Eboracensis; Curiarum Scaccarii, Augmentationum; Bibliothecis: Bodleianâ, Coll. Reg. Coll. Bened. Arundellianâ, Seldenianâ, Cottonianâ, Hattonianâ, alisque digesti.*” Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

that the book was even admitted as evidence in the courts of Westminster.⁶⁶ The entire project, from its sources, to its textuality, and, as we will see shortly, its images, was designed to relay only the raw facts. This mode of presenting documentary evidence was part of a common rhetorical strategy intended to actually *renounce* the ornament of rhetoric, an aspect of style that historians abandoned over the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as they grew concerned to fashion themselves as impartial conveyors of factual information.⁶⁷ As Barbara Shapiro has shown of this time, “rhetoric was often contrasted with ‘truth,’ and especially with the ‘naked’ truth of matter of fact”, which in turn was often associated with “a plain and naked style.”⁶⁸

Dugdale’s veneration of original documents resembles his attitudes toward other material sources that may be drawn into historical investigations. His research methods also involve observing and representing other aged images and objects, such as heraldic shields, stone inscriptions, funerary monuments, and buildings. In his autobiography, Dugdale recalls that during the politically volatile summer of 1641, he traveled with the arms painter William Sedgwick to St. Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey in London, where they made

... exact draughts of all the Monum^{ts} in each of them, copyed the Epitaphs, according to the very Letter: as alsoe all Armes in the Windows, or cutt in stone. And having done so ... did the like in all those Cathedrall, Collegiate, Conventuall, and divers other Parochiall Churches, wherein any Tombes or Monuments were to be found; to the end that the memory of them, in case of that ruine then imminent, might be preserved for future and better times.⁶⁹

This was the first of many such trips, and his personal diary from the late 1640s and early 1650s lists intermittent visitations to a range of other monastic foundations and churches to “take

⁶⁶ Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 37.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 59. Moreover, “If early modern historiography remained inextricably tied to rhetoric, it was a rhetoric that came to emphasize ‘fact’, ‘truth’, and impartiality, to be suspicious of artfulness, partiality, and ornamented style.” *Op. cit.*, 3.

⁶⁹ Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 14.

prospects,” or sketch views of sites in situ.⁷⁰ Both Dugdale and his fellow antiquaries approach sites and objects in a highly empirical way.

When Dugdale described a source as “original”, he was in fact deploying a relatively new ontological category. He used this term to specifically designate “the thing, as a document, text, picture, etc., from which another is copied or reproduced,” a meaning the word had acquired as recently as 1599.⁷¹ Throughout Dugdale’s archive he and his antiquarian interlocutors are at pains to “distinguish what is additionall, from what is originall.”⁷² The mere inclusion of visual representations of cathedral buildings in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* in the course of the antiquarian visual turn attests to the elevated status of this “original”: travelling across the countryside to view sites, monuments, and objects firsthand was just as important and valuable as diligently sourcing and transcribing original textual documents, and could lend authenticity to an historical account. It is important to understand Dugdale’s and contemporary antiquaries’ preferences for original documents and antiquities as distinct entities, unbridled by intention and narrative, as this knowledge may shed light on the visual construction of factuality in the *Monasticon*’s images. In the last part of this chapter, I will look briefly to mid-seventeenth-century English artistic thought to show how Dugdale’s antiquarian episteme was given visual expression through the graphic modes deployed in the *Monasticon*’s illustrated plates. These prints inscribe churches and cathedrals as objects of historical evidence of the monastic past, and in so doing, fashion themselves as truthful, factual depictions.

⁷⁰ In September 1649, he took prospects of Kenilworth Castle and Warwick Castle. Ibid., 97.

⁷¹ Oxford English Dictionary, ““Original, Adj. and N.’,” n.d., <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/132564?redirectedFrom=original>. The adjective “original” was first used in this way in 1599 by John Rainolds in his book, *Overthrow Stage-playes* (London, 1599), 144, in the sentence, “If you had considered that woord in the originall text of the Gospell.”

⁷² William Somner, in a letter to Dugdale, from 10 November 1654, in Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 282–283.

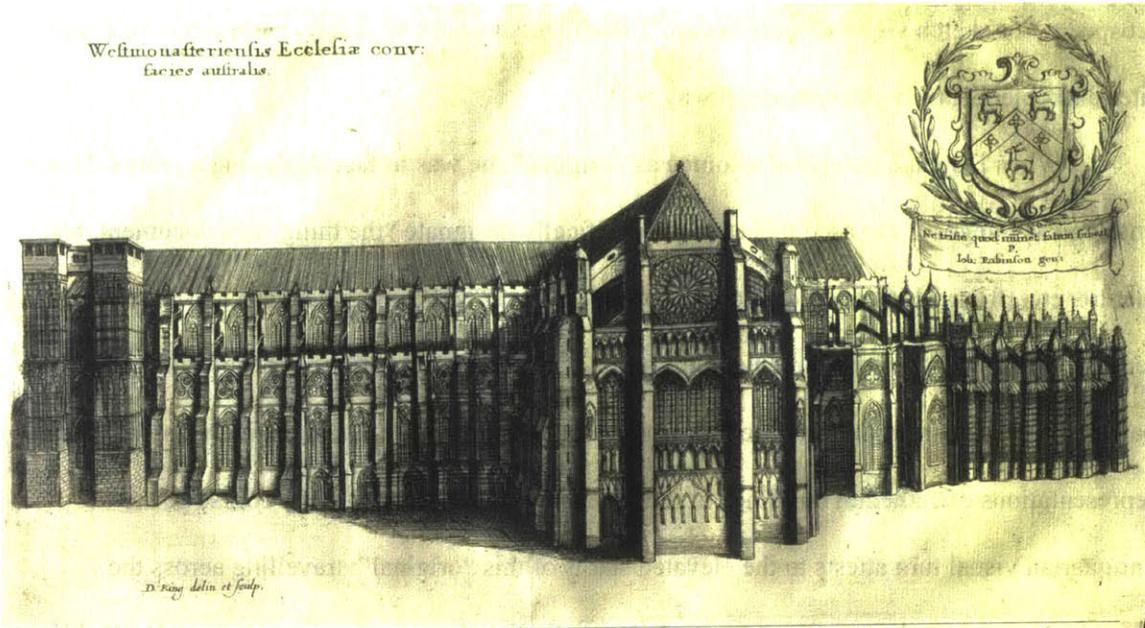


Figure 1.10

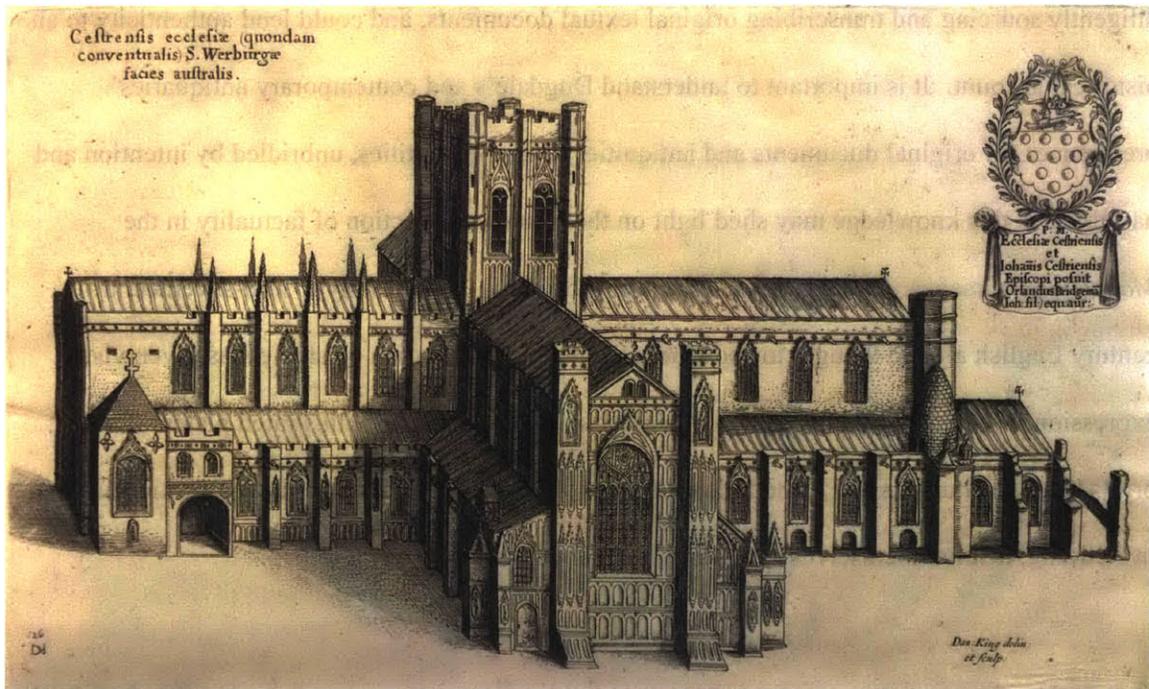


Figure 1.11

Figure 1.10

Daniel King, South prospect of Westminster Abbey, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), facing p. 58.

Figure 1.11

Daniel King, South prospect of Chester Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (London, 1655), facing p. 200.



Figure 1.12



Figure 1.13

Figure 1.12
 Wenceslaus Hollar, *London from ye top of Arundell House*, ca. 1646. Etching, 87 x 136 mm.
 The British Museum, London. 1868,0822.337.

Figure 1.13
 Wenceslaus Hollar, *Views of countryside near Albury, Surrey*, ca. 1645. Etching, 82 x 154 mm.
 The British Museum, London. Q.6.85.

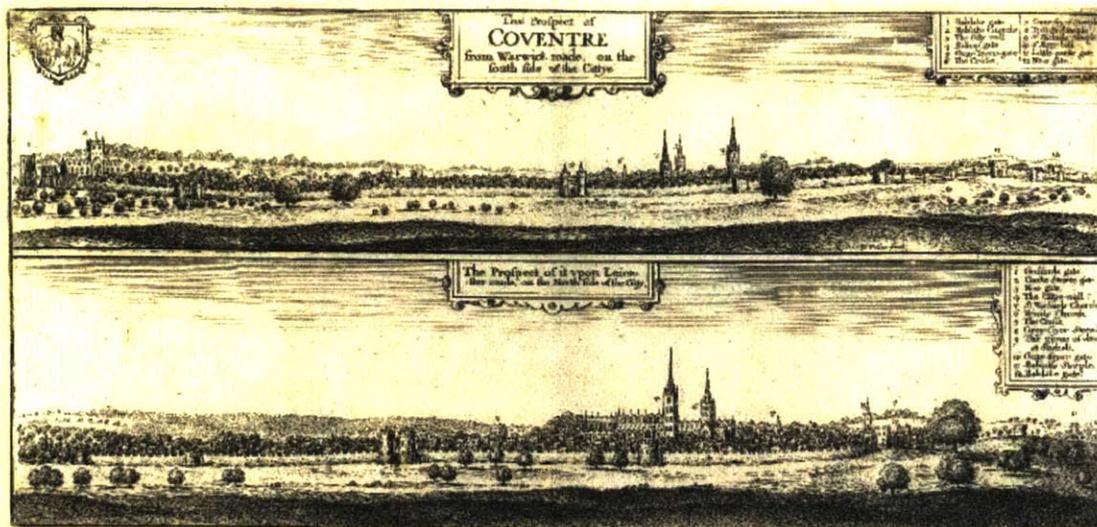


Figure 1.16

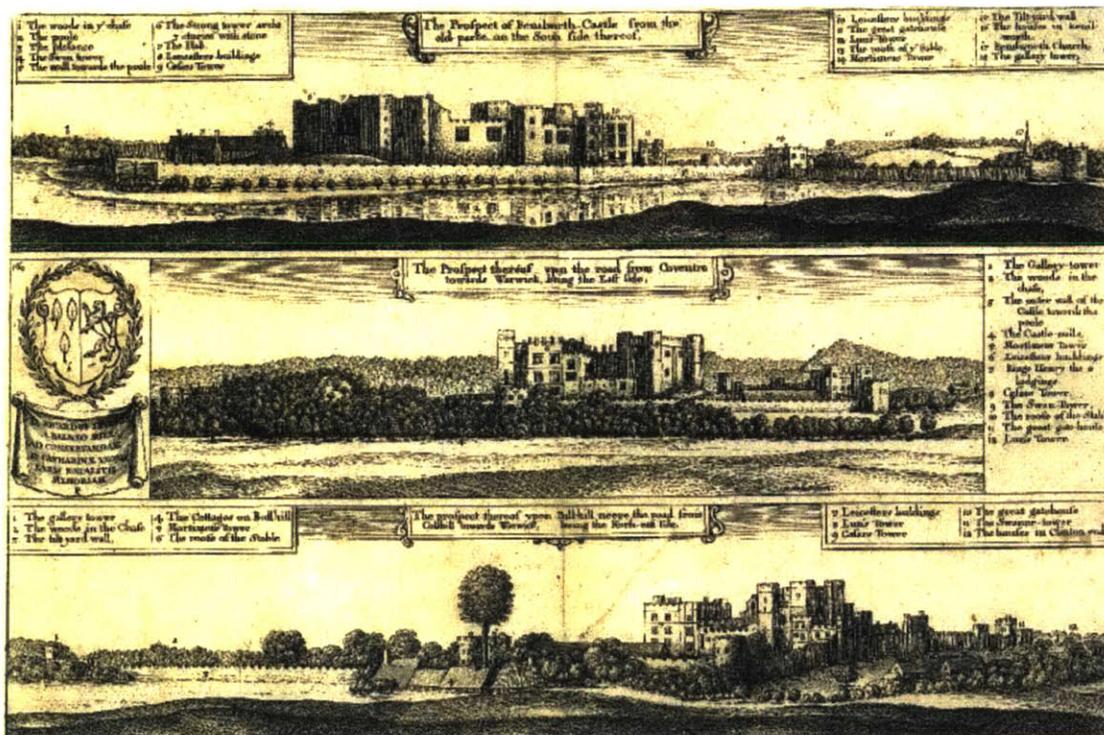


Figure 1.17

Figure 1.16

Wenceslaus Hollar, Prospects of Coventry, etching in William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* (London, 1656), p. 86.
The British Museum, London. 1868,0822.347.

Figure 1.17

Wenceslaus Hollar, Prospects of Kenilworth Castle, etching in William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* (London, 1656), p. 100.
The British Museum, London. Q.6.103.

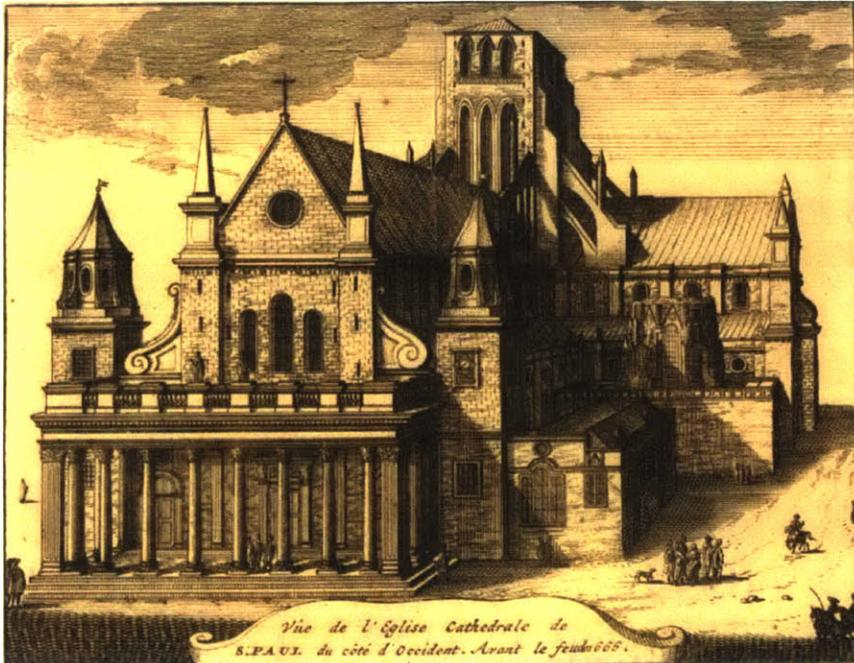


Figure 1.18



Figure 1.19

Figure 1.18

Anon., *Vue de l'Eglise Cathédrale de S. Paul du côté de l'occident, avant le feu de 1666*, ca. 1707. Etching, 125 x 158 mm.
The British Museum, London. 1880,1113.3276.

Figure 1.19

Anon., coral, woodcut in Conrad Gesner, *De rerum fossilium* (Zurich, 1565), p. 138.
Biodiversity Heritage Library.

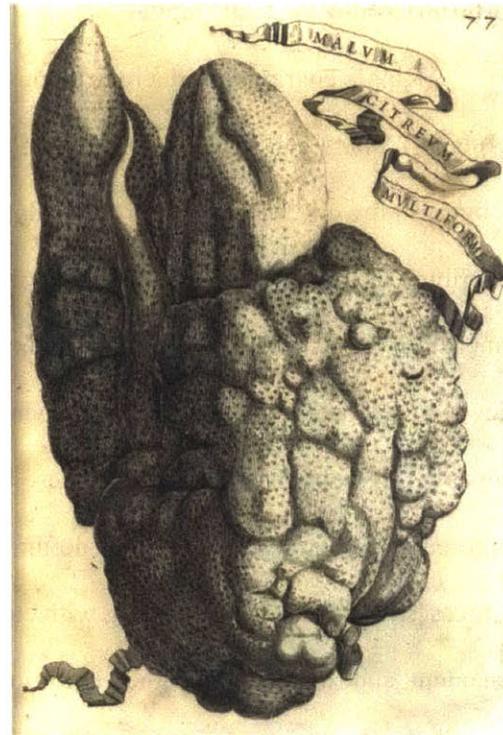


Figure 1.20

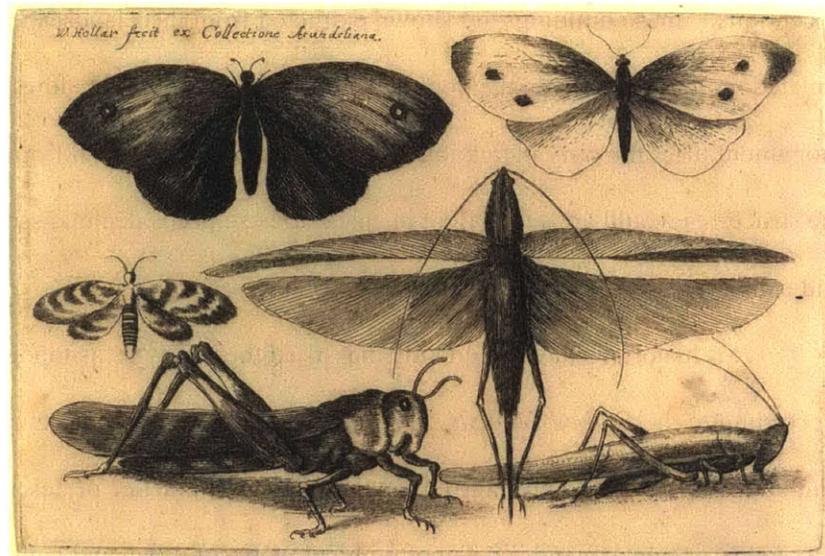


Figure 1.21

Figure 1.20
 Cornelius Bloemaert, rotten lemon, engraving in Giovanni Battista Ferrari, *Herperides, sive, De malorum cultura et usu libri quatuor* (Rome, 1646), p. 77. Biodiversity Heritage Library.

Figure 1.21
 Wenceslaus Hollar, six insects from the Arundel Collection, in his *Muscarum Scarabeorum* (London, 1646). The British Museum, London. Q,5.434.

Antiquities and Factual Images

King's engravings adhere to a consistent set of visual conventions (for example, figs. 1.10 and 1.11). Each structure is attentively described. Bricks are carefully outlined; Gothic ribbing, strapwork, and tracery are articulated; and Daniel King even lavishes detail on visually describing the small diamond-shaped pieces of glass that made up the multi-faceted window panels that were still intact, as well as the planks of wood used to board up the openings where they were damaged. Varied tones of shadow model the receding surfaces, engendering a very palpable three-dimensional form for these buildings. Much care went into producing these representations: straight, ruled lines define the edges of massing elements, roofs, and flying buttresses, while hatch-lines, along with curvilinear details that limn arched windows, trefoil ornament, and ruined and weathered portions, are incised freehand. This diligent visual treatment, however, is concentrated solely on the center of these plates. With only a few exceptions,⁷³ these buildings are shown extracted from their landscape settings, foregrounded as isolated monuments across the book's pages. The horizontal shadows cast at the base of each monument offer the only indication that these structures stand on firm ground; absent these, and the structures would appear to float in space. These prints depict dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals as isolated, intricate objects on the page.

Art historians have frequently classified these images as topographical plates.⁷⁴ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *topographie* first appeared in the mid-sixteenth century, and referred to "the science or practice of describing a particular place, city, town, or tract of land."⁷⁵ Topographical views of urban and landscape vistas were first introduced to England by Wenceslaus Hollar in the 1640s, and proliferated in the 1650s with the

⁷³ See Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (1655), 2–3 (two Glastonbury Abbey plates by Hollar), 18–19 (two Canterbury Cathedral plates by King and Hollar), 21 (one plate of St. Augustine's Canterbury by King), and 282 (one plate of St. Benedict of Hulmo, by Robert Vaughan).

⁷⁴ See for example Antony Griffiths and Robert A. Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1998), 189.

⁷⁵ Oxford English Dictionary, "'Topography, n.'", <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/203423?redirectedFrom=topography.>, accessed December 8, 2015.

rise of book illustration after the Civil War had ended.⁷⁶ Some typical examples of mid-seventeenth-century English topography are Hollar's view of London taken from the roof of Arundel House (fig. 1.12), and his prospect of Albury in the Surrey countryside (fig. 1.13). The designation of the *Monasticon's* illustrated plates as topography, however, seems problematic, and may obscure their function. While topographical images display urban vistas and bucolic, rural settings from the vantage point of a standing viewer, the prints in the first volume of the *Monasticon* are only concerned with the physical forms of churches, removing them as they do from their landscape settings. These church prints are not in fact topographical, but are rather a fundamentally different kind of image.

Although King was responsible for most of these prints, their idiosyncratic visual qualities are not simply a unique attribute of his artistic style. Hollar, that renowned topographer, followed similar conventions in several of his depictions of churches and cathedrals. He etched the north prospect of Westminster Cathedral for the first volume of the *Monasticon* in this manner, and for Dugdale's *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, published in 1658, Hollar created exterior views of this church that closely resemble the architectural depictions in the *Monasticon*. His west prospect of St. Paul's Cathedral, for instance, presents the church in immaculate isolation (fig. 1.14), and as in King's prints, the horizontal shadows at the base of the church provide the only indication that the structure is grounded.

Although King and Hollar both opted to cast the cathedrals featured in Dugdale's *Monasticon* and *History of St Paul's Cathedral* as isolated objects, this representational mode was hardly conventional across the wider body of contemporary English architectural representations. As we have already seen, the *Monasticon's* plates of isolated cathedrals differ markedly from Hollar's topographical vistas, even from those that take a closer view of a single building, such as his etched view of the peopled courtyard of London's Royal Exchange, rather than an expanse of

⁷⁶ Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar*, 15; Griffiths and Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689*, 184; Graham Parry, *Hollar's England: A Mid-Seventeenth Century View* (Salisbury: Russell, 1980), 15–16.

urban or rural space (fig. 1.15). Further, although contemporary English antiquarian works were becoming increasingly visual over these years, they mostly lacked the unique type of architectural depiction on display in the *Monasticon's* first volume. For instance, in *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, a chorographical publication on the history of Warwickshire County and its prominent families that Dugdale and Hollar collaborated on in the 1650s, buildings and churches appear only in images that adhere to conventions of topography, such as the prospects of Coventry and Kenilworth Castle (figs. 1.16 and 1.17).⁷⁷ There is evidence that the visual conventions King employed in his church and cathedral depictions may have been regarded as unique in a wider context as well. A curious French print of St Paul's Cathedral from 1707 exactly reproduces Hollar's depiction of the church, including its signs of spoliation and angles of shade, but it situates the edifice in a churchyard filled with loiterers and passers-by on a cloudy day (fig. 1.18). Its anonymous artist clearly felt that something was missing. It would appear that the church and cathedral illustrations in the *Monasticon's* first volume stand out from many contemporary architectural representations in England. They were not intended to offer descriptive views of the ecclesiastical building in its landscape, but to foreground the structure and stage it as an immaculate and decontextualized object.

It is plausible that King and Hollar intentionally strayed from the conventions of topographical representation current at the time. For in mid-seventeenth-century England, it appears that the pictorial illusionism of landscape and topography was regarded as a deceptive representational mode, laden with an affect and false appearances. The practice of isolating churches and cathedrals for inspection in sharp, detailed relief did not yield images of ecclesiastical monuments as they would have been encountered by a grounded viewer in their real settings, but constructed a rather different sort of illusion that carried factual authority. As we

⁷⁷ William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated: From Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Armes: Beautified with Maps, Prospects, and Portraictures* (London: Printed by Thomas Warren, 1656), ii; for prospects of Coventry, see p. 86, and for prospects of Kenilworth Castle, see p. 100.

will see, King and Hollar employed nascent graphic conventions that were intended to render objects in a transparent and truthful manner, which helped to elevate the *Monasticon* as a historical work that averred to factuality.

At some point between 1653 and 1657, King plagiarized a manuscript manual on drawing—or what was at this time called limning—written originally in 1628 by the artist of portrait miniatures, Edward Norgate (1581–1650).⁷⁸ *Miniatura, or, The Art of Limning* is for all intents and purposes a practical how-to guide for creating miniature portraits, landscapes, and historical scenes. The vast majority of the manual’s pages are dedicated to color-mixing techniques, but the manuscript is also littered with instructions on drawing realistic compositions by faithfully observing nature.⁷⁹ Time and again, King urges the limner to “strictly and precisely follow what they see in their living patterns”,⁸⁰ fashioning the artist as a faithful recorder of the life. As provocative as *Miniatura* is—King, after all, is an elusive historical figure, and this drawing manual, while not an original creation, is still one of his only surviving written works—it does not instruct on, or even mention, the kinds of representations on view in the *Monasticon*. A few passages on how to render buildings in different depth registers of landscape images are the closest it comes.

Miniatura is nevertheless still instructive for our purposes. While it insists that the limner remain faithful to the life, this directive is in tension with another idea coursing through the text, that using illusionistic visual elements to create seemingly realistic images, especially landscape scenes, is also, in fact, delusory. In the second section of the text, King describes the deceitful nature of a well-executed landscape painting:

⁷⁸ Edward Norgate, *Miniatura, Or, the Art of Limning by Edward Norgate*, ed. Martin Hardie (London: Oxford University Press, 1919), xix. In 1628 Norgate completed the first version of his *Miniatura*, now cataloged in the British Library as Harl MS 6000, and this is the version King followed to produce his copy, catalogued as Add MS 12461 in the British Library. Norgate also produced a revised version in 1649. *Ibid.*, xviii.

⁷⁹ Daniel King, *Miniatura, or, The Art of Limning*, British Library, Add MS 12461.

⁸⁰ King, *Miniatura*, fol. 29 r.

The greatest cunning is to beguile and cozen your owne eyes, which yet you cannot doe without their owne consent, and assistance and apt accommodation of variety of colours in their due places, in such maner that many tymes in a Table of not a span long a mans imagination may be quite carried out of the country over seas and cities by a surprise of his owne making.⁸¹

Mastery in landscape limning permits the artist to create illusions that “beguile and cozen” his or her own eyes. By furnishing a setting and placing the “variety of colours in their due places,” a scene can look entirely realistic. Norgate’s revised version of his original *Miniatura*, completed in 1648, stated this idea more explicitly. “Landscape,” he wrote, “is nothing but Deceptive visions, a kind of cousning or cheating of your owne eyes, by our own consent and assistance, and by a plot of your owne contriving.”⁸² Later in the tract he reiterated that “the end of all drawing [is] nothing else but so to deceive the Eyes, by the deceitfull ingling and witchcraft of lights and shadowes.”⁸³ King’s copy of Norgate’s drawing manual, as well as the latter’s original manuscript, construe the art of drawing, or limning, as an art of deception. Of all the different kinds of images one might compose, well-wrought landscapes were regarded as particularly beguiling illusions.

This conception of art outlined in *Miniatura* in fact squares with one that prevailed throughout much of the sixteenth century in England. The earliest English art treatises and drawing manuals, which originate in the 1530s, framed the visual arts as an aristocratic privilege associated with the courtly arts of self-fashioning and dissimulation.⁸⁴ Prevailing modes of drawing in England at that time, it would seem, were ill suited to the requirements of the *Monasticon*, an antiquarian work that averred to convey the transparent facts of history. It is therefore not entirely surprising that King’s illustrations of churches and cathedrals do not fall under any of the rubrics of drawing spelled out in his copied *Miniatura*. Cast in isolation on the page, and placed under an elevated, omniscient viewpoint, these images instead bear a closer

⁸¹ King, *Miniatura*, fol. 27 v.

⁸² Norgate, *Miniatura*, ed. Hardie, 51.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸⁴ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 3–32.

affinity to illustrations of natural specimens that collectors, botanists, zoologists, and anatomists were creating and commissioning to visually record their researches and discoveries from the sixteenth century onwards. These representations were often produced as woodcuts and engravings, and were printed and compiled together in books to form catalogues of nature's objects. Naturalists and artists produced their images by directly observing the components of the natural world, which they endeavored to render accurately and standardize. Theirs were highly detailed, crisply limned depictions that removed specimens from their chaotic natural settings and isolated them on the page for close inspection.⁸⁵ Some examples of early modern scientific illustrations are the early woodcuts of fossils from the Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner's (1516–1565) *De Rerum fossilium* (1558), and the engravings produced by Cornelis Bloemaert (1603–1692) for Giovanni Battista Ferrari's (1584–1655) *Hesperides, or on the Cultivation of the Golden Apples* (1646) (figs. 1.19 and 1.20).⁸⁶ Hollar's etchings of items from the collection of Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel (1586–1646), which form a set titled *Muscarum Scarabeorum* (1646), are considered the earliest natural history illustrations in England (fig. 1.21).⁸⁷ Like King's *Monasticon* engravings, these images are characterized by a graphic treatment that devotes a high degree of visual attention to single objects, to the expense of anything else.

Ann Bermingham has shown that the emergence of these new visual modes in the middle years of the seventeenth century registers a shift in cultural perceptions of drawing. Over this period, it evolved from a technique exclusively of art into a tool of scientific inquiry, shedding its associations with practices of courtly dissimulation to become a transparent representational

⁸⁵ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," *Representations*, no. 40 (1992): 84–86, doi:10.2307/2928741; David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 3–4; Claudia Swan, "Illustrated Natural History," in *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Susan Dackerman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Art Museums, 2011), 186–99.

⁸⁶ Conrad Gesner, *De Rerum Fossilium, Lapidum et Gemmarum Maximè, Figuris & Similitudinibus Liber: Non Solùm Medicis, Sed Omnibus Rerum Naturae Ac Philologiae Studiosis, Vtilis & Iucundus Futurus*. (Zurich, 1565); Giovanni Battista Ferrari, *Hesperides, Siue, De Malorum Aureorum Cultura et vsu Libri Quatuor* (Rome, 1646).

⁸⁷ Wenceslaus Hollar, *Muscarum Scarabeorum, Vermiumque Varie Figure & Formae* (Antwerp, 1646); Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 67.

mode for conveying factual knowledge about nature's objects.⁸⁸ In science, Bermingham explains, “What was not desired was an image that distorted through a display of *maniera* or distracted from the content of the image through a seductive demonstration of technique. Only a transparent image that mirrored the thing it represented—in short, an image that did not call attention to itself as an image—could be called truthful.”⁸⁹ Artistry, it seems, went the way of rhetoric at this moment as interests in truth placed new demands on visual representation and on the writing of history.

In England, scientific illustration became an established tool of natural philosophical and historical inquiry after the Restoration, and was employed by academies such as the Royal Society of London to disseminate knowledge about their work and discoveries. Its members partook of a scientific culture based on collective empiricism, in which matters of fact were established by a community of scientific witnesses who could testify to and approve experimental results. In this collective enterprise, printed images took on an important and powerful role. Multiple witnesses were preferable to few for establishing factual knowledge, and prints that visually reproduce experimental scenes or results could permit a dispersed network of observers, who were not present at the performance of the experiment, to “virtually witness” it instead.⁹⁰ The rise of printed scientific illustrations as a technology of experimental replication reflects a realignment of visual depiction with regimes of fact.

The *Monasticon* was produced a few years before the institutionalization of experimental science during the Restoration, and yet King's decision to forego techniques of topographical illusionism for a graphic convention that disengages monastic churches and cathedrals from their settings appears to prefigure these very means of constructing visual fact. His prints, which isolate the dissolved ecclesiastical edifice, correspond with the antiquarian practices of transcription we saw earlier in the chapter, whereby old documents were copied wholesale into

⁸⁸ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 45–70.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹⁰ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 69–70; Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*, 55–69.

historical works, and emulate the rhetorical “nakedness” to which historians aspired in their writings. It is in this manner that King’s engraved representations endeavored to construct authoritative, truthful information about monuments, and stage ecclesiastical edifices as historical items of evidence. As we will later see, within the pages of the *Monasticon* these evidentiary objects operated to affirm the long history of episcopal succession and ceremonious worship that Laudians wished to revive.

Conclusion

King’s engraved representations of dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals have been given short shrift in historiography on the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Much of the literature has evaluated these images as inaccurate, poorly rendered depictions, but this is to judge them by anachronistic criteria of modern pictorial veracity. In her recent study, Walsham departed from this mode of analysis and sees these pictures as polemical responses to the era’s politico-religious upheavals. She suggests that they pictorially refurbished decrepit ecclesiastical edifices to glorify a religious tradition that royalists and Laudians were elevating for unqualified emulation. This chapter maintains that the *Monasticon*’s prints were political, but emphasizes that they were intended to operate as visual facts, not fabrications. In this period, preoccupations with ascertaining facts were not divorced from the aims of polemic, but were rather deeply implicated with them. The argument from antiquity was a key feature of the period’s sectarian religious debates, and obliged Protestants and Catholics alike to make truthful, evidence-based claims about history. Antiquarianism both serviced, and was driven by, these demands.

Antiquarian interests in ascertaining historical facts parallel the era’s changing cultural perceptions of visual representation. As verbal rhetoric fell into disfavor among historical writers, perceptions of visual representation also transformed and favored graphic modes that suppressed artfulness for a new emphasis on transparency. The spare aesthetics of King’s images may be best explained by this development. This contextual approach makes a case for

acknowledging King's images as factual depictions, which operated to enhance the credibility of the historical claims of the *Monasticon*, and by extension, the claims of embattled Laudians in the Interregnum. In the next chapter, we will learn that this pictorial mode not only elevated these images as transparent, factual depictions and inscribed monastic churches and cathedrals as items of historical evidence, but simultaneously reflected Laudian religious ideas about the sacred qualities of churches and cathedrals.

CHAPTER 2

TRACING SANCTITY AND CONTAINMENT

Introduction

We have seen how the graphic conventions that structure the representations of dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*'s first volume elevated these images into the realm of factuality. Plate after plate features a carefully crafted, highly detailed rendering of an ecclesiastical structure. They are viewed from above and stand isolated in an indeterminate setting, accompanied only by the plate's descriptive title, along with the heraldic devices and dedicatory mottoes of the plates' benefactors. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how this visual mode also operated to convey the Laudian belief in the sacred status of the church as a site and physical building. Specifically, the graphic conventions King employed generate a series of images that visually recall the medieval ritual of consecration, which was revived in the late 1620s and taken up in earnest in the 1630s by Archbishop William Laud and his followers, and also cause the pictured monastic churches and cathedrals to visually and functionally relate to an array of ecclesiastical micro-architecture, such as tomb monuments, shrines, and reliquaries, small structures which populated pre-Reformation churches and cathedrals and were understood to permit special access to the saints or to Christ, and by extension, to God's divine presence. Moreover, the *Monasticon*'s prints also stage ecclesiastical edifices in a manner that emphasizes their enduring structural coherence, fostering a sense of containment that had the effect of conceptually signifying precious contents. This network of associations evoked by King's plates calls attention to the status of the pictured churches as hallowed sites. The following pages will first chart the emergence of the Laudian movement and outline its principles, and will then illuminate the varied ways in which the *Monasticon*'s plates served to promote their beliefs in the immanence of the divine presence within the architecture of the church.

Laudianism

In the 1620s, Protestantism in England began to fracture. As the established Church of England grew increasingly moderate over the early decades of the seventeenth century, it galvanized a more radical sort of Protestants, a group that around this time began to identify as Puritans, who believed that the established Church was backsliding and that religion had not been sufficiently reformed.¹ Those who conformed with the established Church in turn viewed Puritanism as a danger to English religious unity.

In 1633, Charles I appointed William Laud to the position of Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud proceeded to issue a series of policies intended to curb the perceived Puritan threat and impose religious uniformity.² The aims of the Archbishop and his supporters constituted a movement with a distinct and coherent vision for the English Church, which was in later years termed “Laudianism.”³ In terms of church polity, the Laudians endeavored to consolidate ecclesiastical power in the hands of Charles I and the Archbishop, and regarding doctrine, they attempted to reinstate older beliefs, discredited during the English Reformation, in God’s “divine presence in the world,” especially in the church building, and in promoting “the appropriate ritual response to that presence.”⁴ As Laud expressed in his diary,

But all that I labored for in this particular was, that the external worship of God in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness.

¹ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 37.

² Peter Lake and Kenneth Fincham, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I,” in *The Early Stuart Church: 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 48.

³ The adjective “Laudian” was first used in 1691 by Richard Baxter in his book, *Of National Churches* (London, 1691), xiv. 68. As a noun, the term first appeared in 1710, and the derivative “Laudianism” was first used in 1872 to refer to the principles of Laud and his followers. “Laudian, Adj. and N.,” *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed May 15, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/106239>. Peter Lake's article, “The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s,” defined several aspects of the Laudian vision of the Church, and has become a standard source in historiography on seventeenth-century English religion. See *The Early Stuart Church: 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 161–85.

⁴ Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 162; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 68.

And this the rather, because, first, I found that with the contempt of the outward worship of God, the inward fell away apace, and profaneness began boldly to show itself.⁵

Laud and his supporters believed that the sacrilegious temper of the English reformers and of their Puritan successors impacted negatively on the inner spiritual life of worshippers. They thus sought to reintroduce ceremonial forms of liturgy and ritual that had been abandoned at the Reformation, such as public prayer, along with the observance of the sacraments, holy feasts, and saints' days. Laudians also attempted to refurbish and adorn churches and cathedrals to revive "the beauty of holiness"—a psalmic expression this group often invoked to describe their ideals for the Church⁶—that had flourished in the medieval era. In their eyes, the church was a sacred space: it had to be beautiful and materially rich to properly serve as God's house on earth.⁷

The style of reverent worship and ritual introduced by Laud in fact revived several Catholic practices that had been discredited during the Reformation, and had the effect of bringing the Church of England into greater alignment with the Church of Rome.⁸ The activities and writings of Laud's followers, many of whom were teaching and studying at Cambridge during the 1630s, reinforced this affiliation. Some of them censored anti-popish passages from Protestant books; others, such as John Tournay, challenged the central Protestant tenet of justification by faith alone, arguing in a sermon of 1634 that good works were required as well; and a few, such as John Normanton of Caius College (b. 1605/6), commended the monks, especially the Carthusians, for their devout lives of prayer.⁹ Driving these revivals of Catholic thought was a sense that the Protestant rejection of ancient rites and customs, along with the perceived irreverence of the Puritans, would eventually drive worshippers back to the Church of

⁵ William Laud, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. William Scott and James Bliss, vol. 3: Devotions, Diary, and History (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1853), 407–408.

⁶ "O worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness: fear before him, all the earth" (Ps. 9:96). *The Holy Bible: King James Version* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), 299.

⁷ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 68.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 72–76.

Rome.¹⁰ Laudians began thus to strongly identify with the medieval Catholicism, and painted reformers and their Puritan successors as overzealous dissidents.¹¹ These groups, in turn, accused Laudians of popery and grew resentful of their autocratic policies.¹²

The unrest of the Civil War in the 1640s spelled the downfall of Laudian hegemony in the English Church. In 1640 after Charles I called the Long Parliament in 1640, the House of Commons impeached Laud for high treason on charges that he was attempting to reunite the English Church with Rome (an accusation Laud manifestly denied). Parliament imprisoned him in 1641, and he was executed in 1645.¹³ During the Civil War, Laudian policies, along with episcopacy, church courts, cathedral chapters, and the prayer book were all abolished, and many Laudian bishops were either killed, imprisoned, exiled. Nevertheless, those Laudian divines who survived covertly promoted their movement during the Interregnum, and provided spiritual and intellectual guidance to embattled royalist and episcopalian communities who supported the abolished monarchy and Church.¹⁴ Dugdale's first installment of the *Monasticon* was one just one of the works produced over this period that helped to reshape a sense of Laudian royalist identity,¹⁵ and I will uncover how its images in particular operated to express Laudian religious beliefs. Works such as these ones helped to perpetuate the movement's ideals throughout the

¹⁰ Ibid., 78.

¹¹ Ibid., 66.

¹² Ibid., 85.

¹³ Anthony Milton, "Laud, William (1573–1645)," ed. H. C. G. Matthew, Brian Harrison, and Lawrence Goldman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16112>.

¹⁴ Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 274–276.

¹⁵ As was likely the case with the publication of Dugdale's *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, "it is doubtful that the government would have been at all concerned about the publication of such an elite antiquarian work; its importance lay in creating a sense of community among the embattled supporters of the episcopal church." Ephemeral pamphlet formats were deemed a more seditious form of religious polemic in this decade, and were more strictly policed. Jan Broadway, "'The Honour of This Nation': William Dugdale and the History of St Paul's (1658)," in *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum*, ed. Jason McElligott and David L. Smith, *Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 194–213. 209.

Interregnum, and after the Restoration in 1660, Laudian tenets went on to inform the shape of the re-established Church of England.¹⁶

Laudianism and Antiquarian Preservation

Over the course of England's long Reformation, the spaces, built fabrics, and impedimenta of worship became disputed sites that sparring religious factions acted upon and engaged with in physical ways to assert their competing beliefs about the presence of the divine in the world. Over this period, iconoclastic acts of destruction committed by early reformers, as well as by Puritans later on in the seventeenth century, served as "defiant and dramatic illustrations of the rejection of the idea that holiness could reside in any particular place, object or ceremony,"¹⁷ in the same way that acts of church restoration and beautification were intended to demonstrate the contrary belief that particular spaces and objects *could* indeed permit access to the celestial realm. After his election to the post of Archbishop, Laud, for instance, instated a policy of church and cathedral refurbishment and adornment. His largest project was the restoration of St Paul's Cathedral, which preoccupied him throughout the 1630s. Charles I was intimately involved with the project, and commissioned Inigo Jones to oversee the design. Laud solicited donations from all over England to support the reconstruction work. Over the decade, Laud and his bishops issued injunctions ordering restorations to other cathedrals and churches as well, and many clerics took steps to refurbish ecclesiastical fabrics and adorn church interiors in line with the Laudian vision of the "beauty of holiness."¹⁸

In this charged political climate, acts of preservation performed at a remove, such as the creation of visual documentations of churches and cathedrals, likewise align with ambitions to restore and adorn churches for reverent worship. At time when radical Puritans believed that

¹⁶ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 274.

¹⁷ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, Studies in Modern British Religious History (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003), 203.

¹⁸ Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Boydell Press, 2008), 43–58.

these structures were themselves idolatrous,¹⁹ the mere act of pictorializing them was, I submit, tantamount to a defiant insistence of their holy status. It is perhaps not entirely surprising, then, that several English antiquaries active during the middle years of the seventeenth century were sympathetic to the Laudian and royalist cause. John Weever, for instance, dedicated his book, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631) to Charles I and William Laud.²⁰ The antiquary William Somner also dedicated his book, *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), “To the most reverend Father in God, William, by the Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.”²¹ Dugdale himself was as well a lay supporter of the Laudian vision of the Church.²² In his *History of St Paul’s*, for example, Laud was praised frequently in the text, and two of Hollar’s etchings of the cathedral were dedicated to the Archbishop.²³ Moreover, in a letter to Anthony Wood from 15 February 1669, Dugdale referred to the late cleric as “that most reverend and renowned Prelate Arch-B^{PP} Laud ... whose memory ought to be highly honoured by all good men.”²⁴ As Dugdale’s first antiquarian publication during the Interregnum, the first installment of the *Monasticon* does not contain the kind of explicit, written endorsements of Laudianism to be found in his later works, but as a whole, the book is nevertheless unambiguous about where his loyalties lie. Marsham’s preface, for instance, defends episcopacy and thoroughly denounces Reformation and Puritan sacrilege. Furthermore, the comparison drawn in the tableaux on Hollar’s frontispiece between medieval religiosity and Reformist impiety is also a frequent theme of Laudian polemic.²⁵ The vast majority of the subscribers who financed the *Monasticon*’s engraved plates

¹⁹ Phillip Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England* (Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, 2007), 2.

²⁰ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent: With the Dissolved Monasteries Therein Contained* (London: Thomas Harper, 1631).

²¹ William Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury, Or a Survey of That Ancient Citie, with the Suburbs, and Cathedrall, Containing Principally Matters of Antiquity in Them All* (London, 1640), sig. A3v.

²² Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 5.

²³ Broadway, “‘The Honour of This Nation’: William Dugdale and the *History of St Paul’s* (1658),” 204.

²⁴ William Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. William Hamper (London: Printed for Harding, Lepard, 1827), 390, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000232259>.

²⁵ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 314.

were additionally Laudian, royalist sympathizers.²⁶ For these reasons, the pages of detailed visual documentations of churches and cathedrals that interleaved the *Monasticon* should be read as expressions not only of antiquarian desires to save and reconstruct architectural antiquities, but also of religious ambitions to preserve vulnerable, sacred spaces of worship.

Consecration and Visual Isolation

An important Laudian tenet promoted throughout the 1630s, and one that greatly informs this chapter's reading of the *Monasticon*'s illustrated plates, was the notion that God's divine presence in the world inhered specifically in the church or cathedral edifice. The ecclesiastical building was, in other words, the house of God on earth.²⁷ The Laudian author, known only as R. T., articulated this idea in his 1638 treatise *De templis*:

God, we piously believe, to bee in every place, but we cannot say properly, that he dwells in any place, but in his Temple. There, as in his Court and Palace, he distributes his divine gifts and graces, to the hearts of his faithfull servants: there we more plainely behold his glory and majesty, in the statelinesse, and beautie of the building, in the richnesse of the sacred vessels and ornaments, the numerous multitudes of his Servants, the various fruits of the blessed Sacraments, the dignity, holinesse, and sacred pompe of his Ministers.²⁸

As this passage illustrates, the church building, including its interior fittings and the ceremonies it housed, was suffused with holiness, and therefore must be appropriately adorned to materially reflect God's divine presence.²⁹ During the 1630s Laudians began to refurbish ecclesiastical sites which had been purged of their interior fittings and fallen into varied states of disrepair during the Reformation. In his chapter, "Of adorning of Christian temples", R. T. recommends beautifying church interiors with "all kinds of ornaments," such as "curious paintings, hangings, guilding,

²⁶ While most of the subscribers sided with the embattled royalist, Laudian cause, there were a select few who did not. Stephen K. Roberts, "'Ordering and Methodizing': William Dugdale in Restoration England," in *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605–1686: His Life, His Writings and His County*, ed. Christopher Dyer and Catherine Richardson (Rochester, N.Y: Boydell Press, 2009), 80.

²⁷ Lake, "The Laudian Style," 164–165.

²⁸ R. T., *De Templis, a Treatise of Temples: Wherein Is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, Consecrating, and Adorning of Churches* (London: R. Bishop, 1638), 110–112.

²⁹ Lake, "The Laudian Style," 164.

sumptuous vestments, rich gifts in mony, chalices, plate”.³⁰ Throughout the decade, Laud and several Laudian writers advocated in a similar manner for the beautification and adornment of churches and cathedrals.³¹

Laudian beliefs about the sanctity of the church also prompted a revival of the medieval practice, abandoned during the Reformation, of consecrating, or ceremonially declaring as holy, churches and cathedrals.³² In 1639, the Laudian cleric Fulke Roberts published a book that defended ceremonial worship and church embellishment, titled *Gods Holy House and Service*, in which he recommended a two-step process for consecrating ecclesiastical structures.³³ In the first step, “Alienation”, the church and its surrounding yard were to be “surrendered into the hands of the Bishop,” and in the second step, “Assignment,” the local bishop “[invested] Almighty God in the right and possession of that ground and building.”³⁴ As a part of this process, the church’s exterior walls and precincts were cleared of the barns, market stalls, and flora that had begun to encroach unimpeded upon some of them in the years following the monastic dissolution. This method of consecration demarcates the physical structure of the church from the quotidian world and ennobles it as an especially holy place.³⁵

The graphic conventions employed across the *Monasticon*’s engravings of intricately rendered churches seem to visually express the notion of consecration, and in so doing bespeak an enduring Laudian belief in the localization of the sacred to the physical architecture of the church. Horizontal shadows at the base of each of the structures alert us to the fact that these edifices are

³⁰ T., *De Templis, a Treatise of Temples*, 177.

³¹ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 70–71.

³² Andrew Spicer, “‘God Will Have a House’: Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 209.

³³ Fulke Roberts, *Gods Holy House and Service According to the Primitive and Most Christian Form Thereof* (London, 1639); Andrew Spicer, “‘God Will Have a House’: Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 210.

³⁴ Roberts, *Gods Holy House and Service According to the Primitive and Most Christian Form Thereof*, 9–11; Spicer, “‘God Will Have a House’: Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England,” 212.

³⁵ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 239–240.

grounded on earth, but their representations expunge otherwise expunge their worldly surrounds, recalling the consecrated status of these churches and cathedrals. This idea is reinforced by some of the dedications in the banderoles suspended from the benefactors' armorial crests. Most of them express a desire to preserve the fabric of the church or cathedral they accompany, and several are also tinged with Laudian sentiments about the enduring sanctity of church spaces. Some, however, such as the one accompanying the plate of Canterbury Cathedral, explicitly declare the cathedrals "consecrated to posterity."³⁶ The plates' sponsors, as we have seen, were predominantly royalist supporters of the abolished episcopal Laudian Church, and given their political and religious sympathies, it is plausible that the cathedral illustrations in the *Monasticon* underscore confessional desires to "redraw, indeed, to redefine the line between the sacred and the profane"³⁷ by demarcating church and cathedral buildings from their surrounds in the secular world.³⁸

In its emphasis on the sanctity of the church's architectural fabric, inner space, and holy objects, Laudianism posed a direct challenge to Protestant iconoclastic and iconophobic impulses.³⁹ Likewise, although any visual depiction of a church or cathedral might have aroused suspicions of idolatry in the contentious political and religious climate of mid-seventeenth-century England, it is plausible that the manner in which these edifices were staged in the *Monasticon's* images served as an indication to readers of the Laudian sympathies of their creators, and specifically of the sanctity that they claimed inhered in these structures.

³⁶ William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1655), 18. Similar verbal consecrations appear on other plates such as Gloucester Cathedral (p. 109) and Worcester Cathedrals (p. 120).

³⁷ Lake, "The Laudian Style," 164.

³⁸ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 239–240.

³⁹ Lake, "The Laudian Style," 173.



Figure 2.1



Figure 2.2

Figure 2.1

Anon., Mosan arm reliquary, made in Meuse Valley ca. 1230. Silver, gilded silver, niello, and gems; wood core. 648 x 102 x 102 mm.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 47.101.33.

Figure 2.2

Anon., miniatures from John Lydgate, *Lives of Ss Edmund and Fremond* (1434–1439), fol. 28v, fol. 100v.

The British Library, London, Harley MS 2278.

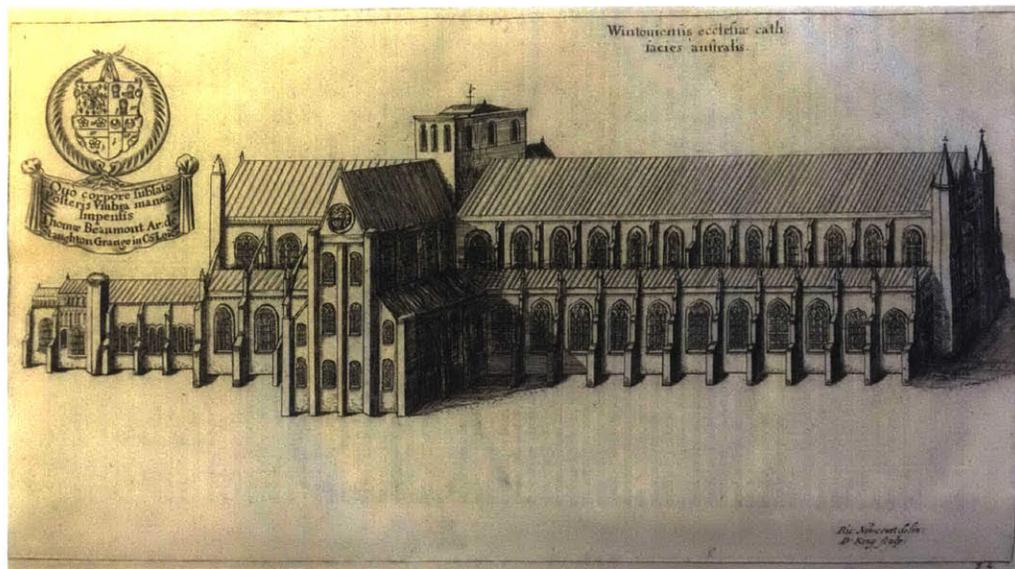


Figure 2.3

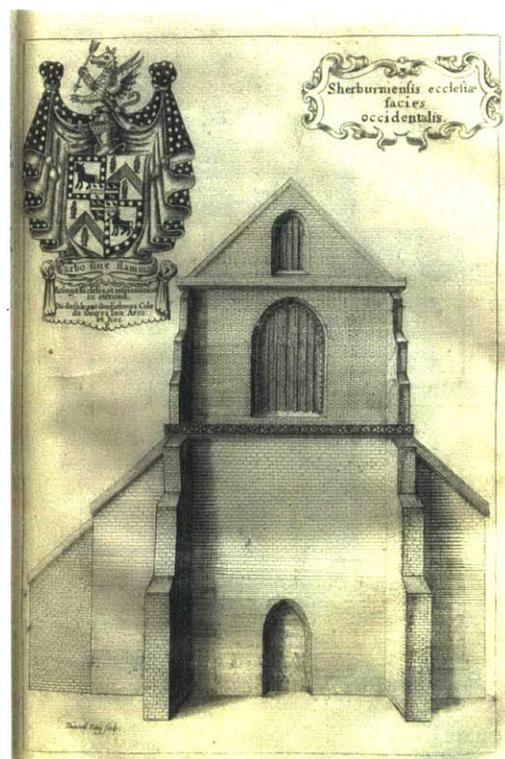


Figure 2.4

Figure 2.3

Daniel King, South prospect of Winchester Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), facing p. 32.

Figure 2.4

Daniel King, West prospect of Sherburne Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), facing p. 62.

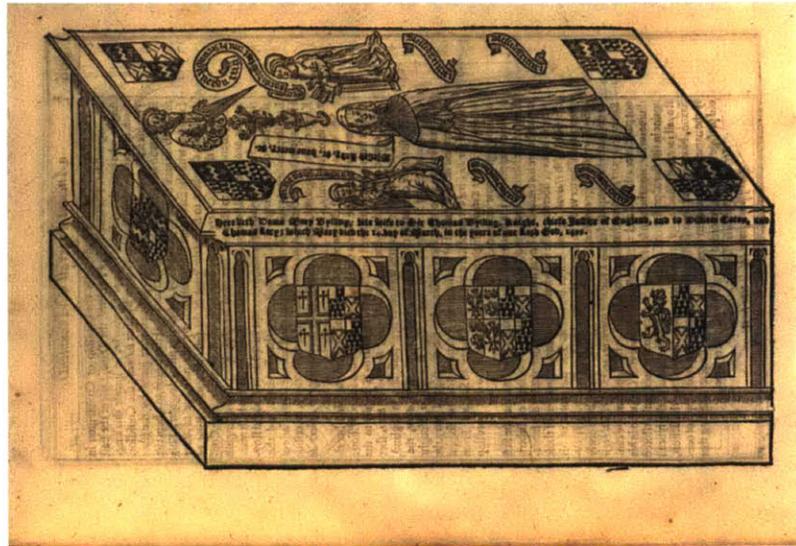


Figure 2.7

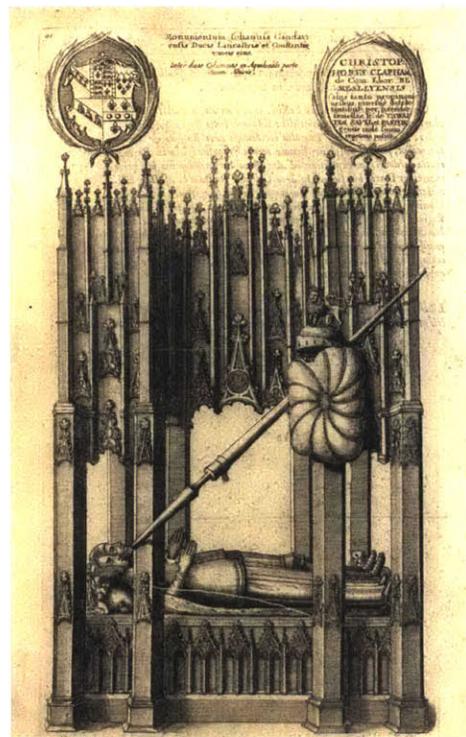


Figure 2.8

Figure 2.7
 Anon., Tomb of Mary Bylling in St. Margaret's, Westminster, engraving in John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London, 1631), p. 495.

Figure 2.8
 Wenceslaus Hollar, John of Gaunt monument, etching in William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658), p. 90.



Figure 2.9

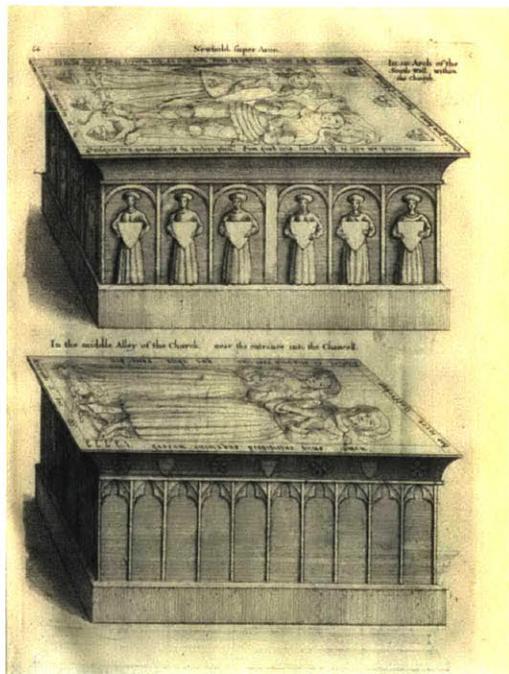


Figure 2.10

Figure 2.9

Wenceslaus Hollar, Monument of Nicholas Bacon, knight, etching in William Dugdale, *The History of St Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658), p. 70.

Figure 2.10

Wenceslaus Hollar, Newbold family monuments, etching in William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* (London, 1656), facing p. 64



Figure 2.11

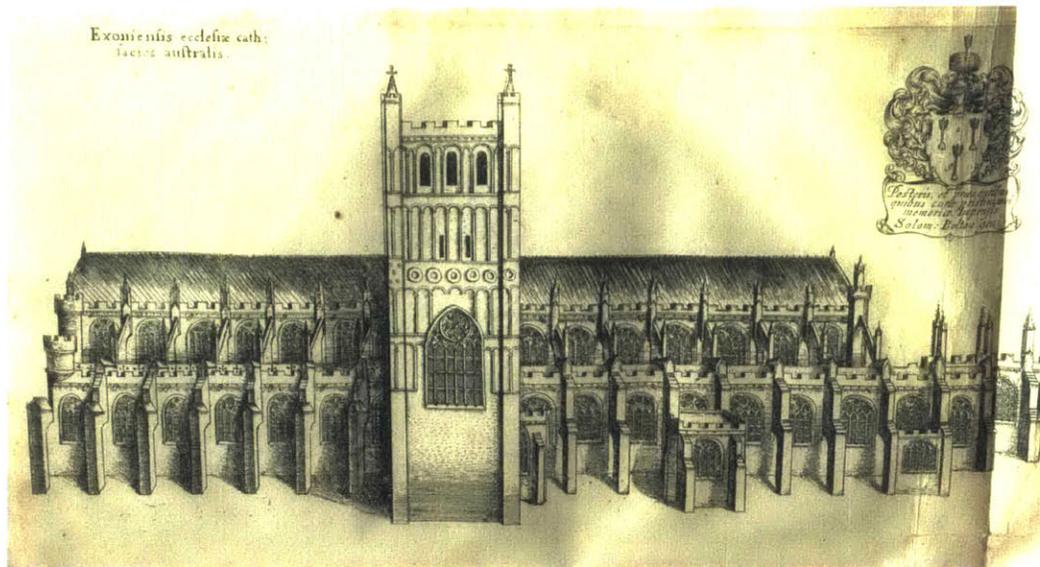


Figure 2.12

Figure 2.11

Daniel King, West prospect of Exeter Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), facing p. 222.

Figure 2.12

Daniel King, South prospect of Exeter Cathedral, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), p. 220–222.

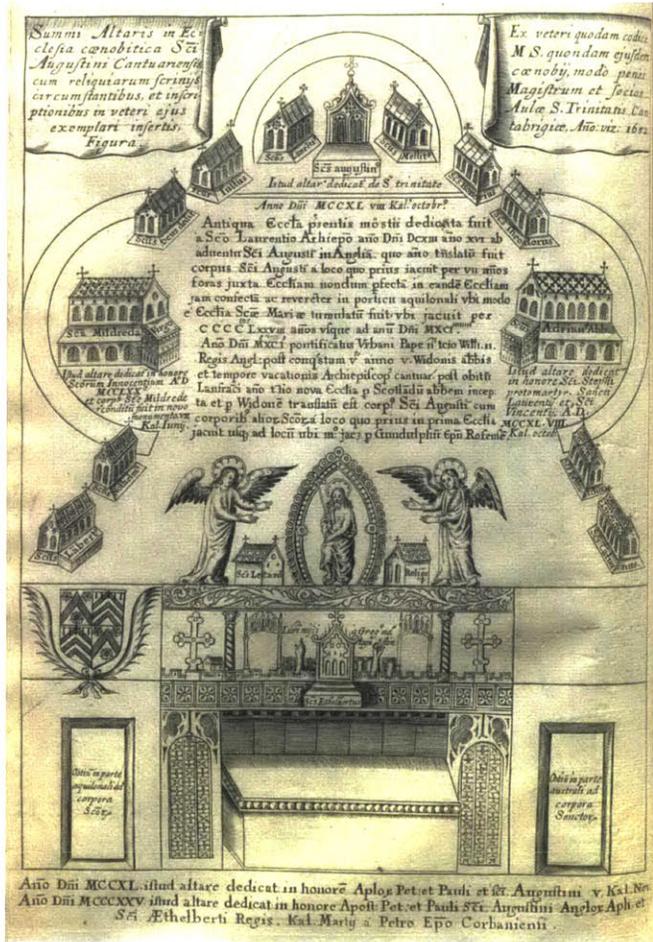


Figure 2.13

Figure 2.13 Daniel King, Reliquaries in the Church of St. Augustine, Canterbury, engraving in William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), facing p. 20.

Micro-Architecture and the *Monasticon*

The pictorial strategy of isolation that prevails in the *Monasticon*'s engraved church and cathedral representations and the sanctity it confers upon these structures is not the only means by which these images connote the hallowed status Laudians ascribed to these buildings. King's representations also miniaturize and condense cathedrals in a manner that makes them resemble an array of sacred, ecclesiastical micro-architectural structures, such as tomb monuments, shrines, and reliquaries, repositories that many Laudians and recusant Catholics in England continued to venerate as holy objects after the Reformation. Although they differ immensely in scale, medieval Gothic ecclesiastical structures and micro-architectural objects are formally and functionally related, and it is the process of representation that makes their associations all the more apparent.

Although the church and cathedral structures depicted in the *Monasticon* visually refer to diminutive micro-architectural structures, these smaller objects first assumed their own architectural forms in reference to the larger churches and cathedrals that housed them. Before this occurred, however, sacred repositories in the early middle ages most often resembled chests or tents, while some, such as body-part reliquaries, were shaped to mimetically or metaphorically reveal the fragments and corporeal appendages they contained (fig. 2.1).⁴⁰ It was not until the mid-thirteenth century that these receptacles came to resemble little buildings. Over these decades Gothic cathedral building reached its zenith, and architects and artisans "began to impose their aesthetic vocabulary upon the world of reliquaries, stalls, fonts, pulpits, tombs, etc.," which in time came to resemble miniature buildings.⁴¹ These sacred receptacles thus entered into a formal dialogue with the virtuosic Gothic structures that housed them. Medieval architects

⁴⁰ Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 67; see also Bruno Reudenbach, "Visualizing Holy Bodies: Observations on Body-Part Reliquaries," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 95–106.

⁴¹ Francois Bucher, "Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style," *Gesta* 15, no. 1/2 (1976): 72, doi:10.2307/766753.

continued to work across scales, and soon enough a reversal occurred whereby small micro-architectural monuments became testing grounds for new architectural and aesthetic ideas: because of their small scale, micro-architectural objects could be produced rapidly and inexpensively in comparison to larger structures, and therefore offered an ideal medium for architects hoping to experiment with new ideas to then replicate at the scale of the cathedral.⁴² Thus in the development of micro-architecture, the small first referred to the large, which then later looked back to the small. The cathedral plates in the *Monasticon* turn on a similar sort of association, wherein the macro—the depicted churches and cathedrals—gain meaning through reference to the micro.

While we may not readily draw mental associations between the large-scale architecture of churches and the much more diminutive shrines and items of sacred furniture inside them, it is likely that to early modern viewers, large buildings and the micro-architectural objects they housed were not so entirely different. François Bucher has pointed out that medieval spectators regarded small, sacred objects and structures as major monuments.⁴³ Alina Payne has shown that in the early modern period as well, small-scale architecture and architectural objects—such as chancels, altars, tombs, tabernacles, chapels, shrines, and reliquaries—were seen as continuous with, and intimately related to, the larger buildings that housed them.⁴⁴ Representations of ecclesiastical architecture that appear in illuminated manuscripts produced in Western Europe throughout this period testify to the perceived relationships across architectural scales. An English illuminated presentation copy of John Lydgate's *Lives of Ss Edmund and Fremund* created from 1434–1439, for example, carries ornate miniatures of King Edmund and his cousin Fremund kneeling in prayer with Benedictine monks before the shrines and sepulchers of

⁴² Ibid., 71; Alina Payne, “Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture,” *Oxford Art Journal* 32, no. 3 (October 1, 2009): 373, doi:10.1093/oxartj/kcp035.

⁴³ Bucher, “Micro-Architecture as the ‘Idea’ of Gothic Theory and Style,” 71.

⁴⁴ Payne, “Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture,” 368–369.

departed saints (fig. 2.2).⁴⁵ In each of these images, these figures are sheltered under large medieval churches, some of which are missing their south wall, and others that appear as skeletal frames rather than solid structures. These pictorial manipulations to church fabrics permit the reader to view the ritual veneration of shrines, reliquaries, and holy objects taking place within them, but also stages micro-architectural objects and vast churches as components of a concatenated series of visually similar, sacred containers. Images of donors holding up small models of churches in benediction were also legion,⁴⁶ and further demonstrate the degree to which architectural scale was conceptually manipulated. The *Monasticon's* plates may therefore have relied on and enforced an association between small and large that was already well known in the early modern era.

Several of the visual strategies King employed in his engravings cause the depicted edifices to approximate micro-architecture. Among these, first of all, is the convention of decontextualizing churches and cathedrals from their earthly surrounds. Some aspects of the significance of this graphic decision have been discussed above, but they have further perceptual and communicative effects. Namely, without a setting or human subjects, these structures lack a frame of reference for viewers to draw on to make judgments about the size and scale of objects. Left with this scalar ambiguity, the location of the vantage point, which is a second consistent visual element of these plates, does most of the work in forming a spectator's impression of magnitude. It is thus the elevated viewing angle, used consistently across the plates, which creates a sense of diminution: we glance down at ecclesiastical buildings from above, or from a space some ways above the ground before their principle façades (figs. 2.3 and 2.4).

⁴⁵ John Lydgate, *Lives of Ss Edmund and Fremond* (1434–1439), British Library Harley MS 2278. This presentation copy of Lydgate's *Lives of Ss Edmund and Fremond* was created as a gift for Henry VI, to commemorate his four-month-long visit to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's. For more on this manuscript, see Timothy R. Jordan, "St. Edmund's Shrinekeepers: Monastic Self-Depiction in Harley 2278," *American Benedictine Review* 66, no. 1 (March 2015): 30–55.

⁴⁶ Charles McClendon, "Review of 'Compressed Meanings: The Donor's Model in Medieval Art to around 1300' by Emanuel Klinkenberg.," *Caa.reviews*, February 16, 2012, doi:10.3202/caa.reviews.2012.20.

While creating paper representations of monumental architecture necessarily requires scaling a large structure down to fit the dimensions of a small page, not every drawn or printed architectural depiction transforms macro into micro. In fact, the majority of contemporary English images of architecture quite clearly convey an accurate sense of the sizes of buildings. Topographical prints, such as the ones discussed above in chapter 1, supply a setting and fixed vantage point that function to establish a sense of scale. Antiquarian representations of architecture that emerge a few short decades after the first installment of the *Monasticon* are similar in this regard, and convey unambiguously the grandeur of medieval cathedrals and other edifices. For example, the third volume of the *Monasticon*, which was published in 1673, is populated with prints by Hollar that feature soaring cathedrals completely embedded within their earthly settings. In a typical plate, Lincoln Cathedral rises up from rugged, well-trodden grounds before a pair of comparatively small onlookers, while distant houses and trees dot the horizon (fig. 2.5).⁴⁷ The cathedral is ensconced not only in its landscape surroundings, but also even in its atmosphere. While nearly absent from King's plates of 1655 (barring the shadows, which operate solely to impart a sense of the structures' three-dimensionality and grounded location), atmosphere in Hollar's prints is now a thick medium that modulates the appearance of the built surface and causes the church's western spires to fade into hazy daylight. The pictorial conventions in this last installment of Dugdale's *Monasticon* work to stage the cathedrals as massive, wondrous structures that can be experienced in real, recognizable spaces. These topographical and scenographic representational strategies were intended to evoke the largeness of built monuments, and were a conventional manner of depicting buildings from the time the *Monasticon*'s plates were produced in the mid-seventeenth century through until the eighteenth.

⁴⁷ William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum, sive Pandectae coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum, a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem ex MSS. Codd. ad monasteria olim pertinentibus; archivis Turrium Londinensis, Eboracensis; Curiarum Scaccarii, Augmentationum; bibliothecis Bodleianae, Coll. Reg. Coll. Bened. Arundellianae, Cottonianae, Seldenianae, Hattonianae aliisque digesti per Rogerum Dodsworth Eborac. Gulielmum Dugdale, Warwic, vol. 3 (London, 1673), 256–257.*

King's decision to cast monastic cathedrals under an elevated vantage point in a decontextualized field was, by contrast, a rare, and evidently deliberate, choice. These prints do not present monastic cathedrals as the monumental architecture they ostensibly were, but miniaturize these structures into small buildings, or micro-architectural objects.

In chapter 1, I discussed how the *Monasticon's* engravings of church and cathedral architecture relate to the nascent tradition of scientific illustration. Because King's images decontextualize and miniaturize large churches into smaller objects, they also, however, resemble the kinds of drawn and engraved antiquarian representations that were being created in England during the "visual turn" of the middle decades of the seventeenth century, especially ones of micro-architectural tombs and funerary monuments. Common to both these kinds of representations is the convention of isolating one featured object on a page for inspection. John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631) shows a very early instance of this impulse. Geerardt D'Ewes's stone effigy located in the parish church of Upminster is shown from above (fig. 2.6), and Mary Bylling's monument in St. Margaret's, Westminster is cast in side perspective (fig. 2.7), but both plates extract these monuments from the interior settings of the churches that contained them.⁴⁸ The engravings of elaborate tomb monuments that Hollar produced for Dugdale's antiquarian publications in the 1650s perpetuate this convention. In *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, the London church's stately monuments are displayed frontally in one-point perspective. Highly intricate, and modeled with contrasting highlights and shadows to create a believable sense of depth and solidity, these monuments remain isolated objects (figs. 2.8 and 2.9).⁴⁹ Dugdale's *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* also contains numerous images

⁴⁸ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 86, 495.

⁴⁹ William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, from Its Foundation Untill These Times: Extracted Out of Originall Charters, Records, Leiger Books, and Other Manuscript. Beautified with Sundry Prospects of the Church, Figures of Tombes and Monuments* (London, 1658), 70, 90.

of Warwickshire tombs that are granted pride of place, centered alone on a blank page (for example, fig. 2.10).⁵⁰

Analyzing the *Monasticon*'s plates alongside antiquarian images of tombs and funerary monuments reveals just how visually similar macro- and micro-architectural structures were in seventeenth-century England, and it is likely that Dugdale's Laudian and antiquarian readers would have been aware of these associations. The funerary monuments pictured in Dugdale's *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* and *History of St Paul's Cathedral* are rife with architectural ornament, and themselves approximate little buildings. Several that date from the late medieval period display an eclectic array of Gothic elements. The Monument of John of Gaunt, for example, is adorned with a horizontal row of blind pointed arches (fig. 2.8), creating a rhythmic staccato of vertical members that recall the partitions formed by the queued archways of Gothic arcades and screens, or the successive window bays between the flying buttresses of cathedrals, as seen, for example, in King's engravings of the west front and south façade of Exeter Cathedral (fig. 2.11 and 2.12).⁵¹ The decorative filigree tracery and figural sculptures of saints that appear on these tombs may also be found ornamenting the west portals of many cathedrals in the *Monasticon*. Several more recent tombs with more classicizing features are also pictured in Dugdale's antiquarian publications from 1656 and 1658. Although they do not approximate the Gothic cathedral monuments in the *Monasticon*, they do reference the newer style of classical architecture that was being introduced into London in the early decades of the seventeenth century, and demonstrate the ongoing aesthetic reciprocity between macro- and micro- scales of architecture. Seventeenth-century viewers, it would seem, were primed to recognize the similarities between the small and the large, reinforcing the likelihood that the

⁵⁰ Figures are from William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated: From Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombs, and Armes: Beautified with Maps, Prospects, and Portraictures* (London: Printed by Thomas Warren, 1656), 46.

⁵¹ Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (1655), 220–222.

Monasticon's readers viewed its engraved illustrated churches and cathedrals as micro-architectural monuments.

King's church and cathedral representations finally also recall the world of micro-architectural repositories, such as shrines and reliquaries. One of the few engravings from the first volume of the *Monasticon* that does not adhere to the dominant visual convention under scrutiny in this thesis, a copy of an early-fifteenth-century drawing by Thomas Elmham of the east end of St. Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, makes this association especially apparent (fig. 2.13).⁵² This diagram, as the text engraved in its upper banners explains, depicts the reliquaries situated around the apse of that church.⁵³ These caskets occupy the upper half of the print, and each one resembles a small gabled church glazed with small windows and crowned with cross finials, and bears an inscribed label indicating the name of the saint whose relics they enclose. The entire arrangement is cast under an elevated view, and each depicted reliquary bears strong typological and visual relations to the book's cathedral representations. This rich network of visual references across the pages of the *Monasticon* and other contemporary antiquarian works makes the experience of viewing King's plates of churches and cathedrals one of looking down at a reliquary set upon a table, or of standing before a shrine. The visual semblance between these printed ecclesiastical edifices and the sacred micro-architectural panoply of pre-Reformation English abbeys, churches, and cathedrals is indeed striking. Given the contemporaneous visual traditions to which the *Monasticon*'s prints seemingly make reference, the formal reciprocity between large ecclesiastical monuments and sacred micro-architecture was likely not lost on seventeenth-century viewers.

From the height of the Middle Ages up until the Reformation, the shrines, reliquaries, and other micro-architectural structures within northern European Gothic churches allowed access to the sacred, and were of great import to the spiritual life of worshippers. This is because these

⁵² Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, plate 37.

⁵³ Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 1 (1655), 22.

objects functioned as repositories for the relics of saints and holy personages, such as the Virgin Mary or Christ himself. Relics—either bodily fragments of saints or things that had entered into a relationship of physical contiguity with these holy figures—were objects that carried the presence of saints after their death, and were thus regarded as objects with immense intercessory powers.⁵⁴ Within the vast space of a church, micro-architectural shrines and reliquaries served to visually demarcate the locations of these small, yet powerful fragments. Shrines and reliquaries also functioned as sites of mediation between relics and their audiences. As precious, intricately wrought encasements, they ennobled their contents and helped to mentally and spiritually prepare worshippers to apperceive holy objects and the divine presence that inhered in them.⁵⁵ Micro-architecture did not, however, only serve to signpost and induce a reverent mindset; rather, since relics were understood to have powers to transmit their sacred auras to things with which they came into contact or close proximity, their receptacles were also treated as objects of veneration and, to some extent, became sacred themselves.⁵⁶ Shrines, chancels, and reliquaries alike thus acted as spatial and physical extensions of the holy objects they contained, and afforded worshippers and pilgrims the opportunity to physically engage with, and access the auras of, the numinous objects within them.⁵⁷ Indeed, by the fifteenth century micro-architectural shrines and reliquaries had become so common a feature of church interiors, that they themselves often stood in for relics as iconographical signifiers of the sacred realm.⁵⁸ Sanctity was sometimes even imputed to funeral monuments that housed corpses, rather than relics or sacred objects. In his 1631 text on funeral monuments, for example, John Weever devoted a chapter to the sanctity of tombs, writing that “Funerall Monuments (especially of the godly and religious) have ever been

⁵⁴ Cynthia Hahn, “What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?,” *Numen* 57, no. 3 (June 1, 2010): 299–300, doi:10.1163/156852710X501324.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 291; Alexandra Walsham, “Introduction: Relics and Remains,” *Past & Present* 206, no. Supplement 5 (January 1, 2010): 12, doi:10.1093/pastj/gtq026.

⁵⁷ Bucher, “Micro-Architecture as the ‘Idea’ of Gothic Theory and Style,” 71–72.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

accounted sacred.”⁵⁹ Funerary micro-architecture too, then, could serve for some as points of access to the divine realm.

Churches and cathedrals were poised in the *Monasticon* as sacred micro-architectural monuments, namely as objects that permitted worshippers access to the presence of saints, holy figures, and ultimately, of God himself. It is plausible that this visual association served to communicate to Laudian and antiquarian readers about the sanctity that churches and cathedrals once, and for many, continued, to have.

Churches as Sacred Containers

During the iconoclastic purges of the Reformation, micro-architectural shrines and reliquaries, those outward symbols and carriers of holy objects, along with tombs, were broken and emptied of their contents.⁶⁰ Because holy objects were believed to have the power to infect the things that surrounded them with their sanctity, reliquaries and shrines, and sometimes even the ground upon which they formerly stood, acted after the Reformation as surrogate foci of devotion and reverence for those worshippers, such as Laudians, who continued to believe in the immanence of the divine.⁶¹ For certain audiences, emptied funeral monuments and their former sites also acquired this capability. As Weever relates, “all men are as greedily affected to view the sacred Sepulchres of worthie, famous personages, yea and the very places, where such have been interred, although no Funerall Monument at all bee there remaining, to continue their memories.”⁶² Although iconoclasts destroyed and emptied micro-architectural receptacles during the Reformation, it appears that in time the remains, and even the former sites, of these repositories came to serve for Laudians as venerated proxies of their voided contents.

⁵⁹ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 37.

⁶⁰ Alexandra Walsham, “Skeletons in the Cupboard: Relics after the English Reformation,” *Past & Present* 206, no. Supplement 5 (January 1, 2010): 126, doi:10.1093/pastj/gtq015.

⁶¹ Walsham, “Introduction: Relics and Remains,” 12.

⁶² Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 40.

In like manner, the churches and cathedrals represented in the *Monasticon's* prints were *themselves* akin to empty, reliquary containers. During the dissolution, they were purged of their relics and interior furnishings, and their architectural fabrics remained as structural shells that antiquaries and Laudians alike endeavored to preserve.⁶³ Some of the dedications below the armorial crests of the benefactors refer explicitly to the status of these ecclesiastical edifices as sacred repositories. The message carried by the banderole on the plate showing the south face of Winchester Cathedral, for instance, declares the Laudian desire, “With the body removed, that the shelter remains for future generations.”⁶⁴ This passage compares the pillaging of cathedral interiors to tomb robbery, a spectacle that was to John Weever lamentably routine in this period: “so many famous men in their times, thus torn in pieces; yea, their very bones and dust pulled out of their graves.”⁶⁵ The image of the north face of the church of St. Alban’s carries a similar dedication, which entreats, “That the crypt for so many ashes would not fall into ruin.”⁶⁶ It would appear that the creators and readers of the *Monasticon* deemed its depicted churches and cathedrals to function as holy containers that had been emptied, yet which continued to retain the numinous qualities of the objects they once enclosed.

We have seen above how King’s plates visually associate churches and cathedrals with small, hallowed micro-architectural repositories to reinforce the sacred qualities of ecclesiastical edifices. These representations also, however, emphasize how churches and cathedrals function as intact encasements in a more general sense, in a manner that does not rely on their visual semblance to micro-architectural objects. Those few representations of ecclesiastical edifices with significant structural damages are particularly telling. The plates of Crowland and Malmesbury Abbeys, for instance, present these buildings from an aspect that minimizes the

⁶³ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, 200–216.

⁶⁴ “Quo corpore sublato, Posteris Umbra maneat.” Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1655, vol. 1, 32.

⁶⁵ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, quoted in Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, 125.

⁶⁶ Original Latin: “Tantium cinerum, ne pereat crypta.” Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 1 (1655), 178.

appearance of ruination and conveys a sense of enduring structural cohesion (figs. 1.1 and 1.2). These engravings exile damaged portions of the structure to the margins of the page, centering and foregrounding those aspects of the fabric that are still unscathed. King's other plates similarly reflect ambitions to minimize the appearance of damage. There are, as I outlined in chapter 1, minor traces of weathering, broken glass, and ruination visible across several of the engravings of churches and cathedrals, but they almost inscrutable when viewed cursorily or from afar. The scale and sheer detail of these images force a spectator to slow down and pore over them to discern signs of spoliation, because they generally do not call out for attention. Although these plates more than likely convey an accurate picture of the structural states of the ecclesiastical edifices they depict, their visual emphasis is on structural coherence, not fracture. It would appear that the churches and cathedrals in the *Monasticon* have been intentionally staged as intact containers, closed off from the secular world.

By staging churches and cathedrals as containers in this manner, King's prints semiotically reinforced the sacred nature of their interior spaces. In the early modern period, containers were conceptually powerful objects. In domestic contexts, chests and boxes functioned to store valuable or precious items out of sight,⁶⁷ and in the domain of the sacred, reliquaries concealed relics, signaling the presence of these powerful objects yet blocking them from perception. By hiding such items, containers functioned to make them visible; by veiling them, they revealed them.⁶⁸ As Cynthia Hahn has pointed out, the act of concealing a precious or sacred object in a container or reliquary, a process she has called "enframement," in some sense "[makes] the relic rather than the reverse."⁶⁹ Although the churches and cathedrals pictured in the *Monasticon* were mostly voided of their relics and numinous objects during the dissolution,

⁶⁷ Adrian W. B. Randolph, *Touching Objects: Intimate Experiences of Italian Fifteenth-Century Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 116.

⁶⁸ Massimo Leone, "Wrapping Transcendence: The Semiotics of Reliquaries," *Signs and Society* 2, no. S1 (2014): 49–52.

⁶⁹ Cynthia Hahn, "Objects of Devotion and Desire: Relics, Reliquaries, Relation, and Response," in *Objects of Devotion and Desire: Medieval Relic to Contemporary Art*, ed. Cynthia Hahn (New York: Hunter College of the City University of New York, 2011), 9.

King's prints, which cast these edifices as intact receptacles, signaled that their interior spaces remained holy sites of God's divine presence, and reinforced the sacred nature that Laudians ascribed to them.

Conclusion

The idiosyncratic graphic conventions on display across the architectural prints in the first volume of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* generate a variety of effects. As we saw in the first chapter, they inscribe churches and cathedrals as items of evidence for a factual historical narrative, but this second chapter has shown how these images also express the sanctity that embattled Laudians conferred upon church structures during the Interregnum, at a time when they feared the incumbent republican regime would leave these buildings to crumble. The pictorial conventions King employed to create these engravings reflect ambitions to consecrate church structures, in line with the medieval ritual of demarcating church and cathedral edifices as sacred, which Laudians revived in the early decades of the seventeenth century. This aesthetic mode also causes the depicted churches and cathedrals to resemble the panoply of micro-architectural objects that were central to pre-Reformation worship, and which Laudians continued to view as powerful loci of the divine. The *Monasticon's* plates, moreover, call attention to the manner in which dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals functioned as sacred containers. Their exterior architectural fabrics, the surviving remnants of a once materially rich assortment of holy objects and spaces, remained after the monastic dissolution as empty receptacles that stood in as proxies for the numinous objects and relics purged from their interiors during the dissolution. Moreover, King's prints cast these ecclesiastical edifices in a manner that emphasized their status as intact repositories that both veiled and revealed an interior suffused with God's holy presence. To the Laudian antiquaries who coordinated the project and to the patrons who defrayed the cost of the illustrated plates, these representations were strident pictorial statements that the divine could, and did, dwell within church and cathedral walls.



Figure 3.1

Figure 3.1
Selection of spreads from William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* vol. 1 (1655).

EPILOGUE

THE COLLECTION AND THE INDEX

Introduction

The preceding chapters meditated on the meaning of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*'s illustrated plates. They posited that their graphic conventions were on the one hand intended to elevate these visual records into the realm of factuality and poise dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals as items of evidence. On the other hand, these images also presented ecclesiastical edifices as sacred spaces suffused with God's presence. In this last section, I attempt to reconcile this duality, and explore the complex entanglements between the qualities of historicity and sanctity that King's engravings bestow upon these monuments. Before exploring this question, however, I want to consider the *Monasticon* as an object, and probe how King's images operated as a series within it.

Monasticon as Collection

The first volume of the *Monasticon* encapsulates and miniaturizes large monuments into a collection of small objects. Conceptually, books are like cabinets or repositories; their durable covers veil and enclose a secreted interior into which precious objects and valuable items of knowledge can be collated and organized.¹ In the seventeenth century, the boundaries between books and collections of objects became blurred. This happened on a conceptual level, as the meaning of the term "collection", which had previously designated compilations of textual materials, expanded to refer as well to assemblages of material things, as well as on a practical level, as scholars, naturalists, and aristocrats began to reproduce their collections of natural,

¹ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1984), 37; Massimo Leone, "Wrapping Transcendence: The Semiotics of Reliquaries," *Signs and Society* 2, no. S1 (2014): 60.

antique, and wondrous objects as images within the pages of catalogues and printed books.² Hollar's *Muscarum Scarabeorum*, which as we saw in chapter 1 constitutes the first set of English natural history illustrations, offers just one example of how the items of collections were transferred as images onto paper.³ Sometimes, books such as this one could even stand in for the objects they depicted. In the same way that adroitly crafted printed representations of experimental scenes permitted a dispersed network of observers to validate scientific matters of fact,⁴ toward the end of the seventeenth century printed books containing illustrations of the contents of collections permitted scholars, antiquaries, and naturalists to both share knowledge of their curious possessions.⁵ As carefully produced depictions that steered clear of topographical illusionism, suppressed pretensions to invention or style, and foreground antique monuments, King's engraved churches and cathedrals could also stand in for their original structures. Miniaturized and condensed to the scale of the book's pages, the *Monasticon* in some senses converted immobile, dispersed ecclesiastical monuments, knowable otherwise only through extensive travel, into small, collectible objects that could be shared among, and cherished by, embattled royalist supporters of the Laudian cause.

King's prints, as we saw in chapter 2, stage dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals as containers. This manner of representation operated to recall the former functions of ecclesiastical edifices as repositories of holy objects, and to semiotically convey the sanctity of the spaces they enclosed. As a book, the *Monasticon* acts in much a similar way: since these buildings had been mostly emptied of their numinous contents during the Reformation, their fabrics were all that remained to harbor divine aura, and thus themselves required protection and enclosure. The format of this book would seem to indicate that King's prints were regarded as

² Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 1–3.

³ Wenceslaus Hollar, *Muscarum Scarabeorum, Vermiumque Varie Figure & Formae* (Antwerp: s.n., 1646).

⁴ Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton University Press, 2011), 55–69.

⁵ Martin J. S. Rudwick, *The Meaning of Fossils: Episodes in the History of Palaeontology*, University of Chicago Press (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 11; Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 87–96.

independent objects in just this manner: for instance, several of the plates that depict the longitudinal north and south façades of churches and cathedrals are oriented perpendicular to the text, forcing a reader to physically turn the tome to view them properly (fig. 3.1).⁶ The book, in other words, separates the engraved plates of ecclesiastical edifices from the pages of text, interrupting the reading process and elevating them as autonomous paper monuments to be pored over independently. By containing these vulnerable structures between its covers, it signifies the value they wielded for its audience. Akin to placing a relic in a reliquary or shrine, or depositing an antique object in a cabinet of curiosity or museum vitrine, the *Monasticon* enacts a process of enframement which, as we saw above, “insists that certain *things* ... are more ‘real’ and ‘powerful’ than other things,” through the act of “placing the valuable substance or object in a fitting container.”⁷ The *Monasticon* thus operated as a closet or cabinet of antique objects.

As an enframing device, the *Monasticon* inscribes church monuments as prized items of evidence in a historical project that seeks to authenticate the Laudian vision of religion. While Protestants in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods sought to legitimize their views by claiming to revive the doctrine and scriptural truth of the primitive Church,⁸ by the Stuart period they became more concerned with proving an unbroken line of succession from the early apostolic era to the present day.⁹ Some Protestant factions located the roots of their beliefs in medieval heretical sects such as the Albigensians, Waldesians and Lollards, but Laudians instead designated “a succession in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, which the Church of England claims from its very apostles.”¹⁰ They asserted, in other words, that the medieval Roman Church, with its

⁶ I am grateful to Kristel Smentek for pointing this out.

⁷ Cynthia Hahn, “Objects of Devotion and Desire: Relics, Reliquaries, Relation, and Response,” in *Objects of Devotion and Desire: Medieval Relic to Contemporary Art*, ed. Cynthia Hahn (New York: Hunter College of the City University of New York, 2011), 12.

⁸ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 272.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

¹⁰ Peter Heylyn, *Examen Historicum. Or, A Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities and Defects in Some Modern Histories Occasioned by the Partiality and Inadvertencies of Their Severall Authours* (London, 1659), 214; quoted in Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 305.

institutional succession of bishops, was the predecessor to the English one.¹¹ Laudians were thus obliged to exonerate the medieval Church of the evils of which it had been accused during the Reformation. They praised its high standards of piety and ceremonialism, and viewed it as “an oasis of calm ... before the storms of a Reformation which unleashed iconoclasm, rebellion, profanity, anti-clericalism, and constant confessional warfare.”¹²

The *Monasticon* presents a strident statement about the durability and longevity of the institutional, episcopal Church at a time when Laudianism was a fallen movement whose apologists were struggling to keep its ideals alive.¹³ As we have seen, dissolved monastic churches and cathedrals, those “mighty Monuments of ancient Piety,”¹⁴ are staged in the *Monasticon* as historical antiquities, and items of evidence. Within the book, they are arranged in chronological order to represent the episcopal succession of the true Church from the days of the apostles up until the Reformation. The first foundation pictured is Glastonbury Abbey, a foundation deemed to have been established by the apostle Joseph of Arimathea in the year 31, at the behest of Christ himself.¹⁵ Each of the other pictured monastic cathedrals follow in order based on the date of their foundation, forming a lineage up until the dissolution. Although the book pictures both churches and cathedrals—of which only the latter now serve as the exclusive seats of bishops—in the early Church, as Marsham’s preface explains, monasteries also served as episcopal seats. “In England,” he explains,

¹¹ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 306. Insisting on an “enduring institutional integrity” based on a succession of bishops was essential to Laudian arguments, since they had enhanced episcopal powers during the Personal Rule. *Ibid.*, 295.

¹² *Ibid.*, 318.

¹³ Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 274.

¹⁴ William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum: Or, The History of the Ancient Abbies, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, With Their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, trans. John Stevens (London: R. Harbin et al., 1718), v.

¹⁵ This was a fabricated fact intended to demonstrate that true religion came into England without bypassing the papacy in Rome. Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1717), 1. Laudians were not the only ones to make this argument: “English Protestant authors generally sought to downplay the role of the papally appointed missionary Augustine, and maintained instead that Christianity had first come to England with Joseph of Arimathea, and that the nation had been converted under the apocryphal Christian King Lucius several centuries before Augustine appeared.” Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 276.

The Original and Advancement of Christianity and of Monachism was the same ... In the infancy of our Church the Monks did not differ from the Clergy; in former Times the bishop and his Clergy us'd to reside in the Same Place as the Abbat and his Monks, and the Monks were also under the bishop's care.¹⁶

Every pictured building, therefore, acts as an artifact of true religion in England. Although not all of the foundations are pictured—indeed, the *Monasticon* numbers at over a thousand pages, yet each copy of the book contains between only fifty and sixty engraved illustrations—the pictured ecclesiastical edifices stand in as representative monuments of a long history. They function like historical objects in collections and museums, as items that stand in to metonymically signify a past era that can be known only through its fragments.¹⁷ As an ordered collection of miniaturized historical monuments, these edifices construct and legitimize a narrative about the institutional succession of the medieval Roman church, from its apostolic origins in England up until the Reformation.

Historical and Sacred Indexes

The enframement of ecclesiastical edifices in the *Monasticon* points not only to their cherished historical value, but also refers to the sacred status Laudians continued to ascribe to these monuments. The layered meaning these structures developed in the years following the Reformation, however, mirrors a larger phenomenon that saw objects move through and exert power within both sacred and secular domains.¹⁸ Daniel Woolf has suggested, for instance, that post-Reformation historical methods that foregrounded and esteemed original archives and historical antiquities may have emerged out of, and effectively replaced, the tendency to revere sacred objects before the Reformation.¹⁹ This sort of association between historical and sacred

¹⁶ Dugdale and Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

¹⁷ Stewart, *On Longing*, 154.

¹⁸ Alexandra Walsham, "The Reformation and 'The Disenchantment of the World' Reassessed," *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 2 (2008): 520–521.

¹⁹ D. R. Woolf, "The Dawn of the Artifact: The Antiquarian Impulse in England, 1500–1730," in *Medievalism in England*, ed. Leslie J. Workman, *Studies in Medievalism* 4 (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 1992), 12–16.

objects was not lost on early moderns. In a satirical caricature of the typical Stuart antiquary, John Earle (1601–1665) wrote, for example, that “a broken Statue would almost make him an Idolater,” and that he “preserves ... rags for precious Reliques.”²⁰ For seventeenth-century commentators, invoking traditional modes of relic-veneration seemed the most effective way of conveying the antiquary’s intense affection for old things. Art historians have pointed out that numinous items and cult images had other afterlives as well, often shedding their religious or supernatural connotations and transforming into art objects, idolized for their aesthetic properties.²¹ The *Monasticon*’s images cast ecclesiastical monuments in a manner informed by these gradual transitions, but also seems to arrest them, investing churches and cathedrals as they do with factual historicity and sanctity simultaneously. The concept of the index offers a useful tool for framing the associations between the historical and sacred qualities ascribed to these pictured structures.

An index, according to C. S. Peirce, is a class of sign that references the presence of an object or being beyond itself by virtue of having come into a physical relationship with it, most often one of contact. It exists “in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand.”²² Scholars often invoke the concept of the Peircean index to articulate the powers of relics and sacred objects,²³ and it is similarly helpful in thinking about the functions ascribed to churches and cathedrals in the *Monasticon*. For Laudians, the ecclesiastical

²⁰ John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie*, 6th ed. (London, 1633); Daniel Woolf, “Images of the Antiquary in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1717–2007*, ed. Susan M. Peirce (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 19.

²¹ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 458–459; David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 409; Carol Duncan, “Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 90–92; Finbarr Barry Flood, “Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm, and the Museum,” *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (2002): 641–59, doi:10.2307/3177288.

²² Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, ed. Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss, vol. II: Elements of Logic (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 170.

²³ For two recent examples, see Hahn, “Objects of Devotion and Desire,” 13; Leone, “Wrapping Transcendence,” 55.

edifice functioned as an index because it had once enclosed a collection of much smaller indexes—such as holy relics, interred bodies, and the host—that were once, and sometimes still, regarded as powerful channels to the spirits of saints, holy beings, even Christ himself.²⁴ Since these items had the power to transmit their sacred auras to things with which they entered into contact or close proximity, the objects in their direct vicinity, most immediately their containing reliquaries, and then the church building itself, could also take on and harbor their hallowed qualities.²⁵ The church structure was also indexical as it offered a conduit to God’s divine presence, and circumscribed a space suffused with His divine presence. As depicted in the *Monasticon*’s plates, then, the church or cathedral served as a mediating index between the profane world and the divine presence it contained, and also belonged to a chain of indexes that were anchored in relics, interred saints, and the Eucharist, things which themselves referred to the divine realm and its beings. King’s representations reveal that the depicted structures were construed as indexical objects that allowed worshippers to engage in a relationship with the divine.

To Dugdale and the antiquaries of his generation, historical objects were taking on the indexical capabilities that holy items had long exercised. Antiquities, or what we now called artifacts, are those objects that were produced in a former time, and stand as surviving historical traces that permit beholders mental access to the past era from which they descend. Dugdale, King, and the antiquaries of his generation fixated on old objects precisely because they served as authenticating indexes of past events, institutions, or customs onto which they sought to graft their own beliefs and positions. Meric Casaubon (1599–1671), the French-English classical scholar, meditated on this unique power of old objects:

²⁴ Hahn, “Objects of Devotion and Desire,” 13.

²⁵ Reliquaries stood as symbols for their contents, but as we saw in chapter 2, they also sometimes replaced them: after the Reformation, many reliquaries and shrines could still retain a former relic’s intercessory powers. Alexandra Walsham, “Introduction: Relics and Remains,” *Past & Present* 206, no. Supplement 5 (January 1, 2010): 12, doi:10.1093/pastj/gtq026.

Antiquaries are so taken with the sight of old things; not as doting (as I take it) upon the bare either form or matter (though both oftentimes be very notable in old things); but because those visible superviving evidences of antiquities represent unto their minds former times, with as strong an impression, as if they were actually present, and in sight as it were; even as old men looke gladly upon those things, that they were wont to see, or have beene otherwise used unto in their younger yeares, as enjoying those yeares again in some sort, in those visible and palpable remembrances.²⁶

As the “superviving evidences” of bygone historical moments, antiquities operate as powerful objects that can open a window onto a past world and connect a beholder to the antique item’s original context.²⁷ They were possessed of a power to transport the mind of a spectator back in time, aiding in the mental visualization of past moments. The ecclesiastical structures featured in the *Monasticon* are the rare survivals of the fabric of the monastic past, and, as we have seen, function for Dugdale and the interregnum Laudian community as material evidence of the institutional succession of reverent, episcopal religion in England which they wished to reinstate. They were regarded to act as historical indexes that permitted access to the facts of history, a notion evidenced as strongly by Laudian aspirations to connect with them through acts of transcription, collection, and possession, as it was by Puritanical desires to cast it off through acts of destruction. Although historical objects at this moment had begun to take on the indexical status of sacred ones, however, they also began to alter it. Historical indexes, after all, refer to specific temporal circumstances, while sacred ones served as channels to saints or holy figures, and by extension to God, who transcends and exists outside of time. Nevertheless, the authenticating power of contact, of physical contiguity, remained, and seemingly informed the logic of historical objects, as well as the ways in which spectators engaged with them.

The Reformation has long been framed as a milestone on the road to modernity.²⁸

According to this narrative, perhaps most famously articulated in the early twentieth century by the German sociologist Max Weber in his book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of*

²⁶ Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise of Use and Custome* (London, 1638), 97–98.

²⁷ Woolf, “Images of the Antiquary,” 19.

²⁸ The following section has been informed by Walsham’s article, “The Reformation and ‘The Disenchantment of the World’ Reassessed.”

Capitalism, Protestant doctrine discredited assumptions about the immanence of the holy and corroded beliefs in superstition and the supernatural, spelling the “disenchantment of the world” and paving the way for a purified, secular rationality.²⁹ This thesis, however, has been challenged in recent decades. Revisionist studies have pointed out that the body of exalted clerical ideals and theological doctrines promulgated by those on the *avant-garde* of religious change never fully percolated down to all levels of society, while the populations whom it did reach sometimes resisted the new tenets, reluctant as they were to relinquish what were essentially Catholic customs and observances that had shaped life for centuries.³⁰

The arguments of this thesis align with scholarship that seeks to qualify the notion that the Protestant Reformation heralded a new, demystified era. I have cast the *Monasticon Anglicanum* as an object informed both by long-held mentalities about the localization of the divine on earth, as well as by newly emergent practices, such as intellectual engagements with material evidence and matters of fact in the domain of history. This study highlights how these two outlooks fruitfully coexisted, and were indeed positively implicated with one another. This is discernable on the level of the engraved image. King’s graphic methods align as if in lockstep with contemporary regimes of visual truth, yet the sheer existence of these plates during an iconoclastic era marked by immense political and religious strife, coupled with the manner in which they cast their principle architectural subjects, evidence long-held beliefs about the numinous status of ecclesiastical monuments and the immanence of the divine. This rich, yet often overlooked collection of complex images can open a window onto the origins of the evidential and authenticating powers we have come to ascribe to physical things such as monuments, and may reveal the historical—and sacred—origins of more recognizably modern habits of mind.

²⁹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (Allen & Unwin, 1930), 125; Walsham has pointed out that this version translates the German phrase, “*entzauberung der welt*” as “the elimination of magiv from the world.” See her article, “The Reformation and ‘The Disenchantment of the World’ Reassessed,” 498.

³⁰ Walsham, “The Reformation and ‘The Disenchantment of the World’ Reassessed,” 514–515.

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