MODES OF VISUAL BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE LUTHERAN AND COUNTER REFORMATIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

The images produced by artists during the Lutheran and Counter Reformations of the sixteenth century employed different modes of visually interpreting biblical texts. In Lutheran images in Germany, there was a dedicated focus on the literal representation of biblical texts. In Counter-Reformation Italy, paintings of biblical texts often contained extraneous additions that did not appear in the biblical narratives. Building on this hypothesis, my thesis identifies and addresses this question: How do these distinctive visual exegetical strategies correlate with the groups' conflicting understandings of the status and interpretation of the Bible?

The Lutheran Reformers upheld the Bible with sole revelatory authority, fuelled by the trajectory of *sola scriptura,* and produced images that clearly illustrated biblical narratives and incorporated textual references from the Bible. Contrastingly, the Counter-Reformists in Italy understood that it was 'scripture and tradition' that determined the rules of Christian faith and paintings can be seen to incorporate narrative additions to sustain the Church's traditions and doctrines. Through the in-depth analysis of visual case studies from the two groups, this research proposes that the methods of visually interpreting biblical texts and themes are representative of the Lutheran understanding of *sola scriptura* and the Counter-Reformation position of 'scripture and tradition'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF IMAGES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis unites two conversations relevant to the splintering of the Christian Church in sixteenth-century Europe. The first is the diverging beliefs regarding the status and interpretation of the Bible. Martin Luther (1483-1546) and the Protestant Reformers upheld the Bible with sole revelatory authority and challenged the infallibility of Church tradition and papacy, while the Catholic Church maintained the position that it was by the synergy of the Bible and historical ecclesiastic traditions that we received God's revelation. The Bible was thus read and interpreted in different ways, by the idea of *sola scriptura* or through the lens of 'scripture and tradition'. The second conversation regards the use of images during the period. The use and veneration of images instituted by the Catholic Church was variably challenged by Protestant Reformers. While most claimed that Catholicism's use of images was idolatrous, some saw that images could be reformed and put to positive use. Luther was one of these individuals and believed that images could be incorporated and used for the benefits of his campaign, so long as they were solely confined within educational parameters. Confronted with these varying levels of challenge towards their production of images, the Catholic Church remained consistent with their intention to use images for educational *and* devotional benefits. In combining these two issues and analysing their interests, I will examine images of the Lutheran and Counter Reformations and argue how they visualize the groups' alternative understandings of the Bible.

I am approaching this study from a primarily biblical perspective, but this research intends to demonstrate the opportunity for interdisciplinary dialogue made possible by biblical reception history. This relatively new approach in biblical studies focuses on the way in which the Bible, its texts and themes have been received and interpreted during history. Unlike the methods of historical criticism, the reception history of the Bible does not confine itself to the socio-historical context in which the biblical texts were written, nor does it focus on the original author. Instead, it centres on the influence of the Bible during its long and diverse interpretative history. In terms of clarifying what constitutes biblical reception history, Ulrich Luz, whose contributions to the field of biblical reception history are exceptional, writes the following:

The study of reception history includes non-scholarly interpretations of the Bible in prayers, hymns and all kinds of pious literature. It includes also literature: poems, novels etc. Beyond this, the interpretation of the Bible in visual arts, music, dance, private or political activities, wars and peace, ethics, institutions and institutional texts, suffering and martyrdom is the object of studies of reception history.[1]

Biblical reception history is concerned with the interpretation of the Bible in all manifestations, including as Luz argues, the visual arts. Reception history therefore provides an appropriate platform for me to execute a comparative analysis of the interpretation of the Bible in images produced in the Lutheran Reformation and in the Counter-Reformation.

Before focussing more on the reception-historical approach and the appropriation of the methodology for this thesis, it would be beneficial to provide further introduction to the prominent terms I will using in this study. The two designations, 'Lutheran Reformation' and 'Counter-Reformation' will be used with great frequency as they designate the two alternative groups I am concerned with.[2] The first of these will be used in reference to the campaign initiated by Martin Luther and will not be confused with the wider Protestant Reformation that was formed of various figures and ideologies. Luther's more positive attitude towards the production and use of biblical images, which contrasted iconoclasts such as Andreas Karlstadt (1486-1541), Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) and John Calvin (1509-1564), encouraged a genre of art associated with the Lutheran movement to emerge; first in Luther's pamphlets and Bible translations, and later in his reformed churches. It is these Lutheran images that I will be analysing in Part I, with respect to the way they visually interpret the Bible. The selection of Lutheran images found in this thesis is confined to their production in Germany.

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[1] Ulrich Luz, "The Contribution of Reception History to a Theology of the New Testament," in *The Nature of New Testament Theology: Essays in Honour of Robert Morgan,* ed. Christopher Rowland and Christopher Tuckett (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 129-30.
[2] For an overview of the issues regarding the definitions of the reformations, see C. Scott Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation* (Oxford: Wiley & Blackwell, 2012), 8-33.

The second term, Counter-Reformation, is significantly more problematic and has been the object of increased debate in the last few decades. This enlarged interest in appropriate reformation terminology correlates with evidence of a growth in historical scholarship on Counter-Reformation Catholicism.

> Serious historians of Christianity of the early modern period had until recently little interest in Catholicism as a subject of research. The Renaissance, they believed, was theologically vacuous, only superficially Christian, and the so-called Counter-Reformation was a restoration of the worst aspects of the Middle Ages, interesting only insofar as it threw light on the Protestant.[3]

The increase in Catholic study lends itself to a more detectable acknowledgement that the Counter-Reformation was not a singular attempt to restore conformity, but an intricate and complex re-establishing of the central doctrines of the Catholic faith.[4] While the Protestant Reformation has received a vast and highly complex historiography from a multitude of cross-disciplinary perspectives, it is only in recent years that we find a dedicated interest in Catholicism's response to it. Among this scholarship is the recurring debate regarding the appropriate designation for the Catholic response, with division over the terms Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation. I will not be entering into these debates in this thesis, but I would refer the reader to the arguments that are set out in detail in John O'Malley in *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (2002) and Hubert Jedin's '"Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?" in David Luebke's *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings* (1999). My chosen term will be Counter-Reformation, supported by the arguments put forward by O'Malley and Jedin that the Counter-Reformation is the title that designates the official reaction to the challenge of Protantism. As this study is an exploration of both Lutheran *and* Catholic images, this seems like the most suitable designation.

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[3] John O'Mally (1999) cited by Marcia B. Hall, "Introduction," in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church,* eds. Marcia B. Hall and Tracy Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2.
[4] Hall, "Introduction", 2-3.

Having very briefly introduced the basic methodological and contextual premises of the thesis, the rest of Chapter 1 will be divided into three sections. The first will deal in detail with the methodology of biblical reception history and the incorporation of the visual arts into biblical studies by this method. A number of key sources will be identified, commented upon, and appropriated into the context of the study. I will then address the fundamental differences in the understanding of the Bible in the Lutheran Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. I will focus on defining Martin Luther's term *sola scriptura* and compare it to Catholicism's understanding of 'scripture and tradition'. This will serve as a comparative analysis of the authority that was given to the Bible during the period, which will help us as we come to investigate the interpretation of the Bible in Lutheran and Counter-Reformation images. Finally, before commencing with the main body of the discussion, I will provide a brief outline of the overall structure and a description of how the research in this thesis has been organised.

1.1 Methodology

The trajectory of biblical reception history is grounded in the philosophies of Hans George Gadamer and his work on *Wirkungsgeschichte,* most appropriately translated as "effective history".[5] In order that we may come to a formed comprehension of this term and what it means in the context of this study, the beginning of the following section will focus on defining Gadamer's hermeneutical principle and the way in which it was developed to form the basis of biblical reception history. This will involve identifying the leading scholars in the field and a number of the most significant publications. Leading on from the general scholarship that has been executed on reception history in biblical studies, I will provide an overview of the current literature that studies the reception of the Bible in images.

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[5] Ian Boxall and Christopher Rowland, "Reception Criticism and Theory" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 207.

1.1.1 Reception History: Roots, Definition, and Contribution

Reception history finds its roots in *Wirkungsgeschichte,* a term first used in Gadamer's *Truth and Method* (1960), a work concerned with philosophical hermeneutics. *Truth and Method* provided a theoretical description of the process of understanding and our relationship to history.[6] Despite its use in contemporary exegetical methods, the work was not intended to provide an innovative, functioning system with which to read texts; Gadamer states that himself, "I am not saying that historical inquiry should develop inquiry into the history of effect as a kind of inquiry separate from understanding the work itself. The requirement is of a more theoretical kind".[7] Although Gadamer's *Wirkungsgeschichte* is the basis for the philosophy of some practical exegetical studies, a number of scholars have contributed to the formation and refinement of the concept in preparation for its active use.

Wirkungsgeschichte is concerned with the effect that context has on our understanding. In order to exemplify the concept, Gadamer uses the metaphor of "fusion of horizons".[8] A horizon is constructed by an individual and their interior and exterior conditions. A person sees everything from their perspective within the horizon; "The horizon is the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point".[9] It is possible for an individual to see past their horizon, and thus create a 'fusion' with another horizon; a horizon, for example, of a text. Tradition plays an important role in the "fusion of horizons", as Gadamer considers an individual's horizon to be constructed by their inner conditions and 'outside' experiences in the world. When an individual's horizon fuses with the horizons of a text, the interpretation of the work is entirely bound to who the individual is, their tradition and history. Sasaki states, "Because the hermeneutics considers it impossible for an interpreter to read a text in itself. He can read it only under the restriction by his own prejudice."[10] The text, therefore, comes to have altered

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[6] Boxall and Rowland, "Reception Criticism and Theory", 207.
[7] Hans George Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald Marshall (London: Sheed & Ward, 1975), 278.
[8] Rachel Nicholls, *Walking on the water: reading Mt. 14:22-33 in the light of its Wirkungsgeschichte* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 8.
[9] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 278
[10] Kazuya Sasaki, "A Process of the Fusion of Horizons in the Text Interpretation", 46. Accessed on 04/06/2017, https://www.gcoe.lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp/eng/result/pdf/08_SASAKI.pdf

meanings for people as it is being read across different contexts. In using *Wirkungsgeschichte* as a way of reading texts, it is possible to trace the 'effects' the text has had during its history. The shift from examining and historicizing a text, like in historical-critical methods, to examining the effect of a text on its readers, is eloquently summarised by Nicholls, "The question would be changed from "What was the function of this text for its first readers?" to "How has this text actually been used and interpreted within different groups through history?" In other words, "How has it actually functioned?""[11]

The potential of *Wirkungsgeschichte* in the sphere of biblical studies was realised largely by Hans Robert Jauss. In Jauss' "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory" (1970), he argues, like Gadamer, for the essential participation of the reader in the formation of meaning, contending that meaning is absent from a text until it is met by a reader.[12] Gadamer's influence on Jauss' work, which Beal deems "difficult to overestimate"[13], is evident in his repetition and development of the concept of the fusion of the horizons of work and reader.[14] Like Gadamer, he argues that a person's unique traditions form their horizon, meaning their conditions and prejudices cannot be detached from them as they read a text. In exchange for Gadamer's *Wirkungsgeschichte*, Jauss coins the term reception history. Although there is evidence in scholarship for the interchangeable use of the terms, there is a distinction that can be made. Reception history holds concern for how texts are read and interpreted in various forms throughout history, whereas *Wirkungsgeschichte* reflects more on the ability of a text to have an effect and influence on a person, community or context.[15] Under the apprehension of this slight distinction, I will be reflecting predominately on reception history, as I will be looking at examples where biblical texts and themes were purposefully sought out, read and visually interpreted.[16]

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[11] Nicholls, *Walking on the water,* 18

[12] Hans R. Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," *New Literary History* 1 (1970): 8.

[13] Timothy Beal, "Reception History", *Biblical Interpretation* 19, no. 4-5 (2011): 363

[14] Mark Knight, "Wirkungsgeschichte, Reception History, Reception Theory". *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 33, no. 2 (2010): 138.

[15] Christopher Rowland, "What is reception history?" in *Searching for Meaning: An Introduction to Interpreting the New Testament,* ed. Paula Gooder (London: SPCK, 2009), 111.

[16] Boxall and Rowland, "Reception Criticism and Theory", 207.

The development of reception history in the field of biblical studies during recent years has been significant. Definitions of both *Wirkungsgeschichte* and reception history are increasingly apparent in biblical hermeneutical dictionaries and the concept has seen deliberation and expansion far beyond Gadamer's original intentions. Furthermore, the presence of *Wirkungsgeschichte* and reception history has not been confined to theoretical implications; the process of tracing the historical journey of biblical texts has been actualised. Beginning with Ulrich Luz's influential scholarship on the Gospel of Matthew[17], which further embedded reception into the discipline of biblical studies, and the *Blackwell Bible Commentaries* (2003-2017) which sees an ever-increasing collection of publications, the popularity of the history of biblical reception has grown annually.[18] Its gains in the field, which are not without debate, promise the furthering of interdisciplinary dialogue between biblical studies and the wider realm of the humanities. *The Encyclopaedia of the Bible and Its Reception* (2009-2017) is a particularly momentous body of research and is the most thorough and extensive biblical reception collection in contemporary academia. Building upon the earlier work of Luz, the encyclopaedia focuses on the receptions of the Bible in a vast array of manifestations, including literature, archaeology and the performing arts. The reference collection captures the interdisciplinary and interreligious interests of the reception-historical approach.

Other works include Exum and Clines' annual journal *Biblical Reception* (2012-2017) and *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* (2011). Both are dedicated to the transmigration of biblical texts in different contexts throughout history and the development of their multivalent meaning in the face of different receptors. Alongside these publications - which most basically take on the form of groups of individual case studies from the Bible's long and enduring journey of multivalent meaning - there are longitudinal studies, such as John Lyons' *Joseph of Arimathea: A Study of Reception History* (2014), Yvonne Sherwood's *A Biblical Text and Its Afterlives: The Survival of Jonah in Western Culture* (2000) and Rachel Nicholls' *Walking on the Water: Reading Mt 14:22-33 in the Light of Its Wirkungsgeschichte*

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[17] Ulrich Luz, *Studies in Matthew,* trans. Rosemary Selle (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005); Luz, *Matthew: A Commentary* (Volumes 1-3) (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989-2005); Luz, *Matthew in History: Interpretation, Influence and Effects* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).
[18] Beal, "Reception History", 360.

*(*2008). These monographs show a specialised interest in the journey of a particular biblical character or narrative and are instances where the theory of reception most effectively draws attention to the diversity of interpretations produced from the same biblical tradition. In a similar way, scholars have used the method of biblical reception to analyse specific books of the Bible. Revelation, for example, has received significant attention from modern scholars who have approached the book with the intention of outlining a range of examples of the diverse journeys Revelation texts have had throughout their history. These include Judith Kovacs and Christopher Rowland's *Revelation* (2004) and Ian Boxall and Richard Tresley's co-edited collection entitled *The Book of Revelation and Its Interpreters* (2016).

Interestingly for this research, in a number of these studies we find a keen interest in artistic interpretations of the specific biblical texts. Lyons offers a range of visual examples of Joseph of Arimathea in his third chapter, 'The Renaissance Joseph', as well as studying other visual manifestations including Joseph's cinematic appearances for the character's reception in the twentieth century. In her monograph on Matthew 14:22-33, Nicholls' contributes a chapter to looking at the "visual effects" of the narrative at different points in history. In a similar way, Natasha O'Hear's "Seeing the Apocalypse: Pre-1700 Interpretation of Revelation" in Boxall and Tresley's collection on the reception history of Revelation focusses solely on visualizations of a number of the apocalyptic narratives found in the book. In each of these examples there is a perceptible understanding that interpretations of the Bible can be found in a multitude of different expressions. This reiterates the claims of Ulrich Luz cited at the beginning of this chapter on what constitutes reception history, on which he writes, "prayers, hymns and all kinds of pious literature […] poems, novels […] visual arts, music, dance, private or political activities, wars and peace, ethics, institutions and institutional texts, suffering and martyrdom"[19]. The literature I have just outlined contains examples of biblical reception in art, or at least acknowledge visualizations of biblical texts as contributable to their reception history, but I have reserved the most relevant and influential literature to look at in more detail.

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[19] Luz, "The Contribution of Reception History to a Theology of the New Testament", 129-30.

1.1.2 Reception history of the Bible in the visual arts

Narrowing down the vast body of biblical reception-historical studies, I move on to look at a more specific strand of research, that being scholarship surrounding the reception of the Bible in images and specifically the methodologies that have been developed in order to achieve this. I begin with Paolo Berdini's *Jacopo Bassano: Painting as Visual Exegesis* (1994), undoubtedly the most relevant piece of literature for my research. Berdini argues that images of biblical texts and themes are non-textual interpretations that convey a particular *reading* of a narrative. He writes:

> Painting visualizes a reading and not a text, for the relationship between a text and its visualization has to take into account the circumstances under which that text is read in addition to what makes it the object of the particular interest (or attention) that might result in visualization.[20]

Having previously looked at Gadamer's *Wirkungsegschichte* and the hypothesis that texts are variably received across different contexts depending on the reader, it is clear to see the similarities between the two authors. Berdini's book actually mentions Gadamer's *Truth and Method* in the footnotes, in reference to the dynamic relationship between the text and the occasion on which it is being read. The interpretation is entirely dependent on the reader's context. This is particularly true of the construction of artistic interpretations, as artists have to face occasions where biblical narratives are lacking in specific detail. For example, some biblical texts may be deficient in an expression of time or location; "It [*the interpretation*] may […] find limitations in the text, where it supplies information considered indeterminate, and the painter, like the reader, is pressured to supplement it".[21] The artist is faced with the responsibility of padding out this information and constructing a scene that is to be conceptually understandable. What this artistic interpretation then means is that the biblical text has been expanded. Not only has the information been interpreted but fragments of information that are lacking, the indeterminacies, in the biblical narratives are created

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[20] Paolo Berdini, *Jacopo Bassano: Painting as Visual Exegesis* (Ann Arboer: U.M.I., 1994), 5
[21] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis,* 13.

by the vision of the artist. The painting that is shaped by this visual exegesis is in an expanded form.

Not only does his innovation of 'visual exegesis' provide a platform for the association between biblical texts and images, but Berdini's book bears particular relevance due to the period with which his research is concerned. As the title would suggest, the book is based on the work of Jacapo Bassano, a sixteenth century Venetian artist. In his lengthy introduction, "From Text to Artist", Berdini establishes the context of the Lutheran and Counter-Reformation debates regarding images, and addresses the difference in the groups' visual interpretations of biblical texts. In Berdini's words, Luther held the position that, "Like the word, the image had to be secured in its literality, precluded in its expansion, and politicized in its use".[22] Taking this hypothesis further, I will argue in this thesis that the intention for images in Luther's campaign is representative of his reading and interpretation of the Bible. As I will be demonstrating in 1.2.1, Luther promoted the 'literal' meaning of scripture, which he believed he himself had rediscovered.[23] Luther's exegetical strategy meant that he did not read the Bible through the history of Church tradition, but by the concept of *sola scriptura*. The Bible's authority as the Word of God could not be equalled or expanded and this was to be reflected in the images of his campaign. In contrast to Luther's understanding on the purpose of images, Berdini puts forward the following statement regarding sixteenth-century Italy: "Contrary to the case for Reformation Germany, visual culture in Italy was intended to play an important role in the expansion of the [*biblical*] text". Berdini argues that unlike images in Germany, visual culture in Italy was used to expand and develop the legacy of biblical texts and themes. I understand that this pertains to Catholicism's understanding of the authority of 'scripture *and* tradition'. In using biblical texts and themes as a stimulus for their visual interpretation, artists were able to incorporate into their images elements of Church tradition and dogma. This will be more fully explained in Part II.

Berdini provides a foundation for identifying the different interpretations of the Bible in the images produced in Germany and in Italy during the reformations. The difference

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[22] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis*, 18
[23] Peter Matheson, "Luther on Galatians" in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* ed. Michael Lieb et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 622.

is distinguished between the want for close biblical representation in contrast to the intentional expansion of the text. Berdini therefore supplies a pivotal trajectory for this research, which I intend to take a step further by correlating the two methods of visual exegesis with the positions of *sola scriptura* and 'scripture and tradition'.

Although Berdini's work on the distinction between Lutheran images and sixteenth-century Italian images is an essential component in this research, it is his concept of 'visual exegesis', which can be more widely applied to all biblical images, that has had a recognized effect on the way in which biblical scholars have since engaged with visualizations of biblical narratives and themes. In a chapter entitled "The Artist as Reader of the Bible" in *Painting the Text: The Artist as Biblical Interpreter* (2007), Martin O'Kane refers to Gadamer and Berdini to set up his research methodology; in a similar way, I have drawn on both of these scholars to support the way in which I intend to treat the relationship between images and biblical texts. O'Kane supports Berdini's idea that images represent contextualized interpretations of biblical subjects that cannot be detached from the conditions of their production and context. O'Kane's monograph then continues with an examination of several biblical texts and their visual afterlives, throughout referring to both Berdini and Gadamer to elicit the interpretation of biblical texts in images and the contribution of them to the texts' effective histories.

Another scholar who merits mention here is Cheryl Exum, whose work is dedicated predominately to the reception history of biblical texts in visual art forms. In an essay entitled "Toward a Genuine Dialogue between the Bible and Art" (2010) Exum draws on Berdini's hypothesis that artists make interpretative decisions when depicting a biblical text. Their visual exegetical strategies can therefore destabilize and challenge our understandings of biblical narratives; "art can enhance our understanding and appreciation of the biblical text, but it can also bring a critical dimension; it can point to problematic aspects of the text and help us 'see' things about the text we might have overlooked, or enable us to see things differently".[24] This is a theme that resonates in some of Exum's other works, including the introduction to her co-edited collection with

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[24] Cheryl Exum, "Toward a Genuine Dialogue between the Bible and Art" in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Marrti Nissinen (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 474; In clarification of the title of her essay, Exum writes, "By a 'genuine dialogue' between the Bible and art, I have in mind a dialogue in which the biblical text and biblical art play an equal and critical role in the process of interpreting each other" (473).

Ela Nutu, *The Bible and the Canvas in Dialogue* (2007) and her monograph *Plotted, Shot, and Painted* (1996); each establish the value of studying visual interpretations for our critical analysis of biblical texts. Furthermore, in *Plotted, Shot, and Painted*, Exum is exceptionally clear on the way in which she approaches biblical paintings, ensuring her reader is aware of her decision to avoid art-historical conversations. For Exum, the images are reflected on in order to shed light on the reception of female biblical characters, therefore dedication to the artist is certainly not a key component of her research. Exum's approach to the images is purely semiotic, bearing more of an emphasis on what the interpretations say about the biblical women and their reception tradition.

A final piece of literature to highlight is a study by Jane Boyd, a Fine Art practitioner, and Philip F. Esler, a biblical scholar, entitled *Visuality and Biblical Text: Interpreting Velázquez's 'Christ with Martha and Mary' as a Test Case* (2004). As a biblical studies student whose area of research is gradually incorporating elements of religious art history, I found the collaboration between Boyd and Esler remarkably insightful and illuminating. Their study emerged from a context where "the issue of suitable methodologies for interpreting paintings with a biblical dimension had become a pressing question".[25] Boyd and Esler proposed the integration of the two academic fields and based their study on the understanding that in interpreting biblical subject matters, artists are, in essence, "biblical critic[s]". [26] *Visuality and Biblical Text* centers around one image, *Christ with Martha and Mary* (National Gallery, London, 1618) by Velázquez and organizes the research into various distinctive sections. Each chapter focusses on a specific aspect of the dialogue between *Velázquez*'s visual interpretation and the biblical subject, focusing in turn on the biblical text itself, the social context of the artist, the historical environment in which it was written, and the effect of the final composition and its relationship with the original written text. In focusing on one image in considerable detail, Boyd and Esler provide a comprehensive study on Velázquez's visual biblical interpretation. They hope that the

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[25] Jane Boyd and Philip F. Esler, *Visuality and Biblical Text: Interpreting Velázquez' 'Christ with Martha and Mary' as a Test Case.* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2004), 7.
[26] Boyd and Esler, *Visuality and Biblical Text*, 9; This bares distinctive similarities to the work of Paolo Berdini but surprisingly he is not included by Boyd and Esler in their study, despite their approaches bearing exceptional comparisons in their understanding that artists are more than just illustrators of biblical texts.

impact of their study may be that the "possibility emerges of a two-way traffic, with art historians turning to biblical interpretation, and biblical exegetes turning to great Western paintings on biblical themes!".[27] Through the continued growth of reception-historical studies that centre on visual interpretations, this interdisciplinary engagement is certainly an exciting prospect.

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This overview of relevant literature has collated a portion of the dominant research, but it has by no means exhausted all the studies that are methodologically contributable to this study. Each differ in emphasis, with some focussing more on artists and images and others on what the artists interpretation means for the text's reception history. By setting out the leading scholarship, I have contextualised this thesis into a specific field of study that centres on viewing visual biblical images as interpretations by specific artists and contexts.

The visual biblical interpretations that I am concerned with in this research were produced in Germany and Italy in the sixteenth century, with the first being products of Lutheran invention and the second of Counter-Reformation. In order to answer the central research question ("How do these distinctive visual exegetical strategies correlate with the groups' conflicting understandings of the status and interpretation of the Bible?"), we must first identify and outline the distinguishing features of the Lutheran and Counter-Reformation understandings of the Bible and draw out the similarities, but most importantly, the differences in their views. The following section of this introductory chapter will do just this, in order that we might grasp the features of biblical interpretation that may be visualized in the selected images.

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[27] Boyd and Esler, *Visuality and Biblical Text*, 9.

1.2 Biblical interpretation in the context

> How does man come to a knowledge of what God has revealed? That was the really fundamental question that sundered the unity of the seamless robe of Christ's Church at the time of the Reformation.[28]

I have chosen to begin this section with a quote from Sylvester O'Brien that captures a pivotal point of contention in sixteenth-century Western Christianity. From this statement, I pose a number of leading questions regarding the status of the Bible: did the Bible alone possess the revelation of God? Or was knowledge of God to be found also in the traditions of the Church? Not only was the status of the Bible important, but there was also the issue of how the Bible should be interpreted.[29] Therefore, some more questions are presented: Who can read and interpret the Bible? Is it the vocation of many, or is it singularly through the mediating channel of the Church, headed by the infallible interpretative authority of the Pope?

I pose these questions at the beginning of this chapter to contextualise the issue of the status and interpretation of the Bible in the sixteenth century. I do not intend to mislead the reader into thinking that such vast and contentious matters can be answered here. Therefore, before offering an analysis of the positions of '*sola scriptura*' and 'scripture and tradition', I feel it important to state that the subject of this chapter is deserving of much greater and more focussed scholarship than can be accomplished in this chapter. The terms are certainly ones that in the context of this research need defining, but the complexities and nuances that are attached to the terms require more expansive analysis. The terms have often been established as a dichotomy, as an 'either'/'or' scenario, but this is not necessarily the case. For example, Luther's understanding of *sola scriptura* did not render the paradigm of the authority of the Church vacant. In a similar way, at no point did the Catholic Church see the Bible as anything less than authoritatively revelatory. The positions of Luther and the Catholic Church bore similarities and differences. This chapter will simply suggest a couple of the distinctive thoughts in the understanding of the status and

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[28] Sylvester O'Brien, "Scripture and Tradition: A Problem of the Council," *The Furrow* 14, no. 5 (1963): 303.

[29] Keith A. Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura*. (Moscow: Canon Press, 2001), 85.

interpretation of the Bible for Luther and for the Counter-Reformers. These ideas will be drawn upon in the proceeding chapters, as I argue the understanding of the Bible held by the groups are represented in their respective images.

I will begin with the views of Martin Luther, drawing on a number of statements he made himself regarding the status and interpretation of the Bible. Following this, I will outline the position held by the Counter-Reformers by looking at relevant decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the occasion where the challenges facing the Church were officially answered. The congress of Catholic representatives who met intermittently at Trent did so with the intention to reunify the quickly fragmenting church and settle disagreements. The location of Council in this region in Northern Italy, near the border to Germany was chosen with the intention that German Reformers would attend.[30] The Church's wishes were to no avail, and hopes for reconciliation were dashed.

1.2.1 Lutheran Reformation: *sola scriptura*

During my research for this preliminary chapter, it became increasingly evident that it would be challenging to establish a concise historiography of Luther's understanding of the Bible within the parameters of this study. Scholarship surrounding his use and interpretation of the Bible is vast and far outreaches literature dedicated to that of the Counter-Reformation Church. This is an appropriate reflection on the respective precedence given to the Bible by Luther and the Catholic Church, as Cameron argues: "It would be hard to sustain the argument that Scripture played the sort of decisive, foreground role in Catholicism that it did in Lutheranism".[31] Protestants believed scripture was the authority that all other human-established agencies, of Church tradition and governance, needed to conform.[32]

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[30] Marcia B. Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art.* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), 20.
[31] Euan Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation" in *The Blackwell Companion to Bible and Culture*, ed. John F. A. Sawyer. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2012), 89-90.
[32] D. Bergant, "Catholic Biblical Interpretation" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Stephen L. McKenzie (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 86.

The premise that the Bible was the single source of divine revelatory authority cannot be rendered as innovative to sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers, not even their figurehead Luther. Pelikan writes,

> In Luther's day there were several theories of biblical inspiration being taught by various theologians, and the doctrine of the supreme authority if not the sole authority, of the Scriptures was widely acknowledged by Medieval scholastic theologians. The church did not need a Luther to tell it that the Bible was true.[33]

Despite his frequent characterization as the conceptualiser of *sola scriptura*, the doctrine of scriptural authority had been a concept circulating within the Church long before Luther vocalised his position.[34] Evidence of it is found in the writings of the Church fathers; Irenaeus (130-202 AD), "We have received the disposition of our salvation by no others, but those by whom the Gospel came to us; which they then preached, and afterwards by God's will delivered to us in the Scriptures, to be the pillar and ground of our faith"[35], Hippolytus (170-235 AD), "There is one God, whom we do not otherwise acknowledge, brethren, but out of the Sacred Scriptures […] so whosoever will exercise piety towards God, can learn it nowhere but from the Holy Scriptures"[36] and Augustine (354-430 AD), "For holy Scripture setteth a rule to our teaching, that we dare not "be wise more than it behoveth to be wise" [*Rom. 12:3*]".[37] The authority of the Bible has been grounded since the Church's early history. In the above statements, the Bible is seen as the single agency from which one can know what God has revealed. This was acknowledged by Luther, who captured the scriptural vigour of his campaign by saying, "Back to the Bible, to Augustine and to the

[33] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Obedient Rebels: Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation*, (London: SCM Press, 1964), 21.

[34] Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura*, 84.

[35] Irenaeus, "Lib. II c.47" in *Sola Scriptura and the Church Fathers*, compiled by Joel Herndon. Accessed on 04/07/2017, www.contra-mundum.org/essays/herndon/jh_scriptura.pdf

[36] Hippolytus, "adv. Noetum, c. IX" in *Sola Scriptura and the Church Fathers*, compiled by Joel Herndon. Accessed on 04/07/2017, www.contra-mundum.org/essays/herndon/jh_scriptura.pdf

[37] Augustine, "On the Good of Widowhood" in *Sola Scriptura: The Bible alone is enough,* compiled by Steve Rudd. Accessed on 04/06/2017, www.bible.ca/sola-scriptura-apostolic-fathers-augustine.htm.

Church fathers!"[38] In this respect, Luther is evidently showing his sense of a continuing adherence to what had been put forward by the Church fathers.

In the context of Luther's campaign, then, what did *sola scriptura* look like? It would seem that when mentioned, *sola scriptura* appears as a "self-evident principle".[39] Despite his attitude towards embracing Scripture as the single infallible authority and the fount from which all Church principles should derive, Luther did not provide a biblical justification or distinct argument to support it. Rix writes, "It is perhaps best described as a slogan, for he never attempts to justify it, and his use of it is primarily polemical, in his sallies against the Church or individual opponents."[40] Interestingly, in the introduction to Wengert's *Reading the Bible with Martin Luther* (2013), the author says that in his Latin works, Luther only mentions *sola scriptura* twenty times; a surprisingly low frequency in relation to his other terms, '*sola gratia*' (grace alone), which appears two hundred times, and '*sola fide*' (faith alone), twelve hundred times(!).[41] This is certainly surprising considering the significant attention that has been given to Luther's relationship with *sola scriptura*. However, despite being only explicitly written/spoken by Luther on so many occasions, the premise of the absolute authority of the Bible is tangible in arguably all elements of Luther's campaign.

Sola scriptura had been a known principle since the early Church, but only in the Reformation do we see it cause an irreconcilable fracture in the establishment. Luther and his likeminded reformers believed the authority, the written revelation of God recorded in the Bible, had been shrouded by Church tradition. Their challenge centred around their perception that the Pope and his councils had corrupted and abused their ecclesial authority; "Had not tradition in the Roman Catholic Church become an independent and in fact a normative authority, valid in itself, through a gradual historical process? The Reformers wished to protest against that independence and its range of influence."[42] Luther's beliefs did not reject the premise of Church authority

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[38] Martin Luther, *Luther's* Works, *vol. 31: Career of the Reformer I*, ed. Harold Grimm (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 75.
[39] Herbert D. Rix*, Martin Luther: The Man and the Image*. (New York: Irvington Publishers, 1983), 58.
[40] Rix, *Martin Luther*, 58.
[41] Timothy Wengert, *Reading the Bible with Martin Luther* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 16.
[42] Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura*, 85.

- indeed, he intended to reform it - but they did challenge the abuses and the infallibility of the Roman Church as directors of the Christian faith. Rome had become "autonomous – a law unto itself"[43] and the challenge set forth by reformers confronted this.

In *Diet in Worms* (1521) Luther articulates in the most succinct terms his understanding of the authority of the Bible:

> Since your most serene majesty and your high mightinesses require of me a simple, clear and direct answer, I will give one and it is this: I cannot submit my faith either to the pope or to the council, because it is as clear as noonday that they have fallen into error and even into glaring inconsistency with themselves. If, then, I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scripture, or by cogent reasons, if I am not satisfied by the very text I have cited, and if my judgement is not in this way brought into subjection to God's word, I neither can nor will retract anything; for it cannot be either safe or honest for a Christian to speak against his conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God help me! Amen.[44]

Luther objected to the idea that the Pope and his ordained personnel were the only administrators of correct biblical ministry. Embedded in Luther's ecclesiology was his rejection of the unquestioned authority of the Catholic Popes and councils.[45] This countered the belief maintained by Catholics that the infallible word, that being the Bible, needed an infallible interpreter, a person "guarded from error by the Holy Spirit". [46] Reiterating what Luther wrote in 1521, he believed it "clear as noonday" that the Pope and Catholic authorities had "fallen into error".[47] In his chapter, "The Bible in the Reformation" in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (1963), Roland Bainton opens with the statement: "The reformers dethroned the pope and enthroned the Bible".[48] Having

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[43] Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura*, 120.

[44] Martin Luther, *Speech at the Imperial Diet in Worms* (18 April 1521) Accessed on 04/06/2017, www.sjsu.edu/people/james.lindahl/courses/Hum1B/s3/Luther-Speech-Worms-1521.pdf, n.p.

[45] David P. Daniel, "Luther on the Church" in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology* ed. Robert Folb et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 333-352, 337.

[46] Roland Bainton, "The Bible in the Reformation" in *The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol 3: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1.

[47] Luther, *Speech at the Imperial Diet in Worms,* n.p.

[48] Bainton, "The Bible in the Reformation", 1.

just commented on Luther's dissatisfaction with the premise of a human subject of infallible authority over the Bible, this statement may seem appropriate. However, when interrogated more closely, Bainton argues that the sentence is flawed. He intentionally used the statement, which he sees as a common claim in scholarship, to formulate his argument that exchanging the Pope's position with the Bible was not an answer for Protestant Reformists. Bainton argues that unlike the hierarchical position of the Pope, the Bible as text needed interpreting.[49]

We have established that Luther's *sola scriptura* identified the Bible as a matchless source of God's revelation, but with regards to the manner in which he believed it should be interpreted, there is more ambiguity. One of Luther's central issues with the Church was that the Bible was being confined to its use and interpretation by a small number in the ecclesial hierarchy, which had been fueled by the Catholic belief that the Bible could not be appropriately read without the aid of Church jurisdiction.[50] By placing his vernacular bibles into the hands of lay people, Luther directly opposed these key tenets of the Catholic Church. Audiences of Luther's translations were able to interact with the biblical texts that had been kept under restraint by the Church authorities. However, this direct access that Luther had enabled bore its own weight of restriction. Like his Catholic contemporaries, Luther believed it was by the intercession of the Holy Spirit that correct biblical interpretation took place. Although Luther exposed the history of the Church and suggested that the establishment had succumbed to errors and had misdirected spirit-led biblical interpretation, he believed that the Holy Spirit was the only authentic interpreter of the Bible. This may seem to rectify the issue of 'how' the Bible should be interpreted and by 'who', but it confounds the matter further. When he placed the duty of interpretation firmly on the Holy Spirit, Luther leaves a huge level of uncertainty on how the interpretation of the Holy Spirit should be interpreted. Luther took it upon himself to set out his own hermeneutical approach that he considered appropriate and it did not pertain to those who attempted to read from beyond his boundaries.[51] The vast multitude of biblical commentaries attributed to Luther's authorship, his political pamphlets and his printed and painted images provide insights into his exegesis. I will not go into much detail about the

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[49] Bainton, "The Bible in the Reformation", 1.
[50] Mathison, The Shape of Sola Scriptura, 99.
[51] Payton, *Getting the Reformation Wrong*, 138.

specifics here as I would like to keep more detailed discussions of Luther's biblical interpretation within the parameters of the specific case studies, however, one or two general comments are worth making from the outset.

Luther generally understood that 'literal' interpretation for the benefit of finding the plain meaning of the biblical text was the correct way to read scripture.[52] This was a trajectory shared with John Calvin, who maintained the importance of understanding the Bible in 'literal' terms rather than allegorical, as had been a dominant Medieval interpretative method.[53] Luther himself had had direct experience with allegorization when he had been living in a monastery and was all too familiar with the confusing and indistinct meanings it established.[54] Although not categorically aborting allegory, he writes in *Operationes in Psalmos* (1508-21), "I was aware that allegories were empty speculations and the froth, as it were, of the Holy Scriptures. It is the historical sense alone which supplies the true and sound doctrine".[55] This notion of 'literal' biblical exegesis is consistent with what Paolo Berdini argued was the distinguishing feature of Lutheran images; this is a key component of Luther's understanding of the Bible that I will retain for the chapters in Part I. However, if we actively engage in Gadamer's hypothesis, we find issue with Luther's want for 'literal' interpretation. The quest for 'literal' meaning is annulled in the *Wirkungsgeschichte* and reception history methodologies by the understanding that a reading of a text constructs a version of the subject based on individual preconceptions and contextual factors. Although we are able to characterize Luther's reading of the Bible as unembellished, avoiding extraneous details that do not appear in biblical texts, his reading remains an *interpretation*.

Another distinguishing feature that is found commonly in scholarship surrounding Luther's exegetical strategy is his focus on the Christ-centricity of biblical texts of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. He "searches out the interpretation that

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[52] Mickey Mattox, "Luther, Martin" in *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible* ed. Kevin J. Vanhoozer (Grand Rapids: Baker Publishing Group, 2005), 472.

[53] Andrew A. Chibi*, The Wheat and the Tares: Doctrines of the Church in the Reformation, 1500-1590* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2015), 25.

[54] Arthur Skevington Wood, *Captive to the Word: Martin Luther: Doctor of Sacred Scripture* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1969), 164-165

[55] Martin Luther, "Genesis: Chapter Three" in *Luther's Works* vol. 1, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2004), 233.

emphatically urges Christ the Saviour".[56] In essence, *sola scriptura* was a Christological position.[57] Luther sought to explicate Christ in all of his interpretative decisions. This is particularly apparent in his reading of the Hebrew Bible, where his interpretation is bound to a "prophetic sense" of scripture.[58] This can be seen in Luther's "Preface to the Psalter", in which he writes, "The Psalter ought to be a dear and beloved book, if only because it promises Christ's death and resurrection so clearly, and so typifies His kingdom and the condition and nature of all Christendom that it might well be called a little Bible." [59] Luther's approach to reading and interpreting Scripture was empathetic to the figure of Christ. This will be particularly important in Chapter 4 when we focus on the *Weimar Altarpiece*, which is essentially an exposé of Luther's understanding of the redemptive implications of Christ's death and resurrection, that was foretold by the prophets of the Hebrew Bible and realised in the New Testament.

In sum of these thoughts on Luther's *sola scriptura* regarding the Bible's status and its interpretation, I hope to have articulated four things.

1. Luther's *sola scriptura* was not new to Christianity. It had been revered and circulated by the early Church fathers.
2. The challenge that *sola scriptura* posed was not directed to the Church, but to the "obvious accretions and abuses that had come to cripple the Church and obscure the faith".[60]
3. Luther's encouragement of direct engagement with the Bible through his translation and dissemination of vernacular Bible's did not mean there was not a specific way of reading Scripture; a central component of his biblical interpretation was focussing on what he believed was the 'literal' meaning of scripture.

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[56] Mattox, "Luther, Martin", 472.
[57] Wengert, *Reading the Bible with Martin Luther*, 19.
[58] Sidney Griedanus, *Preaching Christ from the Old Testament: A Contemporary Hermeneutical Method* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 115.
[59] Martin Luther, "Preface to the Psalter", *Works of Martin Luther – Prefaces to the Books of the Bible*. Accessed on 04/06/2017. Available at http://www.godrules.net/library/luther/NEW1luther_f8.htm
[60] Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura*, 85.

4. *Sola scriptura* was Christological in emphasis and the centricity of Christ affected Luther's reading of scripture.

1.2.2 Counter-Reformation: 'scripture and tradition'

The effect of the Bible during the Counter-Reformation cannot be successfully likened to that of its effect during the Protestant Reformation(s); the importance of scripture declared by Luther and his contemporaries is not easily rivalled.[61] As I intend to actively demonstrate throughout Part II, the effect of the Bible in Counter-Reformation images is distinguishable but relies on interpretation from within the boundaries of 'scripture and tradition'. This will contrast from what we see in the interpretation of the Bible in Lutheran images. Before looking at the Catholic position in more depth, however, I should reiterate that the intrinsic value of the scriptures maintained the same authority deemed in Protestantism.[62] The sovereignty of the Bible as the revelation of God was never an issue of contention. It was only when it was put into a context with Church tradition, in effect when it was placed in a "position relative to the teaching Church", that issues arose.[63]

During the early Reformation, before any stances were officially taken by the established Church, Catholic theologians resisted the Protestant opposition on the status of the Bible. Johannes Maier von Eck (1486-1543) was among those who responded to Luther's *sola scriptura* and argued that 'scripture and tradition' were reliant on each other.[64] He acknowledged the supremacy of scripture above and beyond the Church but also argued that it required the Church and its traditions to correctly administer and guide the laity into correct biblical interpretation.[65] Eck understood there to be certain teachings that Christ would have given to his apostles that would not have been recorded in the Bible[66]; this bears similarities to John 21:25

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[61] H. Outram Evennet, "Counter-Reformation Spirituality" in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings* ed. David Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 62; Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 92.
[62] O'Brien, "Scripture and Tradition", 307.
[63] O'Brien, "Scripture and Tradition", 307.
[64] Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, "Introduction" in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* eds. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 4; Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 93.
[65] De Boer and Göttler, "Introduction", 4.
[66] Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 93.

- "But there are also many other things that Jesus did; which if every one was written down, I suppose the world itself would not have room for the books that would be written"[67] – however I have not found Eck's explicit use of this text to support his view in any of his scholarship.

In the early months of the Council of Trent's opening in 1546, the Council addressed a number of issues that surrounded the status and interpretation of scripture.[68] The first was concerning canon, which was quickly resolved by reinstating what was established a century prior at the Council of Florence (1442).[69] A more pressing concern for Trent was the issue of 'scripture and tradition', which was discussed in the fourth session in 1546, to the tune of Luther's earlier antagonists.[70]

> It [*the Gospel*] also clearly perceives that these truths and rules are contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions, which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, come down to us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand.[71]

This is one of the most important decrees issued by the Council, as it "pre-judged" the deliberations that would follow by reaffirming the Church's continuing adherence to tradition.[72] In one respect, this statement answered the basic stance of whether Catholicism was going to align to a position sympathetic to Protestantism's *sola scriptura*. They rejected the Bible as the sole source of revelation, believing it also required the accumulative experience of centuries of Christian transcribed and oral tradition, inspired and revealed by the Holy Spirit. However, the declaration also left many questions unanswered: What were the 'written and unwritten traditions'? And what was the relationship between 'scripture and tradition'?[73]

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[67] All translations are my own unless stated otherwise.
[68] Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 95.
[69] Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 95.
[70] Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 95.
[71] Council of Trent, Session 4, 8th April 1546, "Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures" in *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* ed. and trans. H. J. Schroeder (Charlotte: TAN Books, 1955.), 17. All quotes from the Council of Trent are translated by Schroeder, unless stated otherwise.
[72] Evennet, "Counter-Reformation Spirituality", 88.
[73] O'Brien, "Scripture and Tradition", 303.

Interestingly, instead of the later revised, "the written books <u>and</u> in the unwritten traditions", in an earlier draft the sentence was constructed so that it was "partim … partim", meaning partly in the written books, partly in the unwritten traditions.[74] This version was more likely to suggest the two were "co-equal" in authority but even this did not reconcile the definition of tradition or the ratio of its status in relation to the scriptures. In attempting to at least provide a vague definition for what tradition pertains to, I understand the comments of Kevin McNamara to be particularly helpful; "Tradition is the process by which this Gospel is handed on in the Church through the ages", and with respect to its relation to the Council of Trent, "it was essentially this question of the significance of the manifold expressions of the Church's life for the perpetuation of the Gospel that was before it".[75] Tradition was the progression of the written and spoken word of God in the history of the Church. Whereas Luther maintained that there were errors and abuses in the Church's history of its use of scripture, the Catholics saw their tradition as "an indispensable element, together with the Scriptures, in handing on divine truth".[76] In vocalising at an early stage that the post-Trent Church would continue its adherence to tradition, the Council justified their subsequent theologies by countering Luther's tenet that scripture was the single source to which all Church teaching should conform.

In the same decree as the Council's assertion of the authority of the "written and unwritten traditions", the following lines were put forward on the interpretation of scripture:

> Furthermore, to check unbridled spirits, it decrees that no one relying on his own judgement shall, in matters of faith, and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine, distorting the Holy Scriptures in accordance with his own conceptions, presume to interpret them contrary to that sense which holy mother Church, to whom it belongs to judge of their true sense and interpretation, has held and holds, or even contrary to the unanimous teaching of the Fathers, even though such interpretations should never at any time be published.[77]

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[74] Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 96; Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura,* 129.
[75] Kevin McNamara, "Faith and Tradition." *The Furrow* 32, no. 2 (1981): 67-78. 67, 70
[76] McNamara, "Faith and Tradition", 71.
[77] Council of Trent, Session 4, 8th April 1546, "Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures", 18-19.

What is clear from this statement is that the Church was the only authority that interpreted scripture correctly. There must be no exegesis of Scripture that contradicted what was put forward by the Catholic Church.[78] Along with this statement, however, there were no examples of such appropriate exegesis; the authority was passed onto those in leadership roles, "both those exercising authority at the time this document was issued and those who would follow them down through the ages".[79] This was a reestablishment of the tradition of the infallibility of the Church leaders as exegetes of Scripture, which was a premise Luther had objected. The Church at Trent was indistinct on hermeneutical methods due to the fact that exegesis was the duty of members in Church hierarchy and was not a suitable practice for the vast majority of the Catholic population.

Thus, in the way issued by the early opponents of the Protestant Reformation and confirmed in the universal decree of the Counter-Reformed Church, 'scripture and tradition' were set to play a united role in post-Trent Catholicism. As with the section on Luther, I will end with the few distinctive features of the status and interpretation of the Scripture for Catholicism:

1. The Bible was intrinsically authoritative and was a source of revelation, as it was for Luther. However, unlike Luther, the Counter-Reformers' recognised the revelatory authority of Church tradition.
2. 'Scripture and tradition' as articulated at Trent is not defined, nor expanded.
3. Examples of interpretation are not supplied by Trent but the process of exegesis is situated stringently as the task for the ecclesial authorities.

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Luther and the attendees of the Council of Trent differed in their understanding of the Bible and its relationship to the Church. Whereas Luther saw the Bible as the dictatorial authority that should shape ecclesiology, the Catholic Church rendered itself

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[78] Bergant, "Catholic Biblical Interpretation", 87.
[79] Bergant, "Catholic Biblical Interpretation", 87.

the proprietor of scripture and thus believed it held a matched weighting in religious authority. With these two positions emerged different ways in which the Bible was interpreted. While Luther maintained an unshrouded, verbatim exegesis, Counter-Reformers saw their traditions as essential components to understanding the Bible. Despite their obvious differences, both Luther and the Catholics at the Council of Trent were united in their discomfort at allowing lay people interpretative freedom. Although this is more accented by the Catholic Church who did not even entertain the laity's direct interaction with the Bible, Luther established a hermeneutic that discouraged people from allegorising biblical texts and published extensive commentaries to aid the reader and limit their exegesis.

Throughout the rest of this thesis, I will be exploring how the views outlined in this section are apparent in the visual biblical interpretations of the period. With Lutheran images, we will remain sensitive to whether the artist has focussed on visualising the biblical text in a way that finds one distinct and clear meaning, and whether there are textual references incorporated to aid in appropriate exegesis. For Counter-Reformation images, we will look for the incorporation of Church traditions that may expand the biblical narrative from what is described in the text.

1.3 Outline

Now that I have outlined the methodology and set out the key debates that surrounded biblical status and interpretation in the sixteenth century, I move onto the first of the two dominant parts of the thesis. Part I will centre on Lutheran images created in Germany, with Part II focusing on Counter-Reformation images in Italy. Each section consists of three chapters, the first in each being an outline of the group's views on the use of images. For the remaining chapters of both sections, I have selected visual case studies. In order to establish a contextual knowledge of the images, I will begin the chapters with brief biographical summaries of the artists and provide relevant information regarding the patronization of the images. Following this, I will closely analyse the image and discuss how it reflects either the artist's intention to construct a close representation or an expanded version of the biblical text. I will then move on to how the visual interpretation fits into the wider exegesis of the biblical text within the

context, and how it embodies an interpretation grounded in *sola scriptura* or 'scripture and tradition'. A more substantial outline of the following chapters is provided below.

PART I

Chapter 2: <u>The understanding and utility of images in the Lutheran Reformation</u>

I will outline Luther's understanding of the use of images in religious practice in light of the positions of other Protestants including Andreas Karlstadt, Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin. Luther's more positive forbearance on the use of images sees them more readily involved in his campaign. It is these Lutheran images that I will analyse in the following two chapters, with particular attention being given to whether the biblical texts were interpreted with the intention of 'literal' representation, as Berdini argues.

Chapter 3: <u>Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Whore of Babylon*, 1522.</u>

This chapter will focus on an apocalyptic woodcut created by Lucas Cranach for the Book of Revelation in Luther's *September Testament*. The print is of the Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17-18), who is depicted wearing a papal crown, illustrating Luther's antipapal politics. As with all of the prints in the book, the *Whore of Babylon* was used to point the reader of the *September Testament* to the meaning of scripture as believed by Luther. As Berdini writes, "They [*the images*] are part of the <u>reading</u> of the text, not a substitution for it, and aim at illustrating the word, not at replacing it".[80] The function of the image was to provide an additional annotation for the reader to engage with during their reading of the translation. In the instance of *Whore of Babylon*, the edification was for it to substantiate Luther's claims that the Pope was the realization of a dissipated eschatological figure.

Chapter 4: <u>Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Weimar Altarpiece,* 1555.</u>

Chapter 5 centres on the *Weimar Altarpiece* (1555) by Lucas Cranach the Younger. Drawing on the earlier prototype of 'Law and Gospel' created by Lucas Cranach the Elder, the *Weimar Altarpiece* embodies Luther's

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[80] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis*, 17-18.

Christological reading of scripture. Unlike the *Whore of Babylon* image, the *Weimar Altarpiece* draws on a range of biblical texts and themes for its composition. Interestingly, the painting contains images that were deemed by Luther himself as possessing a helpful didactic function. We find in the image a dedication to the written word of the Bible, as there are a number of textual references integrated into the imagery. I will argue that this exemplifies Luther's use of images from within the parameters of *sola scriptura*, which gave single infallible authority to the Bible.

Part II

Chapter 5: <u>The understanding and utility of images in the Counter-Reformation.</u>

The first chapter of Part II will serve a similar role as Chapter 2, as it will outline the contextual knowledge necessary to approach examples of Counter-Reformation art. The main topic in this chapter will be the position put forward by the Council of Trent on the creation and purpose of sacred images. I will also address the fascinating case of *The Feast in the House of Levi*, a 1573 painting by Paolo Veronese that was originally entitled *The Last Supper*. The Inquisition of the Holy Office interrogated Veronese's depiction of the last supper as it included images of naked saints, dwarves and even a sub-narrative of a servant with a nose-bleed; additions that show no semblance at all to biblical texts. After being challenged and advised to amend the painting, Veronese simply changed the name of the composition to the *Feast in the House of Levi*. Veronese was not again approached by the Inquisition, who must have been satisfied by this idle correction.

In the next two chapters, I will bear the case of Veronese in mind, and ask the question: is there any evidence in the paintings to suggest the biblical texts were interpreted with the intention of a close representation, or were they merely a starting point from which Catholic, or at least the artist's, traditions were represented?

Chapter 6: <u>Federico Barocci, *Deposition*, 1569</u>

Federico Barocci's *Deposition* is a painting based on the narrative of Jesus' removal from the cross, which is limited in the Gospels to a small number of verses. I would argue that this image epitomizes what Berdini would call textual expansion, with figures and sub-narratives that are not contained in any biblical references. The collapsed Virgin Mary that takes up the lower third of the canvas will provide a starting point for a discussion of the Catholic tradition of the swooning Mary. This will naturally lead on to a wider conversation of Marian devotion during the period, where I will use Levine's language of Mary's "minimalist" and "maximalist" positions.[81] When read within the parameters of *sola scriptura*, as Luther proposed, Mary was received in a "minimalist position" due to her limited Gospel appearances. The decrease in Mary's prominence for the Protestant Reformers meant Counter-Reformation Marian devotion had a renewed emphasis and, within Catholic tradition, she retained her "maximalist position". Barocci and his patron evidently saw potential in expanding the narrative of Jesus' deposition, using it as an opportunity to explore and promote Catholic tradition.

Chapter 7: Caravaggio, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, 1602-3

This chapter will focus on the narrative of Thomas in John 20:24-31 in its interpretation in Caravaggio's *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*. The explicit, sensory interpretation of the narrative in Caravaggio's painting is representative of the Counter-Reformation context, where the anatomical senses were used for purposes of religious devotion. I will be engaging with contemporaneous Counter-Reformation and Protestant exegeses on the passage, which will provide an analysis of the differences in interpretation. Whereas Thomas' desire for sensory confirmation of Jesus' resurrected presence was received with support and expansion for the Counter-Reformers, Protestants, most significantly Calvin, rendered Thomas' request to touch Jesus as demonstrative of a failure to ground faith in the written Word of God. The analysis of these varying interpretations will inevitably point us to the *sola scriptura* / 'scripture and tradition' paradigm and I will locate Caravaggio's interpretation in the

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[81] Amy-Jill Levine, *A Feminist Companion to Mariology* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), 10

parameters of the latter.

Chapter 8: <u>Conclusion</u>

In the final chapter of the thesis, I will draw explicit comparisons to the way in which the Bible was interpreted in Lutheran and Counter-Reformation images, as well as identifying the areas which require more research and in-depth exploration.

PART I

LUTHERAN IMAGES

CHAPTER 2

THE UNDERSTANDING AND UTILITY OF IMAGES IN THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION

The Protestant Reformation had a profound impact on the images that were produced in sixteenth-century Europe. The widespread challenge that was posed against art of the Catholic Church meant a significant shift in the ecclesiastic patronization of art in areas of Europe, particularly in the North, as the function, appearance and very idea of images were put into question. The Reformation was not just a religious revolution, it was also one of aesthetics.[82] The Reformation was seen in, what Eamon Duffy has termed, "the stripping of the altars"[83], in the erection and conversion of Reformed churches, the commissioning of Lutheran artworks, and importantly, the far-reaching dissemination of Reformation pamphlets containing words and texts that empathised with Protestant politics.

The position of the Church on the use of images prior to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation largely centred on statements found in the letter from Pope Gregory the Great (540-604AD) to Serenus of Marseilles.[84] The most explicit on the use of images reads:

> For what writing presents to readers, this a picture presents to the unlearned who behold, since in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the illiterate read. Hence, and chiefly to the nations, a picture is instead of reading.[85]

In his letter to Serenus, Pope Gregory is specifically referring to the representation of religious figures in art, which he deems as vital in educating those unable to read. This was exceptionally pivotal during Gregory's reign as his contemporary society was

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[82] David Brett, "The Reformation & the Practice of Art." *Circa*, no. 26 (1986): 20.
[83] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005)
[84] Francois Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories" in *A Companion to Art Theory* eds. Paul Smith and Carolyn Wilde (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 50.
[85] Pope Gregory the Great, "Book XI, Letter 13" trans. James Barmby, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, *Second Series*, 13, eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1898) Accessed 04/06/2017, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/360211013.htm

vastly illiterate and relied on oral culture and pictorial communication.[86] In recent years, there has been a dedicated stream of scholarship that has studied the idea of art as 'books for the illiterate' and, more specifically, the 'Bible for the illiterate' as Pope Gregory proposed in the above statement. Within this literature there has emerged a common understanding that the Church was "wrong insofar as they intended to say that images can do more than remind and deepen what one already knows".[87] In Duggan's overview of the debates in modern scholarship regarding Gregory's theory on images, he suggests that visual images could only be 'read' if 'readers' were equipped with knowledge of the narratives or themes that were being represented. It cannot be presumed that illiterates who engaged with isolated pictures could render correct meaning from them.[88] This is when the practice of oral culture would have been of exceptional importance and would have helped clarify intended meaning.[89] It should be remembered that the modern scholars who interrogate Pope Gregory's claims do so from the privileged viewpoint of a significantly more literate society, where reading texts is more individualised and predominately does not require the support of oral commentary.[90]

Despite contemporary reflections that express a dissatisfaction with Gregory's claims, the Pope's sixth-century understanding on the function of images remained the view of the Church in the following centuries. Images were encouraged by patrons to maintain their purpose of being "didactic, mnemonic and inspirational" and this continued to be the intended occupation for images in the late medieval period. [91] In practice, however, the response to these images "increasingly blurred the line

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[86] Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?" in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication,* eds. Marielle Hageman and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 63-108, 96; see Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 83-150, and Kenneth Clark *Moments of Vision: And Other Essays.* (New York City: Harper and Row, 1981)
[87] Duggan, "Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?", 101.
[88] Duggan, "Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?", 96.
[89] Duggan, "Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?", 96; See Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London: Routledge, 2002)
[90] Michael T. Clanchy, "Literate and Illiterate; hearing and seeing: England 1066-1307 in *Literacy and Social Development in the West: A Reader* ed. Harvey, J. Graff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 21: "Past ideas must be analysed in their own terms before they are assessed in modern ones".
[91] Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories", 50.

between appropriate worship and idolatry".[92] For the Protestant Reformers of the early sixteenth century, the use of images in the Church had crossed the boundary into idol-worship, and the removal, or at least the transformation, of these images was unequivocally necessary. The idea of using images to provide biblical education, however, was received during the Reformation with varying degrees of acceptance. In Martin Luther's campaign, we certainly find a version of Pope Gregory's hypothesis that images could be instructive, but he did not believe that a text could be straightforwardly replaced by an image. Like contemporary scholars, Luther believed there at least needed to be some guidance or formed knowledge on the matter that was being illustrated for a 'reading' of an image to be successful.

In this section, I will be focussing on the use and purpose of images in the theories of Martin Luther. The images in the following chapters are focussed not on the subject of Luther, despite the popularity of such images, but the images that Luther commissioned and that depict a biblical narrative or theme. Robert Kolb writes, "Like a storm wind, the words and images of Martin Luther swept across early sixteenth-century central Europe, decisively altering public life".[93] It was the combination of words *and* images that were used by Luther and his followers to engage the public with his theology and politics. Unlike the iconoclastic Reformers, including Andreas Karlstadt, Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin, whose more radical positions on the use of images will be commented on momentarily, Luther used images for the benefits of his campaign, incorporating woodcut prints in his vernacular translated Bibles and even commissioning altarpieces to be housed in churches. This chapter will outline the understanding of the use of images for Luther, in light of the harsh criticism of certain Protestant Reformers, in order to establish a foundation for the rest of Part I.

2.1 *Andreas Karlstadt, Ulrich Zwingli, and John Calvin on the use of images*

The matter of images was a necessary issue for the Protestant Reformers to address as it had played, and continued to play, a decisive role in the Catholic Church. Having

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[92] Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories", 50.
[93] Robert Kolb, "Luther's function in an age of confessionalization" in *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther* ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 209.

said this, images were in reality a fairly "marginal" issue, as the Reformers were protesting against the entire structure and policies of the Catholic Church.[94] It would be fair to assume that Protestant Reformers were united on the front that sacred images should not be venerated or worshipped, but it seems the concept of what was idolatrous and what was not was exceptionally subjective to the opinion of each individual reformer. There was a spectrum of views, spreading from sheer hatred of the entire notion of using images to those who saw a positive use for them. Although it was Luther who held a more positive attitude towards images of biblical texts and themes than other Protestant Reformers, it will be worthwhile mentioning the views of such individuals as Karlstadt, Zwingli and Calvin to establish the circumstantial context. These three individuals were collected together under the title 'The Iconophobes'[95] in Michalski's *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (1993) and although they differed in their exact position, they were certainly among those who considered it imperative to "purge the church of images that fostered idolatry".[96] The first reformer to actively put the removal of images into practice was Karlstadt in Wittenberg, which then instigated a chain reaction beginning in Zurich and that spread across Swiss cities.[97] In the introduction to their collation of translated treatises on the image question in the Reformation, Mangrum and Scavizzi describe Karlstadt's attitude towards the removal of images in churches as an "enormous, almost fanatical zeal".[98] Furthermore, Duggan has commented upon Karlstadt's intense abhorrence of images and argued it was consistent with the radical approaches the reformer took on other issues; because of this, his "criticisms did not pass into the mainstream".[99] This suggests that the contemptuous attitude of Karlstadt was not commonly shared among his contemporaries.

On the Removal of Images (1522), Karlstadt's discourse on the subject, refers to a significant amount of biblical texts that he read as justifications for his particularly

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[94] Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2002), 2-3.
[95] Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts*, 43.
[96] John D. Wilsey, "The Impact of the Reformation on the Fine Arts", *Faith and Mission* 23/2 (Spring 2006): 33.
[97] Bryan Mangrum and Giuseppe Scavizzi, "Introduction" in *A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser, and Eck on Sacred Images* trans. Mangrum and Scavizzi (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1998) 1-18, 3.
[98] Mangrum and Scavizzi, "Introduction", 7.
[99] Duggan, "Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?", 84.

ferocious iconoclastic position. We will see this as a common trait among the reformers, that the use of images was fought on textual grounds.[100] The biblical texts Karlstadt refers to are from both the Hebrew Bible (Exodus 20:3; Hosea 9:10; Psalm 43) and the New Testament (Matthew 21:13, John 10). Specifically in his work, we find several references to the letters of Paul (1 Corinthians 5:11, 8:4, 10:14), whose perceived contempt for the physical gives support for Karlstadt's broad condemnation against the use of material cultures to inspire devotional thoughts.[101] As I will explore more fully below, the reformers who supported the removal of images were driven by their disapproval of the role images played in the medieval church; the selection and use of biblical texts as we see in Karlstadt's tract illustrates how he was identifying his contemporary society as the idol worshippers mentioned by the biblical authors. For example, this extract includes a particularly cutting challenge to the use of images in the established Church:

> We do not know Christ according to the flesh [2 Cor. 5:16]. But our image-lovers want the laity to know Christ in the flesh, which avails nothing. They want to teach how Christ hung on the cross rather than why he was hanged. They teach about his body, his beard, his wounds. Of the power of Christ they teach nothing at all. But without the power of Christ no one is saved. So I say, in the first place, that many thousands will be saved without the physical presence of Christ, and second, that images in general are forbidden and prophets have preached against likeness (Habakkuk 2[:19]).[102]

Paul's second letter to the Corinthians buttressed Karlstadt's criticism of the established Church's veneration of images. For the reformer, the "image-lovers", i.e. the established Church, were more focussed on emulating the physical presence of Jesus in images and statues than dedicating their minds to the "power of Christ". Karlstadt believed images held an innate "ineluctable command" which "force[s] themselves on our attention".[103] He saw no benefit in their use, even annulling the long-held Christian presupposition that images were useful for instructing the illiterate.

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[100] Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories", 50.

[101] Hall, *The Sacred Image,* 21.

[102] Andreas Karlstadt, "On the Removal of Images" trans. Mangrum and Scavizzi, 26.

[103] Jonathan Sheehan, "Introduction: Thinking about Idols in Early Modern Europe." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67, no. 4 (2006): 564.

Like Karlstadt, Ulrich Zwingli maintained a strong suspicion towards the physical, and specifically using material objects as a means to secure salvation.[104] An example of this aversion is evident in Zwingli's rejection of the Catholic Church's tradition of transubstantiation of the Eucharist, under the understanding that material practices were incapable of mediating the divine. In 1524, in the aftermath of Zwingli's iconoclastic position that he articulated at the Council of Zurich the year before and the destruction of images in Wittenberg, images were removed from churches in Zurich.[105] Zwingli understood the image question as a microcosm of a wider issue that saw people putting faith in material ventures instead of in God.[106] By removing images from the church, Zwingli believed devotion would be redirected back towards the invisible God without distraction. Zwingli's encouragement for the removal of images in Zurich was therefore part of a much wider scheme that sought to address issues of liturgy and Mass.[107] Gordon enlightens us about the situation in Zurich on the removal of images, and says that the images were not destroyed entirely but were simply removed from the churches and taken home by members of the prominent families to enjoy away from the ecclesial context.[108] We are reminded in this respect that the debate on images as we are discussing them here was on their place in the public ecclesiastical environment and not on images in a general context or their use in private space.

John Calvin's views on images are similar to those of the reformers I have mentioned above. He eradicates the use of images in churches that portray God and the heavenly realm, stating, "We believe that to represent God by means of a visible simulation is a perverse thing, insofar as he has prohibited it, and since it cannot be done without obscuring his glory to some extent".[109] Like the other reformers, Calvin here is referring to Exodus 20:4 and Deuteronomy 5:8-9, the commandment in which "graven images" are forbidden by God. But for Calvin, cases of iconoclasm could be found in more than

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[104] Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts*, 51.
[105] John Broome, *Zwingli and Calvin* (Harpenden: Gospel Standard Publications, 1972), 12.
[106] Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts,* 54.
[107] Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts,* 59.
[108] Bruce Gordon, "Emulating the Past and Creating the Present: Reformation and the Use of Historical and Theological Models in Zurich in the Sixteenth Century" in *Following Zwingli: Applying the Past in Reformation Zurich* ed. Luca Baschera et al (London: Routledge, 2016) 30.
[109] Hall*, The Sacred Image*, 26.

just visual images; he also understood that it pertained to other forms of the arts, including music. Engle has therefore dubbed Calvin a claimer of "aural iconoclasm".[110] Calvin consistently reproaches all manifestations that may disrupt a person's engagement with the Bible in preaching or reading; Engle writes that in Calvin's view, "elaborate sound could confuse the ear and distract a worshipper no less than visual objects".[111] It was Calvin's anxiety that the interest and immersive nature of creative engagement would squander the Bible's centrality in religious practice. This was such a heinous crime to Calvin that the removal of such distractions was one of his central policies. Furthermore, on the notion of books being replaceable by images as suggested by Pope Gregory, Calvin said, "But I add, what is clear to all, that the prophets [*Jer. 10:8; Hab. 2:18*] totally condemn the notion, taken as axiomatic by the papists, that images stand in the place of books. For the prophets, set images over against the true God as contraries that can never agree".[112] Calvin equates the use of images in the Catholic Church with idolatry. Although Calvin refrains from citing any earlier Reformers in his stance on images[113], he here echoes the view of Karlstadt, even drawing on the same biblical references to support his position.

Reformers who shared the positions I have briefly outlined believed images were formidable. They were dangerous as they exerted an "unhealthy power".[114] This is most clearly found in the prose of Karlstadt who described the inherent ability of images in almost superstitious terms; a position that Martin Luther came to severely challenge. The challenges to images and the want for their removal in churches was not "an end in itself, but was part of a larger project: reconstructing the Church and society after a blueprint provided in Scripture".[115] Although as I said in the introduction to this chapter that the image question was relatively minor, it constituted a part in a wider issue. The attacks made on images in the church were more broadly targeted at the concept that the visible was capable of mediating the invisible:

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[110] Randall Dean Engle, "A Devil's Siren or an Angel's Throat? The Pipe Organ Controversy among the Calvinists" in *John Calvin, Myth and Reality* ed. Amy Nelson Burnett (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2011), 107-125: 115.

[111] Engle, "A Devil's Siren or an Angel's Throat?", 115.

[112] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill, (Louisville: Westminster Press, 2006), 105

[113] Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts*, 60.

[114] Sheehan, "Introduction", 561.

[115] William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 50.

The enormous wave of iconoclasm that swept Europe - Germany in the 1520's, Scotland in the late 1550's, the Netherlands in the 1560's, England in the 1640's - were not directed at decorative tiles, pews, or doorsteps. They were directed exactly at those things that made the devout feel the presence of the divine.[116]

Using material conventions to evoke devotion was embedded in many Late Medieval Church practices. In the immediate period leading up to the Reformation, exercising devotional piety through the use of relics and images was prevalent.[117] The views of Karlstadt, Zwingli and Calvin supported the reformation of the objects that mediated between God and his Church and criticised the belief that it was through material symbolism that one could appropriately worship.[118] It is not within the remit of this study to address the alternatives these individual reformers proposed, but what is important to acknowledge is that their views found little to no value in using images in religious practices.

2.2 *Martin Luther on the use of images*

Martin Luther's approach to the use of images changed quite dramatically throughout his life. It may be surprising that visual art forms would be of interest to Luther at all, considering the roots of his campaign were so deeply secured in the written text of the Bible and in orality.[119] But, as Robert Kolb said, it was not just the words of Luther, but the images of him and his theology that were prevalent across central Europe in the sixteenth century. During the beginning of his campaign, Luther's attitude towards images appears with the same ferocity as Karlstadt. Both Torvend and Dillenberger point to Luther's *Commentary on Romans* in which he writes that images and

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[116] Sheehan, "Introduction", 562.

[117] Richard Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 126.

[118] Gordon, "Emulating the Past and Creating the Present", 30.

[119] Samuel Torvend, "The whole Bible painted in our houses": Visual Narratvie and Religious Polemic in Early Lutheran Art," *Institute of Literugrical Studies Occasional Papers,* paper 109. (2003): 50.

ornaments are not necessary in the "new law".[120] Luther writes, "Nor are organs, altar decorations, chalices, or pictures required […] these things are mere shadows and tokens of reality; indeed, they are childish things".[121] In his early campaign, then, Luther neither supported images in the church nor commented on them possessing any positive use. Yet, within a quarter of a century, Luther's attitude had changed to the point where he was working intimately with artist Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) on developing altarpieces.[122] Even more telling is that only ten years after he had made his initial comments on images, Luther had created a lengthy document entitled *Against the Heavenly Prophets* (1525) that directly critiqued and countered Karlstadt's iconoclastic position.

In an introduction to his translation of *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, Erling writes, "The primacy of the Word of God as a basis for all doctrines caused him [*Luther*] to repel the mysticism which underlay Karlstad's subjective notions".[123] In understanding that images were in and of themselves dangerous and potent, Karlstadt gave way to ideas of mysticism. Yet Luther's own reading of the Bible led him to understand in a more measured way the prohibitions outlined by Moses; here it will be important to consider a number of statements found in Luther's counterargument to Karlstadt:

> I approached the task of destroying images by first tearing them out of the heart through God's Word and making them worthless and despised. This indeed took place before Dr. Karlstadt ever dreamed of destroying images. For when they are no longer in the heart, they can do no harm when seen with the eyes. But Dr. Karlstadt, who pays no attention to matters of the heart, has reversed the order by removing them from sight and leaving them in the heart. For he does not preach faith, nor can he preach it; unfortunately, only now do I see that.

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[120] Torvend, "The whole Bible painted in our houses", 50; John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 89.

[121] Martin Luther, *Lectures on Romans* ed. and trans. Wilhelm Pauck (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), 495, 499.

[122] Torvend, "The whole Bible painted in our houses", 50.

[123] Bemhard Erling, "Introduction" in Martin Luther, *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of the Images and Sacraments* (1525), trans. Bemhard Erling. Accessed on 04/07/2017 at http://www.angelfire.com/poetry/luther/temporary/againsten.html. 77.

And I say at the outset that according to the law of Moses no other images are forbidden than an image of God which one worships. A crucifix, on the other hand, or any other holy image is not forbidden.

Where however images or statues are made without idolatry, then such making of them is not forbidden.

Of this I am certain, that God desires to have his works heard and read, especially the passion of our Lord. But it is impossible for me to hear and bear it in mind without fanning mental images of it in my heart. For whether I will or not, when I hear of Christ, an image of a man hanging on a cross takes form in my heart, just as the reflection of my face naturally appears in the water when I look into it. If it is not a sin but good to have the image of Christ in my heart, why should it be a sin to have it in my eyes? This is especially true since the heart is more important than the eyes, and should be less stained by sin because it is the true abode and dwelling place of God.[124]

Luther maintains an aggressive attitude toward Karlstadt – even likening him to the devil.[125] He takes issue with Karlstad's destruction of Mass components and images, as Luther argues it is the iconoclasm of the heart that must be tackled, not the material venture. In summarising the way in which Luther viewed Karlstadt's want to remove images, Torvend writes, "Some people worship the sun and moon, but that does not mean that people should try to pull to sun or the moon out of the sky".[126] Although a rather histrionic comparison, Torvend's analogy certainly clarifies in simplistic terms the position of Luther. Unlike the aversion of Karlstadt and other Protestant Reformers, Luther did not believe that the danger of idolatry lay in the images themselves. While the reformers I previously mentioned sought and promoted the active, often violent, removal of images from churches, Luther took an entirely different position. He understood that it was in the intention behind their use that made images susceptible to danger, as Berdini suggests:

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[124] Luther, *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, 84, 85-86, 86, 90-91.
[125] Luther, *Against the Heavenly Prophets,* 100: "Also I wanted to show what lies behind Dr. Karlstadt's brash boast that he has God's Word and must suffer so much on its account. Indeed, the devil, too, must suffer on account of it not that he uses it rightly, but rather perverts it and thereby increases his wickedness and lies, as Dr. Karlstadt also does due to the same vexation."
[126] Torvend, "The whole Bible painted in our houses", 52

Martin Luther rephrased the problem of images by recognising that their interdiction, as stated in the Old Testament, is susceptible to the distinction between adoration and utilization, and that their religious status was, therefore, in itself neutral. In conclusion, for Luther "vera idolatria est in corde": idolatry is in the heart, in the attitude towards images.[127]

Luther was aware of the Hebrew Bible's image prohibitions used by Protestant Reformers' as biblical defences for their position on images. However, Luther held the understanding that images in themselves were neither good nor bad.[128] He believed that if images were detached from their use as objects of public veneration, they could be successfully and un-idolatrously used. Luther also addresses the involuntary conjuring of mental images that occurs when he is thinking or listening about Christ, which shows a continuation from late medieval piety that was based on contemplating on the suffering and death of Jesus through recalling mental images of the scene.[129]

One way in which Luther proposed making use of images was in his political pamphlets, which were disseminated across Germany and central Europe by the method of the printing press. Some of these pamphlets consisted nearly entirely of images, with small textual references helping the reader understand the basic premise or subject matter that was depicted. Robert Scribner writes in *For the Sake of Simple Folk* (1994):

> Pictorial representation can be a crude and effective means of communication, but it can never escape the danger of ambiguity. The addition of the printed word enabled it to spell out its message unambiguously. It thus served as a meeting point between the illiterate, the semi-literate and the literate […] its printed text could be read out by someone who could read, creating a situation of oral interchange which was probably the most powerful means of spreading the Reformation.[130]

Scribner is accurate in arguing that in Luther's image-based pamphlets, text was used to ensure that the appropriate meaning of the images was received and understood

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[127] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis*, 16-17.
[128] Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross,* 130.
[129] Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories", 50.
[130] Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, (Wotton-under-Edge: Clarendon Press, 1994) 6.

by the reader. Images could not be read in immunity from texts, as without guidance the picture could be wilfully or accidently misinterpreted. The position of Pope Gregory and the Church's continuing adherence to the Gregorian tradition can therefore not be paralleled with the use of images for Luther, as whereas Gregory believed an illiterate individual could come to a fully formed knowledge of the stimulus through an image, Luther recognised the need to ground the image with explicit textuality. What is particularly fascinating about this relationship between images and textual references in Luther's campaign is that it was a reciprocal dialogue. Just as texts were used to support images, so images were used to support texts. Images provided further clarity and additional depths of meaning that were contributable to readers' understanding of Lutheran theologies. I will be referring in detail to Luther's use of images to support written texts in Chapter 3, where I will deal specifically with an example from his first German translation of the New Testament.

As well as including images in his pamphlets and Bible translations, during his later career Luther began to contract altarpieces. Bonnie Noble has done a considerable amount of work on the major altarpieces of Luther's career and refers to the term *Merckbilder* in her descriptions of the retables. *Merckbilder,* Noble argues, describes the "concrete and narrow" function prescribed to images in the Lutheran Reformation; she translates the word as: "pictures meant to remind the beholder of the Word and to teach the fundamentals of Lutheran thought".[131] The key component of Lutheran altarpieces was to allow a concise visualization of the central tenets of Luther's theology. These images were intended to be restrictive in their interpretation of scripture and allow only for the single, intended meaning, as according to Luther, to be obvious to the viewer. This is a similar trajectory found in the printed images we discussed above. In order to accomplish *Merckbilder* and ensure the observer finds the planned interpretation of the image, Luther put forward the following lines on how images should be produced:

> One has to instruct ordinary people simply and childishly, as much as one can. Otherwise, one of two things will happen: They will neither learn nor understand, or

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[131] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 33.

else they will want to be clever, and use their reason to enter into high thoughts, so they move away from belief.[132]

Luther had a very specific criterion for the images that were created in association with his campaign. Ensuring they were *Merckbilder*, the images had to engage explicitly with the tenets of Lutheran theology, without being too sophisticated as to baffle the "common folk". It is interesting to note that in Noble's monograph on the work of renowned artist Lucas Cranach the Elder, she refers to Berdini's hypothesis that the purpose of "German Reformation art was to limit the expansive potential of pictures".[133] Furthermore, in this instance without referring to Berdini, Koerner comments on the concern Luther maintained regarding the viewer's "interpretative excess".[134] The more complicated an image is, the more likely it is that the observer will draw their own conclusions. Koerner writes, "By himself deciding how far his flock should pursue the exegesis of visual images, Luther betrays his anxiety about exegetical authority, and about the status he himself has given the interpretative self in constituting faith".[135] This resonates with our findings in 1.2.1, that Luther sought to limit his readers' interpretative freedom by providing the 'literal' meaning of scripture and accompanying commentaries to help with guidance.

Luther's belief that he attained the pure and foundational meaning of scripture resonated in the images he commissioned for production. The images were intended to illuminate an unadulterated visualization of biblical texts and hence embody *sola scriptura*. Highlighting a further quote from *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, Luther writes, "It is to be sure better to paint pictures […] of how God created the world, how Noah built the ark, and whatever other good stories there may be, than to paint shameless worldly things."[136] Luther is explicit in singularly encouraging images of narratives that appear in the Bible. In referring to "shameless worldly things", which may well be an indirect criticism of Catholic art, he clarifies that the images he

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[132] Martin Luther, "Third Easter Sermon" in *Martin Luther's Werke: Kritische Gesaummtausgabe* vol. 37 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1930-85), 64. Using Bonnie Noble's translation in *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Art and Devotion of the German Reformation* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2009), 27.
[133] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 27
[134] Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 381
[135] Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 382
[136] Luther, *Against the Heavenly Prophets,* 90.

endorses will not stray from biblical content. However, again reiterating a point I made earlier, Luther's intention to clarify the 'literal' meaning of biblical texts and nothing more remains a personal interpretation. As with his textual commentaries, Luther's visual exegetical strategy could only ever represent a contextualised *reading* of the text and not an unbiased representation.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

Martin Luther's view on images was a true contrast to the positions put forward by the other Protestant Reformers that I have addressed, namely Andreas Karlstadt, Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin. These reformers saw the benefits of removing images from churches to prevent misguided attention being paid to them. However, Luther viewed visual images in a more lenient way. He did not justify the veneration or worship of images but he sought to confine their function to providing education and for supporting Lutheran biblical interpretation and doctrine.

Having now examined in detail the way in which Luther viewed images and their place in his campaign, the following two chapters will focus on two images. Chapter 3 will examine the *Whore of* Babylon, contained in Luther's first vernacular Bible translation, the *September Testament* (1522), with Chapter 4 examining the *Weimar Altarpiece* (1555) in the Church of Saint Peter and Paul in Weimar, Germany. The first image was created by Lucas Cranach the Elder and the second by Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515-1586).

CHAPTER 3

LUCAS CRANACH, *WHORE OF BABYLON*, 1522

The first of the case studies is the *Whore of Babylon*, created by Lucas Cranach the Elder for Martin Luther's *September Testament* (Fig. 1). Luther had a close personal and professional relationship with Cranach the Elder and his son, Lucas Cranach the Younger, and worked intimately with their workshop to create the beginnings of the genre of Lutheran art. The impact that Cranach the Elder had on the development of a distinctive Lutheran visual exegetical strategy and aesthetic style would be difficult to overstate. Cranach began his career with commissions from Catholic churches, working in Vienna in the early 1500's.[137] His dealings with Catholic patrons continued throughout his life, and he became a desired painter for patrons in both Rome and Wittenberg and formed lifelong friendships with Luther and his adversaries.[138]

The first collaboration between Luther and Cranach the Elder on a biblical subject was a pamphlet entitled *Passional of Christi and Antichristi* (1521). The pamphlet comprised of a series of paired black and white woodcut images based on scenes from the New Testament. The method of woodcut was the same used for the prints in the *September Testament* and proved exceptionally popular in Reformation propaganda*.* Put simplistically, the technique comprised of cutting an image into a wooden block with a knife so that it stood out as a relief.[139] The relief was then covered in ink and printed onto paper. Cranach's workshop used this method to create the sets of images in *Passional,* with the simplistic images and accompanying textual references serving the reader with a straightforward task in deducing intended meaning. In each of the pairs, the prints are contrasting and draw explicit distinctions between the two figures of Jesus and the Pope, and thus visualised Luther's antagonistic attitude towards papal authority. An example page from the pamphlet shown in Figure 2 depicts on the left, Jesus washing his disciples' feet (John 13:1-17)

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[137] Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 80.

[138] Stephen Ozment, *The Serpent and the Lamb: Cranach, Luther, and the Making of the Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 1.

[139] Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (University of California Press, 1996), 13. See 13-22 for an in-depth detailing of the process of woodcut prints, particularly pages 18-20 on the woodcut in the Reformations.

and on the right, the Pope having his feet kissed by his followers. As the first form of visual propaganda that interpreted biblical texts for the broadcasting of Luther's campaign, the *Passional* exposed a direct criticism to the Catholic church. This continued to be an exegetical technique visible throughout Lutheran images and is found with particular severity in the *September Testament.*

The *Whore of Babylon* is one of twenty-one images that Cranach designed to accompany the Book of Revelation in the *September Testament*. No other book in the *September Testament* was decorated by Cranach's prints. In its original context, it is likely that the image was bound directly next to Luther's translation of Revelation 17; this is certainly the case when the image first appeared in the *December Testament* (1522) (Fig. 3) just a few months after the first translation was released. Luther's translations, theses and advocacy pamphlets were made widely available by Johannes Gutenberg's fifteenth century invention, the printing press. It was the first time the young invention had been employed for mass propaganda purposes. The machinery was so integral to Luther's campaign that he claimed it be "the greatest and latest gift of God. With it He wanted the cause of true faith to be spread to the ends of the earth and translated into every language".[140] Luther believed he possessed a "message intended to change Christianity" and the printing press allowed the dissemination of his campaigns nationally and internationally with considerable momentum.[141] Due to the near immediate sell out of *September Testament's* three-thousand-plus copies, Luther's publisher, Melchior Loather the Younger (d. 1542), produced another round of Luther's translations, released in December 1522, named the *December Testament*.[142] The popular demand of the translations continued and saw twelve reprints in 1523, twenty in 1524 and eight in 1525.[143] The reputation of Luther's translations is unquestionable, but the specific audience the *September Testament* appealed to is likely to have been relatively limited. In reality, the translation

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[140] Martin Luther, 'No. 1038' in *Werke Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden 1; Band 1531-1546* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1912), 523. Using Martin Connell's translation in *Hear the Word of the Lord: The Lectionary in Catholic Ritual* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2015), 24.

[141] Mark Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 1.

[142] Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*. 123;

[143] Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, 123.

was expensive and was deemed a "prized possession".[144] The readers of Luther's Bible were thence limited to those who could afford the luxury of being consumers of the latest form of popular culture.[145] Furthermore, it is also worth noting that Cranach's prints are found in less than a quarter of Luther's Bible translations, with many publishers making the decision to omit them based on their antipapal content.[146]

The very nature of the *Whore of Babylon* means that it stands out among the other case studies in this thesis. It is significantly smaller, created by a different technique, and is by no means unique as it was copied and reproduced to a vast extent. However, a printed image allows us to consider a range of different factors in relation to Luther's proposed method of visual exegesis. The purpose of the images that were included in Luther's Bibles was to appropriate and guide the readers into the correct reading of biblical texts. Noble writes, "Though Luther translated the Bible into the vernacular and was prepared to proclaim the priesthood of all believers, he did not trust his followers to understanding scripture correctly without his guidance".[147] The images Cranach and his workshop included in Luther's bibles were helpful in shaping the reading of the texts in a Lutheran way.[148] He was offering the Bible to the masses, but only under his interpretative jurisdiction.

When writing about Luther's use of images in printed publications, Paolo Berdini summarises their function of such:

> For Luther, the only conceivable correspondence between text and images is that suggested by a book, where images share with the text a content for which they do not attempt to provide visual substitution. They are part of the reading of the text, not a substitution for it, and aim at illustrating the word, not at replacing it. Black and white, ink on paper, printed images merge with words within the reading process, and, by

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[144] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 114.
[145] Natasha O'Hear, *Contrasting Images of the Book of Revelation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Art: A Case Study in Visual Exegesis.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 136.
[146] Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, 127; Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 116-117.
[147] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 35.
[148] Denise Alexandra Hartmann, "The Apocalypse and Religious Propaganda: Illustrations by Ablrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach the Elder", *Marginalia* 11 (2010): 8.

supplementing and complementing the text, become part of its edition, essential commentary, and ultimately a paratext.[149]

The images that were included in Luther's translation served as an annotation to be looked at in succession with the biblical texts.[150] In this manner, the images are by no means able to replace the text or distract from its meaning, but purely provide additional edification.[151] This reiterates our findings from Chapter 2, that Luther saw images as a helpful element for engaging with biblical texts and establishing their appropriate meaning.

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first part will focus on the biblical text of the Whore of Babylon found in Revelation 17 as it is seen in the image, and will involve describing the image and commenting on how the text has been interpreted by Cranach in his collaboration with Luther. Secondly, under 'the visual interpretation in context', I will address how this specific image, in its function and content, supports Luther's understanding of the status and interpretation of the Bible.

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3.1 *The text in image*

In his article on the reception history of the Bible in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, Ian Boxall writes, "The particular shape of a reception history will, of course, vary according to a biblical book and its specific subject matter".[152] As Boxall goes on to argue, the Book of Revelation, by its very nature, has had a rich and expansive reception history in the visual arts. The spectacular imagery the Book of Revelation contains offers visual interpreters an exceptional, imaginative task in representing its narratives. Boxall compares the rich opportunity for visual representation that Revelation offers to the reception history of the Book of Galatians, which generally comprises more of commentaries and literary work.[153] However, with regards to the

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[149] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis,* 6.

[150] David Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 30.

[151] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 114.

[152] Ian Boxall, "Reception history of the Bible" in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 4, From 1750 to the Present* ed. John Riches (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 174.

[153] Boxall, "Reception history of the Bible", 175.

reception history of Revelation, if scholars solely focussed on its exegesis in textual manifestations, they risk limiting or even distorting the way in which Revelation has been received during its history.[154] It is pleasing, then, that the importance of Revelation's visual effects during history has and continues to be realised by a number of contemporary scholars from within the field of biblical reception history.[155] 155

The narrative of the Whore of Babylon is found in Revelation 17:1-19:10 and forms one of the many apocalyptic narratives found in the book. Avoiding going into too much detail about the narrative, as it is Cranach's visual interpretation not the original biblical text that I will be interrogating in this chapter, the basic chronicle of the figure looks something like this: John, the author, is led by an angel to the wilderness where he sees the Whore, who is seen to be a harlot and a personification of earthly powers (17:1-18); a number of prophecies by angels follow, each concerning the Whore, with the most important being that she will be "thrown down, and will be found no more" (18:1-24); the Whore is proclaimed dead in 19:10 and her demise is met with jubilant praise to God.[156] The narrative epitomises Revelation's suitability for visual expression, with the aesthetic description of the Whore in 17:3-5 containing rich and expressive language:

> And he carries me away in spirit into the wilderness, and I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast full of blasphemous names, with seven heads and ten horns. The woman

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[154] O'Hear, *Contrasting Images of the Book of Revelation*, 1.

[155] Ian Boxall, "The Many Faces of Babylon the Great: *Wirkungsgeschichte* and the Interpretation of Revelation 17" in *Studies in the Book of Revelation* ed. Steve Moyise (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2001): 51-68; Ian Boxall, *Patmos in the Reception History of the Apocalypse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Natasha O'Hear and Anthony O'Hear, *Picturing the Apocalypse: The Book of Revelation in the Arts Over Two Millennia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Natasha O'Hear, "Seeing the Apocalypse: Pre-1700 Interpretation of Revelation" in *The Book of Revelation and Its Interpretations* ed. Ian Boxall and Richard Tresley (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 85-124.

[156] It is not within the scope of this research to enquire further about the biblical Whore of Babylon and her interpretation, as I am focussed on Cranach's interpretation of the narrative and its relevance to Luther's understanding of the status and interpretation of the Bible. However, I would like to highlight some of the feminist studies on the reception history of the Whore, as Cranach's interpretation contributes to a tradition of disturbing readings of the biblical figure. See Caroline Vander Stichele, "Re-Membering the Whore: The Fate of Babylon According to Revelation 17:16" in *A Feminist Companion to the Apocalypse of John* ed. Amy-Jill Levine (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 106-120; Shanell T. Smith, *The Woman Babylon and the Marks of Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014); Michelle Fletcher, *Reading Revelation as Pastiche: Imitating the Past* (London: Bloomsbury, T&T Clark, 2017), 100.

was clothed in purple and scarlet, and adorned with gold and precious stones and pearls, holding in her hand a golden wine cup full of abominations and the impurities of her immorality.

Along with the descriptive language in this extract that supplies artists with a considerable amount of imagery to draw on, the non-specifity of the Whore's characterization throughout her narrative allows her to be read in a multitude of different ways. Verse 5b reads, "And on her forehead was written a name, a mystery: Babylon the great, the mother of whores and the abominations of the earth". Similarly, Revelation 17:18, "The woman you saw is the great city that rules over the kings of the earth". The lack of details surrounding the "great mother of whores and of earth's abominations" and the "great city" means the terms are contextually ambiguous and allows readers to interpret the text as their reading milieu allows. The author of Revelation provides what can only be described as an opportunity for the Whore to be received and interpreted in a myriad of different ways.[157] Christopher Rowland supports this view in writing:

> The importance for us is that the visionary experience, while conditioned by life under Roman dominion, is not determined by it. It is the beast and Babylon, not Rome and Caesar, which are the vehicle of John's message. As such, they have a wider appeal than a narrowly focused political analysis rooted in particular historical events.[158]

Rowland here articulates the ability of characters of Revelation to be read and interpreted across different contexts. It is possible for the narratives to embody a different context and situation than that first conceived of by the original author. Among the vast range of possibilities for interpretation that the Whore offers, then, how did Lucas Cranach visualise the narrative? Naturally, he and Luther read the text within their own context and from their own horizon, and used the Whore as a tool to confront their contemporaneous society.

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[157] Fletcher, *Reading Revelation as Pastiche*, 100.
[158] Christopher Rowland, "Revelation" in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* ed. Michale Lieb et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 169.

In Cranach's image, the Whore of Babylon is seated on top of the beast with seven heads. She is adorned with jewels and lavish accessories, which are particularly noticeable on her neck and arms. The woman's dress is similarly ornate. Following the description of the cup in v. 4, we can assume that the vessel she is holding contains "abominations and impurities of her fornication". The cup embodies her adulterations and her body language gives the impression that she is openly presenting it to an audience of standing and kneeling men who are gazing up at her. The Whore's forehead does not bear any word or phrase that may resemble the "name/mystery" described in v. 5, however she is depicted wearing a triple-tiered headdress that contemporary readers of the *September Testament* may have identified as the papal crown. The replacement of the words that label the woman as the Whore in Revelation with the papal crown, coupled with the contemporary garments worn by the audience in front of her, suggests a direct criticism of the Pope's authority during the period in which the artist and his patron were working. The *Whore of Babylon* is presented by Cranach as a symbol of power[159]; her presence as a harlot seducing the throng of men in front of her is meant to be demonstrative of the hierarchical power that is given to the Pope in his position of authority. The inclusion of honourable men and ecclesial figures suggests, "that even the nobility is guilty of falling victim to the Catholic Church's seductive power".[160] What is interesting about Cranach's interpretation is that the image boasts an element of textual expansion. This was not documented as a component of Lutheran visual exegetical strategy in Chapter 2, and in fact is considered to be an element of the Counter-Reformation mode of visual interpretation, but the presence of men before the Whore is an extra addition that is not found in the biblical version. This raises the question of where does the format and inclusion of male observers in the biblical scene come from?

As we shall see from all the case studies discussed in this thesis, the influence of existing artistic traditions on the images is exceptionally important. It cannot be assumed that the artists who produced the images used the relevant biblical texts as primary sources for their interpretation or that they had any direct engagement with them at all. This is articulated particularly clearly by Boxall in *Patmos in the Reception*

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[159] O'Hear and O'Hear, *Picturing the Apocalypse*, 155.
[160] Hartmann, "The Apocalypse and Religious Propaganda", 6.

History of the Apocalypse (2013) when referring to cataloguing the visual interpretations of his chosen text. He identifies the need to remain cautious when claiming a direct interaction between an artist and a biblical text, especially when the relationship between the two is often so ambiguous. Many elements could have contributed to the visual interpretation, such as regional traditions, biblical commentaries, and perhaps most significantly, existing images on the same subject.[161] These contextual influences are important to examine as they contribute to the construction of an artist's interpretative horizon. This is a central component of Gadamer's *Wirkungsgeschichte* and the emphasis on contextualised readings of biblical texts proposed in biblical reception history. The impact that contextual influences had on the conceptualization of our selected images is therefore an important part of their analysis.

Cranach's prints in Luther's *September Testament* appear to have been directly impacted by Albrecht Dürer's (1471-1528) large-scale woodcut book *Apocalypse* (1498), which formed an isolated reading of the Book of Revelation (Fig. 4).[162] O'Hear writes, "These images represent the first thoroughgoing attempt to use Revelation as a springboard for the sorts of visual polemics we see in this [*Cranach's*] series".[163] Dürer's images were interpretations of apocalyptic narratives that were intended to speak to a specific political context, that being a lay devotional movement in Germany in which the artist was working.[164] Dürer's images were the first known interpretations of Revelation narratives that were used to orchestrate criticism of a contemporaneous establishment or authority. The popularity of Dürer's woodcuts during the time Cranach was working and the close parallels we see in their works point to Cranach, and possibly Luther's, awareness of the political intention behind Dürer's work. In a similar way to Dürer, they saw potential in the Revelation narratives and used them to speak to the Reformation context. This was made possible by the argument supported

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[161] Ian Boxall, *Patmos in the Reception History of the Apocalypse*, 178.
[162] O'Hear, "Seeing the Apocalypse", 112.
[163] O'Hear, "Seeing the Apocalypse", 112.
[164] David Price, "Albrecht Dürer's Representations of Faith: The Church, Lay Devotion and Veneration in the 'Apocalypse'" in *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte*, vol, 57 (1994): 688-696: 694.

by Rowland that the texts of Revelation do not isolate the characters and narratives to one specific milieu and are hence capable of diverse use and contextualisation.[165]

3.2 *The visual interpretation in context*

Having established that Cranach's *Whore of Babylon* visualises Luther's opposition towards the Pope, I will turn my attention to why this interpretation is relevant to Luther's understanding of the status and interpretation of the Bible. We know from 1.2.1 that Luther rejected the infallibility of the Pope and his councils in biblical interpretation as they read scriptures from the outlook of Church tradition. They had also subverted biblical interpretation and were "guilty of wilful misrepresentation".[166] Luther's understanding of *sola scriptura* aimed to rectify this situation and provide lay people with direct interaction with written biblical texts that were free of what he believed as Catholic delusion. The *September Testament* aimed to do just this, with the installation of Cranach's images providing an exegetical framework to read Luther's translation of Revelation correctly. There exists a tension between Luther's intention to expose the Bible and allow spirit-led interpretation and his use of commentaries to confine the reader to certain interpretative decisions. Luther addresses this issue in his preface to Philip Melanchthon's (1497-1560) annotations to three of Paul's letters, Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians:

> You say, 'Scripture alone must be read without commentaries.' You say this correctly about the commentaries of Origen, Jerome, and Thomas [*Aquinas*]. They wrote commentaries in which they handed down their own ideas rather than Pauline or Christian ones. Let no one call your annotations a commentary but only an index for reading Scripture and knowing Christ.[167]

Luther acknowledges that *sola scriptura* should be read exclusive of commentaries. He identifies specific individuals that use their commentaries to propose personalised interpretations of the Bible and he is clearly critical about these. However, by distinguishing Melachton's commentaries from those of Origen, Jerome and Aquinas,

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[165] Rowland, "Revelation", 169.
[166] Skevington Wood, *Captive to the Word: Martin Luther*, 160.
[167] Martin Luther, cited and trans. Timothy Wengert, *Reading the Bible with Martin Luther: An Introductory Guide* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 17.

he exposes his own bias towards the interpretation of the Bible. In Luther's view, Melanchton's annotations function as an index to be used to come to a more formed knowledge of Christ. It is reasonable to suggest that this was also the way that Luther viewed his own commentaries. The use of Cranach's prints in Luther's translations were essentially a non-textual "paratext"[168] and thus also served as an "index for reading Scripture and knowing Christ". Luther did not view them as subjective but instead saw them as indicators to expose true and intended meaning. The *Whore of Babylon*, then, defined and limited the interpretative role of the reader of Revelation 17. Cranach's image speaks to its audience in plain, straightforward imagery and depicts the Whore of Revelation as synonymous to the Pope; "It took little imagination to read the message in this contemporary allusion".[169] The crudeness of the illustration, the specific headdress and the contemporary regalia of the figures would suggest the image does little else than provide meaning and support to Lutheranism's attempt to expose the dishonour of the papal system.

We have seen earlier in this chapter that Luther's visual interpretation of biblical texts contained violent antipapal colouring from the beginning. Luther sought to uncover the errors of the established Church and its pope and he did this on textual grounds, just as he and his fellow Protestant Reformers had done with the image question; "they [*Protestants*] argued that Scripture could and must be legitimately invoked against the errors of the Church: that it was not only possible but necessary to cite scripture to prove that the Church had erred".[170] Luther and Protestant Reformers exploited texts of the Bible and used them as direct challenges to their opponents. The use of biblical texts to undermine the established Church is even more extreme when we remember that the Bible was the object that the Catholic Church had retained to be read singularly under their interpretive jurisdiction.

The *Passional* pamphlet mentioned earlier consisted entirely of modelling the Pope as the Antichrist, a direct antithesis to Jesus who appears in 1 John 2:18, 2:22, 4:3, 2 John 7 and has been linked to "ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας" (the man of lawlessness)

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[168] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis*, 6.
[169] Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, 123.
[170] Cameron, "The Counter-Reformation", 94.

and "ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας" (the son of perdition) in 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12.[171] At the time when the *Passional* was published, Luther's view that the Pope was the Antichrist was relatively new. Prior to 1520, Luther had viewed the Antichrist as an anticipated eschatological figure.[172] This changed radically at the turn of the decade, and his newly found understanding of the direct association of the biblical Antichrist with the papacy of his contemporary society is found in numerous letters he sent to, among others, John Lange (1520), Philip Melanchton (1521) and the Christian community in Wittenberg (1521).[173] In these letters, Luther unapologetically equates the Antichrist with the papacy, most explicitly in his letter to Lange, "We firmly believe […] that the papacy is the personification of Antichrist's throne."[174] This is also found in his literary works, including *Treatise on the New Testament* ("The pope […] does not have a hair's breadth of power to change what Christ has made, and whatever of these things he changes, […] he does as a tyrant and Antichrist").[175] Pettibone writes that Luther's understanding that the papacy was the Antichrist was reasoned by his belief that the Church had "resorted to power plays rather than appealing to Scripture".[176] The "ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας" / "ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας" of 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12 tried to overthrow God and gain supremacy, and Luther believed the Catholic Church was accountable for the same offence by retaining infallible authority for itself.

In the knowledge that from around 1520 Luther was found commonly referring to the Pope as the Antichrist, the presence of antipapal propaganda in the Revelation translations of some editions of the *September Testament* may not have surprised Luther's sixteenth-century audience.[177] Readers may have already been exposed to

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[171] David. M. Whitford, "The Papal Antichrist: Martin Luther and the Underappreciated Influence of Lorenzo Valla." *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2008): 30; translations my own.

[172] Whitford, "The Papal Antichrist", 27.

[173] A full transcript of these letters and many more are available at http://www.godrules.net/library/luther/208luther2.htm

[174] Martin Luther, "Letter to John Lange, August 18, 1520." Accessed on 04/06/2017, http://www.godrules.net/library/luther/208luther2.htm

[175] Martin Luther, *Treatise on the New Testament,* 1520, cited by Dennis Pettibone, "Martin Luther's Views on the Antichrist," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society,* 18/1 (2007): 88.

[176] Pettibone, "Martin Luther's Views on the Antichrist," 99.

[177] Boxall, "The Many Faces of Babylon the Great", 51; Christoph Weimer, "Luther and Cranach on Justification in Word and Image" in *The Pastoral Luther: Essays on Martin Luther's Practical Theology* ed. Timothy Wengert (London: Fortress Press, 2017), 301.

such pamphlets as Cranach's *Passional* and therefore been acquainted with the representation of contemporary individuals as biblical characters. Furthermore, they may have been familiar with Dürer's interpretation of the Whore in his book of woodcuts depicting Revelation narratives, which was an earlier example of the "blurring between the Babylon of Revelation and the contemporary, lived world".[178] Luther's identification of Babylon with his sixteenth-century context is not only seen in Cranach's woodcuts, but it is also evident in some of his treatises. The *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520) is a lengthy attack by Luther on Catholicism for its "captivity" of the church of Christ, which had been held under the bondage of the corrupt Catholic hierarchy.[179] Within the work, Luther writes, "I now know and am sure that the Papacy is the kingdom of Babylon," simulating a similar concept found in Luther's prose regarding the Antichrist. The relationship between Luther's interpretation of the Antichrist and the Whore is not distinct and each are used on different occasions to denote the same trajectory, but regardless of this ambiguity, the interpretations were both advantageous in modelling Luther's belief that the papacy embodied the malevolent, immoral figures mentioned in the New Testament texts. This shows a remarkable instance of biblical reception and the contextualisation of texts to provide contemporary meaning and functionality.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

The woodcut prints of Luther's *September Testament* provide us with an intimate glimpse of the relationship between text and image proposed by Luther, and his belief in the importance of confining images to a proximity with written words. In Berdini's description of Luther's use of images, he writes that he promoted their use as a "paratext".[180] This resonates with our findings in Chapter 2 that Luther believed images were useful in supporting a correct reading of biblical narratives, in the same way that accompanying texts were also helpful in establishing a correct interpretation of the image. By examining the prints in the *September Testament,* this two-way relationship

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[178] Michael Seymour, *Babylon: Legend, History and the Ancient City* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 118.
[179] James Harding, *Babylon and the Brethren: The Use and Influence of the Whore* (65.
[180] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis*, 6.

between text and image became much clearer and appears to be a pivotal aspect in the Lutheran visual exegetical strategy.

In terms of what the case study of this chapter actually depicts, the *Whore of Babylon* provides evidence of a politicised and contemporised biblical figure. The Whore is shown by Cranach wearing a three-tiered papal crown, which constructs a weighty criticism to the leaders of the Catholic Church. Luther saw errors in the papal hierarchy, which had corrupted Christ's Church and had become "a law unto itself".[181] In Luther's view, this authority needed to be rededicated to the Bible, by which the infallibility of the Pope is made redundant. The image of the *Whore of Babylon* in the *September Testament* clarified the meaning of Revelation 17 by explicating the Lutheran understanding that the head of the Church was the manifestation of earth's abominations.

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[181] Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura*, 120.

CHAPTER 4

LUCAS CRANACH THE YOUNGER, *WEIMAR ALTARPIECE*, 1555

Luther's use of images was not confined to those printed en masse for use in Bibles and pamphlets and during his later life, he came to commission altarpieces. As he did not share the same iconoclastic views as Calvin or Karlstadt, he did not deem it necessary to obstruct or remove pre-existing paintings from their original Church environments. He writes in *Against the Heavenly Prophets*, "Pictures contained in these books [*Luther's Bible translations*] we would paint on walls for the sake of remembrance and better understanding, since they do no more harm on walls than in books."[182] Luther finds there is no difference between using images in printed Bible translations as to having them painted on the walls of churches and houses. Alongside allowing pre-existing images to remain in churches, Luther encouraged new "thematic schemes that would create a new tradition of the Protestant altarpiece".[183] Inspired by the concept of *Merckbilder* images, Luther saw potential in commissioning large-scale compositions for churches, with the hope that they would educate the faithful in correct biblical interpretation and Lutheran doctrine.

The first altarpiece that Luther commissioned was *The Law and the Gospel* (1529) (Fig. 5) painted by Lucas Cranach the Elder for a church in Gotha, Germany, now held in the Schlossmuseum in the same city. Cranach was in direct consultation with Luther during the conceptualization of the painting and therefore the image provides us with an accurate representation of the Lutheran belief system.[184] *The Law and the Gospel* is a multifaceted painting that consists of various motifs based on biblical texts and figures. It is divided vertically into two sections by a tree, which on the left side is unfruitful and on the right, has rich foliage. On the upper left-hand side, there is a representation of the temptation of Adam and Eve (Gen. 3), and a camp centred around a serpent on a wooden structure (Numbers 21). In the foreground, there is a group of men holding a set of tablets, who have been given a sixteenth-century restyling. Their attention is directed towards a naked, panicked man who is being

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[182] Luther, *Against the Heavenly Prophets,* 90.
[183] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 126
[184] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 29.

chased by the devil and a skeleton towards flames in the left-hand corner. Above all these scenes is Christ in the clouds, in position to judge (Mt 25:31-46). On the right-hand side of the tree, a naked figure is being directed towards the crucified Jesus by John the Baptist, characterised by his clothing made of camel hair (Mt 3:4). Above the crucifix is the resurrected Jesus, who is situated aloft the empty tomb. The bottom right hand corner depicts a lamb standing on top of a beast and a skeleton. Along the bottom of the panel are textual references from the Bible (Mt 11; Rom 2, 4, 11; 1 Cor 15; 1 Pt 1).

The Law and the Gospel was not the only image of its kind. It was the first in a series of paintings by Cranach the Elder of the same theme that Luther commissioned for different cities. Because of its repetition, Noble refers to the motif as a "pictorial type".[185] Among the collection of 'Law and Gospel' images are *The Law and Gospel* in Prague (Sternberg Palace, 1529) and the *Shneeberg Altarpiece* (Saint Wolfgang's Church, 1539). Not only did the 'Law and Gospel' images manifest in panel paintings, but they also lived a "double life" by appearing in printed books.[186] The 'Law and Gospel' motif was evidentially a thematic scheme of unparalleled importance to Luther's campaign, both during his lifetime and hereafter. In briefly defining what is meant by the binary of law and gospel in the theology of Luther, Wriedt writes, "By law Luther understands all statements of Scripture that uncover the sin of humans and accuse them. In contrast, the gospel includes all statements that promise comfort, redemption and the grace of God".[187] Although in light of Luther's understanding articulated here by Wriedt we can read the two oppositional halves in the images as 'Law' and 'Gospel', a misunderstanding occurred among contemporaneous observers that the images reflected the Hebrew Bible in contrast to the New Testament. This is a reasonable oversight considering the prominent figures from the Hebrew Bible on the left side of the panel and the Christ-centric right-hand side. However, the evidence of Jesus as judge in the sky on the left section helpfully indicates that the composition

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[185] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder,* 27; When discussing specific images, I will italicise the title (for example, *The Law and the Gospel* for the painting in Gotha), but when referring to the "pictorial type" found in numerous paintings of the same theme, it will be written as 'Law and Gospel'.
[186] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 127.
[187] Marcus Wriedt, "Luther's theology", trans. Katharina Gustavs in *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther* ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 106.

depicts the binary of law and gospel found in both testaments. There is a juxtaposition of death in the law on the left and vitality through Christ's death on the right; the painting is, "in visual form, the Lutheran notion of salvation by faith through grace".[188] The miscommunication regarding the intended meaning between the oppositional halves may have contributed to the extensive collection of revised editions that were created on this subject and the progressive enlargement of Christ as judge on the left side in these later versions, aptly reflected in the *Schneeberg Altarpiece* (Fig. 6).[189]

This chapter will focus on a later Lutheran painting entitled the *Weimar Altarpiece* (Saint Peter and Paul's Church, Weimar, 1555) (Fig. 7) created two years after Lucas Cranach the Elder's death by his son Lucas Cranach the Younger. Cranach the Younger was trained by his father in his workshop and took over from him after his passing. The *Weimar Altarpiece* was commissioned by John Frederick of Saxony for the Lutheran Church in Germany, where the image has remained to this day. Luther himself did not have had any direct association with the commissioning or production of the image as it was created nearly a decade after his death, but his influence is perhaps even more pronounced than in any other altarpiece. Not only does the altarpiece house a large number of the motifs found in the 'Law and Gospel' images, but there is a perceptibly heightened Christological focus. It therefore allows us to pick up on the idea articulated in 1.2.1 that Luther's reading of Scripture focused on explicating a Christ-centric interpretation. The painting has been claimed by Koerner as the "single most important visual monument of the German Reformation".[190] Further, Ozment deems it "the most incisive and succinct artistic expression of the Protestant gospel of faith alone".[191] Considering the depths of these claims, it is deserving of significant attention in this study. The chapter will follow the same structure as the previous case study, beginning with an examination of how the biblical text(s) were interpreted by the artist into an image and secondly an interrogation of this interpretation within the context.

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[188] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 36.
[189] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 34.
[190] Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 406.
[191] Ozment, *The Serpent and the Lamb*, 278.

4.1 *The text in image*

In its entirety, the *Weimar Altarpiece* manifests as a traditional hinged triptych, with images of the commissioner, his wife and children on the wings.[192] The inclusion of contemporary patrons and their families was found commonly in Catholic paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[193] Despite the presence of the donor and his family, which disrupts a linear reading of Luther's challenge to traditional Catholic images, the individuals on either side of the central panel are facing inward and demonstrate a subservient gesture that sees them as nothing more than witnesses to the activity of the central panel.[194] In this way, Noble argues that the triptych attempts to "reconcile traditional form with Lutheran content".[195]

It is the central panel that will dominate the analysis found in this chapter, as it is here that we find evidence of Lutheran visual biblical exegesis. Unlike the previous chapter where the reception of a single biblical text in an image was analysed, the analysis of the stimulus of the *Weimar Altarpiece* pertains to a considerably more complex series of biblical texts and themes. In this respect, the *Whore of Babylon* was an image that was relatively straightforward to understand from the perspective of its biblical interpretation. The Whore is mentioned in a small number of verses and the interpretation of the character within the neat parameters of the text is uncomplicated. In contrast, in the *Weimar Altarpiece* we have a composition that is highly complex and relies on a selection of texts from both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. It is important, therefore, to provide a commentary on the altarpiece, highlighting the biblical narratives, characters and themes as they appear and suggesting brief justifications for their appearance.

In his analysis of the painting, Viladesau refers to it as a "reworking" of the 'Law and Gospel' theme; certainly, there are an overwhelming number of similarities found in the compositions.[196] If we focus on the background there is a naked man being chased

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[192] Jakob Rosenburg, "Lucas Cranach the Elder: A Critical Appreciation" *Record of the Art Museum*, Princeton University, vol. 28, no. 1 (1969): 53.
[193] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 140.
[194] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the* Elder, 144.
[195] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 144.
[196] Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross,* 162

by a skeleton and a beast, which appears in the foreground of 'Law and Gospel'. Just right of the cross in the background, there is a group of men who appear to be holding a tablet, again akin to the presence of Moses in the earlier paintings. Above that at the furthest distance there are three men looking to the sky at an angel. The presence of sheep beside them suggest it is visualization of the annunciation to the shepherds (Lk 2:8-20). To the right of that we have a camp setup, with a group centring on a T-shaped wooden structure with a snake coiled around it. This is an image derived from the text in the Hebrew Bible in Numbers 21: The Israelites challenged God for bringing them out of Egypt into the wilderness where there is no food or water, and because of their complaints, God sent poisonous snakes on them. 21:7-9 reads,

> The people came to Moses and said, "We have sinned by speaking against the LORD and against you; pray to the LORD to take away the serpents from us." So Moses prayed for the people. And the LORD said to Moses, "Make a poisonous serpent, and set it on a pole; and everyone who is bitten shall look at it and live." So Moses made a serpent of bronze, and put it upon a pole; and whenever a serpent bit someone, that person would look at the serpent of bronze and live. (NRSV)

In 'Law and Gospel', the erected serpent in the camp is found on the left-hand side of the painting, thus suggesting its inclusion on the side of the 'Law'. However, in the *Schneeberg* and *Weimar* altarpieces, the camp and serpent are included in the right-hand side, thus entering the 'Gospel' portion of the panel. Dillenberger writes of this compositional shift, "The scene of the serpents that devoured the people, who then were saved by their looking at the elevated serpent, is recorded in the Old Testament; because it is actually the symbol of grace".[197] This supports Wriedt's claim that it is in the whole of Scripture that Luther found texts of 'Law' and texts of 'grace'. It was not a matter of confining either theme to just one of the Testaments.

In the original Gotha version of 'Law and Gospel' the vast majority of Christological images are confined to the right-hand side of the motif. In the *Weimar Altarpiece*, however, these images are centralised and make up the dominant components of the painting. The central Crucifix serves the same purpose as the tree divider found in the 'Law and Gospel' motifs. To our left of the Crucifix is the resurrected Jesus, holding a

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[197] DIllenberger, *Images and Relics*, 98

translucent banner, trampling over the same beast and skeleton that chase the man in the background scene. Immediately below the crucifix is a lamb holding a similar see-through banner, which holds the words from John 1:29 in Latin, ECCE AGNVS DEI QVI TOLLIT PECCATA MVNDI ("Behold, the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.")[198] In 'Law and Gospel', it is this lamb that tramples over the beast and the skeleton, and the resurrected Jesus is seen standing aloft the empty tomb. The repeated motifs of 'Law and Gospel' found in the *Weimar Altarpiece* are subtly adapted and made even more empathetic with a Christological focus.

To the right-hand side of the crucifix is a group of three men. Going in order of proximity to the cross, we have John the Baptist who holds one hand up to the crucified Jesus and the other to the lamb beneath it. This draws a direct comparison between the two, which is strengthened by the written words on the lamb's banner. Next to him stands the figure of Lucas Cranach the Elder. The image of Cranach is in fact based on a self-portrait from 1550, which Cranach the Younger then incorporated into the altarpiece.[199] Cranach the Elder stares directly towards the observer, his hands held in a prayerful gesture. The most significant part of his presence is the stream of blood that comes directly from Jesus' side wound and that lands perfectly and singularly on his head. Ozment's observation is that, within the *Weimar Altarpiece*, Cranach stands as an "Everyman", a "stand-in for the whole of fallen humankind".[200] In the knowledge that Cranach converted to Lutheranism on his deathbed, the blood that lands on his head is a straightforward and graphic illustration of redemption through Jesus' death. The inclusion of Cranach the Elder will be elaborated on in more detail when discussing the visual interpretation in the context of Luther's theology.

In front of Cranach, we find Luther, who explicitly indicates to the pages of the book he offers to the viewer. Like the banner held by the lamb, Luther's book holds explicit

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[198] I would highly recommend visiting the Lucas Cranach Digital Archive (Available at: http://lucascranach.org/DE_PPW_NONE-PPW001A) to appreciate the microscopic detail of this painting and to see the textual references contained in the image more clearly. This page also contains an exceptionally in-depth description of the *Weimar Altarpiece* extracted from Daniel Görres, *Der Cranach-Altar der Stadtkirche St. Peter und Paul in Weimar und die Mediation des Glaubens.* (Bonn: Seiten, 2006), 7-10.

[199] Rosenberg, "Lucas Cranach the Elder", 53.

[200] Ozment, *The Serpent and the* Lamb, 273.

textual references. [201] When examining the painting in small-scale, these can easily be overlooked, but on close scrutiny the exposed pages show references to 1 John 1:7b, "and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin", Heb 4:16, "Let us therefore approach the throne of grace with confidence, so that we may receive mercy and find grace to help in time of need" and John 3:14-15, "And just as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so in this way must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life". The textual references that we find in both the banner and the book highlight the intense focus on the written text of the Bible that was so pivotal to Luther's acceptance and use of images. It is only when we look at the *Weimar Altarpiece* in such detail and comparison to its earlier prototypes that we see the extent to which the altarpiece centres on Scripture; "the Lutheran altarpiece […] enshrines the specific authority of the word of the Bible by including biblical passages as prominent parts of the composition. This textuality, although it implies anxiety about religious imagery, intensifies […] the Biblicism […]".[202] In this way, there are definite similarities regarding the relationship between text and image in the *Weimar Altarpiece* and the *September Testament*. With the printed images in Luther's Bible translations, their inclusion was much the same as a textual commentary, used to support and establish an appropriate understanding of the biblical texts. In a comparable way, the textual quotes within the *Weimar Altarpiece* were intended to be read with the explicit guidance provided in the image and vice versa.

4.2 *The visual interpretation in context*

It is a common perception in modern scholarship that Lutheran altarpieces served as visual explications of the Reformer's theology and interpretation of the Bible.[203] They

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[201] Bonnie Noble, "From Vision to Testimony: Cranach's Weimar Altarpiece", *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 5:2 (2003): 143.

[202] David H. Price, "The Bible and the visual arts in early modern Europe" in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 3, From 1450 to 1750* ed. Euan Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016): n.p.

[203] Noble, "From Vision to Testimony" 158; Bridget Heal, "Church Space and Religious Change in Reformation Germany" in *Religious Conversion: History, Experience and Meaning* ed. Ira Katznelson and Miri Rubin. (London: Routledge, 2014): 111; Elke Anna Weriner, "Martin Luther and Visual Culture" *Religion: Oxford Research Encyclopedias* (2017): 1-32. Accessed on 08/06/2017, http://religion.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-296.

provided a snapshot of Lutheran theology by their function as a *Merckbilder* image and served as scriptural and doctrinal reminders for the churchgoer. Bridget Heal writes that Lutheran altarpieces "reinforced the key teachings of the new church and helped consolidate a sense of confessional identity".[204] The paintings embraced the newly found meaning of the Bible as understood by Luther, which encouraged the active engagement of the laity with the Bible. This can be seen with particular intensity in the *Weimar Altarpiece* in the form of textual references and Luther's direct proffering of the Bible to the observer. This gesture has been labelled by Noble as a "polyvalent symbol", comprising many layers of theological significance:

> Within the context of Luther's theology […] the book signifies Luther's literary accomplishments, including his translation of the Bible into German and his […] treatises, sermons and letters. Luther's book also recalls the text-centeredness of his understanding of Christianity as well. Luther's opened book claims the legitimacy of the idea that the source of true Christianity is the Word as it is written in the Bible, an authority that a corrupt Catholic church tried to supersede with its own power.[205]

Luther challenged the notion of the infallibility of the Pope, as represented in the *Whore of Babylon*, and the Roman Catholic Church who saw their authority as co-equal to that of the Bible. They heralded history and tradition as the essential constituent for understanding Scripture. In contrast, Luther sought to eradicate the errors and misjudgements of Catholicism's use and interpretation of the Bible and un-shroud its intended message; in the *Weimar Altarpiece*, the younger Cranach has set forth this exact premise in Luther's gesticulation.

Noble's quote highlights a number of reasons why the presence of the book in the altarpiece is critically important, but I would argue that another underlying symbol could be added to its list of functions; that being, the Christological meaning of the 'Word of God'. This was brought to my attention by Peter Matheson in "Luther on Galatians", *The Oxford Handbook of The Reception History of the Bible* (2011), when he wrote the following:

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[204] Heal, "Church Space and Religious Change", 110.
[205] Noble, ""From Vision to Testimony", 158.

The Word was the Johannine one, the living Word, was Christ himself, to which the Church itself was subject. To Luther's mind, Paul's thunderbolt in the first chapter of Galatians demolished the wicked and blasphemous claim of the canonists and commentators that the Church stood in judgement over the Gospel.[206]

Matheson here is referring to Galatians 1:11-12 ("For I want you to know, brothers and sisters, that the gospel that was proclaimed by me is not of human origin; for I did not receive it from a human source, nor was I taught it, but I received it through a revelation of Jesus Christ"). The association of the 'Word' and Christ was an essential component of *sola scriptura* and emphasised Luther's Christological position. In the *Weimar Altarpiece*, Luther's indication to the 'Word of God' is echoed by John the Baptist and vice versa, as both point to a different manifestation of the 'Word'. In this way, the *Weimar Altarpiece* offers in visual expression Luther's Christ-centric reading of Scripture, which was a characteristic feature of Luther's hermeneutical method distinguished in Chapter 1. To quote Griedanus, "He [*Luther*] sees the unity of Scripture in its centre, Jesus Christ".[207] In *Weimar*, Jesus' arms spread horizontally across the upper edge of the painting, embracing the rich combination of Hebrew Bible and New Testament narratives and themes that are contained in the image. The synergy between the two testaments is also a fundamental characteristic of Luther's *sola scriptura,* reiterating an earlier observation that Luther favoured the "prophetic" interpretation of the Hebrew Bible that finds Christ.[208]

Two scholars, Joseph Leo Koerner and John Dillenberger, have drawn upon Luther's own writings to justify the various biblical motifs that appear in the 'Law and Gospel' images and the *Weimar Altarpiece.* Koerner does this in his monographs *The Reformation of the Image* (2004) and *The Moment of Self-Portraiture* (1997), and argues in both that Luther's *Easter Sermon* (1533) contains explicit references to these specific motifs.[209] If we take a look at the sermon Koerner refers to, we find Luther commenting that an individual's reading of the Bible can be "strengthened by that splendid and beautiful portrait of St. John pointing to the Lamb with his finger. I was always fond of such pictures; for instance, the one on which the Paschal Lamb is

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[206] Matheson, "Luther on Galatians", 623.
[207] Griedanus, *Preaching Christ from the Old Testament*, 116.
[208] Griedanus, *Preaching Christ from the Old Testament*, 115.
[209] Koerner, *A Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 382.

depicted carrying a little banner, or the picture of the crucifixion".[210] This indicates an appreciation of three motifs: the crucifixion, the Lamb carrying a banner and John the Baptist pointing to the Lamb. These are three of the elements that appear in the foreground of the *Weimar Altarpiece.* Although Luther had passed away nine years prior to the commission of this painting, Cranach the Younger had incorporated images into the altarpiece that were grounding explicitly in Luther's writings. Koerner's correlation of specific visual motifs with Luther's literary works is exceptionally insightful, but I would disagree with one of his comments: that these images were "indispensable to understanding Christ". [211] In Luther's writings, we simply have an indication of his preference on certain images and there is by no means evidence to suggest these images were anywhere near indispensable. Regardless of Koener's exaggeration of Luther's thoughts on these images, his argument is valid that we can find justification in Luther's writings for certain pictorial motifs.

Secondly, we have John Dillenberger, who in a similar way has argued that specific writings by Luther demonstrate his sanctification of certain images. Dillenberger used the *Commentary on Galatians* (1531) to do this, although the work is significantly less explicit in encouraging certain images than the previous example. What we find in the Galatians commentary is a thematic resemblance to the visualizations in 'Law and Gospel' and the *Weimar Altarpiece.* Dillenberger writes, "If the Galatians commentary is a kind of summing up in which the entire Scripture is mirrored, the […] Cranach paintings can be said visually to display what Luther has delineated as the pivotal points around which faith gravitates."[212] The commentary highlights themes of "law and gospel, sin and redemption" [213]; the latter of these binaries being exceptionally significant to the meaning of the *Weimar Altarpiece,* where we find the arc of blood that lands on Cranach as a symbol of redemption.

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[210] Martin Luther, "Sermons on the Gospel of St. John: Chapters 1-4," in *Luther's Works*, 22 (n.d.) n.p. Accessed on 04/06/2017, https://calvinandcalvinism.wordpress.com/2007/12/27/martin-luther-on-john-129-unedited-and-complete/
[211] Koerner, *A Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 382.
[212] Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 95.
[213] Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 95.

If we interrogate the symbol further, we find it to manifest an even more sophisticated visual representation of Lutheran theology. In Noble's analysis of the altarpiece and the inclusion of Cranach the Elder, she uses the terms "passive" and "passively". [214] This is an accurate description of Cranach's disposition, as when the blood lands on the crown of his head he is entirely inactive, gazing to the observer with a look of indifference. Due to his subservient manner, Cranach is a visualization of Luther's notion of "passive righteousness", written about in his Galatians commentary and forming one side of the two types of righteousness, the other being "active righteousness". In his work on Galatians, Luther writes,

> But this most excellent righteousness, of faith I mean […] is neither political nor ceremonial, nor the righteousness of God's law, nor conisteth in our works, but is clean contrary: that is to say a mere passive righteousness, as the other above are active. For in this we work nothing, we render nothing unto God, but only we receive and suffer another to work in us, that is to say, God.[215]

In light of this description of "passive righteousness", we now see Cranach the Elder in the *Weimar Altarpiece* as an impeccable demonstration of Luther's understanding that "we work nothing […] only we receive". In his study on participation in redemption, Stephen Chester refers to the notions of active and passive righteousness found in Luther's Galatian's commentary. While "active" is based on an engagement with the Mosaic Law and the practice of works, the latter is entirely detached from our ability to gain righteousness. In Chester's words, "To be under grace is to have passive, justifying righteousness".[216] In the *Weimar Altarpiece,* Cranach rests under the fountain of "justifying righteousness", reflecting no engagement with an action but merely an acceptance of a gift. In Robert Kolb's essay on the distinction between active and passive righteousness, he writes, "This [*passive*] is the righteousness

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[214] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the* Elder, 149.
[215] Martin Luther, "A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, 1531 (Selections)" in *Martin Luther: Selections From His Writings* ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 101.
[216] Stephen Chester, "It is No Longer I Who Live: Justification by Faith and Participation in Christ in Martin Luther's Exegesis of Galations," *New Testament Studies 55*(3) (2009): 326; See Robert Kolb, "Luther's Hermeneutics of Distinctions: Law and Gospel, Two Kinds of Righteousness, Two Realms, Freedom and Bondage" in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology* ed. Robert Kolb et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 168-186.

hidden in a mystery, which the world does not understand".[217] Cranach the Younger has managed to visualise this mystery in a way that simply and graphically represents redemption through Christ's blood. It is, of course, unknown whether the sixteenth-century attendee of Saint Peter and Paul's Church would have picked up on the passivity of Cranach the Elder's redemption found in the altarpiece, but from the perspective of a modern scholar who can simultaneously access images and written texts, the *Weimar Altarpiece* is an exceptional example of a Lutheran retable.

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In the *Weimar Altarpiece* we find copious amounts of biblical references, in the form of image and text. The younger Cranach developed the altarpiece from the 'Law and Gospel' motif but modified it to allow a more pronounced Christological emphasis. Although drawing on images found in both the Hebrew Bible and New Testament, the emphasis is on Christ and redemption through his death, shown explicitly in the form of the blood that lands on Cranach's head. The images are explicit and crude, embedded in Lutheran theology and indicative of the Word of God; the combination of these ensures it is seen as an example of a *Merckbilder* image. In the introduction to this chapter I reiterated the point that the *Weimar Altarpiece* was created after Luther's death but that his legacy is found in an exceptionally pronounced way. We find him explicitly in the foreground, holding the multivalent symbol of the book, but we also find him in the selection of motifs that implicitly correspond to his written commentaries and sermons.

The analysis of the *Whore of Babylon* and the *Weimar Altarpiece* in Part I has offered a thorough examination of the purpose of images in Luther's campaign and the distinctive characteristics of the Lutheran visual exegetical strategy. It has also addressed how the texts were received in the images created by the elder and younger Cranach and therefore has offered some indication of the shape of the texts' reception history in the Lutheran Reformation. The use of images in Lutheranism was confined to an educational purpose, and they facilitated the visualizations of Lutheran tenets

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[217] Robert Kolb, "Luther on the Two Kinds of Righteousness; Reflections on His Two-Dimensional Definition of Humanity at the Heart of His Theology," *Lutheran Quarterly* vol. 8 (1999): 452

and proposed appropriate modes of biblical interpretation. From this discussion on Lutheran images, my research now travels south, away from Germany and towards the setting of Counter-Reformation Italy, where I anticipate a different mode of visual biblical interpretation that is founded in the trajectory of 'scripture and tradition'.

PART II

COUNTER-REFORMATION IMAGES

CHAPTER 5

THE UNDERSTANDING AND UTILITY OF IMAGES IN THE COUNTER-REFORMATION CHURCH

In the Lutheran Reformation, as with the wider Protestant Reformation(s), the Bible took on an isolated role in authority. While Luther believed images were educationally useful, they were by no means essential in the construction of a Christian faith. In contrast, the Bible for the Catholics of sixteenth-century Italy maintained an authority shared with the Mother Church. Although the Council of Trent was ambiguous in their determination of the relationship between 'scripture and tradition' in their fourth session, the Church's historical practices were integral to the faith. As I addressed in Chapter 2, the use of images and artistic devices in religious practice had been engrained in the Church since Pope Gregory made his statements in the sixth century. Hence, in Protestantism's wake, "The Counter-Reformation saw a deliberate attempt to restore the position of the arts as ancillary to the Bible".[218] Before the Council of Trent released the decree concerning sacred images in 1563, representatives of the Catholic faith had released publications that tried to counter the arguments articulated by Protestant reformers like Karlstadt. Within a few months of Karlstadt's *On the Removal of Images*, Hieronymus Emser (1477-1527) wrote a work entitled *That One Should Not Remove Images of the Saints from the Churches* (1522)*, which directly countered Karlstadt's claims of iconoclasm.[219] Whereas Karlstadt had interpreted the second commandment as a critique of all images, Emser chose to read of the accepted use of décor in the cherubim of the tabernacle (Ex. 25:18-22, 26, 36, 37) and then in the Temple of Solomon (1 Kings 6).[220] A similar argument came from Johannes Eck in *On Not Removing Images of Christ and the Saints* (1522), who interestingly was the theologian who posed an attack against Luther's *sola scriptura* in favour of 'scripture and tradition' (see 1.2.2). It should be said, however, that on the discussion of sacred images, the positions of Emser and Eck were relatively comparable to that

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[218] John Tinsley, "Art and the Bible" in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* eds. Bruce Metzger and Michael Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). 56-60, 59.
[219] Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 186.
[220] Mangrum and Scavizzi, *A Reformation Debate*, 14.

of Luther, as they similarly understood that idolatry was not inherent in the images but in the intention behind their use.

By the time the matter of the sacred images came to the attention of the attendees at the Council of Trent, Catholicism's defence of their continued use of pictorial devices had been forecast by representatives of the faith. John O'Malley writes, "Contrary to what art historical literature sometimes suggests, images were not only not an important issue at the council, but until the final hour were not an issue at all for the vast, vast majority of the council's participants".[221] The attendees of the Council were all from Italy, Spain or Portugal, countries where instances of iconoclasm were virtually unknown. The most important issues for the Council had been covered well in advance of Trent's closing, including the revalidation of the sacraments, the synergy of good works and faith for salvation and the trajectory of 'scripture and tradition'. Images were a second thought and very nearly overlooked entirely due to the Trent attendees' limited experience of the severity of the challenges to images. It took the Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise (1524-1574), and his entourage of bishops, abbots and theologians to raise the issue when they arrived at Trent in 1562. France had suffered outbreaks of violent iconoclasm among the Calvinists and therefore the French ecclesiastics were more aware than the Trent members of the magnitude of iconographic unrest. The issue was repeatedly shunned by legates in Trent and Pope Pius IV in Rome until De Guise demanded its inclusion in the final session. It appears that, "had it not been for him [*Charles de Guise*] it is not at all certain the council would have taken up the issue".[222]

5.1 *The Council of Trent*

The image question was addressed by the Church in the twenty-fifth decree, "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images", in 1563, a day before the Council disbanded after their twenty-eight years of sporadic meetings. The attachment of the sacred image discussion to the issue of the role of the saints may initially strike us as strange as the issues seem too broad and individual to be treated

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[221] John O'Malley, "The Council of Trent and Michelangelo", *American Philosophial Society,* 156, no. 4 (2012): 392.
[222] O'Malley, "The Council of Trent and Michelangelo", 395

as one. Yet the two matters are intensely interlinked; as images of Christ were intended to provoke a devotional response, so the images of particular saints reinforced a personal relationship between believers and holy figures.[223] The laity knew the saints through engaging with relics, images and sculptures. The twenty-fifth decree, therefore, recognised that as well as affirming the use of religious art, the entire issue of revering saints and martyrs had to be answered. It is worth quoting from the decree at length here:

> Moreover, the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained especially in churches, and that due honour and veneration is to be given to them; not, however, that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them […] but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which they represent, so that by means of the images which we kiss and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the saints […]

> Moreover, let the bishops diligently teach that by means of the histories of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption, portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflected upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for those things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety.[224]

Although equipped with the knowledge that the decree was written in haste, it was effective in answering the cries of iconoclasm and reaffirming the state of images in the reformed Catholic Church. It successfully addressed the fine line between material devotion that would be understood by their opposition as idol worship and argued the benefits of physical images as means to channel adoration for Christ. Furthermore, the Council remained supportive of their medieval traditions and argued in favour of

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[223] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 39.
[224] Council of Trent, Session 25, 4th December 1563, "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images", 215-216.

continuing saint veneration through the use of physical and visual aids. In Shroeder's translation of the decree, he writes that observers of post-Tridentine images should be "*moved* to adore and love God and cultivate piety". In the version of the decree cited by Hall in *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art* (2011), the phrase is "may be *excited* to adore and love God and to cultivate piety".[225] To have the ability to "move" or "excite" the observer was recognised as a beneficial property of Counter-Reformation images. This is entirely avoided in Luther's understanding promotion of religious images, which were solely purposed to educationally instruct.

The Council of Trent also addressed the didactic profits of images. The Trent attendees argued for the benefits of using images in education, but they were significantly more in line with the views put forward by Pope Gregory the Great in his letter to Serenus than Luther suggested. In this way, the Council seems to be "merely repeating the traditional view".[226] When we addressed the Lutheran position of images in Part I, we saw a support for the educational benefits of images but also the necessity for images to be grounded explicitly in written biblical texts. As such, there is a distinct departure from Pope Gregory's trajectory. However, in the decree issued by the Council of Trent, we see a reinstallation of the Gregorian perspective, devoid of any mention of biblical textual assistance. Although Gregory is not explicitly mentioned in the decree, in the treatises that followed Gregory received a significant amount of attention. He was mentioned by Gabriele Paleotti (1566-1597) in *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (1582), Andrea Gilio (d. 1584) in *Dialogue on the Errors of the Painters* (1564) and Cardinal Federigo Borromeo (1564-1631) in *De picture sacra*.[227] In the latter of these, Gregory is supported by Borromeo in his understanding that images excite and instruct; as Duggan writes, "Knowingly or not, Cardinal Federigo Borromeo had just added a new twist to the whole tradition by linking Gregory and Trent. With one small clause he had harmonized two texts, 'modernized' Gregory, and buttressed the Tridentine decree with his authority".[228] By invoking the name of Pope Gregory, the Cardinal embedded the Council's stance on images into its millennium-old tradition.

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[225] Council of Trent, "The Twenty-Fifth Session", ed. trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolmann, 1848), 232-89, 235. Accessed on 04/06/2017, http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct25.html
[226] Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories", 51.
[227] Duggan, "Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?", 86.
[228] Duggan, "Was Art Really the "Book of the Illiterate"?", 87.

If we look specifically at the beginning of the second paragraph cited above from the twenty-fifth decree ("by means of the histories of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption, portrayed in paintings or other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflected upon"),[229] we find an implicit suggestion of Catholicism's continued loyalty to Church tradition and how this should be reflected in images. Firstly, this statement indicates that the "histories of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption" are important subject matters for paintings. These are not limited by the Council to just biblical narratives and the vagueness suggests they are appealing to a range of different historic stories, traditions and characters. Secondly, the Council make it clear that these "histories" were to be retained and used to instruct and re-establish memory. Boyd and Esler pick up on this idea of maintaining and preserving Catholic tradition in paintings, and write with regards to the twenty-fifth decree, "The Council applied Catholic tradition in seeing the Church as having an identity generated over time, which meant that it needed to be able to relate fragmentary experiences across temporal boundaries".[230] The history of the Church and its continuing and developing traditions were essential aspects of the Catholic identity. We explored this in Chapter 1, and it is remarkable that we find the support for Church tradition placed in direct proximity to the subject of sacred images. It contrasts sharply with Luther's perception that the history and traditions of the Church required urgent reform and significant modification, and thence his declaration that images should contain nothing except that which is found in the Bible.

As well as outlining and justifying their response regarding sacred images, the Council also addressed how images were, or more appropriately were *not*, to be created. It provided this vague framework:

> Furthermore, in the invocation of […] the sacred use of images, all superstition shall be removed, all filthy quest for gain eliminated, and all lasciviousness be avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with a seductive charm […] Finally, such

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[229] Council of Trent, Session 25, 4th December 1563, "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images", 215-216.
[230] Boyd and Esler, *Visuality and Biblical Text,* 74.

zeal and care should be exhibited by the bishops with regard to these things that nothing may appear that is disorderly or unbecoming and confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing disrespectful…[231]

The brief statement on the conduct of images cited above spoke to the case of inappropriate religious images that were prevalent in mid-sixteenth century Italian art. *The Martyrdom of Saint Agatha* (Fig. 8.) is an example of the eroticism of the religious image in Rome pre-Trent and that threatened to sexualise images of the holy family and the saints. Images of grotesque martyrdom had the potential to be sexually exciting to the viewer; looking at the image in Figure 8, the focal point of the painting is Agatha's breasts, the part of the female anatomy that was considered sexually appealing during the period.[232] A similar issue is seen in the "saturated eroticism" of Fiorentino's *Dead Christ with Angels* (Fig. 9) dating to the 1520's.[233] The image is a bizarre depiction of the crucified Jesus, who shows no sign of fatality, instead appearing, "as much alive as dead, and seems to respond with a sensual smile to the angel's finger probing his wound".[234] The nude figure is arousing, and its portrayal is regarded by Hall as ineffective in inspiring devotional thoughts.[235] Furthermore, the drapery campaigns on Michelangelo's fresco of the *Last Judgement* (1537-41) (Fig. 10) in the Sistine Chapel which happened in the aftermath of the Council, with the first modifications occurring between 1564-1565, is an example of the self-consciousness of the Church regarding the images that they were being associated with.[236]

Alongside the concern of erotic paintings, the Council also expressed their anxiety about paintings that were "unbecomingly or confusedly arranged". An example of the Church's disapproval of images that were incomprehensible is found in Gilio's identification and critique of Sebastiano del Piombo's *Flagellation* (1521-4); "the blows

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[231] Council of Trent, Session 25, 4th December 1563, "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images", 215-216.
[232] Jill Burke, "Sex and Spirituality in 1500s Rome: Sebastiano del Piombo's "Martyrdom of Saint Agatha"," *The Art Bulletin*, 88, no.3 (2006): 482.
[233] Burke, "Sex and Spirituality", 482.
[234] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 89
[235] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 89
[236] Peter M. Lukehart, "Painting Virtuously: The Counter-Reform and the Reform of Artist's Education in Rome Between Guild and Academy" in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* eds. Marcia B. Hall and Tracy Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 180.

seem administered with a cotton whip, as a joke, rather than inflicted with thick cables full of knots and worse things. And with such demonstrations no one will learn to understand the bitterness of [Christ's] pain … and the other great miseries".[237] There is clearly anxiety that images were obscuring the religious narratives and this was problematic in light of the Council's reestablishment of the tradition that images served a profound educational purpose. Both Hall and Lepage argue that the complexity and innovation of some paintings meant they were only able to address an elite group of the *cognoscenti* as opposed to the average church attendee.[238] As Paleotti writes, certain images were nonsensical "without the help of a skilled professional philosopher or theology".[239] It is clear that at Trent, the Church wanted to eliminate the risk of observers' succumbing to lust when gazing upon religious subjects, as well as removing the possibility of not understanding the narrative. Trent did not supply precise guidelines on how this could be accomplished but the treatises that followed attempted to fill this void and "eradicate the abuses" that were making religious art the object of Protestant criticism.[240] A number of these treatises I mentioned earlier, including Gilio, Paleotti and Borromeo, who also founded the guild of painters in Rome, "Accademia de San Luca", in 1593, which served to "prepare artists for religious commissions".[241]

5.2 *Paolo Veronese,* Feast in the House of Levi*, 1573*

Both before and after the Council of Trent, theologians and Church authorities put forward guidance for producing appropriate images, and a very interesting example of the Church's apparent anxiety towards religious images is found in the treatment of Paolo Veronese's *The Feast in the House of Levi* (1573) (Fig. 11). Veronese's painting was originally called *The Last Supper*, but due to its challenge from the Inquisition of the Holy Office in the same year as its completion, the artist changed its name, and so in effect, the biblical text associated with the painting's subject. Veronese was able

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[237] Gilio, cited by Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories", 52.
[238] Andrea Lepage, "Art and the Counter-Reformation" in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* eds. Alexandra Bamji et al. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 380; Hall, "Introduction", 15.
[239] Hall, "Introduction", 13.
[240] Quiviger, "Renaissance Art Theories", 51.
[241] John F. Moffitt, *Caravaggio in Context: Learned Naturalism and Renaissance Humanism* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company), 82.

to achieve this transition because the texts of the Last Supper (Mt 26:17-30; Mk 14:12-26; Lk 22:7-38; Jn 13) and the feast in the House of Levi (Lk 5:29) had as their lowest common denominator a banquet scene. The painting was commissioned for the refectory in the convent of Basilica di Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, which was a traditional place for an image of the Last Supper.[242] In the painting, the long banquet table is distinguishable, as are some of the disciples who sit on the opposite side facing the viewer, but the majority of the table is either partially or completely obscured by columns and estranged characters. The only space that is left un-crowded centres around the figure of Jesus, who is identifiable by his central position and the very faint enigmatic glow that radiates from his head. The white cloth that hangs off the table in front of him is the lightest area in the scene and similarly the area above Jesus is undisrupted by architecture. Apart from the unspoiled image of Jesus, the rest of the foreground is busy with figures and scenarios.

The transcript for the Inquisition of Veronese has been preserved and I cite a number of the more relevant statements from the dialogue below:

> Q [*Holy Office*]: In this Supper which you made for SS. Giovanni e Paolo what is the significance of the man whose nose is bleeding?
> A [*Veronese*]: I intended to represent a servant whose nose was bleeding because of some accident.
> Q: What is the significance of those armed men dressed as Germans, each with a halberd in his hand?
> A: This requires that I say twenty words.
> Q: Say them.
> A: We painters take the same license the poets and the jesters take and I have represented these two halberdiers, one drinking and the other eating nearby on the stairs. They are placed there so that they might be of service because it seemed to me fitting, according to what I have been told, that the master of the house, who was great and rich should have such servants.
> Q: And that man dressed as a buffoon with a parrot on his wrist, for what purpose did you paint him on that canvas?
> A: For ornament, as is customary.

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[242] Jill Dunkerton et al, *Dürer to Veronese: Sixteenth-Century Painting in the National Gallery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 30.

Q: Who do you really believe was present at that Supper?

A: I believe one would find Christ with His Apostles. But if in a picture there is some space to spare I enrich it with figures according to the stories.

Q: Did any one commission you to paint Germans, buffoons, and similar things in that picture?

A: No, milords, but I received the commission to decorate the picture as I saw fit. It is large and, it seemed to me, it could hold many figures.

Q: Are not the decorations which you painters are accustomed to add to paintings or pictures supposed to be suitable and proper to the subject and the principal figures or are they for pleasure--simply what comes to your imagination without any discretion or judiciousness?

A: I paint pictures as I see fit and as well as my talent permits.

Q: Does it seem fitting at the Last Supper of the Lord to paint buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs and similar vulgarities?

A: No, milords.[243]

The Inquisition were unhappy with the huge amount of extraneous details that were included in Veronese's canvas. The repeated theme of Veronese's answers to the Holy Office's challenges is that he rendered it customary in his role as artist to incorporate narrative additions so long as the space permitted it. One of the reasons that this painting was so intensely scrutinised by the Holy Office may have been because of its subject matter, which at the time of the Inquisition was the Last Supper. The narrative was frequently founded as the textual stimulus for paintings representing the transubstantiation of the Eucharist. The text was therefore a sensitive subject for visual interpretation, especially considering the challenge that had been presented by the Protestants regarding the doctrine of the transubstantiation. The Council of Trent reaffirmed Catholicism's stance on the matter in 1551:

But since Christ our Redeemer declared that to be truly His own body which he offered under the form of bread, it has, therefore always been a firm belief in the Church of God, and this holy council now declares it anew, that by the consecration of the bread

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[243] Paolo Veronese Before the Holy Tribunal, *The Council of Trent on Religious Art and Paolo Veronese Before the Inquisition Tribunal* (1573): 5-6. Accessed on 04/06/2017, http://homepages.neiu.edu/~wbsieger/Art312/312Read/312Trent.pdf

and wine a change is brought about of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ Our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood. This change the holy Catholic Church properly and appropriately calls transubstantiation.[244]

The rededication of the doctrine meant it was an exceptionally popular theme to visualise into image. Tintoretto (Fig. 12) used the stimulus of the Last Supper to produce his famous depiction of the scene, which Gill has argued through the dramatic use of light "seems to offer the observer the perfect vehicle for the expressive force of the miracle of the Transubstantiation".[245] Another such example is the *Communion of the Apostles* (Fig. 13), otherwise known as the *Institution of the Eucharist*, by Federico Barocci, which centres on Christ as he holds the bread, depicted in the painting as Catholic communion wafers. In comparison, Veronese's image shows little sensitivity to the biblical texts' eucharistic symbolism. Given the context, the Last Supper was a profound subject matter and the presence of 'buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs and similar vulgarities' in the biblical scene showed an "absence of a clear focus on sacramental significance".[246]

The Inquisition was concerned about the way German Protestants may react to the painting and clearly thought it was an object that could be used against the name of Catholic art. Veronese's comments that he thought the characters would, in his words, "enrich the space" did not satisfy the panel and he faced a charge to make amendments in the painting within three months.[247] The only change that can been seen in the 'reformed' painting after the three-month period is the inscription of LVCA. CAP. V. (Luke, Chapter 5) on a column centre-right. The painting thus changed its subject to the Feast in the House of Levi. The Church must have been satisfied with

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[244] Council of Trent, Session 13, 11th October 1551, "Chapter IV – Transubstantiation", 75.
[245] Meredith J. Gill, ""Until Shadows Disperse": Augustine's Twilight" in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* eds. Marcia B. Hall and Tracy Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 260.
[246] Babette Bohn and James Saslow, *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque art,* (London: Blackwell, 2012), n.p.
[247] Paolo Veronese Before the Holy Tibunal, *The Council of Trent on Religious Art,* 6*;* John Paoletti and Gary Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy,* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 515.

this change as they did not press charges and Veronese received no further interrogation.

The Inquisition of Veronese may initially provide us with a sense of the Catholic Church's concern for the content of religious images. However, Veronese did not receive any further interrogation after the minute addition of the inscription and there is a general consensus in scholarship that he was the only artist of this period to be directly criticised due to their visual biblical interpretation.[248] Berdini identifies the case of Veronese in his paper on visual exegesis and comments upon the reason for which he was challenged;

> Could he [*Veronese*] explain the inclusion in the picture he had executed of what is not literally mentioned in the text? And what were his mode of and rationale for expanding the text? As for the mode, his answer was convincing: the alleged intrusions occur outside the area of the Last Supper. As for the rationale, his argument was insufficient: we artists tend to include figures when there is room. Why, to what purpose, in relation to what reading of the text? He couldn't say.[249]

Veronese openly states that his role as an artist is to expand the given text, but he cannot support his reasons for incorporating these specific narrative additions. In this way, Veronese's painting is a true contrast to the Lutheran images that we examined previously. The *Whore of Babylon* and *Weimar Altarpiece* visualised biblical texts with the intention of limiting interpretative freedom. They did this by using textual references, un-embellished aesthetics and explicit visualizations of Lutheran concepts. Contradictorily, Veronese's image is chaotic and narratively unclear. The fact that Veronese could so easily transition from one biblical subject to another shows how menial the influence of the scriptural texts was in constructing Veronese's image.

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The issue of religious images in the Catholic Church remained undiscussed until the very last session of the Council of Trent. It was clearly an issue that bore little weighting

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[248] Paleotti and Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, 515.
[249] Berdini, *Painting as Visual Exegesis*, 20

in comparison to the other vast and contentious issues the Council had to address. When images were discussed, the comments were comparatively brief, however they did supply clear answers to the severe challenges of Protestantism, which had been disparaging towards Catholic art and the veneration they saw was being paid to it. The Council supported its tradition of using images for educational and devotional purposes, as well as providing a vague framework that images should not be superstitious, lascivious, lustful, or anarchic, confusing, or profane. The details regarding how this was to be achieved was left open, and a body of works, and even an artists' guild, emerged that attempted to reconcile the Trent decrees with painters' education. An example of a religious painting that failed to match the criteria set out by the Council was Veronese's *Feast in the House of Levi,* however concern over this painting was directed more towards an anxiety that it could be used by Protestant opponents as ammunition against the Catholic Church due to its beguiling details than a concern for a heretical interpretation of biblical texts.[250] It is an excellent example of the method of textual expansion that Berdini attributes to the visual exegetical strategy of Italian culture.

In the case studies that follow, I will discover whether the images boast an element of textual expansion and if in doing so they incorporate elements of Catholic tradition. Chapter 6 will focus on Federico Barocci's Deposition (1569), while Chapter 7 will centre on Caravaggio's *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas.* The format of the chapters will remain consistent to the chapters on Lutheran images, ensuring that I treat the case studies with the same criteria of examining 'the text in image' and 'the visual interpretation in context'.

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[250] Edward Grasman, "On Closer Inspection - The Interrogation of Paolo Veronese." *Artibus Et Historiae* 30, no. 59 (2009): 125.

CHAPTER 6

FEDERICO BAROCCI, *DEPOSITION*, 1569

The two paintings I will be discussing in Part II were created by artists who were working in Counter-Reformation Italy within decades of the closing of Trent. The analysis of the images is therefore significant as it allows us to understand the immediate manner in which artists dealt with the Council's decrees. The main artists in Part II, Federico Barocci and Michelangelo di Merisi Caravaggio, are among the category of artists that Ellis Waterhouse has argued were "of the first rank […] profoundly interested in the religious content of their pictures within a Counter-Reformation framework".[251] Barocci and Caravaggio also stand among those mentioned by Marcia Hall in the second half of her monograph *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art* (2011)*,* which deals specifically with five artists of the post-Trent period who created innovative methods to engage worshippers of the Counter-Reformation context.[252] My selection of the two artists is thence supported by the awareness among scholars that these individuals were strongly engaged with the production of Catholic art immediately after Trent.

Barocci was a famed artist in sixteenth-century Italy since his first major commissions, *Deposition* (Perugia Cathedral, 1567-9), which will be the object of study in this chapter, and *Madonna del Popolo* (Santa Maria della Pieve, 1579).[253] His talent was recognised with particular admiration by the Oratorians, a Counter-Reformation sect that emerged in Rome from the 1560's. The sect was founded and directed by Saint Philip Neri (1515-1595) and in 1575 was approved by Pope Gregory XIII as the "Congregation of the Oratory".[254] The Oratorians shared the widely-spread Catholic view that images retained a pivotal use in education and worship. They particularly favoured images that held an affective quality; this draws on one of the functions of

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[251] Ellis Waterhouse, "Some Painters and the Counter-Reformation before 1600." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (1972): 104.

[252] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 141.

[253] Ian Ferguson Verstegen, *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians: Corporate Patronage and Style* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2015), 1.

[254] Michael Mullet, *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), 113.

images described in the decree issued by the Council that images should "move"/"excite" the viewer. As a painter who is considered by modern scholars as a "major contributor to the development of a sweet, emotional religious art", it is clear to see why Barocci became the Oratorians' most revered artist.[255] In fact, he was commissioned to paint the altarpiece in their headquarters, Chiesa Nuova, a church in Rome gifted to them by Pope Gregory.[256] The painting that Barocci created for the church was the *Visitation* (1583-6) (Fig. 14), based on the biblical text in Luke 1:39-45 in which Mary visits Elizabeth during their pregnancies. It is believed that when Neri saw the finished image, he fainted and wept; his biographer Pietro Giocomo Bacci described him as "overcome by rapturous ecstasy".[257] This response is identified by Hall, who titles her chapter on Barocci "From Here to Ecstasy" in reference to Barocci's ability to paint images that provoked such extreme affective responses. The legacy of Neri's ecstatic reactions to sacred images including Barocci's *Visitation* is memorialised in a body of iconography attributed to his apparitions, including works by Giovanni Francesco Guercino (1591-1666) and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770). One of the explanations for Neri's emotional response to the image is that he adored the "feminine humility of the two bearers of Saint John the Baptist and Christ".[258] A considerable amount of Barocci's painting include the Virgin Mary, whose dominant presence in his scenes sought to address Catholicism's belief in the indispensable role of Mary in salvation.[259] This is most explicit in Barocci's *Madonna del Popolo,* which actively visualises Mary in an intercessory position, but it can also be found more implicitly in some of his other images, including the painting I will be analysing here*.*

This chapter will focus on the first major commission of Barocci's career, the *Deposition* (Fig. 15). My analysis will begin with an examination of how the gospel texts of Jesus' removal from the cross are interpreted in the painting. By identifying the relevant biblical texts first, we will come to a more established understanding of

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[255] Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross*, 261

[256] Mullet, *Historical Dictionary*, 113.

[257] Constanza Barbieri, ""To Be in Heaven": St. Philip Neri between Aesthetic Emotion and Mystical Ecstasy" in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* eds. Marcia B. Hall and Tracy Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 208.

[258] Verstegen, *Federico Barocci,* 2.

[259] Lillan H. Zirpolo, *Historical Dictionary of Baroque Art and Architecture.* (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), 10.

just how far Barocci textually expanded the narrative in his visual exegesis. Among the rich array of extraneous additions, I will be concentrating on the swooning Virgin Mary and the meaning of this emotional stupor in her Catholic tradition. The Cult of the Virgin experienced increased attention in Roman Catholicism of the sixteenth century, in reaction to her minimisation by Protestant circles.

6.1 *The text in image*

The *Deposition* captures the moment of Christ's removal from the cross. This narrative is canonically found in all four gospels (Mt 27:57-59; Mk 15:43-46; Lk 23:50-56; Jn 19:38-42), and broadly follows the pattern of Joseph of Arimathea going before Pilate and requesting Jesus' body (Mt 27:58; Mk 15:43-45; Lk 23:52; Jn 19:38), the removal of Jesus from the cross by Joseph, helped by Nicodemus in John (Mt 27:59; Mk 15:46; Lk 23:53; Jn 19:39), and laid in a tomb (Mt 27:60-61; Mk 15:46-47; Lk 23:53-56; Jn 19:40-42). There are no women mentioned at the deposition of Christ's body, but they are variably recorded as present during the crucifixion (Mt 27:56; Mk 15:40; Lk 23:49; Jn 19:25). The Synoptic Gospels provide accounts of a group of women observing the crucifixion of Jesus at a distance, but John's account describes them (Jesus' mother, his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas and Mary Magdalene) as "standing near the cross of Jesus". John 19:26 also contains Jesus' pronouncement to Mary and "the disciple whom he loved": "When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing beside her, he said to his mother, "Woman, here is your son." Then he said to the disciple, "Here is your mother." And from that hour the disciple took her into his home". John's account, therefore, contains the most significant narrative regarding Mary at the cross, but even this is not extensive and bears no description regarding her exact proximity to the cross, her emotional reaction to her son's execution, or the length of time she spent there.

Despite the lack of detail in the Synoptic gospels and the rather limiting description found in John, the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross has received a considerable amount of attention throughout history and significantly in her reception in the visual arts. Within the last decade, Mary at the cross has received significant reception and interpretation, most notably in Mel Gibson's blockbuster *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). Throughout the flagellation, the procession to the cross, and the crucifixion

scenes in Gibson's film, Mary seems to share an "uncanny connection with her son".[260] The relationship between Mary and Jesus is expanded significantly in the film from what is found in the gospel accounts, and Gibson seems to have drawn on earlier visualizations of the physical intimacy between the dead Christ and his mother. This motif is popularly known as the *pietà*, which was found in western Christian iconography since the fourteenth century. The *pietà* depicts the Virgin Mary cradling Jesus in her arms after he is removed from the cross. Some of these images reflect a "disparate scale", where Jesus is shown significantly smaller than Mary to enhance the mother/son relationship; some place Jesus' body on the floor with Mary just holding his head, while others find Mary bearing the heavy weight of Christ's whole body across her lap.[261] While *pietà* scenes find a direct physical connection between Jesus and his mother *after* his removal from the cross, artists have also used the scene we are concerned with, the deposition, to identify Mary's proximity to the cross. Barocci is among those who have incorporated Mary into the narrative, as we will address momentarily.

Returning to our case study, we find a composition that is exceptionally crowded and busy. The chaos is heightened by the wind that curls from the right to the left of the canvas and disrupts the drapery and fabrics contained in the composition. Add to this the installation of ladders and movements of "swooping, swooning, and reaching"[262] and Barocci has successfully created an evocative and dramatic composition. The intensity of the scene is heightened further by Barocci's vivid use of colour. Marcia Hall describes the overall effect of the *Deposition*:

> What Barocci offers […] is to carry us away, to enable us to reach the […] highest level of spiritual knowledge. We are attracted by the loveliness of his *colorito*, his composition, and his figures, and we are swept up in the sensuous experience of it. We could get lost, lose track of time, lapse first into reverie, thence into meditation, and from there perhaps even move to the highest form of vision, ecstasy.[263]

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[260] Kathleen E. Corley, "Mary and the Other Women Characters" in *Jesus and Mel Gibson's The Passion of the Christ: The Film, the Gospels and the Claims of History,* eds. Kathleen E. Corley and Robert. L. Webb (London: Continuum, 2004), 87.
[261]Timothy Verdon, *Mary in Western Art*, (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2005), 157.
[262] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 211
[263] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 215.

The way in which Hall describes the *Deposition* seems to have been inspired by the interaction Philip Neri had with the *Visitation*, where he was overwhelmed with joyous emotion. Although *Deposition* was Barocci's first altarpiece and he had not yet reached the pinnacle of his career or his collaborations with the Oratorians, it is clear to see why the sect, and particularly Neri, favoured Barocci's style so highly, given that they appreciated paintings with an affective appeal.

In terms of the actual content of the image, Barocci has interpreted the scene by an elaborate amalgamation of canonical and non-canonical stimuli. The luminously pale body of Christ is lowered down from the cross by a series of helpers; some are carrying his weight, some are removing the nails from his hands, and one individual on the right has removed the crown of thorns. A female figure, presumably Mary Magdalen given her red regalia stands just right of the cross and grasps Jesus' feet. On the far right, a passive onlooker inverts his head towards the cross and, by the additions of a book and the faint allusion to a hood and knotted rope around his waist, is presumably a Catholic monk; a Counter-Reformation addition to the biblical scene. In the foreground of *Deposition,* the Virgin Mary is shown collapsed on the floor; the movement of the three other women in an attempt to catch her suggests her fainting has only just happened.

With regards to Barocci's mode of visual biblical interpretation, an intention for close representation of the biblical texts is perceptibly lacking. His recreation of the scene of Jesus' removal from the cross is constructed by a wealth of extraneous additions. Due to the limited detail within the biblical narrative of the deposition, textual expansion was inevitably going to occur as there are many areas in the biblical texts that are indeterminate. The stimulus from which Barocci based his *Deposition* is likely to have stemmed from earlier images of the same subject. Berthold Kress identifies and outlines a prominent compositional motif that was being developed by artists from the fifteenth-century surrounding the visual interpretation of Jesus' deposition:

> In Italy, this tradition began with Gra Angelico, Perugino, and Filippo Lippi, and reached its first climax in Daniele da Volterra's monumental fresco, which in turn influenced works by Allori, Barocci, and Cigoli. […] these compositions are all in portrait format and show how the dead Christ is carefully lowered down by a group of men standing

on ladders. Normally, Christ's body is suspended in a diagonal, with one arm pulled upward and the other limply hanging down. Often, two helpers are placed above the horizontal beam of the Cross; and frequently, another person, standing on the ground or on one of the bottom steps of a ladder, supports the body from beneath.[264]

Kress names Barocci among the artists who were influenced by this specific deposition idea, and in his brief description of the motif, the upper half of Barocci's *Deposition* certainly does seem to conform to it; the portrait layout, the use of ladders, the two helpers above the horizontal panel, the limp arm. In knowledge of this, Barocci's individual interaction with the biblical text by the artist is more than questionable, and the painting appears as one in a continuing tradition that has expanded the text in an exceptionally similar way.

Interestingly, Kress fails to mention the Virgin Mary, who is depicted swooning in each of the images he mentions. I have previously mentioned the place of Mary at the cross and the overwhelming attention that this has received from visual interpreters, but now I will deal specifically with the swoon of the Virgin and its importance with the Counter-Reformation context in which Barocci created his interpretation.

6.2 *The visual interpretation in context*

Mary is identifiable in the *Deposition* by her blue garments and the contextual knowledge that the tradition of the 'swooning' Mary had been a common component in Medieval art since the thirteenth century, despite having no biblical justification for its occurrence.[265] In an article on the Rosso Fiorentino's *Descent from the Cross* (1521), Harvey Hamburgh establishes a lengthy discussion of the inclusion of the Virgin Mary at the scene of Christ's deposition, under a subtitle of "Beyond Narrative".[266] It is not explicit that "Beyond Narrative" bears any association with Berdini's textual expansion, but there is certainly a similar emphasis in establishing

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[264] Berthold Kress, "Passeri, Rubens, and Reynolds – A neglected source from the Antwerp "Descent from the Cross", *Notes in the History of Art* 32, no. 2 (2013): 35-37.

[265] Barry Windeatt, "The Art of Swooning in Middle English" in *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature: Essays in Honour of Jill Mann* ed. Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan (Martlesham: Boydell and Brewer, 2011). 211-230.

[266] Harvey E. Hamburgh, "Rosso Fiorentino's Descent from the Cross in a Franciscan Context" *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19, no. 4 (1988), 583.

what the non-biblical tradition of the collapsed Mary means in the sixteenth century context. Hambrugh writes of Mary in Fiorentino's image,

> Her shadowed form takes on the greenish tinge of her dead son above. This death-like swoon is employed in paintings of the Descent to demonstrate the Virgin's co-equal share in the Redemption of the cross. According to the Franciscan St. Bonaventure, the sacrifice on Calvary is the moment of the emergence of the Church. The Church becomes a mother by its association with Mary and by the extension to it of Mary's motherhood.[267]

A number of scholars share the understanding that this is the intended meaning behind the motif of Mary's faint at the foot of the cross found in Fiorentino's image and Barocci's *Deposition*. Without contextual knowledge, one may understand this emotional expression as nothing more than bereaved compassion for her son. However, Neff argues like Hamburgh that Mary's swoon is representative of the pain of childbirth and Mary's labouring with Christ as they give birth to the Church: "For Mary's Swoon is also her maternity. As Eve is the mother of mankind in sin, so Mary is the mother of mankind in salvation".[268] The significance of Mary's collapse is that she was actively labouring the new Church, the "new humanity that her son's death is at that moment bringing into being".[269] Scholars have associated this tradition with Luke 2:35, where Jesus is presented in the temple by Simeon, who blesses the holy family and says to Mary, "'and a sword will pierce your own soul too'"; it is understood by some that it was at the cross where Jesus' mother suffered this fate, not only in emotional anguish but in physical pain.[270] Furthermore, Windeatt has argued that the woman mentioned in Revelation 12:1-2, who "was pregnant and was crying out in birth pangs, in the agony of giving birth", may correlate with the figure of Mary, who although spared of pain in her labour with Jesus, experienced labour pain at his death.[271]

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[267] Hamburgh, "Rosso Fiorentino's Descent", 583-584.
[268] Amy Neff, "The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labour at the Foot of the Cross." *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 2 (1998): 255.
[269] Jorella Andrews, *Showing Off: A Philology of Image* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 191.
[270] Windeatt, "The Art of Swooning in Middle English", 213.
[271] Windeatt, "The Art of Swooning in Middle English", 213.

Barocci's *Deposition* enlightens us of the understanding of Mary in the Counter-Reformation context and her role within the parameters of 'scripture and tradition'. The importance of Mary's non-biblical presence at the foot of the cross is exceptional, as it illuminates her significant role in redemption as understood by the Catholic faithful. Pomplun suggests, "The fervour of devotion to the Virgin Mary in Roman Catholicism is arguably its single most distinctive trait".[272] This is a view shared with Amy-Jill Levine, who in the introductory chapter of *The Feminist Companion to Mariology*, writes, "she [*Mary*] became and remains, a – if not the – major point of contention between Catholics and Protestants".[273] Martin Luther, for example, although holding a profound respect for Mary due to his Catholic past, saw dedication to her as an unstable devotion. He "encountered the need to expand the space for the central importance of Christ as sole saviour".[274] He maintained the position that the relative importance of Mary could not be equalled to that of Christ. It was not a case of diminishing, then, but of "adjusting her rankings".[275] Luther, therefore, would have taken profound issue in the earlier cited quote from Hamburgh that phrases Mary attaining a "co-equal share" in redemption.[276]

Luther's view on Mary is intimately connected to the debate of *sola scriptura* against 'scripture and tradition'. Luther reads of Mary from within the limits of the canonical books and without the influence or enhancement of Church tradition. He thus projects Mary in her "minimalist position".[277] In contrast to this, Mary of the Counter-Reformation was viewed from a perspective that supported a "maximalist" reading, which "finds her in Scripture as the Daughter of Zion, Lady Wisdom, or Heavenly woman so sees in her the epitome of the eternal feminine, the personification of goddesses, the feminine face of God".[278] Mary's swooning presence in Medieval and Counter-Reformation crucifixion iconography, including Barocci's *Deposition,* heightens the feminine presence of Mary and places a discernible emphasis on her

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[272] Trent Pomplun, "Mary" in *The Blackwell Companion to Catholicism* eds. James J. Buckley et al (London: Blackwell,) 312-326, 312
[273] Amy-Jill Levine, "Introduction" in *A Feminist Companion to Mariology* ed. Amy-Jill Levine (London: T&T Clark, 2005) 1-14, 1.
[274] Mullet, *Historical Dictionary*, 317
[275] Mullet, *Historical Dictionary*, 317
[276] Hamburgh, "Rosso Fiorentino's Descent", 584.
[277] Levine, *A Feminist Companion to Mariology*, 10.
[278] Levine, *A Feminist Companion to Mariology*, 10.

as not only a part of the Church, but the Mother of the Church. Viladesau writes, "Since the scriptures say little about Mary (as compared to the many legends and traditions), the application of a "historical" (i.e., Scriptural) criterion could have serious effects on art".[279] The body of Catholic art that is dedicated to Mary would be severely diminished if artists did not find inspiration in non-canonical traditions. The Counter-Reformation specifically endorses the continued production of Marian imagery in the twenty-fifth session ("The images of Christ, and of *the Virgin Mother of God*…"). Other reaffirmations of Mary's proposed role in post-Trent Catholicism can be seen in the fifth session of the Council (1546), where she is made exempt from the universalism of original sin, and the rededication of the traditions of "her perpetual virginity, Assumption, and Immaculate Conception", which largely hinged on non-biblical teachings.[280]

Interestingly, however, the incorporation of the fainting/swooning Mary into deposition scenes was variably criticised in the Counter-Reformation context. On this, Viladesau identifies that Catholic theologians used Saint Ambrose's (340-397 CE) critique on erroneous narrative additions with respect to Mary when he said, "I read [*in the Scriptures*] that she stood; I do not read that she wept".[281] The criticisms were so severe that some images of Mary swooning were removed from the churches in Rome. This raised awareness of misinterpretations of Mary at the foot of the cross may be because Mary had suffered such harsh criticism from Protestant challengers, and the Church wanted to protect her from succumbing to anymore criticism for her uncanonical displays of grief. In a similar way to Veronese's *The Last Supper,* the Catholic Church did show a concern for the scriptural accuracy of particular images they were commissioning. However, as I reiterated in Chapter 5, given that no charges were pressed on Veronese's image after its retitling, and here we find Barocci and other artists still being commissioned to paint depositions with the inclusion of a swooning Mary without challenge or criticism, the Counter-Reformation Church did not express a wide-spread concern with the interpretation of extraneous narratives in biblical images.

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[279] Viladesau, 266.
[280] Ellington, "Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon", 247; Mullet, *Historical Dictionary*, 316.
[281] Saint Ambrose cited by Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross*, 266

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The biblical version of Jesus' removal from the cross is relatively consistent across the gospel accounts and is a simple narrative that states the basic actions, that Christ's body was removed from the cross by Joseph of Arimathea and was placed in a tomb. Although, then, the swooning Mary does not appear in the New Testament accounts, she was instead borne of a tradition in which her compassion has been associated to that of active labour. Although there was variable concern for the swooning Mary as an extraneous addition, she remains one of the most frequently painted biblical figures during the period. Paolo Berdini's assertion that textual expansion constituted an important component in Italian art is exceptionally clear in the image, allowing the observer, through the narrative of the deposition, to focus on Catholicism's maximalist reading of the Virgin Mary. One of the stipulations regarding sacred images at Trent was for them to provide stimulus for the faithful to remember and ponder the "histories of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption".[282] Barocci's *Deposition* does just this, by preserving the salvific role Mary played in the tradition of the Catholic Church.

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[282] Council of Trent, Session 25, 4th December 1563, "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images", 215-216.

CHAPTER 7

MICHELANGELO MERISI DA CARAVAGGIO, *THE INCREDULITY OF SAINT THOMAS*, 1602-3

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610) was an Italian artist who appeared in Rome in the 1590's. Caravaggio is known to have been commissioned by some very important patrons of the Catholic Church during his time in Rome, and a cohort of his paintings have remained in churches and chapels across the city to this day.[283] He has experienced revitalized study and dedicated interest since the middle of the twentieth century; a fascination that may have been triggered by "the dichotomy between his violent and seedy life and his striking psychologically and emotionally charged, highly religious paintings".[284] 284 His clashes with the police and disruptive attitude in society has given him a "bad-boy" name in contemporary art history,[285] but the central rationale for his fame is his collection of naturalistic paintings that predominately depict New Testament narratives.

Caravaggio's work is mentioned to a significant extent in recent scholarship surrounding art and the Counter-Reformation context.[286] This could be due to the understanding that "Caravaggio was […] very much both bound and stimulated by the reinforced stipulations that the Church put in place at the Council of Trent".[287] His paintings express a dedicated focus on understandable, explicit representations of biblical texts and therefore corresponded with the Council's want for images to be comprehensible for the observer and void of confusing components. Regarding his conceptualization of images, it has been argued that Caravaggio did not take "theological advice on how to represent his religious subjects matter".[288] In this respect, we are able to reflect more closely on the relationship that Caravaggio had

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[283] Moffitt, *Caravaggio in Context,* 82.

[284] Katherine Mary Gill Nixon, *A visualization of dissident voices in sixteenth-century Italy: a reflection of the religious debate in art.* PhD Thesis, University of Iowa (2011), 186.

[285] Lepage, "Art and the Counter-Reformation", 383.

[286] Hall, *The Sacred Image,* ; Lepage, "Art and the Counter-Reformation", 373-394; John Gash, "Counter-Reformation Countenances: Catholic Art and Attitude from Caravaggio to Rubens." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 104, no. 416 (2015): 373-87.

[287] John Gash, "Counter-Reformation Countenances", 377.

[288] Waterhouse, "Some Painters and the Counter-Reformation", 115.

himself with the biblical text or at least render the biblical interpretative decisions in his work to be constructed predominately by his own horizon. John Gash has referred to Caravaggio's *Taking of Christ* (National Gallery of Ireland, 1602-3) (Fig. 16) to support Caravaggio's intimate interaction with the stimulus of his paintings. The image contains a self-portrait of the artist, who lifts the lantern to illuminate Judas kissing Jesus.[289] Gash writes, "Metaphorically, it […] indicates Caravaggio's personal engagement with the biblical story, and the role of the artist as surrogate witness".[290] Caravaggio's engagement with the biblical text in represented in his incorporation of his self-portrait in the image. This reiterates the idea found in the Council of Trent decree that Catholic identity was bound to its development throughout history; this meant images "needed to be able to relate fragmentary experiences across temporal boundaries".[291] Caravaggio has done just this and explicitly related himself to a biblical scene. His interpretation thus transcends temporal limits and establishes himself actively involved in the construction of the text's ongoing tradition.

The case study of this chapter is Caravaggio's *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, painted in 1602-3 (Fig. 17). The painting is currently housed in the Sanssouci Picture Gallery in Potsdam, Germany. It does not have any contractual record attached to it, however it was mentioned in the 1638 inventory of Marchese Vincenzo Guistiani, who was an Italian aristocrat.[292] The painting's success and influence is, as I see it, two-fold. In one direction, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* was, during his lifetime, Caravaggio's most copied painting.[293] It had a profound impact on his contemporaries and launched a new way in which the narrative was seen and painted from the seventeenth century onwards. The second direction of its influence lies in the effect it has had on the reception history of Thomas. It is a painting that appears with great frequency in a number of contemporary studies, seeing use as the front cover image for a number of academic books that contributed to this chapter, including Terry-Fritsch and Labbie's *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2012)

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[289] Gash, "Counter-Reformation Countenances", 377.
[290] Gash, "Counter-Reformation Countenances", 377.
[291] Boyd and Esler, *Visuality and Biblical Text,* 75.
[292] Erin E. Benay, "Touching is Believing: Caravaggio's Doubting Thomas in Counter-Reformatory Rome" in *Caravaggio: Reflections and Refractions* eds. Lorenzo Pericolo and David M. Stone (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 59.
[293] Glenn Most, *Doubting Thomas*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 160.

and Glenn Most's *Doubting Thomas* (2005). The popularity and effect that Caravaggio's interpretation has had on the conceptualization of the Johannine narrative in the modern era is difficult to overemphasize. In writing generally on images of biblical texts, Cheryl Exum argues, "What many people know or think they know about the Bible often comes from the familiar representations of biblical texts and themes in popular culture than from study of the ancient text itself".[294] I suggest that Exum's comment is certainly relevant to the case of Caravaggio's *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, where the narrative of John 20 has become synonymous for many with Caravaggio's interpretation of it.

7.1 *The text in image*

The painting has as its subject the narrative found singularly in the Bible in John 20:24-31. The scene takes place after Jesus' resurrection, in the same chapter as his appearance to Mary Magdalene in the garden (Jn 20:11-18), and immediately after his first reappearance to his disciples (Jn 20:19-23).

> But Thomas (who was called the Twin), one of the twelve, was not with them when Jesus came. So the other disciples told him, "We have seen the Lord." But he said to them, "Unless I see the mark of the nails in his hands, and put my finger in the mark of the nails and my hand in his side, I will not believe."

> A week later his disciples were again in the house, and Thomas was with them. Although the doors were shut, Jesus came and stood among them and said, "Peace be with you." Then he said to Thomas, "Put your finger here and see my hands. Reach out your hand and put it in my side. Do not doubt but believe." Thomas answered him, "My Lord and my God!" Jesus said to him, "Have you believed because you have seen me? Blessed are those who have not seen and yet come to believe." (NRSV)

In the Synoptic Gospels and the book of Acts, Thomas is mentioned solely within the parameters of the list of Jesus' twelve disciples (Mt 10:3; Mk 3:18; Lk 6:15; Acts 1:13). In John, Thomas is mentioned with increased frequency and a more formulated

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[294] Cheryl Exum, *Plotted, Shot, and Painted: Cultural Representations of Biblical Women* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 8.

characterization, that being as the disciple who doubts or misunderstands (Jn 11:16, 14:5, 20:24-28).[295] Up until this point in John 20, Thomas' appearances had been limited to single verses where he is either asking a question (14:5) or making a statement (11:16), which in both cases reflects his ineptitude to understand. This culminates in the moment in John 20 where, after disbelieving the news of the fellow disciples that Jesus had resurrected (20:25), Thomas' doubts are roundly satisfied, as he says, "My Lord and my God!"

This passage in John 20 is certainly the most extensive Thomas narrative and the most influential in terms of his reception history. In Kieffer's commentary on John, he argues that the narrative in chapter 20 has been read as a passage "to help all future believers who have not seen the risen Christ".[296] Thomas has been received and interpreted as the personification of doubt and I would support Kieffer's claim that he served as a particularly relatable biblical character for readers throughout history. Interestingly, in the past decade, John 20 has been received by theorists of celebrity culture who have coined the term the 'Saint Thomas effect' to denote the interaction that occurs when a fan comes into contact with a celebrity and needs confirmation of their presence to ease their disbelief.[297] This is a particularly significant reading of the biblical figure for today's society where celebritism increasingly builds boundaries between 'them' and 'us'; "The deep contradictions at the heart of celebrity incite this relentless probing: a divine being, apparently not at all like them (having risen from the dead, for instance), may prove in crucially titillating ways to be just like them after all".[298] For the Thomas of John 20, he too needed validation that he could truly relate to the person standing before him; that only when he touched him, would he truly believe.

Caravaggio's composition captures the moment just before Thomas' confession. Thomas, whose identity is easily distinguishable as he probes Jesus' wound, looks in shock, the creases in his forehead accentuating his wide-eyed expression. The wound

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[295] C. Scott Dixon and John J. Martin, "John" in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* ed. James Dunn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 1209.
[296] Rene Kieffer, "John" in *The Oxford Bible Commentary* eds. John Barton and John Muddiman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 998.
[297] Joseph Roach, "The Doubting-Thomas Effect." *PMLA* 126, no. 4 (2011): 1127
[298] Roach, "The Doubting-Thomas Effect", 1127.

he touches is resulted from the spear that was thrust into Jesus' side earlier in the gospel in 19:34 and that is not described in the Synoptic accounts of the crucifixion. It was the wound that confirmed Jesus' death, making Thomas' physical interaction with it even more significant. Caravaggio has made the scene particularly graphic by his characteristic style of naturalism that depicts Jesus' body as solid and as opaque as the bodies of those gathered around him. Hall writes of this tension between the deep lesion and the corporeality of Jesus, "We fail to notice consciously, perhaps, Caravaggio's subtle clue that Christ could not be as ordinarily human as he appears if he can walk around with a gaping wound in his side."[299] Christ's unhealthy pallor also indicates his post-mortem existence; Caravaggio's use of tenebrism, "the use of dark shadows to obscure parts of the composition", and chiaroscuro, "the strong contrast of light and dark", are exceptionally effective in accentuating the deathly paleness of Jesus' body.[300] *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* bears similarities to Caravaggio's other works, including *Conversion on the Way to Damascus* (1601) (Fig. 18) and *Supper at Emmaus* (1601) (Fig. 19), as they are all images that capture moments of interaction between the secular world and the sacred. The observer is almost lulled into a false sense of security that Caravaggio's scenes are depicting an earthly event. Yet with more intimate analysis, we see the transcendent elements of the narrative, whether than be in the enigmatic light in *Conversion*, the allusion to transubstantiation in *Supper at Emmaus* or the grubby finger that pokes Jesus' wound in the *Incredulity*.

We have seen in each example in this thesis that visual biblical interpretations are profoundly influenced by pre-existing images of the same subject, and unfortunately it cannot be assumed that the artist and/or patron read the Bible directly and based their visualization solely on the written text. In light of this, then, where did Caravaggio's interpretation of the Thomas narrative come from? It would appear that we have Albrecht Dürer to thank again for his influence. Dürer's apocalyptic woodcuts were contributory to Cranach's interpretation of the Revelation narratives in Luther's *September Testament* and it is another one of his creations that seems to have had a similar effect on Caravaggio. Dürer's passion prints had been widely disseminated

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[299] Hall, *The Sacred Image*, 261.
[300] Erin E. Benay, "Caravaggio and Caravaggisti in 17th-Century Europe", *Oxford Art Online.* Accessed on 04/07/2017,
http://www.oxfordartonline.com/public/page/benz/themes/Caravaggio

across Europe since the beginning of the sixteenth century and had an impact on Caravaggio's work.[301] It may be surprising that Dürer's woodcuts had such an influence on Caravaggio considering the difference in their chosen medium and in their contexts, but there is an "indebtedness" to Dürer in Caravaggio's work that Fiore argues is more deserving of scholarly attention.[302] In terms of the most significant aspects of Dürer's influence on the *Incredulity*, if we look at Dürer's image of the same subject from circa 1510 (Fig. 20), we find a similar placement of Jesus' hand on Thomas' as an act of encouragement for him to touch his body.

Benay also identifies a couple of Italian paintings that may have influenced Caravaggio, although she makes it clear that Thomas paintings were exceptionally limited prior to appearance of *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*.[303] Salviati's *Doubting Thomas* (1553) (Fig. 21) in San Giovanni Decollato was one of the only paintings of the subject in Rome, but its composition bears little similarity to Caravaggio. The eleven disciples, Judas being the individual omitted from the scene, crowd around Thomas who kneels before Jesus and avoids touching Jesus' wound. There appears to be little conceptual influence of Salviati's interpretation of the Thomas narrative in Caravaggio's work and Benay suggests that the *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* was borne primarily out of a context where Thomas was receiving more increased attention due to his use of sensory confirmation as a means of validating Christ's resurrection.[304] Caravaggio's innovative artistic representation of the biblical text emulates the wider interest held by the Counter-Reformation Church of using the senses in religious practice; this will be elaborated on significantly in the following section.

In terms of Berdini's concept of textual expansion, Caravaggio's painting has limited the pictorial setting, thus annulling the opportunity for extensive narrative developments in the background.[305] Unlike Salviati's painting of the same subject, the half-length figures conceptualized by Caravaggio crowd the canvas and their presence

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[301] Michael Fried, *The Moment of Caravaggio* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 266.

[302] Kristina Herrmann Fiore, "Caravaggio's 'Taking of Christ' and Dürer's Woodcut of 1509." *The Burlington Magazine* 137, no. 1102 (1995): 24-27.

[303] Benay, "Touching is Believing", 65

[304] Benay, "Touching is Believing", 67

[305] Benay, "Touching is Believing", 61.

offers no illusion to the room or setting in which the scene is described in John. The lack of walled parameters, which is common in Caravaggio's paintings, gives the scene a very abstract idea of the spatial environment. This certainly makes the moment of Jesus and Thomas' interaction the most significant element of the image and heightens the concept of secular/sacred unity that was such an important idea in Caravaggio's work. This is a true contrast to Barocci's *Deposition*, which was rich in its textual expansion of the setting, characters and movements. I would argue that although textual expansion is more subtle in Caravaggio's image than in Barocci's, there are two distinct indications that Caravaggio has intentionally expanded the text. The first is the visualization of the two other disciples that crowd around Jesus and Thomas. John 20:24 simply reads, "A week later his disciples were again in the house, and Thomas was with them"[306]. The number of disciples is not articulated and the Greek plural, μαθηταὶ, simply suggests more than one. The second and more suggestive expansion of the text lies in the physical touch between Jesus and Thomas. I have refrained mentioning this until now to ensure the implications of it are seen within the bounds of Berdini's idea of textual expansion. Caravaggio has interpreted the moment suggested, but certainly *not* explicated, in John 20:26. A reader who engages with this scene is left with the responsibility of establishing whether Thomas touched Jesus or that Jesus' invitation was enough to satisfy Thomas' doubts; "We shall never know whether it [*Jesus' wounds*] could have been touched […] John has been careful not to reveal"[307]. Caravaggio has based his painting on the assumption that Thomas did obey Jesus, with Thomas' finger disappearing into the depths of the laceration. It is this central narrative detail found in the painting that is important to highlight before looking at how the interpretation correlates with the understanding of 'scripture and tradition'.

7.2 *The visual interpretation in context*

In the later stages of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth, the biblical figure of Thomas received increased attention in Catholicism; at least three churches dedicated to the legacy of the saint were restored in Rome and images of him became more

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[306] NRSV.
[307] Most, *Doubting Thomas*, 55.

popular.[308] I could offer various reasons for the increased attention the figure received; how Thomas' wavering faith represented that of contemporary believers who were at risk of being swayed by Protestantism and who needed to regain 'touch' with the true Church[309], or, the Church's interest in reinforcing the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharistic tradition of transubstantiation.[310] Each are interesting interpretations, but here I will focus on how Caravaggio's interpretation offers implicit support for post-Trent Catholicism's use of the anatomical senses to reinforce faith, which had been a long-held tradition in the Catholic Church and was found with increased emphasis in the Counter-Reformation.[311]

Use of the physical body in devotional practices was a concept found in the previous chapter in the response of Saint Philip Neri to sacred images, specifically Barocci's *Visitation*. It was understood that physical actions and devices were capable of fostering internal devotion; an idea that is found in the twenty-second decree of the Council of Trent in 1562:

> Since the nature of man is such that he cannot without external means be raised easily to meditation on divine things, holy mother Church has instituted certain rites, namely, that some things in the mass be pronounced in a low tone and others in a louder tone. She has likewise, in accordance with apostolic discipline and tradition, made use of ceremonies, such as mystical blessings, lights, incense, vestments, and many other things of this kind, whereby both the majesty of so great a sacrifice might be emphasized and the minds of the faithful excited by those visible signs of religion and piety to the contemplation of those most sublime things which are hidden in this sacrifice.[312]

This statement justifies the Catholic Church's stance on using material worship for the

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[308] Erin E. Benay, Lisa M. Rafanelli, *Faith, Gender and the Senses in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art: Interpreting the 'Noli me tangere' and Doubting Thomas* (London: Ashgate, 2015), 12.
[309] Benay, "Touching is Believing", 59.
[310] Benay and Rafanelli, *Faith, Gender and the Senses*, 180.
[311] See Marcia Hall and Tracey Cooper co-edited *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; Wietse De Boer, "The Counter-Reformation of the Senses" in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* eds. Alexandra Bamji et al. (London: Routledge, 2013).
[312] Council of Trent, Session 22, 17th September 1562, "Chapter V: The Ceremonies and Rites of the Mass", 146.

benefits of religious experience. The Church acknowledges the corruption of human nature and argues for the value of the material cult in increasing meditative practice and spirituality. We see in the above statement issued by the Council a parallel to the narrative of John 20; due to Thomas' incapability of believing the news of Jesus' resurrection, he resorted to physical means to incite his devotional response. For the Counter-Reformation Church, appealing to the senses in sacraments and rituals was a useful tool as it was a means to an end, used to inspire and provoke devotion.[313]

Interestingly, Catholicism's appeal to the senses, and specifically the sense of touch, can be found in sermons of the period when it was used in explicit recitations of Passion texts. In describing with excessive detail the wounds and lacerations Jesus experienced, the Counter-Reformation preachers appealed to nociception, the sense of perceiving pain. Nociception played an essential role in their rhetoric as it allowed the Catholic faithful to identify and commune in Christ's pain: "the priests sought to evoke the most vivid mental images in the souls of their audiences through appealing most forcefully to their nociceptive imaginations".[314] The recitations of the Passion engaged the listener so intensely that the scene became tangible in their minds and they began to feel as Christ did. Dealing specifically with Counter-Reformation sermons on John 20, Glenn Most translates an extract from one of San Carlo Borromeo's (1538-1584) sermons on the Passion, spoken in the cathedral of Milan in 1584:

> [John 20:27]. This is the invitation which the Lord is still addressing to us today, for his desire is that we enter into his wounds and that we read in them what is written inside them. Oh, what teachings you would discover in them, Christian, if you would put out your hand! *Put your hand* into these wounds and you will understand all the value of your soul … *Put,* Christ, your hand *into this side*, and you will understand how much God is horrified by the excesses of the flesh, by cupidity, vanity, pride, impurities …

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[313] Benay, "Touching is Believing", 67: Benay uses the example of the Holy Shroud that arrived in Turin in 1578 within two decades of the end of the Council of Trent. Benay writes the increase in early Christian historical artefacts signaled "a new opportunity to extol the virtues of relics for invoking beliefs."

[314] Herman Roodenburg, 'The Body in the Reformations' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations* ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 660; For indepth descriptions of the affective rhetoric of Counter-Reformation preachers, see Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

> *Put your hand into this side* and you will recognize how beautiful virtue is. (*Homelelies et discours* 352-53)[315]

This interpretation of the Thomas narrative highlights with great fervour the meaning of the Johannine narrative for the context. By the example of Thomas, the Catholic faithful should use their imagination to come to know Jesus through touch. The biblical figure was part of a tradition in which he posed as an ancient model for knowing God intimately by sensory means. Yet Catholicism's positivity towards Thomas in the sixteenth century - shown in the Roman churches rededicated to his sainthood, the vast increase in Thomistic iconography, the preservation of his finger in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome – was not shared by certain Protestant Reformers.

The sixteenth century was a period where Thomas' reception saw a sort of transformation and the exegetical sphere orbiting John 20 encountered its first recognisable disparity.[316] Although both Luther and Calvin seem to be under the impression that the physical engagement between Jesus and Thomas did happen, they are less than empathetic with the figure. In his *Fourth Sermon, John 20:19-31* for the fourth Sunday after Easter, Luther describes Thomas as "stubborn" and "steeped very firmly and deeply in unbelief". [317] He understands that the function of Thomas' doubts is to allow an opportunity for Jesus to encourage his faith; "Christ is not satisfied to stop with the narrative; but he is concerned only that Thomas becomes believing and is resurrected from his stubborn unbelief and sin".[318] Luther argues that when Christ allows Thomas to touch him, he does so out of a willingness to provide Thomas with justification and support in order that he may believe. There is a dedicated concentration on the words of Jesus and its relation to faith, rather than a clear focus on the physical action of Thomas touching Jesus.[319]

John Calvin bore a significantly more critical reception to Thomas in John 20 than Carlo Borromeo and Luther, although he too does not argue that Thomas did not touch

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[315] San Carlo Borromeo, 1584, cited in Most, *Doubting Thomas*, 153-4.

[316] Most, *Doubting Thomas,* 145.

[317] Martin Luther, "Fourth Sermon, John 20:19-31" in *Sermons by Martin Luther* ed. and trans. John Nicholas Lenker, 352. Accessed on 04/07/2017, http://www.martinluthersermons.com/Luther_Lenker_Vol_2.pdf

[318] Luther, "Fourth Sermon"*,* 353.

[319] Most, *Doubting Thomas,* 147.

Jesus. In *Commentaries on the Gospel of John*, Calvin writes, "The stupidity of Thomas was astonishing and monstrous […] He was not only obstinate, but also proud and contemptuous in his treatment of Christ".[320] What Calvin found exceptionally troubling about John 20 was Thomas' desire for sensory confirmation from the risen Christ. Calvin writes, "These words have no approach to faith, but it is what may be called a sensual judgement, by which I mean, a judgement which is founded on the perception of the senses, the same thing happens to all who are so devoted to themselves that they leave no room for the Word of God".[321] Calvin urges his readers to focus on faith without the need for sensory validation and reaffirms the single authority of the Bible in knowing Christ. His direct disparagement of "sensual judgement" dichotomises the sermon by Counter-Reformer Borromeo, who used language associated with Thomas in John 20 in a positive way to reinforce the faith of his listeners.

Caravaggio's interpretation of John 20:24-29 is, therefore, resonant of the Counter-Reformation exegesis. Catholics constructed Thomas as a favourable figure, not one whose actions were widely problematic as Calvin understood. As far as scholars are aware, Caravaggio's painting was never housed or intended for an ecclesial environment. however, I would argue with certainty that it would not have been out of place in a Catholic setting, in a context where "Carlo Borromeo and others reminded the pious that it was Thomas's sensory inquisition that ultimately proved Christ's divinity."[322]

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John 20:24-29 has been variably received throughout history, with the figure of the Thomas even being used in contemporary language and social studies as a personification of doubt. Caravaggio's interpretation has had a significant effect on the way in which people have come to know the biblical narrative post-1600's, with the appearance of it in Rome triggering increased paintings on the subject. *The Incredulity*

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[320] John Calvin, *Commentaries*, Vol. 35: John, Part II, trans. John King (1847-50). Accessed on 04/07/2017. Available at: http://www.sacred-texts.com/chr/calvin/cc35/cc35009.htm
[321] John Calvin, *Commentaries*, Vol. 35: John, Part II.
[322] Benay, "Touching is Believing", 60.

of Saint Thomas is explicit in its depiction of the physical touch between Jesus and Thomas, the evidence of which is left ambiguous in the biblical narrative. In this manner, Caravaggio expanded the text and executed a painting that reflects the importance of the senses in the Counter-Reformation context. Physical signs and devices were helpful in encouraging faith, the Council had made this clear in their twenty-second session when they reaffirmed them as a constituent of their apostolic traditions.

Two foreground religious leaders of the sixteenth century, Carlo Borromeo and John Calvin, encountered sever disparity in their exegesis of the narrative. The former saw the biblical text from a Catholic perspective, where material cultures had been recognised as helpful in inspiring piety. The latter rendered appealing to the senses as repugnant as it rejected the primacy of the Bible in constructing faith. The two positions associate directly with the positions of 'scripture and tradition' and *sola scriptura*.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The research provided in this thesis has highlighted and unified a number of conversations relevant to the religious debates of the sixteenth century. Most significantly, I have provided evidence and explication for the different modes of biblical interpretation that are present in images from the Lutheran and Counter-Reformations. Although it would have been possible to have argued for the diversity in methods of visual biblical interpretation by making general comments on the entire genres of Lutheran and Counter-Reformation art, I avoided generalisations and instead used the space to hone in and critically analyse a selection of specific examples. In doing so, I have been able to create a diverse portfolio of detailed studies on particular images and provided evidence from primary historical and secondary literature. This approach has given me the capacity to combine wider-scale disputes in the Lutheran and Counter-Reformations, like the image question and the status and interpretation of the Bible, with specific biblical reception-historical discussions, including the reading of the Whore of Babylon in the work of Lucas Cranach and the opposing exegesis of Doubting Thomas in John 20 during the period. Of course, the individual issues I have addressed in this research warrant their own lengthier and more in-depth inquisition, but what I have provided is a way in which to view religious art of the Reformation period from the perspective of their biblical hermeneutical methods.

In the introduction to this research, I defined the thesis as a biblical reception-historical study insofar as it is focussed on the way the Bible, its texts and themes have been interpreted at a specific point in history. It did not, therefore, focus on establishing biblical texts' original meanings or intended purposes like historical-critical methods attempt to. I provided a brief history on the progression of reception history in the field of biblical studies from the origin of Hans George Gadamer's *Wirkungsgeschichte* and identified scholars such as Ulrich Luz and Hans Robert Jauss, whose contributions to the fundaments of biblical reception history are particularly noteworthy. Gadamer's philosophy on the concept of interpretative horizons bore a particular weighty influence in the language I used during my analysis regarding the ways in which artists

constructed their reading of the biblical texts. Focussing on the more specific methodologies of the thesis, I highlighted the contextually pertinent paper by Paolo Berdini, *Jacopo Bassano: Painting as Visual Exegesis* (1994). His innovation of the term 'visual exegesis' has changed the way in which academics have viewed the relationship between the Bible and its artistic interpretations. His work has inspired such individuals as Martin O'Kane, Natasha O'Hear and Ian Boxall, who have all incorporated the language of visual exegesis and actively demonstrated that images reflect a particular *reading* of a text and not a flat illustration. Of particular significance to this research was Berdini's identification of two methods of visual exegesis that he associates with Lutheran and Counter-Reformation art. He argued that for Martin Luther, images of biblical narratives were to be limiting in their interpretative freedom; in contrast, Italian images were to be textually expansive in their visual interpretation.[323] I used this hypothesis to incorporate my own trajectory that these opposing positions correlate with the movements' understanding on the status and interpretation of the Bible, put plainly as *sola scriptura* and 'scripture and tradition'. 1.2 then dealt with defining these two terms within the context of sixteenth-century Europe and established the severity of the division on the topic. Although fundamentally challenged by Luther's proclamation of *sola scriptura*, the Counter-Reformers at the Council of Trent remained steadfast in their understanding that the Bible was to be read and interpreted under the jurisdiction of the Church hierarchy and its traditions. It was then the task to argue that these differing views gave substance to their different visual biblical interpretive methods. I did this by organising the research into two sections, Part I and Part II.

In Part I, I focussed on Lutheran images, first with respect to the understanding of the concept of images in the politics of Martin Luther and then by providing in-depth analyses of two individual examples. Luther expressed an increasing tolerance towards images throughout his lifetime, which was surprising considering the iconoclastic positions of other Protestant Reformers such as Karlstadt, Zwingli and Calvin. Those who stood against the use of images in religious devotion did so by using biblical texts to support their claims, often referring to the commandment regarding the prohibition of graven images (Ex. 20:4; Deut. 5:8-9). This led to the

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[323] Berdini, *Jacopo Bassano: Painting as Visual Exegesis*, 19.

removal of images from churches in Wittenberg and other European cities. Like these reformers, Luther disputed the veneration of images in churches that bordered on idol worship. However, he criticised those who confronted the issue by removing images from churches as he understood it was a case of correcting the intention behind their use. Luther did not see images as dangerous in themselves and rather understood there to be potential benefits in their use. He incorporated them into his Bible translations, advocacy pamphlets and, later his altarpieces. In each of these manifestations, the images had to conform to the specific criteria of *Merckbilder*, a term indicated and defined by Bonnie Noble as "pictures meant to remind the beholder of the Word and to teach the fundamentals of Lutheran thought".[324] In the example of the *Whore of Babylon*, we saw how a printed image could be used like a textual commentary. It functioned as a clarifier of a Lutheran reading of Revelation 17 and limited the exegetical potential of the text by illustrating the Whore as the Pope. In the image, we find Luther's condemnation on papal authority, which he saw as overshadowing the power of the Bible. I am reminded of an earlier quote from Bainton where he writes about the re-throning of the Bible in the place of the Pope. Although logistically this exchange was not straightforward as the Bible as text had to be interpreted, in the *Whore of Babylon* there is evidence of Luther's perception that far too much power was being given to the Pope. This needed to be redirected towards the Word of God, which was the single infallible authority that governed the Church.

Although the *Weimar Altarpiece* contrasted the previous image in colour, context, and medium, the premise of *Merckbilder* remained explicit. The panel is packed with Lutheran theology, made accessible by image and textual guides. These include the biblical figure of John the Baptist who points to Jesus on the cross and the Lamb, the stream of blood that sprouts directly from Christ's side and lands on Cranach's head, and the support of written biblical texts in the book that Luther holds. The *Weimar Altarpiece* also focusses on the Christological reading of Scripture that was typical of Luther's method of biblical interpretation. Christ on the cross is placed directly in the centre of the painting and stands in front of a combination of Hebrew Bible and New Testament texts and themes. It highlights the unity of the two Testaments and their shared authority in the understanding of *sola scriptura.* The painting also illuminates

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[324] Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder*, 33.

how the Word of God, the Bible, held such fundamental mandate because it spoke of, as Matheson argues, "the Johannine Word, the living Word, was Christ himself".[325] This is found in the painting in the parallels between John the Baptist and Luther's indication to Christ on the cross and the written Word in the Bible. In both Lutheran images that we examined, there is a sure focus on text-centricity and Lutheran theology. The artists have constructed representations of biblical texts and themes in an explicit manner, thus annulling observers' interpretative freedom that may lead to misapprehension.

In Part II, I transitioned into examining images of the Counter-Reformation. I began with an exposition of the understanding of the use of images by looking at the twenty-fifth decree of the Council of Trent (1563) and established that the Council did little more than reinforce the traditional view on images put forward by Pope Gregory in the sixth century. The function of images was reaffirmed as essential for educational purposes and to "move/excite" the observer into piety. The Council offered vague outlines to how this was to be achieved by prohibiting images that were confusing or that may provoke lustful gaze. This concern is effectively shown in the interrogation of Veronese's *The Feast at the House of Levi*, originally the *Last Supper*, by the Holy Office who challenged the artist on his inclusion of extraneous details that swayed violently from the biblical text. However, this anxiety was short-lived, as the adaptation in painting title and inscription of "LVCA. CAP. V." was enough to mollify the Church in their inquisition. Furthermore, this was the only occasion where an artist was directly challenged by the Holy Office and asked to provide justification for their interpretation of a biblical narrative.

The first case study of Part II was Federico Barocci's *Deposition,* an altarpiece of Jesus' removal from the cross with a prominent depiction of the swooning Mary in the foreground. After providing an analysis of the painting's representation of the biblical stimuli, I examined how the image supported the Counter-Reformation reaffirmation of Mary's vital presence in Catholic tradition. Her swooning at the foot of the cross was a tradition that spanned from the thirteenth century and magnified her active participation in the labouring of the new Church. Although scholars have associated

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[325] Matheson, "Luther on Galatians", 623.

many biblical texts in attempt to support this idea (Lk 2:35; Jn 19:27; Rev. 12:1-2), these are not explicit references. Nor, it should be said, is there any biblical allusion to Mary fainting. The painting has textually expanded the narrative of Jesus' deposition and relies on Catholic tradition. I then correlated this position with the "maximalist" role of Mary in Catholicism in contrast to her "minimalist" position in Protestantism, where the character is defined solely within the bounds of her biblical appearances. Similarly, our second case study of Part II, Caravaggio's *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas,* we find a case of textual expansion in a more subtle representation. The artist shows the physical touch between Jesus and Thomas despite this not being made explicit in the biblical text of John 20. I was able to correspond Caravaggio's interpretation of the text with a wider debate of the period, that being the use of the senses and specifically the sense of touch. In the exegesis of the narrative by Calvin and Luther, there was a distinct emphasis on the implications of the narrative in supporting faith without evidence, with particular focus being given to Jesus' own words. In contrast, Thomas' demand for sensory confirmation was viewed by Counter-Reformers in a positive light. The sainthood of Thomas received increased attention during the later stages of the sixteenth century, as well as the reaffirmation on using physical relics as a means of devotion. Carlo Borromeo's emotive sermon is an exceptional example on the use of the sense of touch in Counter-Reformation rhetoric to engage and immerse the laity by sensuous descriptions.

Textual expansion of the selected biblical narratives was essential in both images examined in Part II, as it allowed for the synergy of 'scripture and tradition' to illuminate. The artists were able to incorporate into their textual expansion the elements of tradition that were not included in the biblical texts. Whereas Luther sought to embed his images in the biblical texts, even using explicit references in the compositions, Counter-Reformation artists used the biblical narrative indeterminacies to support Catholic traditions. I would argue that it is the genre of Counter-Reformation images that is deserving of more dedicated scholarship that reconciles it to the method of biblical interpretation of 'scripture and tradition'. The history of Martin Luther and his revolutionary campaign has been approached by a multitude of different angles, especially his methods of biblical interpretation. Even Luther's use of images has been widely covered in scholarship and leaves little ambiguity to their use in his campaign. Furthermore, due to technological advances, we are able to access an extensive

cohort of preserved and translated literature written by Luther himself, which provides us with unprecedented access into his theologies. In contrast, historiography on the Counter-Reformation remains relatively uncharted territory. It is certainly a context that is receiving increased attention, but scholarly analysis into the methods of its biblical interpretation and its use of art remains comparatively limited. The absence of material is then heightened when we attempt to find scholarship that unites these two issues. I will be continuing this research into the modes of visual biblical interpretation of the sixteenth century at doctoral level, with specific attention being paid to the method of visualising biblical texts and themes in the Counter-Reformation, in order to further advance the idea that biblical paintings of the period are representative of the broader scheme of promoting the premise of 'scripture and tradition'.

IMAGES

Figure 1.

Cranach, Lucas. *The Whore of Babylon, September Testament,* 1522. Woodcut.

Available at:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Whore_of_Babylon_1522_Luther_New_Testament.j

pg [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Passional Christi
Der HErr *ihre* Fuess' den Juengern wusch —

und Antichristi.
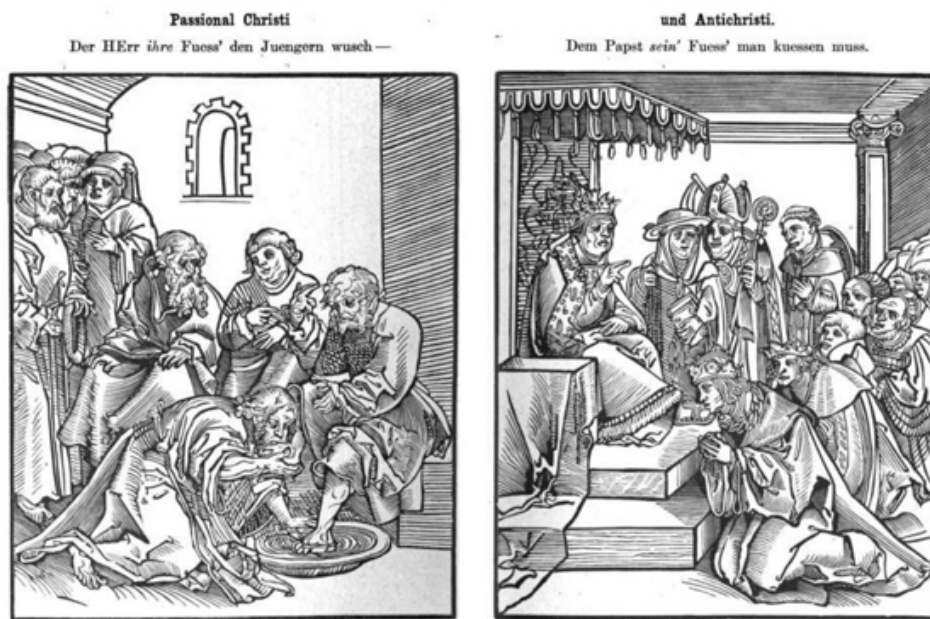Dem Papst *sein'* Fuess' man kuessen muss.

Figure 2.

Cranach, Lucas, *Christ Washes the Feet of his Disciples*, 1521. Woodcut.

Available at:

http://germanhistorydocs.ghidc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=3312
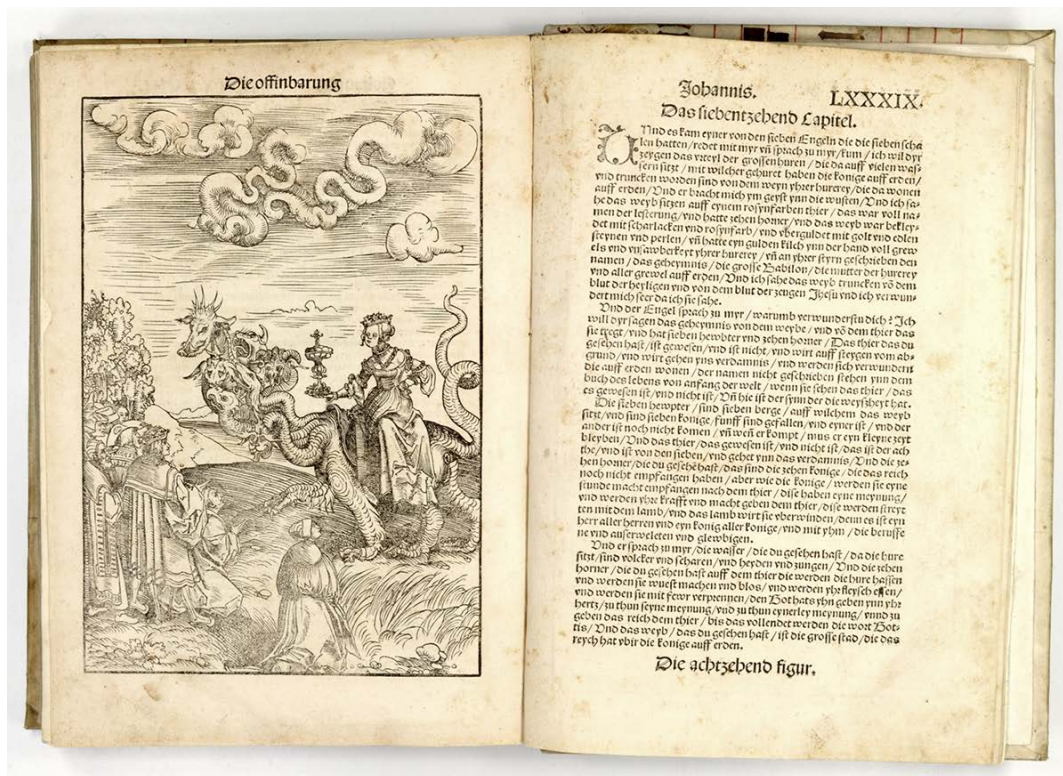
[Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 3.

Cranach, Lucas. *The Whore of Babylon, December Testament,* 1522. Woodcut.

Available at:

http://www.smu.edu/~/media//Site/Bridwell/Exhibitions/First4CenturiesIllustratedBible/BRA09
30%20Dezembertestament%20LXXXVIIIv-LXXXIXr_1200.ashx [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 4.

Durer, Albrecht, *The Whore of Babylon*, *Apocalypse*, 1498. Woodcut.

Available at:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?search=durer+whore+of+babylon&title=Special:
Search&go=Go&uselang=en&searchToken=7snpd7wancipm01eybaibafbe#/media/File:Dure
r,_apocalisse,_14_la_prostituta_di_babilonia.jpg [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 5.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Law and Gospel,* 1529. Oil on wood, 82.2x118cm, Schlossmuseum, Gotha.

Available at:

https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history/renaissance-and-reformation/protestant-reformation/a/cranach-law-and-gospel-law-and-grace
[Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 6.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Shneeberg Altarpiece*, 1539. Oil on wood, Church of Saint Wolfgang, Schneeberg.

Available at:

http://www.wga.hu/html_m/c/cranach/lucas_e/01/30altar1.html [Accessed on 04/06/2017]
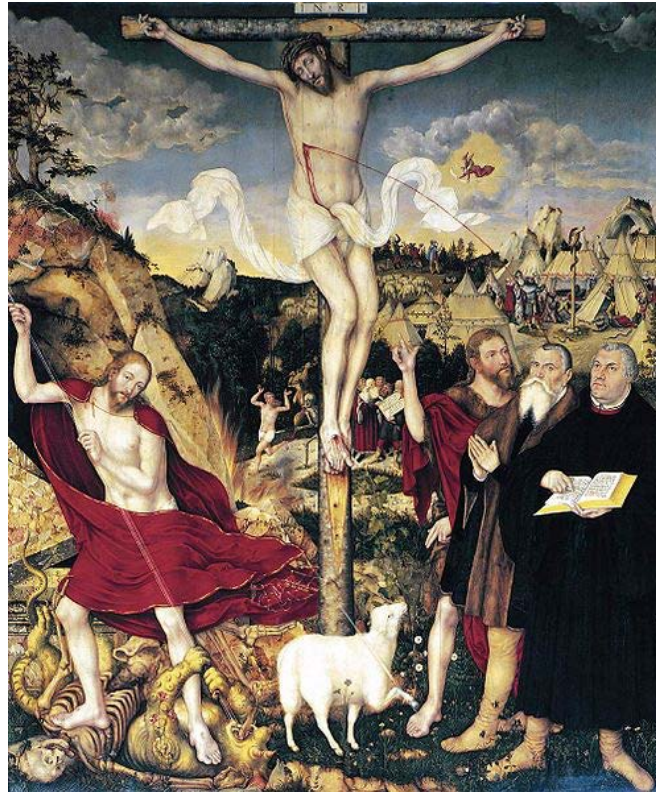
Figure 7.

Lucas Cranach the Elder, Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Weimar Altarpiece*, 1555. Oil on panel.

Available at:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Herderkirche_Weimar_Cranach_Altarpiece.jpg
[Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 8.

Sebastiano Del Piombo, *The Martyrdom of St. Agatha*, 1520. Oil on canvas. Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Available at:

http://www.christianiconography.info/Wikimedia%20Commons/agathaPiombo.html
[Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 9.

Rosso Fiorentino, *Dead Christ with Angels*, 1525-1526. Oil on canvas. 133.5x104cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rosso_Fiorentino_-_Dead_Christ_with_Angels_-_WGA20129.jpg [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 10.

Michelangelo, *The Last Judgement,* 1537-41. Fresco, 1370x1200cm, Sistine Chapel, Vatican City.

Available at: http://totallyhistory.com/the-last-judgment/ [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 11.

Paolo Veronese, *Feast in the House of Levi,* 1573, oil on canvas, 39"x18"3.

Available at:

https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/renaissance-reformation/renaissance-venice/late-renaissance-venice/v/paolo-veronese-feast-in-the-house-of-levi-1573

[Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 12.

Jacopo Tintoretto, *Last Supper,* 1592-1594, oil on canvas, 365x568cm, Basilica di San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.

Available at:

https://sites.google.com/site/completearthistory/art-of-the-renaissance/leonardo-vs-tintoretto

[Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 13.

Federico Barocci, *The Communion of the Apostles,* 1608, oil on canvas, 290x177cm, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.

Available at:
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b0/Federico_Barocci_-_The_Institution_of_the_Eucharist_-_WGA01290.jpg [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 14.

Federico Barocci, *The Visitation.* 1583-86. Oil on canvas. Chiesa Nuova, Rome.

Available at:

https://culturespectator.com/2013/04/30/federico-barocci-at-the-national-gallery-london-until-the-19th-may/ [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 15.

Barocci, Federico. The Deposition. 1568-69. Oil on canvas. Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Perugia.

Available at:
https://culturespectator.com/2013/04/30/federico-barocci-at-the-national-gallery-london-until-the-19th-may/ [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 16.

Caravaggio, *The Taking of Christ,* 1602-3. Oil on canvas, 134x170cm, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

Available at:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caravaggio_-_Taking_of_Christ_-_Dublin.jpg
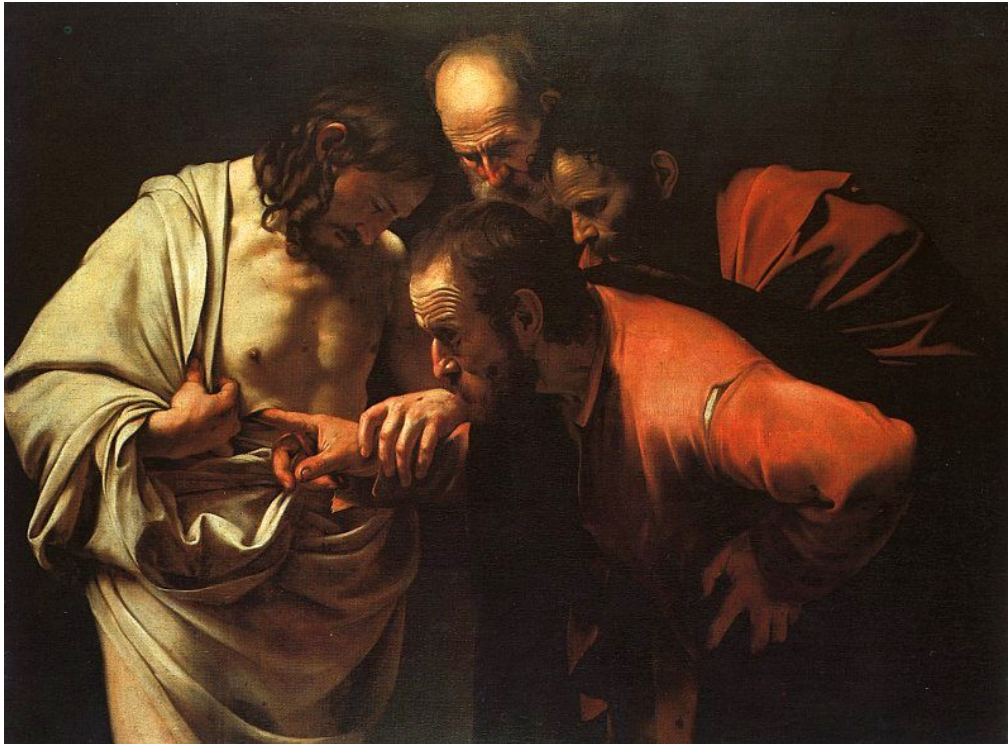
Figure 17.

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, 1602-3. Oil on canvas, 107x146cm, Sanssoci Gallery, Potsdam.

Available at:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Incredulity_of_Saint_Thomas_(Caravaggio)
 [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 18.

Caravaggio, Conversion on the Way to Damascus, 1601, Oil on canvas, 230x175cm, Basilica of Santa Maria del Popolo

Available at:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conversion_on_the_Way_to_Damascus [Acessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 19.

Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus*, 1601, oil on canvas, 141x196.2cm, National Portrait Gallery

Available at:
http://www.artway.eu/content.php?id=1154&lang=en&action=show [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 20.

Albrecht Dürer, *The Disbelieving Thomas, The Little Passion,* 1510. Woodcut.

Available at:
http://www.zeno.org/Kunstwerke/B/D%C3%BCrer,+Albrecht%3A+Folge+der+%C2%BBKleinen+P
assion%C2%AB+%5B34%5D [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

Figure 21.

Francesco de Rossi Salviati, *Doubting Thomas*. 1547. Oil on canvas, 275x234cm, San Giovanni Decollato

Available at:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Francesco_de%27_Rossi%27s_painting_%27The_Doubting_of_St._Thomas%27.jpg [Accessed on 04/06/2017]

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