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Lust in Hogarth's *Sleeping Congregation* – Or, How to Waste Time in Post-Puritan England

Bernd Krysmanski

In his *Essay upon Epick Poetry* (1727), Voltaire wrote that

> A Sermon in France is a long Declamation, scrupulously divided into three parts, and delivered with enthusiasm. In England, a Sermon is a solid, but sometimes dry, Dissertation, which a man reads to the people, without gesture, and without any particular exaltation of the voice.[1]

In the *Spectator* (no. 407, 17 June 1712), we find that Joseph Addison was of similar opinion:

> Our preachers stand stock-still in the Pulpit, and will not so much as move a Finger to set off the best Sermons in the World. We meet with the same speaking Statues at our Bars, and in all Publick Places of Debate. Our Words flow from us in a smooth continued Stream, without those Strainings of the Voice, Motions of the Body, and majesty of the Hand, which are so much celebrated in the Orators of *Greece* and *Rome*.[2]

The *Connoisseur* (no. 126, 24 June 1756) still maintained that the English clergymen lacked wit and liveliness: 'Their sermons are frequently drawled out in one dull tone, without any variation of voice or gesture: so that it is no wonder, if some of the congregation should be caught napping, when the preacher himself hardly seems to be awake.'[3] For indeed, in the early eighteenth century there were few, if any, Anglican priests who would render a heartfelt sermon. In the post-Puritan age of reason, fervent, enthusiastic preaching was suspect and the preacher's ideal was a studied moderation. English congregations were obliged to listen to theoretical treatises delivered dryly, word for word, without any signs of emotion. More often than not the clergyman, lazy and uninterested, did not even bother to write his sermons himself, but bought them cheaply somewhere to drone monotonously from the pulpit.[4] Those critical of this dreadful lethargy – and there were many – demanded more 'proper Gestures' in the pulpit and a more varied style, which would be, as Addison put it, the only way to appeal to the 'Hearts of the Ignorant'.[5] But the majority of the Anglican clergy seems to have remained immune to this criticism.

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William Hogarth recorded the effect of one of these dull sermons on the common people in his 1736 engraving *The Sleeping Congregation* (plate 35).[6] This print depicts a congregation of country folk in a late Gothic English parish church.[7] The clergyman in the pulpit is reading the sermon with the help of a magnifying glass, his left arm propped up on a pillow so that the hand holding the Bible does not tire. The sermon is clearly having a powerful effect on the members of the congregation, who are expressing their enthusiasm with loud snores. Appropriately, the minister's Bible is opened at Matthew 11:28: 'Come unto me all ye y: [i.e., that] Labour and are Heavy Laden, & I will give you Rest.' The only people not at rest are two old women in the last row, whose erect hats at least suggest that their wearers are awake, and the stout clerk at his lectern below the pulpit, who is furtively attentive to the low neckline of a girl sitting next to him.

In fact 'sleeping in church' as a subject matter was in no way new. Hogarth was following a literary and pictorial tradition in England and other countries which goes back at least as far as the late fifteenth century. For example, a woodcut for Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* of 1494[8] (plate 36) depicts a fool preaching in church, while one of the listeners wearing a fool's cap has nodded off on the steps of the pulpit. Hans Holbein's *Der Predicant* (plate 37) from his *Dance of Death*, published in 1538, includes a churchgoer dozing with his head against the wall of the pulpit.[9] In the seventeenth century there were people in German churches whose task it was to wake up slumbering members of the congregation with a long pole.[10] In most depictions of 'sleeping in church' the majority of those present appears to be awake. The fault lies with individual sleepy members of the congregation who are not willing to hear the word of God, and the sleepers depicted in such woodcuts serve as an admonition to the faithful to attend divine service with body and soul.

It is obvious from Hogarth's print that in England the picture of the congregation had changed completely by the early eighteenth century, from one in which most of those attending were wide awake to one in which most were fast asleep, and the print might also, in Hogarth's typical irony, reflect the 'open and professed disregard of religion', criticized by High Churchmen such as Bishop Thomas Secker (1693–1768).[11] Be that as it may, it is evident that in eighteenth-century Britain the preacher is chiefly to blame for the sleepy congregation. This situation is also the point of several satirical writings of the time. In his sermon *Upon Sleeping in Church*, Jonathan Swift, one of Hogarth's favourite authors, says that 'Opium is not so stupifying to many Persons as an Afternoon Sermon.'[12] As this sermon was delivered in Dublin in 1734 and published posthumously in 1762, it is rather unlikely that it could have come to Hogarth's notice before he executed his print (especially in view of the fact that the oil sketch of the *Sleeping Congregation* dates from *c.* 1728), but similar thoughts can be found in Swift's earlier works, which also could, therefore, have inspired Hogarth's picture. In 1721, for example, he published *A Letter to a Young Gentleman, Lately enter'd into Holy Orders*, in which he expressed his distaste for clergymen reading sermons out word for word: 'You will observe some Clergymen with their Heads held down from the Beginning to the End, within an Inch of the Cushion, to read what is hardly legible; which, besides the untoward Manner, hinders them from making the best Advantage of their Voice ...'[13] It is surely no coincidence that Hogarth's preacher is straining to find the words of his text with a magnifying

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35 William Hogarth, *The Sleeping Congregation* (etching and engraving; 1736; fourth state, 1762).

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36 (left) The fool who conceals the truth. Woodcut illustration no. 104 in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1498).
37 (right) Hans Holbein the Younger, *Der Predicant*, from *The Dance of Death* (woodcut; published 1538). Courtesy, Hamburger Kunsthalle.

glass. In his *Argument To prove, That the Abolishing of Christianity in England, May ... be attended with some Inconveniences ...* (1708), Swift ironically describes the way in which places of worship are 'mis-applied', and asks where there are 'so many Conveniences, or Incitements to sleep' as in church.[14]

Among other satirical comments on the apparently widespread phenomenon of sleeping in church we find the *Guardian* (no. 136, 17 August 1713), in a list of causes of death among 'Country People', ironically including eleven persons who 'took Cold sleeping at Church'.[15] We also know that George II used to take a nap during divine service and that Addison, in the *Spectator* (no. 112, 9 July 1711), described how well Sir Roger de Coverley cared for his parish church and congregation and how he even woke up the sleepers.[16]

An essay in the *Spectator*, no. 53 (1 May 1711), raises another point which highlights the satire in the *Sleeping Congregation*. It takes the form of a letter in which its alleged author, a 'Starer', answers two other letters which had appeared in the *Spectator*. In the first (no. 20) a woman had complained of being stared at in church, and in the second (no. 46) a man had introduced himself as an 'ogling-master'. The 'Starer's' letter runs like this:

> Sir,
> This is to let you understand, that I am a reformed Starer, and conceived a Detestation for that Practice from what you have writ upon the Subject.

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> But as you have been very severe upon the behaviour of us Men at Divine Service, I hope you will not be so apparently partial to the Women, as to let them go wholly unobserved. If they do every thing that is possible to attract our Eyes, are we more culpable than they for looking at them? I happen'd last *Sunday* to be shut into a Pew, which was full of young Ladies in the Bloom of Youth and Beauty. When the Service began, I had not room to kneel at the confession, but as I stood kept my Eyes from wandring as well as I was able, 'till one of the young Ladies, who is a Peeper, resolved to bring down my Looks, and fix my Devotion on her self. You are to know, Sir, that a Peeper works with her Hands, Eyes, and Fan; one of which is continually in motion, while she thinks she is not actually the Admiration of some Ogler or Starer in the Congregation. As I stood utterly at a loss how to behave my self, surrounded as I was, this Peeper so placed her self as to be kneeling just before me. She display'd the most beautiful Bosom imaginable, which heav'd and fell with some fervour, while a delicate well-shaped Arm held a Fan over her Face. It was not in Nature to command ones Eyes from this Object; I could not avoid taking notice also of her Fan, which had on it various Figures, very improper to behold on that occasion. There lay in the Body of the Piece a *Venus*, under a Purple canopy furled with curious Wreaths of Drapery, half naked, attended with a Train of *Cupids*, who were busied in Fanning her as she slept. Behind her was drawn a Satyr peeping over the silken Fence, and threatning to break though it. I frequently offer'd to turn my Sight another way, but was still detained by the Fascination of the Peeper's Eyes, who had long practised a skill in them, to recal the parting Glances of her Beholders. You see my Complaint, and hope you will take these mischievous People, the Peepers, into your Consideration: I doubt not but you will think a Peeper as much more pernicious than a Starer, as an Ambuscade is more to be feared than an open Assault.
>
> *I am*, Sir
>
> *Your most Obedient Servant*.[17]

In this letter's reference to sexual activities in church we recognize the lustful feelings of the clerk in the *Sleeping Congregation*. Here his eyes are scarcely turned to the girl while his spectacles stare lecherously at her bared bosom, taking on almost the form of testicles to his phallic thumb.[18] Such sexual connotations are unambiguous and found throughout the print, even where least expected. The quaker hats of the two old women may be an ironic allusion to past sexual activity, in line with a prejudice expressed in several writings and plays of the time, such as Francis Bugg's *The Painted Harlot both Stript and Whipt* (1683), John Gay's *Trivia* (1716) or Thomas Walker's *The Quaker's Opera* (1728), where Quaker women were compared to harlots. Thus the two Quaker hats in the *Sleeping Congregation* would characterize their owners as old harlots turned pious in old age. In the third scene of Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress* (1732) a similar hat hangs in the whore's bedchamber.[19]

In the *Sleeping Congregation* the young girl on the right has fallen asleep during the prayer on marriage, for her Common Prayer Book is open at the page

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on 'Matrimony'. Her dream may be less innocent, less romantic and more erotic than one might suppose. She may even be feigning sleep as part of a seductive strategy, since she is holding one of the fans with which women notoriously would draw men's attention.[20]

The lion of the royal arms[21] emblazoned on the upper left-hand corner of the wall presents himself in an unmistakable pose, his huge member displayed shamelessly.[22] In eighteenth-century English prints the lion was the heraldic symbol of the English nation. It was an expression of warlike patriotism and could even represent the King himself.[23] But in the *Sleeping Congregation* it stands more for sexual potency than for political power. Did Hogarth want to show that it was not only the clergy (represented by the clerk with his lecherous glance), but the worldly authorities as well, who were thinking constantly of sexual lust while expecting moral behaviour from the people? Did Hogarth feel that immoral behaviour was the rule (and ruling) in Hanoverian England?

If this be true, Hogarth's lustful lion could well be linked to the ostensibly innocent girl below, exposing her breasts and dreaming of the future 'joys' of matrimony. Such a connection is also backed up by satirical writings. In William Harrison's *Tatler* (no. 5, 23–27 January 1710) Jonathan Swift reports a strange dream, in which a member of the fair sex who wishes to be married and claims to be a virgin, must prove her virginity by undergoing a test before a 'He-Lion' on her wedding day, as surely 'a Lion would never hurt a true Virgin.'[24] Addison, in the *Guardian*, dealt intensively with the subject of 'exposed bosoms' in public (or in church). In letters he wrote and then supposedly 'found' in the 'lion's mouth' he had put up in Button's coffeehouse to receive secret messages, he frequently complained about the low necklines in the latest ladies' fashion.[25]

If we look more closely at the sleepers in the gallery we may well ask if this is the sleep of boredom or the exhaustion of ecstasy. Is the entire English nation, symbolized by the lion with its erect penis, indulging in sexual desire, even during divine service? The word 'DIEU'' is obscured in the motto at the lion's feet: '. . . ET MON DROIT.' This perhaps implies God's absence or exclusion from this totally secularized world.

The numerous cracks in the wall indicate the sorry physical state of English churches.[26] Was religious faith in an equally bad way? The bright symbol of the Trinity – without the eye of God – has been turned upside down and thus debased.[27] The triangle points to (and points out) the barely visible altar and the unused communion plates and chalice on it.

Further secular references are found in the cross structures in the irregularly shaped 'openings' which forms the tracery of the round-arched windows. These numerous crosses echo the cross structure of the London city arms emblazoned on the right-hand window. To drive this point home, the city arms are also doubly mirrored in the clerk's glasses. The four hats which have been hung up by members of the congregation continue this secularizing theme. Their triangular shapes seem to parody the symbol of the Trinity, pulling it down from its 'higher' – religious – to a 'lower' – worldly – domain. The hatchment, a lozenge-shaped painted escutcheon exhibiting the arms of a recently deceased person, hangs above the sleepers in the gallery.[28] This secular device reveals further meanings.

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Hatchments were common in Dutch and English churches from the middle of the seventeenth century. We know them from Dutch paintings of church interiors, where they adorn the columns, while all else is blank and bare as a result of iconoclasm.[29] The hatchment in Hogarth's engraving has a coat of arms on it with a chevron between three owls.[30] The owl, the ancient symbol of wisdom, often has a negative meaning in Christian iconography. It is a symbol of disbelief, of sin, lust and indolence.[31] As such, it hardly throws a flattering light on the congregation in Hogarth's print. Is it only the congregation Hogarth is criticizing? The coat of arms resembles a face casting a bored look at the preacher, whose hat is hung on the back of the pulpit so that the hatband, the ribbon and the crown form an owl, sitting on the minister's shoulder and framed by the mandorla-like hat brim. This second, hidden owl motif has remained unnoticed to date. What was the artist's reason for depicting it?

Hogarth was no doubt well aware, as were learned people of his day, that in seventeenth-century Holland the owl marked the fool.[32] In Aertgen van Leyden's *The Calling of St Anthony* (*c.* 1530?, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) (plate 38) we can see a churchgoer in the foreground who has fallen asleep and is carrying an owl on her back. The meaning of this detail is obvious: a fool is he who does not listen where the Word of God is preached.[33] In Hogarth's *Sleeping Congregation* the minister's words are those of a fool preaching to the foolish. He has clearly not understood that the words on the door of the pulpit refer to him as well: 'I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain. Galat. 4:11.'

To underscore the senselessness of a sermon preached by a fool, the hour-glass on the right of the pulpit, there to remind the clergyman not to wear out the patience of his audience, has run out, assuming it had been turned over at all. The fact that it is not the modern clock seen in many of Hogarth's other works,[34] is not only an ironic dig at the backwardness of the country. Since the time of Luther and Calvin hour-glasses were often used to limit the length of sermons. The Reformed Churches maintained this practice until the end of the eighteenth century.[35] The hour-glass here, as an attribute of vanity, emphasizes both the transitoriness of life and the endlessness of the sermon![36] Tempus fugit, we must not waste it.

In seventeenth-century Puritan sermons wasting time is sometimes called a worse sin than wasting money. In his book of edification, *A Christian Directory* (1673), Richard Baxter (1615–91) demands thrift in the use of the time man has been allotted by God.[37] Wasting time, a form of idleness, robs God of his dues. Time-wasters lose their soul to the devil. 'Mistiming the various actions of life', as Isaac Watts (1674–1748) puts it in his *Christian Diligence*, is another deadly sin: actions necessary in themselves may be forbidden if done at the wrong time. This not only means that people should not sleep in church, but also that the merchant should not waste time through too much affected piety during the hours of prayer, even at night.[38] Instead of wasting time, there are good Christian works to be done, and sleep prevents the carrying out of this duty.

In art, as well as in literature, sleep is a symbol of the vice of *Acedia*. Pictures condemning sinful sleep often depict peasants who have fallen asleep while tilling, men sleeping in front of the cross, or, very commonly, women taking a nap at their distaff. The latter was used by Sebastian Brant, in his *Narrenschiff*, to depict '*Fulheit*' (sloth).[39] In sixteenth-century texts describing *Acedia* sleep is also used to

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38 Aertgen van Leyden, *The Calling of St Anthony* (oil painting; c. 1530?). Courtesy, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

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express this vice.[40] Dirck van Coornhert calls sleepy indolence a comfortable pillow that establishes contact with the devil himself.[41] Other Dutch sources call this pillow the 'pillow of unchaste thoughts'[42] or even the 'bed of lust'.[43] Sloth, closely connected with lust, was considered a deadly sin, because man cannot serve God if he is indolent and lustful. In these sources the sleeper consequently is told to open his eyes again and turn to God.[44] Hogarth's *Sleeping Congregation* belongs to this tradition as both sleep and lust play prominent roles and all its characters are wasting time.

Hogarth's clergyman preaching from the pulpit also follows a pictorial tradition which is well worth a closer look. The pulpiteer as motif in art is found both in early Italian Renaissance painting[45] and, in Protestant, northern, art, in anti-papist, didactic and genre contexts.[46] One need only think of the *Preacher* in Holbein's *Dance of Death* series (plate 37), who admonishes his listeners to lead pious, virtuous lives. 'Good Prayer' pictures depicting preachers in the pulpit were well known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They illustrate the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6)[47] and teach Protestants their Christian duty.[48]

Protestant art taught not only Christian duty, but attempted to correct misbehaviour through good example. The contrast between foolish and ugly common people representing the sin of sloth, and the moral behaviour of the nobleman is shown, for instance, in Aertgen van Leyden's *Calling of St Anthony* (plate 38). The painting depicts the 'good deed' of a rich man (interpreted as St Anthony), who has been prompted by the words of a preacher to give bread to the poor.[49] What is of greater interest to us is the group of people in front of the pulpit, who are seated in a circle around a beautiful young lady.[50] The striking ugliness of these people casts a negative light on the greater part of the congregation: such ugly churchgoers, sitting torpidly on prayer stools or on the ground, are thus characterized as foolish sinners. It cannot be just chance that an owl is sitting on a sleeping woman's back! The picture is meant to remind the viewer not to indulge in indolence and foolishness – and perhaps vanity (like the young woman), but to practise mercy and charity. In the *Sleeping Congregation* (plate 35) nobody is practising mercy, least of all Hogarth. Apart from the bare-breasted girl, all the people, including the preacher, have exaggerated features and therefore are sinners. Like the beautiful lady in Aertgen van Leyden's *Calling of St Anthony*, only the young girl retains a certain degree of grace (in spite of her lustful dream). Here Hogarth has picked up on an old tradition in art, but has carried the tradition a step further. The *Sleeping Congregation* is critical of both churchgoer and preacher.

Hogarth may also have been familiar with the ironical treatment of the sermon and traditional sacraments in Pieter Brueghel's *Fides* from his series of the *Seven Virtues* (1559) (plate 39).[51] Karl Tolnai considered this depiction of *Faith* to be a satire on 'outward piety'.[52] The sermon to the herd takes up most of the space in Brueghel's drawing: the shapeless backs of the figures in front of the pulpit look like rows of sacks. Only in the background can we see faces, idiotic, vulgar, stupid faces unable to show any human thoughts or feelings. Sitting indifferently and apathetically in front of the pulpit the churchgoers are not really listening to the sermon. The clergyman's discourse is in vain. Unlike Brueghel's soulless shapes, the people in Hogarth's *Sleeping Congregation*

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39 Pieter Brueghel, *Fides*, from the series of the *Seven Virtues* (drawing; 1559). Courtesy, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Detail: the sermon.

(plate 35) are still human. The churchgoers have not yet lost their will and humanity, but are in danger of doing so: they can either fall asleep or keep awake by thinking lewd thoughts.

An earlier oil sketch, dating from 1728 (or, according to Paulson, from the early 1730s), also entitled *The Sleeping Congregation* (plate 40), is less ironical than the engraved version.[53] In the oil painting the young woman's bosom is not bare, her book is shut, and there is no fan to be seen. There is a young man between the woman and the clerk, who is obviously asleep. The preacher is not using a magnifying glass to read his sermon; he can deliver it without relying on notes or a printed version. The hour-glass has only half run down. The congregation is sitting further away from the pulpit. There are more people in the gallery. Verses from the Bible written on boards embellish the wall or the compound pillar, but not the door of the pulpit. The strange symbol of the Trinity is missing. The royal arms are without the motto and without any erotic touches. On the whole, the oil painting looks like a hastily sketched report of what the artist really saw in the church. The satirical railing against the congregation's behaviour is less drastic, less obtrusive and more low-key than in the engraving.

In the engraved version of the *Sleeping Congregation* the original motifs have been enlarged to the point of becoming grotesque. Although the details go beyond reality – the angel painted on the wall with only one wing and a three-shanked leg, the lion with its huge penis, the reversed symbol of Trinity, the hatchment with its

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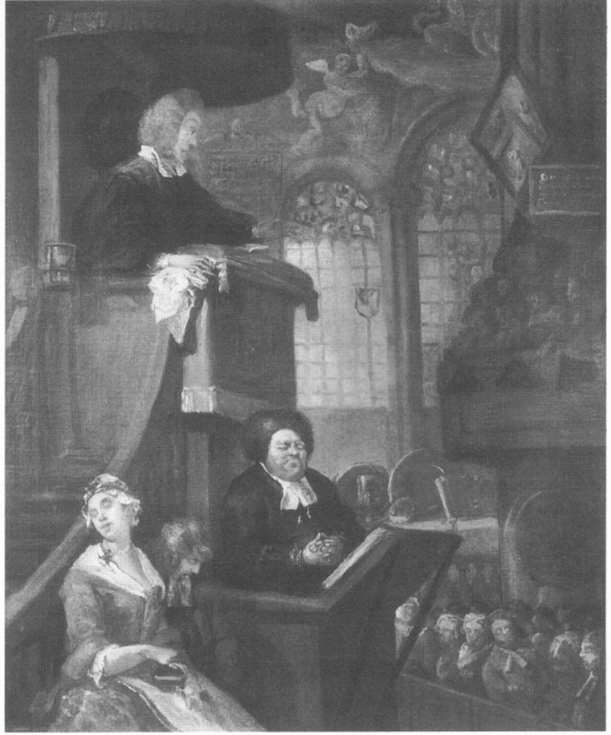

40 William Hogarth, *The Sleeping Congregation* (oil sketch; 1728?) Courtesy, The Minneapolis Institute of Art.

'face', the minister's hat forming an owl – the artist shows up the real weaknesses of his fellow men. Hogarth depicts their indolence; the lukewarm behaviour of the Anglican clergy; the sorry state of religious art in England; the improper, secularized behaviour of lazy churchgoers, who, although asleep, are bound more to the vice of lust than to Christian virtue. Both churchgoer and preacher are wasting their time, and, in doing so, represent England ruled by the House of Hanover.[54] Instead of sleeping, instead of being lustful, the English ought to devote themselves to good deeds and hard work, as did the ambitious bourgeoisie to which William Hogarth felt he belonged at that time.[55]

Alexander Pope, in his *Dunciad* (1728), attacks the stupidity of London life, the impotence of the intellectual elite, and the political and moral decadence of the whole English nation. Essentially, Hogarth does the same with his *Sleeping Congregation*. To heighten this critical irony, Hogarth alludes to, indeed updates, older literary and pictorial traditions which dealt with the sin of sloth and were well known to his contemporaries. His print is full of the irony of the industrious, diligent, post-Puritan eighteenth-century artist who can have little or no patience with unproductive idleness.

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Notes

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1 As this passage did not appear in the first printing of Voltaire's English essay of 1727, I have quoted from *The Connoisseur*, 4th edn, London, 1761, vol. 4, p. 170. The revised French text, the first of which appeared in 1733, runs as follows: 'Un sermon en France est une longue déclamation scrupuleusement divisées en trois points, et récitée avec enthousiasme. En Angleterre un sermon est une dissertation solide, et quelquefois sèche, qu'un homme lit au peuple sans geste et sans aucun éclat de voix.' See Voltaire, 'An essay on epic poetry, Essai sur la poésie épique', critical edition by D. Williams, in *The Complete Works of Voltaire*, ed. U. Kölving, vol. 3B: *The English essays of 1727*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 407–408.

2 *The Spectator*, ed. D.F. Bond, Oxford, 1965, vol. 3, p. 521. A short time before, John Edwards had criticized the English clergymen preaching from the pulpit, 'who stand Moveless in that place, as if they were tyed to the Stake: a Sign that Preaching is a *Martyrdom* to them'. (J. Edwards, *The Preacher*, 3 vols, London, 1705–07, vol. 1, p. 184).

3 *The Connoisseur*, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 4, pp. 170–1.

4 We can read at length about the dry English sermons and their soporific effect in R.P. Lessenich's *Elements of Pulpit Oratory in Eighteenth-Century England (1660–1800)*, Cologne and Vienna, 1972, pp. 132–8, 142–3. See also G.R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason, 1648–1789*, Harmondsworth, 1960, chap. 9, and H. Davies's multi-volume work, *Worship and Theology in England*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962 ff., especially vol. 3 on the eighteenth century.

5 In the *Spectator*, no. 407, Addison wrote: 'It is certain, that proper Gestures and vehement Exertions of the Voice cannot be too much studied by a Publick Orator. They are a kind of Comment to what he utters, and enforce every thing he says, with weak Hearers, better than the strongest Argument he can make use of. ... Violent Gesture and Vociferation naturally shake the Hearts of the Ignorant, and fill them with a kind of Religious Horror. Nothing is more frequent than to see Women weep and tremble at the sight of a moving Preacher, though he is placed quite out of their Hearing ...' (*The Spectator*, ed. Bond, op. cit. [note 2], vol. 3, pp. 521–2). See also the *Tatler*, no. 66 (10 September 1709) which deals with the same subject.

6 On the engraving, see W. Horn, 'Der Kirchenschlaf bei Swift und Hogarth', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vol. 137, 1918, pp. 69–70; H.-P. Wagner, 'Eroticism in Graphic Art: The Case of William Hogarth', in P.B. Craddock/C.H. Hay (eds), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, vol. 21, 1991, pp. 54–6; R. Paulson, 'English Iconoclasm in the Eighteenth Century', in J.A.W. Heffernan (ed.), *Space, Time, Image, Sign: Essays on Literature and the Visual Arts*, New York, Berne, Frankfurt/M., Paris, 1987, pp. 41–56; Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd edn, London, 1989, pp. 98–9; Paulson, *Breaking and Remaking: Aesthetic Practice in England, 1700–1820*, New Brunswick and London, 1989, pp. 149–56; Paulson, *Hogarth, Volume 2: High Art and Low, 1732–1750*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 97–103. For a full bibliography, see B. Krysmanski, *A Hogarth Bibliography, 1697–1997*, 2 vols, Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, *c.*1998/9 [forthcoming].

7 The city arms of London (see I. Nowel, *London: Biographie einer Weltstadt, Geschichte und Literatur, Architektur und Kunst*, 3rd edn, Cologne, 1987, p. 55) emblazoned in the right window makes us think of a London church. Although the massive compound pillar in the upper left of the print, which could be found in the transept of a cathedral rather than in a small country church, does indicate that it is a large church, Hogarth announced the engraving in newspapers as a 'Sleepy Congregation in a Country Church' (see F.G. Stephens/E. Hawkins, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Division i, Political and Personal Satires, vol. 3: 1, London, 1877, no. 2285, p. 204, n. 2).

8 See the illustration for chapter 104 in S. Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, ed. H.-J. Mähl, Stuttgart, 1964, p. 392.

9 See A.M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, 2 vols, New York, 1963, vol. 1, plate 13; W. Hofmann (ed.), *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 11 November 1983 to 8 January 1984, cat. no. 51 and plate 51 B.

10 Dropping thick books from the pulpit, another method of waking people up, was occasionally used during the Thirty Years' War, but this practice was forbidden in later times. See Horn, op. cit. (note 6), p. 70.

11 Quoted in Cragg, op. cit. (note 4), p. 129.

12 Jonathan Swift, *Irish Tracts 1720–1723*, ed. H. Davis, *And Sermons*, ed. L. Landa, Oxford, 1963, p. 212.

13 ibid., p. 72.

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14 Jonathan Swift, *Bickerstaff Papers and Pamphlets on the Church*, ed. H. Davis, Oxford, 1966, p. 31.

15 *The Guardian*, ed. J.C. Stephens, Lexington, 1983, p. 454.

16 Addison wrote: 'As Sir ROGER is Landlord to the whole Congregation, he keeps them in very good Order, and will suffer no Body to sleep in it besides himself; for if by Chance he has been surprized into a short Nap at Sermon, upon recovering out of it he stands up and looks about him, and if he sees any Body else nodding, either wakes them himself, or sends his Servant to them.' (*The Spectator*, ed. Bond, op. cit. [note 2], vol. 1, p. 460).

17 *The Spectator*, ed. Bond, op. cit. (note 2), vol. I, pp. 227–8. Similar remarks can be found in the *Guardian*, no. 65 (26 May 1713). Amorous escapades seem to have been common in English churches at least since the seventeenth century. In 1667 Samuel Pepys, in his *Diary*, reports how he, 'being weary, turned into St Dunstan's Church, where I hear an able sermon ... and stood by a pretty, modest maid whom I did labour to take by the hand and body, but she would not, but got further and further from me, and at last I could perceive her to take pins out of her pocket to prick me if I should touch her again; which seeing I did forbear ... So the sermon ended and the church broke up, and my armours ended also.' (Quoted in C. Hibbert, *London's Churches*, London, 1988, p. 34). On another occasion Pepys spends his time in St Margaret's, Westminster, looking at beautiful women through his 'perspective glass' (ibid., p. 100). In the *Spectator*, no. 73 (24 May 1711) Addison went into the subject of vain females in greater detail. These women whose only endeavour it is to attract the attention of as many men as possible he calls 'idols': 'An *Idol* is wholly taken up in the Adorning of her Person. You see in every Posture of her Body, Air of her Face, and Motion of her Head, that it is her Business and Employment to gain Adorers. For this reason your *Idols* appear in all publick Places and Assemblies, in order to seduce Men to their Worship. The Playhouse is very frequently filled with *Idols*; ... and several of them set up their Worship even in Churches.' (*The Spectator*, ed. Bond, op. cit. [note 2], vol. 1, pp. 312–13). The *Turkish Spy* is more outspoken: '... it is common for Men to make Love to the Women in *Churches*: They present themselves before the *Altars*, but, the *Saint* whom they Invocate, is some beautiful Female. She engrosses all their Devotions; to her they make their Vows. The amorous Youth adores his Mistress that kneels by him, laden perhaps with more Sins that himself. His Eyes may be fixed on the *Altar*, or, on the Pictures and Images, but his Tongue Addresses to the more Charming Idol near him.' (G.P. Marana et al., *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy, who lived five and forty years undiscovered at Paris*, 8 vols, 5th edn, London, 1702, vol. 2, book 1, letter xxiii, p. 59; see also The *Spectator*, ed. Bond, op. cit. [note 2], vol. 1, p. 312, n. 2). To sum up: religious thoughts in church do not seem to have been the rule, but rather the exception in the eighteenth century. The numerous sources show quite clearly what was first in people's mind.

18 Such motifs are not unusual in Hogarth's art. In Scene 1 of his series *Marriage à-la-Mode* (1745) there is a baroque portrait of Lord Squanderfield on the wall. He is depicted as Jupiter flinging his thunderbolts. It is under his cloak, however, in an unambiguous place, that the explosion takes place. On this motif, see W. Busch, 'Die englische Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts', in W. Busch (ed.), *Funkkolleg Kunst*, Munich, Zurich, 1987, vol. 2, p. 710. In Scene 5 of the same series there is the portrait of a whore who, according to J. Ireland (*Hogarth Illustrated*, 2nd edn, London, 1793, vol. 2, pp. 34–5), is holding 'a butcher's steel' (and not the handle of a parasol, as modern scholars believe) in front of her pudenda and, to be more precise, in such a way that it looks like a penis. In addition, the soldier's legs in the wall-painting underneath the woman's portrait make her look like a Scotsman.

19 On the Quaker woman's hat in this print and contemporary comparing of Quakers to harlots, see B. Wind, 'Hogarth's Fruitful Invention: Observations on *Harlot's Progress*, Plate III', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 52, 1989, pp. 268–9; H. Mount, 'Egbert van Heemskerck's *Quaker Meetings* Revisited', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 56, 1993, pp. 217–19.

20 Addison frequently writes about this instrument of female flirtation. See, for instance, the *Freeholder*, no. 15 (10 February, 1716). Women in church holding a fan can be seen both in Hogarth's *Corrupt Priests and Gallants Celebrate the Feast of St Theresia in an Italian Church* (1724), an illustration of Charles Gildon's *New Metamorphosis*, and in plate 2 of his series *Industry and Idleness* (1747). The fan's significance comes as no surprise, for through the language of the fan women of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries could make intimate conversations with men at parties – and in church. What is more, the fan permitted the women to take an active or passive part in the great orgy of lust raging in society in words and deeds, as Eduard Fuchs put it. See his *Illustrierte Sittengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2: 'Die galante Zeit', repr. Berlin, n.d., pp. 244–6.

21 The royal arms were a common ornament in English churches. Panels carrying these arms were put on the screen after the break with Rome, especially in the time of Queen Elizabeth I. They were supposed to show the supremacy of the English King or Queen in matters of faith.

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When screens were removed from the churches the royal arms were often arranged within a 'quasi-reredos', together with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, or they were fastened to the beams over the triumphal arch. See J.C. Cox, *English Church Fittings Furniture and Accessories*, London, 1933, pp. 166–9; J. Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1973, pp. 119, 128, 138. As we can see in Hogarth's *Sleeping Congregation*, they were also painted on the wall of the choir.

What deserves our attention is that Hogarth made a 'mistake' in his depiction of the royal arms: he exchanged the two heraldic animals' positions. On the right there ought to have been the unicorn and not the lion (see Cox, op. cit., plates 164–7; Phillips, op. cit., plates 28 and 29a). Hogarth may simply have overlooked this detail or forgotten that the proof is in reverse. But I think that he intentionally wanted to show the profane lion only and not the unicorn, the traditional symbol of Christ and of chastity. This assumption is backed up by the fact that Hogarth got the sides of the royal arms right in his first state of *The Bench* (1758). See also *The Reward of Cruelty* (1751), in which the royal arms are emblazoned above the brutal anatomists, *The Cockpit* (1759) and *A Rake's Progress*, plate 6 (1735), where the royal arms inform the beholder that the state approves of cruel cock fights and gambling dens, or *Chairing the Members* (1758; second state) from Hogarth's *Election* series, in which there are the misshapen city arms on the gable of the town hall in the background.

22 Hogarth must have liked this motif. In *Marriage à-la-Mode*, plate 2 (1745) the penis of the dog is shown quite clearly. We can also compare the lion and the unicorn in Hogarth's *Masquerade Ticket* (1727), in which the two animals leaning with their backs on the clock, are fondling their tails in a very unusual manner. We must, of course, not forget that in the official royal arms of the time the penises of the heraldic animals cannot be overlooked. See Cox, op. cit. (note 21), plates 164–7.

23 See H.M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth*, Oxford, 1974, p. 102. A British lion eating a French fleur-de-lis can be seen in the second scene of Hogarth's *Election* series (*c.* 1754/55; Sir John Soane's Museum, London). See G. Baldini/G. Mandel, *L'opera completa di Hogarth pittore*, Milan, 1967, no. 176 B and colour plate 53; C. Scull, *The Soane Hogarths*, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 1991, plate 78; E. Wind, 'The Lion Filled With Lilies: A Reminiscence of Leonardo in Hogarth', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 6, 1943, pp. 222–3.

24 J. Swift, '[Harrison's Continuation] *The Tatler* Number 5, From Tuesday Jan 23, to Saturday Jan 27, 1710', in Jonathan Swift, *Bickerstaff Papers and Pamphlets on the Church*, op. cit. (note 14), p. 179. Many of the so-called virgins did not pass this test – or only just did. The *Guardian*, no. 114 (22 July 1713) proclaims a similar 'maxim': 'There is a Notion generally received in the World, that a Lion is a dangerous creature to all Women who are not Virgins . . .' (*The Guardian*, ed. Stephens, op. cit. [note 15], p. 388).

25 See *The Guardian*, nos. 100, 109, 116, 118, 121, 132, 134 and 140. On the subject of bared bosoms in church, see also Fuchs, op. cit. (note 20), vol. 2, pp. 182 ff.

26 It should be noted that *The Connoisseur*, no. 134 (19 August 1756) still complains about the country churches which are in such bad repair.

27 On the tradition of the triangle as a religious symbol, see G. Stuhlfauth, *Das Dreieck: Die Geschichte eines religiösen Symbols*, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 16–37. Ronald Paulson thinks the triangle may be the symbol of the Freemasons. By using this motif Hogarth would have emphasized his secular intentions. See Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, op. cit. (note 6), p. 99; Paulson, *Hogarth, Volume 2*, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 99 ff.; Paulson, *The Beautiful, Novel, and Strange: Aesthetics and Heterodoxy*, Baltimore and London, 1996, pp. 21, 35. This assumption may be supported by the fact that the angel pointing at the triangle is looking at the minister who is said to be no less than John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683–1744), at the time leader of the English Freemasons. On the other hand, the gloriole surrounding the triangle may refer to the Christian symbol of the Trinity. In church art, it is very unusual for the traditional triangle of the Trinity to be shown upside down (see H. Feldbusch, 'Dreifaltigkeit, II. D.-Symbole', in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 4, Stuttgart, 1958, p. 415). We can therefore be quite sure that, in the *Sleeping Congregation*, this motif is used in a satirical, and even desecrating, way especially in view of the fact that the triangle, turned this way, is an age-old symbol of the vulva, and that in medicine the Greek letter delta stands for the pudenda. See F. Pfister, 'Bild und Sinnbild', in *Brauch und Sinnbild, Eugen Fehrle zum 60. Geburtstag gewidnet von seinem Schülern und Freunden*, Karlsruhe, 1940, p. 40; Stuhlfauth, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 5–6. Seen in this light, the radiating beams surrounding the triangle could even be interpreted as pubic hair.

28 The armorial ensign of the deceased person was painted on canvas mounted on a wooden frame and usually painted roughly to withstand exposure to weather. After the funeral these hatchments hung on the second floor of the front of the dead person's dwelling house for six or twelve months and were then hung inside the local parish church. See Cox, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 170 ff. and plates 172–3.

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29 Pieter Saenredam's views of Dutch church interiors, such as the interiors of the *St Bavokerk, Haarlem* (1637, London, National Gallery) or the *St Odulphuskerk, Assendelft* (1649, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), show how bare they were inside. For these and further examples, see G. Schwartz/ M. Jan Bok, *Pieter Saenredam, The Painter and His Time*, The Hague, 1990, plates 140 and 103; *Perspectives: Saenredam and the architectural painters of the 17th century*, exh. cat., Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 15 September–24 November 1991.

30 Owls are frequently found in armorial bearings and – together with a chevron – borne by many British families. See J. Parker, *A Glossary of Terms used in Heraldry*, repr. Newton Abbot, Devon, 1970, pp. 434–5. The shape of the escutcheon in Hogarth's print, however, also reminds us of well-known arms of guilds like the Grocers, Salters, Ironmangers, Vintners or Clothworkers (see Nowel, op. cit. [note 7], p. 57). Such arms, which are always charged with meaning, can also be found in other Hogarth pictures, e.g. in Plate 6 of *A Harlot's Progress* (1732) or in the first scene of the *Election* series (1755). The arms usually hang on walls in the background; owls are not depicted. See also the escutcheon of the dead miser in *A Rake's Progress*, plate 1 (1735) with its three clamps. On this motif see Busch, op. cit. (note 18), vol. 2, p. 705.

31 Heinrich Schwarz and Volker Plagemann explain the various meanings of this motif in the entry on owls ('Eule') in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 6, Munich, 1973, pp. 267–322, especially 304 ff. In Pieter Brueghel's depiction of *Sloth* (1557) the owl is sitting on a curtain rod with a sleeping couple underneath. See L. Münz, *Bruegel: The Drawings*, London, 1961, no. 136. In the emblematic tradition the vice of *Acedia* (indolence) was often symbolized by a sleeping person holding a distaff and carrying an owl. That the owl could signify sexual lust, is shown in Rembrandt's etching *Tijl Uylenspiegel* (1642; B 188). Here the owl is sitting on the shoulder of a shepherd who is lying on the ground and is pointing with his reed beneath the dress of the young shepherdess next to him. See L. Münz, *A Critical Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings*, 2 vols, London, 1952, no. 264; A. McNeil Kettering, 'Rembrandt's Flute player: a unique treatment of pastoral', *Simiolus*, vol. 9, 1977, pp. 20–1.

32 At sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch funfairs the target of mockery and ridicule was called the 'owl'. See S. Gudlaugsson, 'Ikonographische Studien über die holländische Malerei und das Theater des 17. Jahrhunderts', PhD thesis, Berlin, 1938, pp. 89–90. An owl is sitting on the shoulder of the *Malle Babbe* by Frans Hals (*c.* 1629/30; Berlin, Stiftung Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie). See S. Slive, 'On the Meaning of Frans Hals' *Malle Babbe*', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 105, 1963, pp. 432–6. Usually ridiculing the darker sides of human behaviour, such as stupidity or foolishness, it here primarily refers to drunkenness.

33 See Gudlaugsson, op. cit. (note 32), p. 90. At closer look we can see the owl soiling the cloak of the sleeping woman with a jet from its behind. For this picture, see M.J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei, vol 10: Lucas van Leyden und andere holländische Meister seiner Zeit*, Leiden, 1934, plate 79, fig. 134; J.G. van Gelder, '"De Kerkprediking" van "Lucas van Leyden"', *Oud Holland*, vol. 61, 1946, pp. 101–106; J. Bruyn, 'Twee St Antonius-panelen en andere werken van Aertgen van Leyden', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 11, 1960, pp. 37–120.

34 For the motif of clocks in Hogarth's art, see S.L. Macey, 'Hogarth and the Iconography of Time', in R.C. Rosbottom (ed.), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, vol. 5, Wisconsin, 1976, pp. 41–53; G. Dohrn-van Rossum, '"Uhrzeit" und "Zeitordnung", Ein Nachtrag zu Lichtenbergs Erklärungen der Hogarthschen Kupferstiche und ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der Uhren', *Ästhetik und Kommunikation*, vol. 12, nos. 45/46, 1981, pp. 51–74.

35 For the limitation of sermons, see G. Dohrn-van Rossum, *Die Geschichte der Stunde: Uhren und moderne Zeitordnung*, Munich, 1992, especially chap. 8, pp. 241–50. At first glance, the appearance of John Theophilus Desaguliers in the pulpit using an hour-glass seems to be a satirical hint at the backwardness of the country, since Desaguliers was well informed in matters of practical mechanics and had written *A System of Experimental Philosophy, Prov'd by Mechanicks, Wherein the Principles and Laws of Physicks, Mechanicks, Hydrostaticks, and Opticks are demonstrated and explained*, London 1719. But as ancient as the hour-glass in the *Sleeping Congregation* may appear, it is a fact that these time measurers were still used in eighteenth-century churches. The use of sand glasses instead of clocks enabled the preacher to start and end his sermon without paying attention to the actual time. On hour-glasses in English churches, see Cox, op. cit. (note 21), pp. 184–8 and plates 180–3. As in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many clergymen delivered never-ending sermons, pompous and inflated, full of metaphors and classical quotations, the time measurers were particularly necessary to remind the minister how long he had already been preaching. Hogarth's hour-glass may also allude to those antiquated sermons full of the pomposity of times gone by.

36 It is not out of place to interpret the hour-glass as a symbol of vanity. See also Dohrn-van Rossum, *Die Geschichte der Stunde*, op. cit. (note 35), p. 249, n. 45. In the parish church at Hurst/ Berks, a sand glass dating from 1636 and hanging on a pillar carries the inscription: 'As this glasse

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runneth, So man's life passeth.' (Quoted in Cox, op. cit. [note 21], p. 187). In Holbein's *Der Predicant* (plate 37) from his woodcut series *Dance of Death* (*c*. 1525; published 1538) the hour-glass is a real 'memento mori', for Death is behind the preacher, the lease of life has run out.

37 See Dohrn-van Rossum, '"Uhrzeit" und "Zeitordnung"', op. cit. (note 34), pp. 61, 67 ff.

38 See Dohrn-van Rossum '"Uhrzeit" und "Zeitordnung"', op. cit. (note 34), p. 69; I. Watts, *Christian Diligence*, in *Works*, vol. 1, London, 1810, p. 569. Lengthy sermons, one also reads in German church orders, detain the faithful from their daily duties and engagements. Hour-glasses help to avoid this. See Dohrn-van Rossum, *Die Geschichte der Stunde*, op. cit. (note 35), pp. 244–5, n. 45. It should be noted in this connection, that the hour-glass motif can be seen quite clearly in a seventeenth-century Dutch painting by Cornelius Bisschop, which shows an old woman who has fallen asleep while reading the Bible. See Hofmann, op. cit. (note 9), cat. no. 239.

39 See the illustration for chap. 97 in Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, op. cit. (note 8), p. 358; K. Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft: Zur Ikonographie des Verlorenen Sohnes und von Wirtshausszenen in der niederländischen* Malerei, Berlin, 1970, pp. 84–85, 132 ff.

40 See S. Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature*, The University of North Carolina Press, 1960, pp. 97 ff.; Renger, op. cit. (note 39), p. 84, n. 198.

41 D. van Coornhert, 'Der Maeghdekens Schole', in *Alle de Wercken*, ed. 1630, vol. 1, fol. 387 V°; Renger, op. cit. (note 39), p. 134.

42 See *Spelen van sinne vol scoone moralisacien wtleggingen ende bediedenissen ... Ghespeelt ... binnen ... Andtwerp op d'Lant-Juweel ... 1561*, Antwerp 1562, [265]; quoted in Renger, op. cit. (note 39), p. 134.

43 See A. Bijns, *Een seer scoon ende suyver boeck, verclarende die mogentheydt Gods, ende Christus ghenade, over die sondighe menschen*, Antwerpen, 1567, fol. Pi ff.; quoted in Renger, op. cit. (note 39), p. 135.

44 See Renger, op. cit. (note 39), p. 135.

45 Cf. Sano di Pietro's fresco of the preaching St Bernardino of Siena (1427; Chapter Hall of Siena Cathedral). See George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, plate 210.

46 For Lucas Cranach's depictions of the preaching Martin Luther, see J. Jahn (introd.): *Lucas Cranach d. Ä., Das gesamte graphische Werk*, Munich, 1972, 669–673; R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge, 1981, plates 165–67; Hofmann op. cit. (note 9), cat. nos. 67, 69.

47 Cf. Hans Holbein's pictures of services from his *Our Father* cycle (see G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols, Gütersloh, 1966–1991, vol. 4, 1, plate 366; *Die Malerfamilie Holbein in Basel, Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Basel zur Fünfhundertjahrfeier der Universität Basel*, 4 June–25 September, 1960, no. 397), or Lucas Cranach's *Good Prayer* (see Schiller, op. cit., vol. 4, 1: plate 372; Jahn, op. cit. [note 46], pp. 300 and 303).

48 Cf. the sermons of the 'Good Prayer' by Jean II Pénicaud (*c*. 1550) or Maerten van Heemskerk (published in 1646) and a drawing attributed to Jan van Amstel on the same subject, all reproduced in Van Gelder, op. cit. (note 33), pp. 101–106. Apart from the sermon these works show the Lord's Supper.

49 According to Josua Bruyn, Jacques de Ligne, viscount of Leyden, has been depicted twice in the person of St Anthony. To the right, in the foreground, he is one of the listeners. Outside the church, in the middle ground, he is distributing bread to poor people. See Bruyn, op. cit. (note 33), pp. 50 ff.

50 The lady – according to Bruyn, op. cit. (note 33), pp. 52 ff., a representation of Maria van Wassenaer, Jacques de Ligne's wife, but looking more like a Leonardo Madonna – has lifted her hands in prayer (or is it smug self-complacency?) but is really looking rather un-abashedly at the viewer.

51 See Münz, *Bruegel*, op. cit. (note 31), no. 142.

52 See K. Tolnai (C. de Tolnay), *Die Zeichnungen Pieter Bruegels*, Munich, 1925, pp. 27–28; C.G. Stridbeck, 'Brugels Fidesdarstellung: Ein Dokument seiner religiösen Gesinnung', *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, vol. 23, 1954, p. 5.

53 For this oil painting, see Baldini/Mandel, op. cit. (note 23), no. 8 and colour plate I. For the moot question of dating, see L. Gowing (*Hogarth*, Tate Gallery, 2 December 1971–6 February, 1972, no. 24) and R. Paulson (*Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2 vols, New Haven and London, 1971, vol. 1, p. 553, n. 51; *Hogarth, Volume 1: The 'Modern Moral Subject', 1697–1732*, Cambridge 1992 [note 40], p. 191). On the oil sketch and the differences between the painted version and the engraving, see also M.C. Rueppel, 'Hogarth's Satirical Humanism: The Sleeping Congregation', *Bulletin of The Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, vol. 48, 1959, pp. 3–6.

54 Once again I would like to remind the reader of the secularized royal arms. Paulson even goes as far as to interpret Hogarth's painted version of the *Sleeping Congregation* as an allusion to James Thornhill's *The House of Commons* (1730; The National Trust, Onslow Collection, Clandon Park). See Paulson, *Hogarth, Volume 1*, op. cit. (note 53), pp. 191–2 and plates 67–8. The setting would then be the drowsy House of Commons as well as the lukewarm Anglican church.

55 In his series *Industry and Idleness* (1747), published ten years later, Hogarth shows us that it is only through diligence, hard work and virtue – and not sloth and crime – that we can attain wealth and social standing.

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