



Chapter I

Introduction:

Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe

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The religious turmoil of the sixteenth century constituted a turning point in the history of Western Christian art. The iconoclasm precipitated by the Protestant Reformation was unprecedented in its scope: throughout northern Europe sculptures, altarpieces, paintings, stained-glass windows and ecclesiastical treasures fell victim to the purifying zeal of evangelical reformers. Images that had been venerated for generations were labelled as idols, and smashed to pieces (plate 1). Churches that had been filled with representations of sacred history were stripped bare. In response, the Catholic Church reaffirmed the value of visual representations. Theologians provided detailed guidelines for their production and use, and wealthy patrons stimulated the revival of religious art. While Protestantism devalued images and privileged hearing over seeing, the importance that Catholicism accorded to the visual was made manifest in the art and architecture of the baroque.

The broad outlines of this history are familiar and incontestable. With regard to religious images, the Reformation certainly brought about a dramatic bifurcation, both at the level of theological debate and at the level of lived piety. Yet the Protestant destruction and the Catholic defence of images were merely two parts of a more complex story. The essays gathered together in this volume analyze the myriad ways in which both Protestant and Catholic reform stimulated the production of religious art during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The special issue examines the nature of images produced during the early years of the evangelical movement, asking how both theologians and artists responded to a new understanding of Christian history and soteriology. It traces the rich and diverse Protestant visual cultures that developed during the confessional age, and explores the variety of Catholic responses to pressure for reform. At the volume's heart lies a desire to understand how religious art was shaped by the splintering of Western Christendom that began five hundred years ago with Martin Luther's Reformation.

Luther's own position with regard to religious images was far from straightforward. From 1522 he was a determined opponent of iconoclasm. Yet for Luther images were peripheral to true piety. In 1545, towards the end of his life, he preached a sermon in which he spoke of the two kingdoms present upon earth, 'the kingdom of Christ and the worldly kingdom'. Christ's kingdom, through which we achieve salvation, is 'a hearing-kingdom, not a seeing-kingdom; for the eyes do not lead and guide us to where we know and find Christ, but rather the ears must do this'.¹ Here Luther privileged hearing above seeing – word over image – in a manner characteristic of evangelical teaching. Reformed theologians went much further.

I Prague workshop, Pietà, c. 1400, from amongst the sculptures found beneath Bern Minster, 1986. Limestone, original height c. 85–90cm. Bern: Historisches Museum. Photo: Bernisches Historisches Museum/S. Rebsamen.

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John Calvin undertook a thorough attack on the ‘superstitions of popery’. Idolatry – understood as a diminution of the honour due to God – occupied a more prominent place in his thought than in Luther’s. Reformed Protestantism rewrote the Decalogue, making the prohibition of images a decree in its own right, and directed Christian worship towards a God who transcended all materiality.²

Yet Protestant piety was not fundamentally opposed to the visual. Even in his 1545 sermon, Luther accepted ‘visual sensation as part of the work that must be done to create religious conviction’.³ The Reformation, at least in its Lutheran manifestation, sought not to reject religious seeing, but rather to control it and the other senses (including hearing) through faith. The Catholic Church’s defence of religious imagery was similarly nuanced. At its twenty-fifth session (3 December 1563) the Council of Trent stated that images were to be honoured, but not in a superstitious manner. Holy images – as opposed to idols – were of great value because through them Christians were moved to adore Christ, to remember the examples of the saints, and to cultivate piety. Theologians – most notably Johannes Molanus (1533–85) and Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97) – expanded on these themes.⁴ Catholic patrons commissioned illustrated books, devotional prints, paintings, sculpture and architecture, seeking to use images, as well as words, to awaken the senses and to engage Christians’ hearts and minds.⁵

Catholics continued to trust in the sacred power of images and relics. During the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the cultic use of images – the veneration of paintings and sculptures of Christ and the saints – flourished throughout Catholic Europe.⁶ No Protestant image – not even a miraculous portrait of Luther – was a place of holy presence akin to the Jesuit reliquary examined in this volume by Mia Mochizuki.⁷ Yet Catholic belief in immanence, in the intermingling of the spiritual and material, always coexisted with scepticism about the value of the visual. Catholic reform, from the late Middle Ages onwards, emphasized the importance of inner contemplation.⁸ During the sixteenth century Catholic commentators wrote, like their Lutheran counterparts, of images’ pedagogical value and affective potential.⁹ In the seventeenth century new devotional practices encouraged meditation on images as well as texts, and spread amongst Protestants as well as Catholics.¹⁰ In this volume, these new devotional practices provide the backdrop for Bridget Heal’s investigation of the later history of Lucas Cranach’s Schneeberg Altarpiece, and for Christine Göttler’s analysis of the Catholic Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria’s religious patronage.

What of the visual cultures that evolved across Protestant Europe? Lutherans, driven by their desire to distinguish themselves from radical iconoclasts, allowed many images to survive intact and *in situ* in churches. They were convinced that God’s Word would triumph over idolatry and superstition.¹¹ Luther and his fellow Wittenberg reformers made extensive use of visual propaganda and illustrated key religious texts (the Bible and catechism, most notably), a reflection of their belief in the value of seeing for acquiring religious knowledge and understanding. The copious religious output of the Cranach workshop – altarpieces, epitaphs, portraits and prints – defined Lutheran visual culture for much of the sixteenth century, in Germany and beyond. Elsewhere – in Swiss and Southern German cities during the 1520s and 1530s, in France and in the Northern Netherlands – Protestantism’s relationship with art was much more strongly shaped by iconoclasm. Yet memories of recent destruction did not prevent the production of new objects and images. In Calvinist churches Protestantism redirected rather than removed congregations’ desires to adorn and to commemorate.¹² The domestic use of religious imagery also continued. Even in Reformed areas – for example in seventeenth-century Zürich,

examined here by Andrew Morrall – religious iconographies were used in the home to foster a sense of confessional consciousness.¹³

The nature of these Protestant visual cultures – the position of art during and after iconoclasm – is an important theme of this volume. Christopher Wood has suggested that ‘Protestant iconophobia ... permanently affected the ways in which images were made, exhibited and judged’. He writes of the ‘insulating strategies’ devised by artists in order to avoid charges of idolatry.¹⁴ In terms of medium, Protestants tended to favour black and white prints over sculptures and brightly coloured paintings that might seduce the eye. The 1519 woodcut known as *Karlstadt’s Wagen* (wagon), analyzed here in an essay by Lyndal Roper and Jennifer Spinks, and the seventeenth-century *Tischzucht* (table discipline) broadsheets examined by Morrall exemplify this tendency. In terms of content, Protestant art is most readily associated with polemic, pedagogy, and allegory, and, in the case of the Northern Netherlands, with landscape, still life and everyday scenes filled with moralizing content. Regarding style, Protestant artists supposedly strove for plainness, for a visual culture ‘stripped of conspicuous artifice and deceptive pictorial rhetoric’.¹⁵ Here recent scholarship on Cranach is key: Joseph Koerner, for example, has argued that the art produced by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his son in the service of the Lutheran Reformation deliberately eschewed aesthetic pleasure and affective power in favour of communicating evangelical doctrine.¹⁶ He speaks of the ‘mortification of painting though text, gesture, and style’.¹⁷

But not all religious art was polemical; not all religious art defended itself, as much of Cranach’s did, from its enemies, the iconoclasts. Iconoclasm does not, Shira Brisman argues here, help us to read graphic studies of the period. Brisman asks us to dismiss iconoclasm from the privileged position that it has held in studies of sixteenth-century art. We need, she suggests, to erase our knowledge of images’ fall from grace in order to understand the works of Albrecht Dürer and others. Iconoclasm also played remarkably little part in the story of Lucas Cranach the Elder’s first evangelical altarpiece, installed in the parish church in Schneeberg in 1539 and eventually, after a traumatic interlude during the Thirty Years’ War, reset in a magnificent baroque frame in the eighteenth century. The creators of some images certainly did respond to contemporary fear of the ‘uncontrolled nature of iconic representation’:¹⁸ Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt’s *Wagen*, for example, in which Cranach’s woodcut images are overburdened with explanatory texts. Others, however, continued to rely on very different modes of viewing: on ambiguity, as with Sebald Beham’s small engraving of Moses and Aaron examined by Mitchell Merback; or on the restrained use of the imagination, as with Jan van Goyen’s skyscapes, analyzed by Amy Powell. Their creators seem to have recognized, as Dürer did, that ‘pictures are, at best, mediators, affecting without determining what their viewers see in them’.¹⁹ The supposed bifurcation between a Protestant aesthetic of plainness and a Catholic effusion of colour and ornament can be seen by juxtaposing Morrall’s *Tischzucht* prints with Mochizuki’s seventeenth-century Portuguese reliquary. Yet it leaves in interpretative limbo the baroque incarnation of the Lutheran Schneeberg Altarpiece, which presents its central Cranach crucifixion panel as a relic, held aloft by angels and encased within an elaborately carved and gilded frame.

This special issue brings together art historians and historians to consider the relationship between art and religious reform. The divisions between disciplines are no longer rigid, as they were in the days when Aby Warburg established his *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek*. Historians make effective use of visual and material evidence (though perhaps still not as often as they might); art historians ground their

work in detailed historical understanding. For both, the Reformation, with its image disputes and iconoclasm, has acted as an intellectual lodestone since the 1960s.²⁰ The essays assembled in this volume show how porous traditional disciplinary boundaries have become, but highlight the healthy plurality of methodological approaches that the religious art of the early modern era continues to inspire. Some of these essays tie images firmly to the religious, social and political contexts in which they were produced and received, reconstructed through close readings of texts. Others focus their attention primarily on images' non-verbal means of communication, suggesting that the power of art can never be fully captured through words. Brisman's and Powell's essays in particular invite us to pay proper attention to artistic processes and to art's tendency to develop through visual conversations. They remind us that art, like music, requires us to exercise our historical imaginations differently.²¹

The volume has been timed to coincide with the five-hundredth anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation, yet Martin Luther himself is more or less absent from its pages. He appears in the analysis of Karlstadt's *Wagen*, but he did not design this first piece of Reformation visual propaganda. He appears in Merback's discussion of Beham's 1526 engraving, but his thought does not explain the iconography. His theology offered a qualified endorsement of religious images, but cannot account for the flourishing of Lutheran art in parts of the Holy Roman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At a moment at which twenty-first-century anniversary culture celebrates 'The Reformation', focusing its attention on a particular date and on a particular man, this volume does the opposite. It adopts a broad chronology, ranging from the first decade of reform, the dawn of a new era in northern Europe, through the confessional age to the early eighteenth century. Three essays focus on the period of *Umbruch* – upheaval – during the early Reformation; five move into the seventeenth century, juxtaposing Protestant with Catholic, Lutheran Saxony and Reformed Zürich with Bavaria and the Jesuits' overseas missions. These later essays show that although images played an important role in creating confessional consciousness, devotional art did not simply reflect theological divisions. It crossed confessional borders, and also evoked much broader cultural landscapes, landscapes that were being transformed during the early modern period by historical forces other than religion.

The Essays

The essay by Lyndal Roper and Jennifer Spinks that opens this collection focuses on a woodcut produced by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his Wittenberg colleague Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (see plate 1, page 258-259). It was almost certainly the first piece of visual propaganda for the Reformation, produced in January 1519 at a moment at which the evangelical movement was still finding its way. It is a fascinating image: it draws on well-established visual formulae to present a procession of figures, and prefigures later Lutheran propaganda in its use of binary opposition and mockery. Its design is, however, overly complex. Its images are hard to make out because of the abundance of texts, and these texts are hard to decipher and understand. The woodcut was so cryptic, in fact, that Karlstadt had to produce a lengthy written tract to explain it to his supporters. Despite its apparently sequential structure, the woodcut was intended to be read, Roper and Spinks argue, not as a polemical narrative but as part of a devotional exercise. Karlstadt's written explanation suggests that he intended it to be used as a series of discrete points for meditation, as an invitation to reflect on key aspects of Augustinian theology. The woodcut is also intriguing because it was produced at a moment at which the early evangelical

movement was still coloured by mystical piety, before the rupture between Luther and the more radical reformers – the *Schwärmer* or fanatics, as he labelled them – that shaped the 1520s so decisively. Karlstadt himself went on to publish, in 1522, the first evangelical defence of iconoclasm, *On the Removal of Images*. The 1519 woodcut provides, therefore, vivid testimony of the extent to which iconoclasts understood the religious and psychological power of images. It helps us to understand why image makers became image breakers.

Hans Sebald Beham's 1526 *Moses and Aaron*, examined in Mitchell Merback's essay, is a very different type of image, one of the small-scale engravings for which the Beham brothers were famous (see plate 1, page 288). It is labelled with MOSE and AARON, and signed and dated, but that is all: it suffers from none of the textual overburdening of Karlstadt's *Wagen*. It shows two half-length figures seated on a mountainside with an open codex on their laps and the blank stone tablets of the Law resting beside them. The image's narrative and its doctrinal message resist easy interpretation, but this time such an opacity is intentional. Merback situates the engraving in the context of the debates about Mosaic Law that followed the Peasants' Revolt of 1524–25, at a time when the split between the Wittenberg theologians and radicals such as Karlstadt and Thomas Müntzer had become irrevocable. The engraving was also, however, he suggests, a personal reflection on religious exile, on Beham's own experiences as a 'non-aligned evangelical' who had been expelled from Nuremberg in 1525, and labelled a 'godless painter'. The image testifies to Beham's familiarity with Lutheran teachings on the relationship between the Law and Gospel. But Luther's writings – even his 1525 sermon *How Christians Should Regard Moses* – offer no simple key for its interpretation. Rather, the artist produced his own reading, an allegory of the parting of ways between the Lutherans and Spiritualists. The priestly Aaron reads the codex before him while Moses, the lawgiver in Luther's interpretation, gazes out, seeking illumination beyond the Word. Beham has, Merback suggests, 'subtly reasserted the hero's prophetic vocation and charisma'. The image can be read as veiled polemic against Wittenberg, or perhaps as a warning to both sides at a time of discord.

Both of these first essays explore the relationship between image and word. The visual cannot, it seems, be reduced to an expression of the verbal, even in the case of Karlstadt's *Wagen*, with its inscriptions and detailed explanation. Images, if they are to communicate with their viewers, must be allowed to speak for themselves, as Lutheran propagandists learned. Shira Brisman's essay on graphic studies made around the time of the Reformation takes these reflections in a very different direction. The drawings look, she suggests, 'like prophetic pronouncements of the destruction that images faced during the most violent episodes of iconoclasm'. But we should resist seeing them as such, and remove iconoclasm from the equation. Dürer's drawings of Christ's body juxtaposed with a piece of cloth, and of the crucified Christ with a profile head beside it (see plate 1, page 215, and plate 2, page 318), suggest connections that cannot be articulated in words. We should see them, Brisman argues, as elements of a visual language that describes the divine through a form of pre-linguistic expression. Images have, she suggests, their own grammar: the freedom afforded by the process of drawing enabled the artist to speculate, to resist the narrative cohesion required by verbal accounts, or even, we might add, by woodcuts and engravings such as those examined by Roper, Spinks and Merback. Here, then, we encounter a different type of interpretative ambiguity – one that stemmed not, as for Sebald Beham, from exposure to the theologies of the Reformation, but rather from the artistic processes of the Renaissance.

While the first three essays address, in very different ways, art's role at the beginning of a new era, the next two take us into the confessional age. Bridget Heal's essay focuses on Lutheran Electoral Saxony, on a Protestant environment in which, from the early decades of the Reformation until the eighteenth century, religious art flourished. It examines Cranach's Schneeberg Altarpiece and its afterlife. This altarpiece has a chequered history: it was installed in 1539 but then stolen by imperial troops during the Thirty Years' War. Its panels were reunited in Schneeberg in 1649, but the altarpiece was dismantled again in 1712 when the church was redecorated. Parts were set in a remarkable sculpted and highly ornamental frame that survived in situ until 1945 (see plate 1, page 360). The Protestant baroque, of which the altarpiece's eighteenth-century form is a spectacular example, confounds our expectations of Lutheran art. Heal's article sets the altarpiece within the context of two broader stories: the development of Lutheran confessional consciousness; and the transformation of Lutheran piety. She emphasizes in particular the importance of historical memory, not only for analyzing the image's original format and iconography, but also for explaining its long-term significance. The eighteenth-century setting of the altarpiece made use of the visual idioms of the baroque – perhaps not surprisingly, given the Italianate cultural orientation of the nearby Dresden court. It also, however, reflected a changed understanding of images' devotional value: a new (or perhaps renewed) willingness to accord them a role in *Einbildung*, the process by which the intellectual (the knowledge of God) became the affective (his presence in the soul). Schneeberg's eighteenth-century Protestants intensified the viewer's encounter with Cranach's archaic image through the medium of ornate and dramatic sculpture.

Andrew Morrall's essay takes us to reformed Zürich, to a very different religious environment. Morrall bases his discussion around a 1643 painting of the family of a local magistrate, Hans Conrad Bodmer, seated at a table. The *bürgerlich* values of morality, family discipline and a well-ordered life are reflected here in the depiction of the adults and children, and in the domestic decoration that surrounds them. The painting was, Morrall shows, an expression of a specifically reformed Protestant identity, and was part of a broader visual tradition of *Tischzucht* that aimed to instruct the young. Morrall also explores the impact of Zürich's 'cultural iconophobia', of the censorship of images undertaken by the city council, for example. Zürich's Protestantism created, he suggests, an 'exemplary reformed aesthetic'. It toned down the expressive qualities of art, made it modest and decorous, and stripped it of 'rhetorical flourish or ornament'. Art was justified by its ability to edify and improve its viewers. The images used by Morrall communicate in the opposite way to those explored by Brisman – for Morrall, the image is a message whose meaning must be pulled out through language. In Zürich the Reformation brought about, he suggests, the death of visually independent images.

In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, art flourished in the shadow of iconoclasm, as Amy Powell shows in her discussion of the paintings of Jan van Goyen. Powell argues that reflections of iconoclasm, its gestures of crossing-out and cancellation, remained in the works examined here and in others like them. She explores van Goyen's working method, his use of wood grain and paint, which did not, as Dutch art theory of the period did, privilege seamless illusionism. Van Goyen created immense skies filled with clouds that, like the stains on the whitewash in Pieter Saenredam's church interiors, constitute a store of images that never fully emerge. These might, Powell suggests, be seen as chance images of the kind described by Leonardo, as invitations to invent. In a post-iconoclastic context, however, artistic

imagination had to be exercised with restraint – Samuel van Hoogstraten, who described van Goyen's method in 1678, praised him for not straying too far from the truth. Van Goyen's paintings were also carefully non-denominational – he is thought to have been a Catholic, but his works appealed across the confessional spectrum. Netherlandish responses to iconoclasm have been explored in various ways: through the examination of church furnishings, and through the analysis of the religious and moral content of landscape and genre painting. Here Powell adopts a different approach, one that reflects art history's recent interest in anachronism and in the premature modernisms found in medieval and early modern art. Although she analyzes van Goyen's negotiation of a particular post-iconoclastic moment, she also reacts against a reading that confines images too narrowly within their immediate historical contexts. She brings seventeenth-century Dutch painting into conversation with modern art, pointing in particular to the use of wood grain, which later played a role in development of abstraction. Here van Goyen's paintings slip free from their own time and 'address themselves to the future'.²²

With Christine Göttler's essay we move to a Catholic context, to the Counter-Reformation Bavaria of the Wittelsbach Duke Wilhelm V (1548–1626). Göttler examines the duke's project 'to restore and revive the place, imagery, and cultural memory of solitude within an explicitly reformed Catholic context'. She focuses on the hermitages that the duke built at his city residence and country retreat, and on a series of Flemish engravings of hermits by Jan I and Raphael I Sadeler that were dedicated to him. Bavaria's Wittelsbach dukes and electors made extensive use of images, artefacts and rituals to express their dynastic and religious identities, from the *Kunstkammer* to the Corpus Christi procession. The commissions examined here reflect, however, a new, eremitic spirituality. It focused not on public display, but on interior reform, on private prayer, on spatial or mental withdrawal from the world – a real possibility for the duke only after his abdication in 1598. This spirituality was, Göttler shows, promoted by the Jesuits, but it was adaptable enough to move beyond confessional borders. It was, in some sense, paradoxical. Despite the emphasis that the eremitic tradition placed on self-reflection and retreat, the duke's 'solitude' was theatrically staged: in the hermitage gardens at Schleissheim, for example, there were automata and hydraulic machines that 're-enacted sacred scenes or supernatural mysteries'. They aimed, Göttler suggests, to generate the intense emotions that appealed to the religious imagination of the courtly elite. The refashioning of the soul, of the individual religious self, was key to both Protestant and Catholic reform, but in Duke Wilhelm's hermitages and gardens it was to be achieved through communal experience.

In the final essay of the volume Mia Mochizuki offers a detailed reading of one particular object, a Portuguese reliquary from the second half of the seventeenth century (see plate 1, page 432). Here the hints of global Catholicism that were already present in Göttler's discussions of Bavarian relic collections emerge into a fully-fledged account of the importance of overseas trade and travel for early modern religious culture. At the centre of Mochizuki's reliquary is a reproduction of the *Salus Populi Romani* Madonna from Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the 'world-wide Madonna' that the Jesuits took with them on their missions. It is framed in Ceylon ebony, a valuable wood that was native to southern India and Sri Lanka and therefore evoked Portugal's eastern trade routes. The Marian image is combined, in this case, with relics of numerous saints. It is, Mochizuki suggests, defensive, seeking to convince doubters through its multiplication of sacred references. It is an object that, through its iconography and its materiality, brings together two histories: that of

the fragmentation of Western European Christendom and the polemical battles that ensued; and that of Europe's encounter with the wider world. The essay reminds us that while iconoclasm did, without doubt, affect the ways in which religious images were made, exhibited and received, every image or artefact also instantiated a much wider cultural landscape.

In his 'Afterword' Joseph Koerner places the essays contained within this volume in a broad historiographical perspective. The Protestant Reformation was, of course, merely one episode in the long history of iconoclasm, a history that extends up to the present day. Koerner considers art history's approach to both image making and image breaking, showing how and why iconoclasm came to be accorded an important place within the history of European art. Most importantly, he highlights a current tendency – certainly reflected in this volume – to focus not on moments of violent destruction but rather on the settlements reached in their aftermath. It was the revolutionary act of iconoclasm itself that drew the attention of social history and art history during the 1960s and 1970s. Today, however, against the backdrop of image breaking in Afghanistan, Syria and elsewhere, we seem more preoccupied by the ways in which early modern cultures – both Protestant and Catholic – responded to the trauma of iconoclasm, and were transformed by the deep enmities that it expressed.

Notes

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- 1 D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. 51, Weimar, 1914, 11–22 ('Predigt, in Merseburg gehalten'), here 11–14. See Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, London, 2004, 41–2.
- 2 Jonathan Sheehan, 'Sacred and profane: Idolatry, antiquarianism and the polemics of distinction in the seventeenth century', *Past and Present*, 192, 2006, 35–66, here 39. See also Carlos Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*, Cambridge, 1986.
- 3 Markus Friedrich, 'Das Hör-Reich und das Sehe-Reich. Zur Bewertung des Sehens bei Luther und im frühneuzeitlichen Protestantismus', in Gabriele Wimböck, Karin Leonhard and Markus Friedrich, eds, *Evidentia. Reichweiten visueller Wahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin, 2007, 453–79, here 462–3.
- 4 Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock. Studien zu Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*, Berlin, 1997.
- 5 See, for example, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany*, Princeton, NJ, 2002. On the senses see 'Introduction', in Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, eds, *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden and Boston, MA, 2015; also 'Forum: The senses', *German History*, 32: 2, 2014, 256–73.
- 6 David Ganz and Georg Henkel, eds, *Rahmen-Diskurse. Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 2004.
- 7 On Luther see R. W. Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther: The image of the reformer in early modern Germany', *Past and Present*, 110, 1986, 38–68.
- 8 See, for example, Thomas Lentjes, "'As far as the eye can see ...': Rituals of gazing in the late Middle Ages", in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds, *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, NJ, 2005, 360–73.
- 9 Gabriele Wimböck, "'Durch die Augen in das Gemüt kommen': Sehen und Glauben – Grenzen und Reserve', in Wimböck et al., eds, *Evidentia*, 425–50.
- 10 Udo Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1995.
- 11 Johann Michael Fritz, ed., *Die bewahrende Kraft des Luthertums: Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke in evangelischen Kirchen*, Regensburg, 1997; for a stimulating corrective to the notion of 'preserving power' see Caroline Bynum, 'Are things "indifferent"? How objects change our understanding of religious history', *German History*, 34: 1, 88–112.
- 12 Mia Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566–1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age*, Aldershot, 2008; Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe*, Manchester, 2007.
- 13 See, for a Lutheran context, Siegfried Müller, 'Repräsentationen des Luthertums – Disziplinierung und konfessionelle Kultur in Bildern', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 29, 2002, 215–55; on England see Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain*, New Haven, CT and London, 2010.
- 14 Christopher Wood, 'Iconoclasm and iconophobia', in Michael Kelly, ed., *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, Oxford, 2014.
- 15 Kelly, ed., *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*.
- 16 Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 28, 226 ff. See also Norbert Michels, ed., *Cranach in Anhalt. Vom alten zum neuen Glauben*, Petersberg, 2015.
- 17 Joseph Koerner, 'The icon as iconoclasm', in Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, eds, *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, Cambridge, MA, 2002, 164–213, here 209–10.
- 18 Wood, 'Iconoclasm and iconophobia'.
- 19 Koerner, 'The icon as iconoclasm', 178.
- 20 See, for example, Horst Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium soziale Konflikte. Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution*, Frankfurt am Main, 1975; Martin Warnke, ed., *Bildersturm: Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks*, Munich, 1973; David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago, IL and London, 1989; R. W. Scribner, *Bild und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden, 1990. See also Joseph Koerner's 'Afterword' in this volume.
- 21 On music see Celia Applegate, 'Introduction: Music among the historians', *German History*, 30, 2012, 329–49.
- 22 Amy Powell, *Depositions: Scenes from the Late Medieval Church and the Modern Museum*, New York, 2012, 38–9.

