

The Problem of Images in Northern Europe and its Repercussions in the Netherlands

Underlying this paper is the assumption that no study of the art of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands can be complete without an assessment of the effects on art of both iconoclasm and the Reformation debate about images. While the first problem has much exercised political and social historians,¹ and the second has been studied in some detail by theological historians,² their significance for the history of art has been almost entirely overlooked.³ The present paper, therefore, will be concerned to show that this neglect has not been justified.⁴ It will attempt to summarize – in the very briefest fashion – the effects of first the Protestant and then the official Catholic contributions to the discussion about images and their validity; it will suggest that the relationship between such theoretical discussions and iconoclasm itself was a direct and practical one: in assessing the impact of both iconoclastic theory and practice on art, it will propose that the pro-image parties often had as negative an effect on art as the anti-image groups; and it will conclude by raising the problem of the effects on artists themselves of both iconoclasm and censorship – each of which may be said to have its origin to a large extent in the sixteenth century dispute about images.

It would not be very profitable, in the present context, to examine the content of the writings of the Reformation critics of images. Little of it is new. Much of their argument, from Luther and Zwingli⁵ at the very beginning of the *Bilderfrage* controversy, through Calvin,⁶ right down to the Dutch critics of the seventeenth century,⁷ derived from earlier discussions of the problem. The early Church Fathers, from Tertullian to St. Augustine,⁸ many eighth and ninth century polemicists (especially St. John of Damascus),⁹ and even medieval critics of the order of Saints Bernard and Thomas Aquinas,¹⁰ were extensively pillaged for anything that could be turned into an argument against images.¹¹ Instead of dealing with such material, therefore, one may turn immediately to a question which must occur to anyone concerned with the status of the image in the six-

teenth century: To what extent did the writings of these largely academic theorists affect anyone besides theologians? Was there any practical connection between such writings and the great iconoclastic outbursts of the sixteenth century? Although it is true that economic and social conditions are generally a factor in the motivation for iconoclasm, as they were in the Netherlands in 1566,¹² and that they may aggravate latent hostility towards symbols of the established order (in this context the images of the Catholic church), one should not underestimate the direct influence of the image controversy on the iconoclastic impulse itself. Apart from the more or less active role of the great writers like Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, whose import was both popular and global, one should also consider the vernacular critics who wrote specifically against images. From Ludwig Hätzer¹³ and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt in the early 1520s¹⁴ to men like the anonymous author of the tract *Van den Propheet Baruch*¹⁵ and Johannes Anastasius Veluanus,¹⁶ their polemics were forthright and inflammatory, couched in the strongest vernacular language, and while admittedly not directly accessible to the non-literate public, were clearly written with ordinary people in mind. Their often coarse language and popular tone leaves no doubt that their frequently reprinted pamphlets were not intended for theologians. They all utilize the arguments of the theologians, but in a more extreme and emotional form. There is a great deal of sarcasm: at the veneration of inanimate objects of mere wood and stone,¹⁷ at the investment of large sums of money in images when that money could have been more usefully spent on the poor (the *living* images of God),¹⁸ and at the helplessness of images of the saints to do any good.¹⁹ These are the ideas which are emphasized by the popular writers, rather than the intricate theological speculations about the meaning of the word *eikōn*,²⁰ for example, or the christological problems raised by giving material circumscribable form to that which was essentially divine.²¹ A writer like Veluanus in 1554 (and his work was reprinted in 1591, 1594, 1597, 1605, 1610, and as late as 1652)²² can conclude a section of his inflammatory work with the following appeal:

“Where the Gospel is accepted and believed, no images are necessary. Where the Gospel is not preached, they are altogether dangerous idols. Where images are idols, they should be thrown out of the temple and burnt. Even if they are not idols, it is right to throw them out and burn them, since they can never help us.”²³

And immediately after iconoclasm broke out in the Netherlands in 1566, that great popular leader Marnix van Sant Aldegonde assured his audience that God was on the side of the iconoclasts – for how should so small a number of men, women and children have been able to cast down so many images, altars, and

church ornaments, in so impossibly short a space of time?²⁴ The Netherlands iconoclasm, he went on, was nothing less than "the manifest providence of God, who wanted to show how much he regarded with horror and detestation the abominable idolatry".²⁵ When justifications of this sort were provided, it is not surprising that people were prepared to listen to and to act upon the arguments of the opponents of images.

If anyone doubts that such notions filtered down into the popular imagination, then he should consider the widespread activity of the field preachers²⁶ in the Netherlands, whose outdoor sermons under armed guard the authorities sought so desperately to prevent in the months leading up to the great outburst of 1566.²⁷ It was they who, in an already highly unstable situation, put it into the minds of the populace that images were a possible target for their resentments. All over the Netherlands in the autumn of 1566 it was the preachers who led and organized local groups of iconoclasts, or stimulated noblemen to do away with the images on their domains.²⁸ In Antwerp on the very day of the first great iconoclastic outburst there, the well known preacher Herman Moded preached in the Cathedral.³⁰ After the singing of some psalms, he began a sermon against idol worship.³¹ Although we do not know the contents of most of the *hagepreken* held in these years, that of Moded on this occasion is well attested, and may be regarded as typical. Aside from the fact that images were contrary to the express commandment of God, he claimed that they had come to be worshipped as if they were gods themselves – even though they were only made of wood and paint.³² Not the slightest impression was ever made by the standard insistence that the honour paid to an image referred to its prototype.³³ Images, according to such a preacher, represented the efforts of the Devil to exploit the weaker side of man's sensual nature, and the latter-day idols should consequently be removed not only from the heart, but also from the eyes. The churches should be purified just as the Old Testament kings had purified their temples³⁴ – a common appeal to precedent. A few days later, Moded asserted that it was the priests who led the people into temptation; the church had become the Whore of Babylon, and the imagebreaking marked the beginning of its fall.³⁵

All these were current notions. They must have been expressed in the course of many sermons, although the criticism of images itself could hardly have been as thoroughly worked out as in some of the theological treatises. But the general idea, the message, was clear – even if the issues involved sometimes remained confused. In the tense and agitated months before iconoclasm, it may well not have occurred to anyone to set upon the paintings, statues, and books, had it not been for the fact that image worship was so insistently connected with pagan practice. The idea was repeated and reinforced so often that for at least some of the iconoclasts iconoclasm must have appeared as a necessary aid to salvation.³⁶ Although the leading theologians and university trained pastors were often opposed

to the actual breaking of images, especially when it was unauthorized,³⁷ most preachers actively encouraged it. In the Netherlands the climate had been prepared by those men of various Reformed inclinations³⁸ who for months before iconoclasm had preached against the cult of images, and when the storm broke, took the lead in directing its course. The same applies to other iconoclastic movements in Europe, ever since Karlstadt's sermons and the disturbances in Wittenberg in 1521.³⁹ In Zurich, Zwingli preached extensively against images before the official decision to take them down from the churches of that city in 1524.⁴⁰ At about the same time, Guillaume Farel moved the people to pull down the images in Neuchatel; iconoclasm in Basel, Geneva, and Berne occurred a few years later.⁴¹ Although English invaders were responsible for some of the first acts of iconoclasm in Scotland, it was only after the return of Knox in 1559 and his active campaign against images that the movement there got under way – there too with the support of prominent nobles.⁴² Such examples could be multiplied, and much investigation remains to be done on the French, Scandinavian, and Eastern European phenomena.⁴³

It is true that there may have been immediate practical and political reasons for the sacking of churches in the Netherlands from 1566 on, and that the theological basis for the removal of images may sometimes only have been a pretext for the manifestation of opposition. Motley may not have been entirely correct in claiming that the iconoclasm was a war "not against the living, but against graven images",⁴⁴ but there seems to be no doubt that the theological criticism of images, disseminated through popular writings and well attended sermons, provided the general populace with a ready outlet for their tensions and grievances.⁴⁵ From this point of view alone, the historian of the art of Northern Europe in the sixteenth century would find it profitable to consider the contemporary polemic against images. The iconoclastic phenomenon and its theoretical bases have a great deal more to tell us about the status of the image and responses to it than is generally recognized. Before adducing further evidence in support of this claim, let us turn to the other side of the question, and consider the attitudes of the pro-image party.

At the outset, it should be noticed that Catholic writers⁴⁶ only sprang to the defence of images in response to Protestant criticism, and – above all – in response to actual outbreaks of iconoclasm. This is the converse of that connection between image theory and iconoclastic practice that has just been suggested. The Council of Trent itself only passed its decree on images – hurriedly and under pressure at its final session in 1563 – as a result of recent iconoclasm in France.⁴⁷ It had rather belatedly realized the need of the Church to formulate an official stand on the question of images. In the Netherlands, there was a veritable spate of works in defence of images in the wake of the 1566 iconoclasm. Older works were translated or reprinted, with prefaces explaining their relevance to that particular

situation,⁴⁸ and both academic works and popular tracts in the vernacular appeared in an extraordinary flurry of pro-image polemic. Aside from the passages which even contemporary chroniclers felt it necessary to insert into their accounts,⁴⁹ one thinks of the works of men like the Louvain theologian Johannes Hessels, the Ghent Augustinian Johannes Garetius, René Benoist (Renus Benedictinus), Martin Donk, Nicholas Sanders, Alan Cope, the Bishop of Utrecht Schenk von Tautenbourg, and Johannes Molanus, all of which were first published or reprinted between 1566 and 1570.⁵⁰ The list may be continued until well into the seventeenth century, but that is not our present concern.⁵¹ All these writers who sprang to the defence of images were determined to do away with the abuses which characterized men's attitudes towards the ornaments of the church. It was as if everyone felt that by eliminating such abuses, often first pointed out by the critics, the charges of the Protestants against images would automatically fall away, and that images would thereby be made acceptable. This is why almost every Catholic apologist, and the Council of Trent itself, seems to be only a reluctant defender of images.⁵²

The abuses which these writers uncovered were many, but most of them had to do either with the need for historical, preferably scriptural, accuracy; or with the need for decorum; or both. In order to ensure that there were no lapses from the rigour of these newly articulated standards, the Council of Trent, and every Catholic writer after it, advocated the ecclesiastical control of images.⁵³ The production of the artist was henceforward to be subject to the strict supervision of the Church. It is for this reason that one is justified in claiming that iconophile parties tended to show very little concern for purely artistic considerations: they were more interested in making images theologically and doctrinally acceptable. The difficulty of that task was never fully overcome. Writers like Ambrosius Catharinus continued to object to excessively luxurious – or lascivious – decoration⁵⁴ in almost the same tone as St. Bernard's letter to the Abbot William,⁵⁵ and there is no need to discuss here the objections of Gilio da Fabriano and his ilk to the art of Michelangelo and its style.⁵⁶ It is true that in the Netherlands many charges of indecency were levelled against paintings⁵⁷ but the insistence on scriptural accuracy was even more frequent: that is why handbooks such as those of Molanus were produced, intended to cover not only every possible breach of decorum, but also any way in which a subject might deviate from the accepted, scripturally based norm.⁵⁸ Later in the century, Paleotti's *De Imaginibus Sacris* amounts to nothing less than an *Index* of proscribed subjects.⁵⁹ He, we know, exchanged his copy of Molanus with Federico Borromeo.⁶⁰

All this raises a basic question for art historians: Did such strictures, and the call for ecclesiastical supervision, have any effect on the art of the time? Artists had, of course, long been required to submit their projects to the relevant authorities for prior approval, and the church continued to exercise its control over

iconographic matters well into the seventeenth century.⁶¹ This sort of control, however, seems to have been especially watchful and strict in the Southern Netherlands in the period of the re-establishment of Catholicism which followed the great iconoclastic outbreaks of 1566 and 1581.⁶² Something of the way in which contemporary recommendations were put into practice is revealed, for example, by the preparatory work for Marten de Vos's new altarpiece for the Taverners in Antwerp Cathedral (the earlier one had been broken down in the riots of 1566).⁶³ Even while work was in progress, de Vos and the other craftsmen engaged in work on the altar were subject to the watchful supervision of the church. On 5 October 1596, the deacons held a meeting with him to discuss his design on paper for a wooden statue of St. Martin. On 16 July of the following year they went to the home of de Vos in order to examine a new painting before it was placed on the altar.⁶⁴ Unfortunately we do not know to what extent their comments affected the final state of his painting of *The Marriage Feast at Cana*,⁶⁵ but clearly he was to be allowed no opportunity for the licence which had been displayed in the famous case of Veronese's painting of a similar subject a few years earlier.⁶⁶ There are, in fact, a number of cases in Antwerp where altarpieces were changed after they had been painted, as a result of disquiet over iconographic inaccuracies. In the case of Frans Francken's Schoolmasters' altarpiece of 1586, the painter was asked to repaint the whole of the left wing of the triptych (changing it from a *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* to a *Baptism of St. Augustine*) as a result of the sudden discovery that there was no justification for the presence of Martha on the scene.⁶⁷

In Mechlin we have more specific records of how Church Visitors exercised their strictures. The Provincial Synods of that diocese in 1570 and again in 1607 repeated and developed the Tridentine insistence on decorum and control,⁶⁸ in terms which are reminiscent of writers like Molanus.⁶⁹ A few examples of its practical effects are recorded. In 1604 the Church Visitor to St. Romuald registered his disapproval of Michael Coxcie's *David and Abigail* triptych for the altar of the Bakers, and J. le Sayve's *Transfiguration* on that of the Tallow-Chandlers in the following way:

The Masters of the Building Office should see that those paintings which are on the altars of the Bakers and of that of Our Saviour (vulgo *Vettewariers*) and whatever others are similar, are expurgated; and henceforward they should allow no image, statue, or picture of any kind to be brought into the church, unless it has been agreed from a previous Visit that there is nothing indecent in the statue, image, or picture.⁷⁰

In the same year the Visitor demanded the correction of certain nude figures in Jan Snellinck's *Ascension*,⁷¹ which he had painted for the altar of the Mercers three years earlier;⁷² and as late as 1633 they noted with satisfaction that Coxcie's



Maarten de Vos: *The Marriage Feast at Cana*. Oil on panel, 268 × 235 cm. Antwerp, Cathedral. Copyright ACL Brussels.

Adoration of the Magi had been decently retouched and had had its nudities eliminated.⁷³ Although these examples come from the early seventeenth century, and are not very drastic (similar examples could be found from all over Europe at this time), they show the persistence and *Nachleben*, one might say, of a problem which derives directly from the sixteenth century problem of images.

While alterations of the kind just mentioned are fairly easy to document, the



Maarten de Vos: *Triptych with the Incredulity of St. Thomas*. Oil on panel, 207×185 cm. (central panel), 221×88 cm. (wings). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Copyright ACL Brussels.

more complex question of the extent to which stylistic changes resulted from the embattled and controversial status of the image must await further study. For the present, the examples adduced above should suffice to show the inhibiting influence of those who purported to be in favour of images.

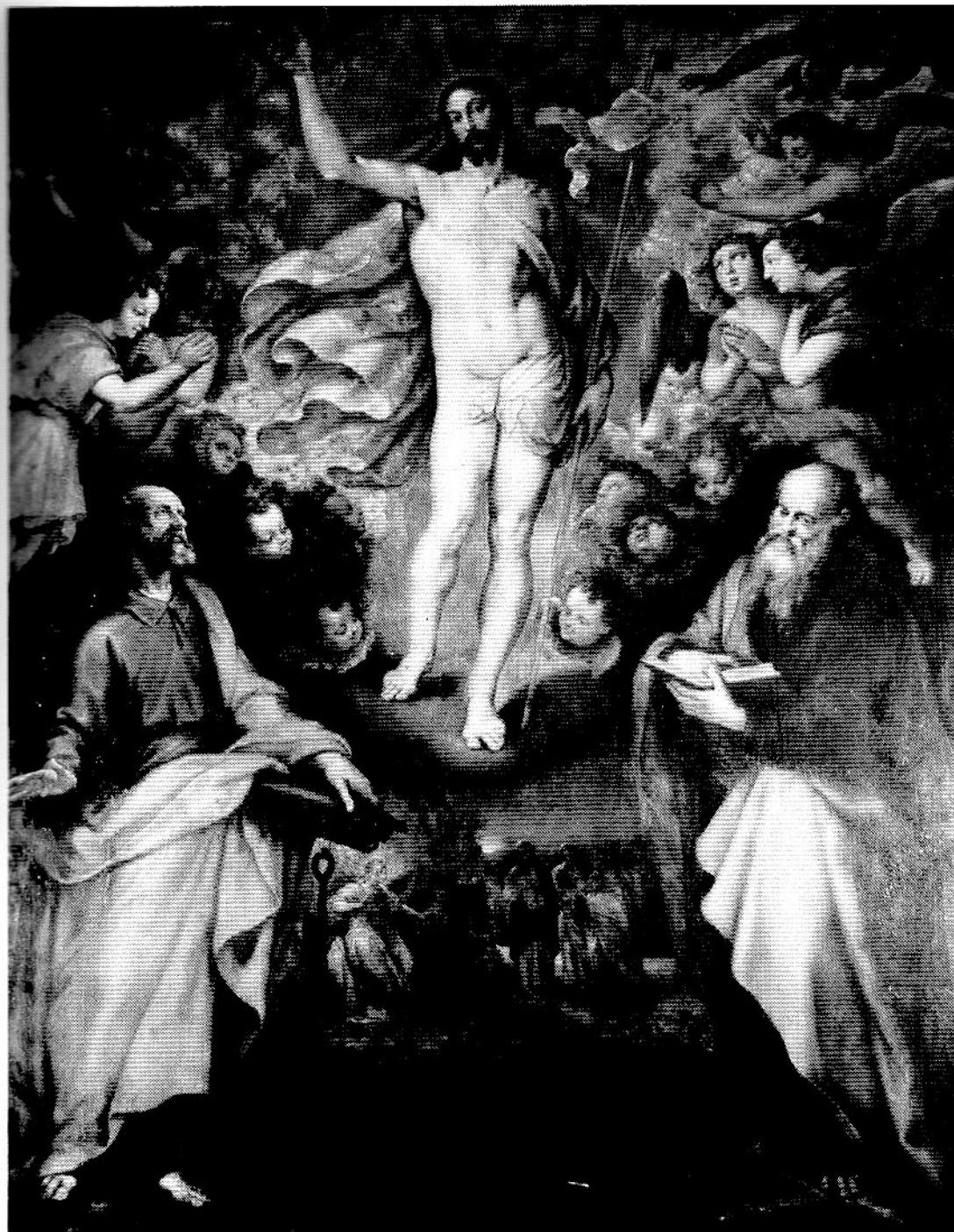
It would be wrong, however, to claim that all the writers were wholly insensitive to aesthetic needs and possibilities. Occasionally one finds writers like the Swabian jurist Conradus Brunus who, in his *De Imaginibus* of 1548,⁷⁴ made an attractive and too little used argument in favour of images: he contrasted what happened in Reformed churches, where the congregation left immediately after the sermon, with Catholic churches, where the faithful would linger after the service to contemplate those works of art which grasped their attention.⁷⁵ The idea was particularly important in view of the much cited Gregorian concept of paintings as the books of the illiterate,⁷⁶ but was unfortunately suspect in the light of the lingering fear – going back to Clement of Alexandria⁷⁷ – of sensibilia, and the distraction of the senses. Although few writers gave evidence of having taken note of, or indeed “responded” (in the modern sense) to particular works of art, there were some who did. Amongst them, surprisingly, was Molanus, who everywhere evinced a special interest in the works of art themselves. Often he was able to give concrete examples both of what he approved and of what he censured,⁷⁸ rather than providing a discussion in purely abstract terms. It should be possible to find out exactly what he saw and noted. But this sort of sensitivity and awareness was unusual in the Catholic writers, and they did nothing, on the whole, to dilute



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Jan Snellinck: *The Ascension of Christ*. Mechlin, St. Romuald. Copyright ACL Brussels.

the general impression one receives of their mistrust of the visual image. This form of diffidence in what they set out to defend amounted in most instances to antipathy, and in this lies the paradox of the attitude of all the works supposedly written in support of art and images.

Here it is necessary to draw attention to the common factor which links, and underlies, both Protestant and Catholic mistrust of the visual, image: a belief in the primacy of the written word, the text. Now this is perhaps obvious in the case of Protestants, but it is less so in the case of Catholics. When Protestants throw out images or take over a church for their own worship, they whitewash the walls.⁷⁹ The only decoration allowed or suggested by the polemicists, is the painting of biblical texts.⁸⁰ When they preserve an altarpiece, they cover it over and paint on it, usually the Ten Commandments, or some other useful text.⁸¹ But what, then, of those who could not read? The answer, of course, lies in the importance attached by most Protestants to the sermon, to the preaching of God's word – which everyone could understand. And with this we must link another of the great shifts in the religious practice of the sixteenth century: the adoption of the vernacular as a means of transmitting the holy and sacred. Sermons, naturally, are preached in the local tongue, but even when it comes to inscribing biblical texts on the walls of churches, or on altarpieces, the vernacular is used – and not merely because the Bible had recently been translated and thereby made more accessible. Such uses of the vernacular testify to a recognition of the religious needs of the lower levels of an increasingly literate public. This realization extended to Catholics as well. The notion that paintings were the books of the illiterate had to be modified as the numbers of the literate grew – even if their literacy only extended to a certain level. In the triptych by Marten de Vos – himself, ironically, a Lutheran – for the altar of the Furriers' Guild in Antwerp Cathedral in 1574,⁸² the biblical text held open by the apostle is not only placed in a prominent position, as is common in these years. It is clearly written in the vernacular.⁸³

There is another, more complex level on which the implications of the Gregorian dictum, so emphasized by the Catholic writers, may be examined. As the illiterate gradually learn to read, paintings are made to be, perhaps need to be, more like books. And it is the over-exploited parallel between the visual image and the written word, between painting and poetry,⁸⁴ that makes so much of the discussion of the pro-image writers seem to be developed according to literary standards. In addition, the parallel may be turned against paintings: in an unhappily expedient use of the old Horatian dictum of *ut pictura poesis*,⁸⁵ it was thought that paintings, like books, should be subject to censorship. Restrictive attitudes arose from this parallel with texts. Molanus began his long section on what one was not allowed to paint with a chapter headed "What is forbidden in books should even be forbidden in paintings, which are the books of the illiterate".⁸⁶ He went

even further later on in this chapter, and denounced the Horatian tolerance of artistic licence quite explicitly.⁸⁷ For after all, the wrong ideas could just as easily be purveyed in paintings as in books.⁸⁸ And their effects on the illiterate masses had been a leitmotif of all pro-image writing since Gregory the Great. It was his justification of religious art⁸⁹ which lay at the basis of this century's constant demeaning of the visual arts in favour of the written word. For both parties, therefore, there was an insistence on the primacy of the written word, the text. For Catholic writers, it even meant that paintings were to follow the text on which they were based as closely as possible. What both sides had in common was a debasement of the autonomy of the visual image, in favour of a renewed emphasis on the prime importance of the written word – and that almost always at the expense of the visual arts.

No discussion of the problem of images in the Netherlands would be complete without an assessment of the painter's position in this period. His response, not only to iconoclasm, but also to the whole question of images, has tended to be overlooked. That question was one which put the very nature of his calling in doubt, at a time when the validity of his production was being questioned and threatened on every side. There are a number of examples which might provide the basis for further discussion of this issue. We still do not know the meaning of Lucas van Leyden's *Adoration of the Golden Calf*,⁹⁰ painted at the very beginning of the Reformation. Its significance in terms of the image controversy could hardly have gone unnoticed in Leiden in the early 1520s, and it is unlikely that Lucas himself would have been unaware of its tendentious nature – especially in the light of his employment by the printer Jan Seversz, whose Protestant sympathies are on record.⁹¹

The same problem is posed by a number of engravings by Maarten van Heemskerck. On the one hand, there are prints in the famous *Clades* series (such as the *Plunder of the Temple by the Chaldeans*, the *Destruction of the Temple by Nebuzaradan* and again by *Titus*⁹²) which could be construed as critical allusions to the destruction of Catholic places of worship in the Netherlands; but, on the other hand, what are we to make of the ten plates of the *History of Bel and the Dragon*⁹³ and the eight of the *Story of Josiah*?⁹⁴ The *Bel and the Dragon* series was published in the crucial year of 1565 (and twice again); apart from the general criticism of idolatry – a live enough issue in these times – that this series implies, individual prints like the *Destruction of the Temple of Bel*⁹⁵ come very close to representing (in pictorial terms alone) a biblical version of contemporary iconoclasm. This particular engraving shows men attacking a statue with hammers and pick-axes – even a putto urinating on the head of a fallen idol – in a way not dissimilar to those prints which were later to represent the image-breaking in Antwerp Cathedral itself.⁹⁶ Even more notable similarities occur in the series of the *Story of Josiah* (the drawings for which survive in Copenhagen⁹⁷), which

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Maartina Van Heemskerck Inuenteur Theodoras Galle sculpsit
 Rex iratus sacerdotes interficere iubet, Danicqz, Belum cum templo subuertit.

Maarten van Heemskerck: *The Destruction of the temple of Bel.*

37 was published in 1569, and can hardly have been conceived without the destruction of three years earlier in mind. Josiah – a precedent commonly cited in support of the removal of contemporary idols⁹⁸ – destroys statues with a zeal which would have won the approval of even the most fervent of the critics. Again, there is not only an implicit historical parallel, but also striking pictorial ones, especially in the representation of *Josiah destroying the Temples of Ashtaroth and Chemosh*. Apart from the occasional scene from the stories of Josiah and, – more frequently – Hezekiah, one does not find either as extensive or as explicitly detailed a treatment of any of these subjects in earlier bible illustration.

Here a word of caution may be necessary. It is, of course, possible that these images are not to be seen as allusions to the contemporary situation, and that, at best, Heemskerck simply drew on the disastrous events of 1566 for some pictorial ideas. In addition, one would be entitled to ask how else Heemskerck could have depicted the destruction of idols, and one should not exclude the possibility of



Maarten van Heemskerck: Josiah destroying the Temples of Ashteroth and Chemosh.

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the flow of influences from biblical representation to pure *reportage*, and vice-versa. Nonetheless, it would be evading the issue if we did not ask ourselves questions of the following kind: What sort of comment, if any, do these prints offer on the much-argued relationship between idolatry and image devotion, and how topical are the references to the purification of places of worship? It may be going too far to suggest that either of these writers took a non-Catholic stand on images, but the issues such works raise were all too alive at the time for one to believe that their creators were unaware of their topicality.

Pieter Aertsen is perhaps an even more puzzling figure.¹⁰⁰ One would like to know why, with a few exceptions, he stopped producing conventional religious works in the 1560s, and turned to painting kitchen and market scenes.¹⁰¹ Apart from the possibility that the religious and moralizing content of the latter group may simply have been hidden,¹⁰² was it because he realized that the iconoclasts were liable to destroy paintings whose religious significance was conventional and



Pieter Aertsen: The Idolatry of Nebuchadnezzar. Oil on panel, 113 × 84 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans van Beuningen. Museum Photo.

obvious? Van Mander tells the not unlikely story that Aertsen almost came to blows with those image-breakers who had destroyed one of his works.¹⁰³ Why and for whom did he paint his *Idolatry of Nebuchadnezzar*,¹⁰⁴ showing in the background the three holy children, who were prepared to die for their opposition to idols, and in the foreground the worship of a massive pagan idol?¹⁰⁵ In the climate of religious ideas I have tried to evoke in this paper, its implications can hardly have gone unnoticed.

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A final question may be asked concerning the situation of the Protestant painters, many of whom were prepared to leave their homeland because of the strength of their religious beliefs.¹⁰⁶ What did they feel about a religion amongst whose tenets was a fundamental antipathy towards the sources of their livelihood? Only a sense of uneasiness and diffidence in their calling can have resulted, and these are characteristics which may well be said to be reflected in much of Antwerp painting in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁷ For those artists who remained Catholics, there arose a form of ecclesiastical supervision which cannot but have inhibited their work. It is this diffidence, and this inhibition, which, I suggest, was engendered by the whole question of images. That controversy, as we have seen, was at least partially responsible for the great wave of iconoclasm which swept not only the Low Countries, but many other parts of Northern Europe as well. It may be difficult to gauge the extent of the artist's awareness of (and self-consciousness about) the debate on images, but it is probably safe to assume that few of them can have remained unconcerned about the ever present threat of their work of damage and destruction to their work. All these questions may be reduced to the problem of the status of the image during the period, and it is this problem which needs to be more fully assessed before we reach a deeper understanding of the art of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands.

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NOTES

1 An excellent summary of recent work on iconoclasm in the Netherlands (with bibliographical references) is given by M. Diericx, "Beeldenstorm in de Nederlanden in 1566", *Streeven*, XIX, 1966, pp. 1040-1048. A useful and sometimes provocative collection of essays on iconoclasm elsewhere and at other periods is M. Warnke, ed., *Bildersturm, Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks*, Munich, 1973.

2 See, for example, the comprehensive essay by Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, "Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXVIII, 1957, pp. 96-128 (reprinted in *Tradition und Leben - Kräften der Kirchengeschichte*, Tübingen, 1960, pp. 392 ff.).
3 With the possible exception of Warnke, *op. cit.*, and H. Bredekamp, "Autonomie und Askese", in *Autonomie der Kunst, Zur Genese und Kritik einer bürgerlichen Kategorie*, Frankfurt, 1972, pp. 88-172. See also E. Ullman, "Bildersturm und bil-

dende Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert", pp. 44-52 below, and my dissertation cited in the following note.

4 A similar concern in D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Netherlands, 1566-1609*, unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, Oxford, 1972.

5 See H. F. von Campenhausen, "Zwingli und Luther zur Bilderfrage", in W. Schöne, ed., *Das Gottesbild im Abendland*, Wittenberg-Berlin, 1960, pp. 139-172. On Zwingli, see further C. Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, New Haven, 1966.

6 References to image-worship (along with the associated problem of devotion to the saints) occur too frequently throughout the *Institutes* to be cited here, but a useful if not wholly adequate selection of material is discussed in L. Wencelius, *L'Esthétique du Calvin*, Paris, 1937, to supplement M. Grau, *Calvins Stellung zur Kunst*, Munich-Würzburg, 1917.

7 One thinks particularly of the passages on painting in works such as D. R. Camphuysen's translation of Johannes Geesteranus's *Idolelenchus* in the former's immensely popular *Stichtelyke Ryemen*, Amsterdam, 1647, and Jacob Lydius's *Den Roomschen Uylenspiegel*, Amsterdam and Dordrecht, 1671. These and other such passages are discussed at greater length in D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting*, pp. 97-104.

8 On these, see H. Koch, *Die altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den literarischen Quellen*, Göttingen, 1917; W. Elliger, *Die Stellung der alten Christen zu den Bildern in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig, 1930; and, more recently, H. F. von Campenhausen, "The Theological Problem of Images in the Early Church", in *Tradition and Life in the Church*, tr. A. V. Littledale, London, 1968, pp. 171-200.

9 A translation of relevant passages from John of Damascus is appended, for example, to R. Benoist, *Een Catholic Tractaet van de Beelden en van het rechte ghebruyck derselfder*, Antwerp, 1567 (on which see note 48 below). The views of all the Byzantine writers are now easily accessible in the excellent collection of sources by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312 - 1453* (Sources and Documents in the History of Art), Englewood Cliffs, 1972. Equally indispensable is E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images before Iconoclasm", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VIII, 1954, pp. 83-150. It should be noted here that even if some of these writers were in favour of images, they could always provide useful references to anti-image views, as well as to the iconoclastic councils of 726/30 and 815, and to earlier anti-image decrees such as that of the Council of Elvira of 306. The latter was used, for example, by Calvin, in *Institution de la Reli-*

gion Chrétienne, ed. F. Baumgartner, Paris, 1888, p. 718. But councils such as these were cited in the arguments both for and against images with a bewildering degree of interchangeability, and the constant assertion of the authority of one council's decrees against those of another was a characteristic feature of much of the pre-Tridentine dispute about images. I pass over the whole question of the *Libri Carolini*, on which see W. Schrade, "Die Libri Carolini und ihre Stellung zum Bild", *Zeitschrift für Kirche und Theologie*, LXXVIX, 1957, pp. 69-78.

10 See especially J. Kollwitz, "Bild und Bilderfrage im Mittelalter", in W. Schöne, ed., *Das Gottesbild im Abendland* (note 5), pp. 109-131. See also p. 66 and note 18 below.

11 This aspect of the Image Debate discussed at greater length in D. Freedberg, "The Structure of Byzantine and European Iconoclasm", in A. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds., *Iconoclasm*, Birmingham, 1977.

12 Extensively analysed from this point of view by R. van Roosbroeck, *Het Wonderjaar te Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1930; E. Kuttner, *Het Hongerjaar, 1566*, Amsterdam, 1949; and many of the detailed regional studies, some of which are cited in M. Diericx, "Beeldenstorm in de Nederlanden" (note 1); see also now J. Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm*, Bussum, 1974, especially pp. 15-16 and the bibliography to Chapter I, pp. 121-122.

13 L. Hätzer, *Ein Urteil Gottes . . . wie man sich mit allen gotzen und Bildnussen halten soll*, Zurich, 1523. The contents and immediate impact of this work are discussed in C. Garside, "Ludwig Hätzer's Pamphlet against Images: A Critical Study", *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXXIV, 1960, pp. 21 ff.

14 Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Von Abtuhung der Bylder und das keyn Bedtler unter den Christen seyn sollen*, Wittenberg, 1522, reprinted in H. Lietzmann, ed., *Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen*, LXXIV, Bonn, 1911. See also M. Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, Leipzig, 1905.

15 Printed and edited in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, edited by S. Cramer and F. Pijper, I, The Hague, 1903, pp. 259-272.

16 On Veluanus, see F. Pijper in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, IV, The Hague, 1906, pp. 79-122. His work, *Der Leken Wechwyser*, is reprinted and edited here too, pp. 123-363.

17 Countless examples, in almost every anti-image tract of the Reformation. A random example may be found in the popular work of Cornelis van der Heyden, *Corte Instructyee ende onderwijs, hoe een ieghelic mensche met God ende zynen even naesten, schuldig es, ende behoord te*

- Paris, 1888, were cited in images with capability, and priority of one other was a of the pre- ass over the on which i und ihre Kirche und B. and Bilder- e, ed., *Das* . 109-131.
- discussed e Structure sm", in A. Birming-
- nt of view ar te Ant- et Honger- any of the n are cited Nederlan- erder, *De* pp. 15-16 121-122. e man sich l, Zurich, act of this "Ludwig Critical XXXIV,
- Von Ab- unter den* reprinted r theolo- Übungen, Andreas matoria . Pijper,
- ibliotheca e, 1906, wyser, is 63. y anti- random work of ye ende od ende oord te
- leven*, in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, IV, p. 20.
- 18 A frequent criticism, which derives from St Bernard, *Apologia ad Gullielmum Sancti Theoderici Abbatem*, P. L., CLXXXII, cols. 915-917: "Fulget ecclesia in parietibus, et in pauperibus eget", etc. Cf. also Luther's comments in *Luthers Werke*, I, Weimar, 1883, p. 246.
- 19 Again there are many instances of such taunts. Cf. Veluanus, *op. cit.*, p. 286, for a particularly acid view of saints' helplessness.
- 20 Cf. G. B. Ladner, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VII, 1953, pp. 3-34.
- 21 Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *Studien zur Geschichte des Byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, Breslau, 1929, pp. 8 ff., as well as H. F. von Campenhausen, "The Theological Problem of Images" (note 8), pp. 171-200.
- 22 Johannes Anastasius Veluanus, *Der Leken Wechwyser*, Strasbourg, 1554; details of the various editions given in the introduction by F. Pijper to his publication of this work in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, IV, pp. 117-118.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 289. The passage in full reads: "Wair dat gepredicte evangeli nyt help, dar sullen gene beelden helpen. 2 War dat evangeli angenomen & gelovet wurt, dair zynt oick gene beelden noch. 3 War dat evangeli nyt gepredickt wurt, dair zynt sie gantz scadelicke affgoden. 4 War die beelden affgoden zynt, dar sal men se uyt den Tempeln werpen unde verbranden. Synt sie noch geen affgoden, nochtannich ist nut, dat sie al uyt geworpen unden verbrandt werden, want sie kunnen ons nymmer baten mer gering elendich schaden unde grote affgoden werden, als menichmaal is befonden in iamerlycke manyren".
- 24 Marnix van Sant Aldegonde, *Vraye Narration et Apologie des Choses Passées aux Pays-Bas touchant le fait de la Religion en l'an MDLXVI*, reprinted in *Philips van Marnix, Godsdienstige en Kerkelijke Geschriften*, ed. J. J. van Toorenebergen, I, The Hague, 1871, p. 109.
- 25 "Une manifeste providence de Dieu, lequel a voulu monstrier combien il a en detestation et horreur l'abominable idolatrie, qui a esté commise a l'entour des images au grand deshonneur du nom du Christ", *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- 26 Their "hedge-services" are documented wherever outbreaks are recorded: for the meaning and etymology of the Dutch word "hagepreek", see R. Fruin, "Haagpreek", in *Verspreide Geschriften*, VIII, The Hague, 1903, pp. 307-313. For a description of these services in an early chronicle, see, for example, F. Haraeus, *De Initiis Tumul-*
- tuum Belgicorum 1555-1567*, Douai, 1587, pp. 221-222; for evidence of the active role of a preacher, see - as one example of many - J. Decavele, "Jan Hendricx en het Calvinisme in Vlaanderen (1560-1564)", *Handelingen "Societe d'Emulation" te Brugge*, CVI, 1969, pp. 17-32.
- 27 H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, III, Brussels, 1907, pp. 439-441.
- 28 Apart from the article by J. Decavele cited in note 26 above, see - for a good example from the North Netherlands - J. Smit, "Hagepreken en Beeldenstorm te Delft, 1566-1567", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, XLV, 1924, pp. 206-250. Other examples analysed in D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting* (note 4 above), pp. 12-30.
- 29 Hermann Moded (see below) encouraged the Lord of Culemborg to do this. Cf. O. J. de Jong, *De Reformatie in Culemborg*, Assen, n. d., pp. 105 ff.
- 30 On Moded and his sermons, see G. J. Brutel de la Rivière, *Het Leven van Hermannus Moded*, Haarlem, 1879; a lively account of his role on this occasion is given here and in F. G. V., *Antwerpsch Chronykje, sedert den jare 1500 tot het jaar 1574*, Leiden, 1743, pp. 87-89.
- 31 The sermon summarized even in later histories such as P. Bor, *Oorspronck, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorloghen*, I, Amsterdam, 1679, p. 83; as well as in Moded's own *Apologie ofte verantwoordinghe Hermanni Modedt, teghens de calumnien ende valsche beschuldigingen ghestroeyt tot lasteringhe des H. Evangelie*, Maastricht, 1567, reprinted in Brutel de la Rivière, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-70.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 33 The source of this recurrent formula is St Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18, 45, in P. G. XXXII, col. 149. It recurs in almost every pro-image writer from St Basil up to and including the Counter-Reformation.
- 34 H. Moded in Brutel de la Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 60. Compare the answer given by one of the iconoclasts at Brill when asked whether justification for the breaking of images could be found in the Gospel; his answer, simply, was that "it was proper so and that the Whore of Babylon must fall!", quoted in I. M. P. A. Wils, "De Reformatie en Beeldenstorm in den Briel", *Haarlemse Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, LVI, 1938, p. 410.
- 36 An example in R. van Roosbroeck, ed., *De Kroniek van Godewaert van Haecht over de Troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en Elders*, Antwerp, 1929, p. 35.
- 37 Lutherans in particular insisted that if images

had to be taken down, they should only be taken down by the appropriate authorities. Interesting light is cast on this attitude by another tract by Marnix, the *Van de Beelden afgheworpen in de Nederlanden in Augusto 1566*, also reprinted in *Philips van Marnix, Godsdiensstige en Kerkelijke Geschriften* (note 24 above), pp. 1-34. This seems to have been written specifically in order to pour scorn on "the assertion of a Martinist that the casting down of images is permitted to no one other than the highest authority", *Ibid.*, p. 1.

38 It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the attitude of the various Protestant groups towards images differed greatly from one another. Luther, for example, was perhaps the most tolerant of the Reformed writers, Zwingli allowed the painting of historical scenes outside churches, and Calvin was critical of almost all religious imagery - to say nothing of the host of even more radical writers. See, for a summary of the most important views, the articles by H. F. von Campenhausen cited in notes 2 and 5 above. The various Reformed Creeds and Confessions - most of which contain statements about images and/or idolatry - are usefully collected in E. F. K. Müller, ed., *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Reformierten Kirche in Authentischen Texten*, Leipzig, 1903.

39 Cf. E. Hertzsch, "Karlstadt", in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, III, Tübingen, 1959, cols. 1154-1155; on his attempts to avoid iconoclasm by advising the prior removal of images, see M. Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, I, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 311-460. An exemplary account of this and other aspects of iconoclasm in Münster is given by M. Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte. Die Bilderstürme der Wiedertäufer in Münster in 1534/5", in *Bildersturm*, Munich, 1973, pp. 65-98.

40 For a detailed discussion of Zwingli's sermons, and on what happened in Zurich, see C. Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts*, especially pp. 93-160 (on the actual removal of images, see pp. 159-160).

41 Although detailed studies of individual regions have subsequently been made, it is still worth looking at F. Fischer, "Der Bildersturm in der Schweiz und in Basel insbesondere", *Basler Taschenbuch*, I, 1850, pp. 17-37, for a relatively early attempt to survey iconoclastic activity in one country.

42 See D. McRoberts, "Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation", in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, ed. D. McRoberts, Glasgow, 1962, pp. 415-462.

43 A rather inadequate survey of iconoclastic activity throughout Europe may be found in J. von Végh, *Die Bilderstürmer. Eine kultur-*

geschichtliche Studie, Strasbourg, 1915. Iconoclasm in England both in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, is the subject of J. Philips, *The Reformation of Images. Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*, Berkeley, 1973.

44 John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, I, London, 1904, p. 475.

45 Cf. the view of the Councillor d'Assonleville that "ce n'est plus la religion qui nous fait principalement ceste tragédie, mais aultre chose non moins dangereuse, car la religion, ce n'est plus que la masque", *Correspondance du Cardinal Granvelle*, ed. E. Pouillet, I, Brussels, 1877, p. 341.

46 On these, see now G. Scavizzi, "La Teologia Cattolica e le Immagini durante il XVI Secolo", *Storia dell'Arte*, XXI, 1975, pp. 171-213.

47 H. Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung", *Theologische Quartalschrift*, CXVI, 1935, pp. 142-182, 404-428.

48 For example, in the (unpaginated) translator's foreword to R. Benoist, *Een Catholic tractaet van de Beelden en van het rechte ghebruyck dierselfder*, Antwerp, 1567 (which had first appeared as the *Traité catholique des images et du vray usage d'icelles*, Paris, 1564).

49 A good example of this sort of rudimentary attempt at a theological justification is inserted in the foreword of F. G. V., *Antwerpsch Chronyckje sedert den jare 1500 tot het jaar 1574*, Leiden, 1743.

50 J. Hessels, *Tractatus pro Invocatione Sanctorum*, Louvain, 1568 (an earlier edition appeared in Louvain in 1562); J. Garetius, *De Sanctorum Invocatione Liber*, Ghent, 1570; R. Benoist, *op. cit.* (cited in note 48 above); A. Copus, *Dialogi sex contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticae Vitae, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum Oppugnatores*, Antwerp, 1566; N. Sanders, *De Typica et Honoraria Sacrarum Imaginum Usu*, Ghent, 1569; M. Donk, *Een Cort Onderscheyt tusschen Godlijcke en Afgodissche Beelden*, Antwerp, 1567 and 1579; F. Schenkus, *De Vetustissimo Sacrarum Imaginum Usu*, Antwerp, 1567; J. Molanus, *De Picturis et Imaginibus Sacris*, Antwerp, 1570 (title altered in later editions - see note 54 and D. Freedberg "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIV, 1971, pp. 229-241). All these writers are discussed at greater length in D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting* (note 4 above), pp. 68-96.

51 To the preceding note, however, may be added Johannes a Porta, *D'Net der Beeltstormers*, Antwerp, 1591, written in a vigorous and racy vernacular, obviously aimed at a more popular audience. See also note 7 above.

1915. Iconocenth and the of J. Philips, *tion of Art in of the Dutch*

'Assonleville us fait prin- e chose non e n'est plus du Cardinal 1877, p. 341. La Teologia VI Secolo", 213.

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52 The same may be said of the complex attitude of Erasmus and of the poet Anna Bijns, on whom see E. Panofsky, "Erasmus and the Visual Arts", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 200-227, and D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting* (note 4 above), pp. 96-97 respectively.

53 "Haec ut fidelius observentur, statuit Sancta Synodus, nemini licere ullo in loco vel Ecclesia etiam quomodo exempta ullam insolitam ponere, vel ponendam curare imaginem, nisi ab episcopo approbata fuerit" etc., *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, Bologna/Freiburg, 1962, p. 752.

54 "Quod vero omnium est teterrimum, hoc tempestate, in excelsis templis sacellisque offendas picturas tantae lasciviae, ut quidquid natura turpe occulit turpe nostrum ibi liceat contemplari ad excitandam non devotionem sed cuiusvis demortuae carnis libidinem", Ambrosius Catharinus, *Disputatio de Cultu et Adoratione Imaginum*, included in *Enarrationes ... in quinque priora capita libri Geneseos ...*, Rome, 1552, col. 144. Cf. J. Molanus, *De Historia Sanctarum Imaginum et Picturarum*, Louvain 1594, Book II, Chapter 42. 55 P. L. CLXXXII, cols. 914 ff.

56 As these have already been well analysed in A. Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600*, especially pp. 112-114, 118-124. G. A. Gilio da Fabriano, *Due Dialoghi ... degli Errori de' Pittori*, Camerino, 1564, now easily available in P. Barocchi, ed., *Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento*, II, Bari, 1961.

57 Apart from D. Freedberg, *Johannes Molanus* (cited towards the end of note 50 above, see also M. Donk, *Een Cort Onderscheyt* (note 50 above), A iv, recto and verso, and Anna Bijns, in *Referenzen van Anna Bijns*, ed. A. Bogaers and W. L. van Helten, Rotterdam, 1875, p. 118. Both Donk's and Anna Bijns's criticism of indecent imagery could well be derived, either directly or indirectly, from Erasmus's comments in the *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio*, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Clericus, V, Leiden, 1706, col. 796 E.

58 Cf. A. Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 127, and D. Freedberg, *Johannes Molanus*, pp. 229-236.

59 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle Imagini Sacre e Profane*, Bologna, 1582. The Latin translation appeared in Ingolstadt, 1594. On this aspect of Paleotti's work, see P. Prodi, *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, II, Rome, 1967.

60 P. Prodi, "Ricerche sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella Riforma Cattolica", *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà*, IV, 1962, p. 137.

61 Particularly well documented in the case of Rubens's lengthy consultations with the various church authorities in Antwerp. See now C. van de Velde, "Rubens Hemelvaart van Maria in de

Kathedraal te Antwerpen", *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1975, pp. 245-276, as well as F. Baudouin, "Altars and Altarpieces before 1620", in J. R. Martin, ed., *Rubens before 1620*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 45-92, and J. R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, I)*, Brussels, 1968.

62 On the so-called "stille Beeldestorm" of 1581, see F. Prims, "De Beeldestormerij van 1581", *Antwerpiensia* 1939, Antwerp, 1940, pp. 183-189.

63 F. Prims, "Altaarstudien", in *Antwerpiensia* 1939, Antwerp, 1940, pp. 429-431.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 432.

65 Oil on panel, 268 : 235 cm., now hanging in the south transept of Antwerp Cathedral.

66 For the records of this much cited *processo*, see P. Caliani, *Paolo Veronese*, Rome, 1888, pp. 102 ff.

67 The misunderstanding arose from the fact that the Schoolmasters had previously shared an altar with the Guild of Pastrycooks, of whom St Martha - naturally enough - was the patron saint. For an account of the events leading up to these changes, see F. Prims, "Altaarstudien" (note 63 above), pp. 400-402, and F. J. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpse Schilderschool*, I, Antwerp, 1883, pp. 345-346, with references to the appropriate archival sources. The whole triptych (oil on panel, 250 : 220/97 cm.) now hangs in the north transept of Antwerp Cathedral.

68 The decrees of these synods on painting are published in P. F. X. de Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, I, Mechlin, 1828, pp. 87 and 107.

69 Especially in their emphasis on decency and their discouragement of the pagan and pornographic. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting* (note 4 above), p. 165, discusses their relationship with the earlier writers in greater detail.

70 The original text is preserved in Mechlin, St Romuald, *Acta Capitularia*, Visit. Eccl. reg. I, 1604, published in J. Laenen, *Histoire de l'Eglise Metropolitaine de St Rombaut a Malines*, II, Mechlin, 1920, p. 215, note 10.

71 Mechlin, St Romuald, oil on panel, dimensions unknown.

72 J. Laenen, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 234.

74 C. Brunus (*recte* Braun), *De Imaginibus Liber Unus*, Mainz, 1548.

75 H. Jedin, "Trienter Dekret" (note 47 above), pp. 155-156.

76 The Gregorian standpoint occurs in the famous letter to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, in *S. Gregorii Papae I cognomento Magno Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1771, VIII, pp. 134, 242.

- 77 See, for example, Chapter IV in the *Exhortation to the Heathen*, translated in A. Robert and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante Nicene Fathers*, II, *Fathers of the Second Century*, revised A. Cleveland Coxe, reprinted 1969, p. 189; the same chapter excerpted in J. Molanus, *De Historia* (note 54 above), p. 151.
- 78 On this aspect of Molanus, see D. Freedberg, "Johannes Molanus" (cited towards the end of note 50 above), p. 231, and notes 13-15.
- 79 Many examples given in J. Philips, *The Reformation of Images* (note 43 above), and M. Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte" (note 39 above), pp. 65-98.
- 80 Suggested, for example, by Veluanus, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
- 81 An illustration in J. Philips, *op. cit.*, Fig. 29a; for a good Netherlandish example (referring to the overpainting of a work by Hugo van der Goes), see Carel van Mander, *Het Schilderboek*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 236.
- 82 *The Incredulity of St Thomas*, oil on panel, 207 : 185 cm. (central panel), Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 77.
- 83 The book is opened at Isaiah 33, 10-11. Of course, vernacular texts such as these do occur in other pictorial representations - in manuscript and book illustration, and in paintings for Protestant patrons, or ones not intended for altarpieces (cf. Marten de Vos's own painting for the Panhuys family now in The Hague, No. 249).
- 84 The now classic discussion is R. W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis. The Humanistic Theory of Painting*, New York, 1967 (reprinted from *Art Bulletin*, XXII, 1942).
- 85 For the entire passage, see Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 361-365.
- 86 "Quod in libris prohibetur, prohibendum etiam esse in picturis, quae sunt idiotarum libri", Molanus, *De Historia* (note 54 above), Book II, Chapter 2, p. 35.
- 87 "Neque ad sacras imagines extendendum est quod gentilis Poeta dixit: *Pictoribus atque Poetis/ Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas*", *Ibid.*, p. 36 (quoting Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 9-10. Barocchi, *op. cit.*, p. 578, has a useful note on the use of this Horatian formula by Durandus, Catharinus, Borghini, and Brunus.
- 88 Already in 1557 Dolce (writing in connection with Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*) had suggested that improper pictures, far more than improper books, should be placed on the *Index*. Cf. R. W. Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- 89 In the letter to Serenus cited in note 76 above.
- 90 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, oil on panel, 93 : 67 cm (central panel), 91 : 30 (shutters).
- 91 Cf. P. J. Blok, *Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche Stad*, II, The Hague, 1912, pp. 165-168; L. Knappert, *De Opkomst van het Protestantisme in eene Noord-Nederlandsche Stad*, Leiden, 1909, 69-77; P. Fredericq, ed., *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis*, IV, Ghent/The Hague, 1900, pp. 270-271, Nos. 212-213; and M. E. Kronenborg, *Lotgevallen van Jan Seversz.*, The Hague, 1924. See also for an assessment of this problem, L. A. Silver, "The Sin of Moses: Comments on the Early Reformation in a late Painting by Lucas van Leyden", *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, pp. 401-409, and the subsequent heated correspondence in the *Art Bulletin* between Silver and J. D. Bangs.
- 92 Hollstein, VII, p. 242, 202-223, Nos. 17, 18, 19, 22.
- 93 *Ibid.*, p. 247, 534-543. I. Hieronymus Cock, 1565; II. Theodoor Galle; III. Joannes Galle.
- 94 *Ibid.*, p. 243, 240-247.
- 95 *Ibid.*, p. 247, 534-543. No. 6.
- 96 For example, as in the print by F. Hogenberg, in M. Aitsinger, *De Leone Belgico*, Cologne, 1588. This is not, however, a contemporaneous depiction of the even, and the interesting possibility that it may have been influenced by Heemskerck's engravings should not be excluded.
- 97 Catalogued and partially illustrated in the Catalogue edited by Jan Garff of the exhibition *Tegninger af Maerten van Heemskerck*, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, Copenhagen, 1971.
- 98 As in Marnix, Moded, Veluanus, and many others.
- 99 Hollstein, p. 243, 240-247, No. 5; *Tegninger af Maerten van Heemskerck*, No. 106. There are further prints showing the destruction of pagan images (and the slaughter of pagan priest) in the same vivid way: *The Destruction of the House of Baal* in this series, and in the series of *The History of Athaliah* (Hollstein, p. 246, 414-417, No. 1; *Tegninger af Maerten van Heemskerck*, No. 104. See also note 105 below.
- 100 Apart from the outdated J. Sievers, *Pieter Aertsen*, Halle, 1906, see now J. A. Emmens, "Eins aber ist nötig - Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung von Markt- und Küchenstücke des 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder*, The Hague, 1973, pp. 93-101, and P. K. F. Moxey, *Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974.
- 101 On these, see especially P. K. F. Moxey, *op. cit.*, and J. A. Emmens, *op. cit.*
- 102 Well discussed in J. A. Emmens, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-99.
- 103 Van Mander, fol. 244v.
- 104 Oil on Panel, 113 : 84 cm. Rotterdam,

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105 Daniel 3, 1-25. On the possible significance
of this work, see the forthcoming article by
P. K. F. Moxey, "Reflections on some unusual
subjects in the work of Pieter Aertsen", *Jahrbuch*
der Berliner Museen, XVIII, 1976. One might
compare the similar depiction of the same subject
in Maarten van Heemskerck, in *The History of*
Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (Hollstein, p.
243, Nos. 264-267, No. 1).
106 There is a substantial literature on the

various emigré groups; they are surveyed in
H. Devoghelaere, *De Zuidnederlandsche Schilders*
in het Buitenland van 1450-1600, Antwerp, 1944,
and discussed at greater length in D. Freedberg,
Iconoclasm and Painting (note 4 above), pp. 175-
186, 194-197.

107 The literature on painting in Antwerp after
the death of Bruegel remains comparatively
sparse, but see G. Faggini, *La Pittura ad Anversa*
nel Cinquecento, Florence, 1968, for a selective
survey.