HISTORIES *of* ORNAMENT

FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL

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CHAPTER 12

ORNAMENTAL DEFACEMENT AND PROTESTANT ICONOCLASM

Christopher P. Heuer

In 1566, the chronicler Marcus van Vaernewijck found himself in Ghent during an iconoclastic riot. Watching image-smashing mobs from a distance, van Vaernewijck marveled at certain attackers' specificity. Calvinist vandals "scratched away the eyes" of painted saints, leapt upon sculptures, and "hammered away" at them with picks. Only certain parts of the images were targeted: "Mainly, they went after the faces," van Vaernewijck observed.[1] As in iconoclasms past, faces seemed to present the most "figuring" part of the image, everything that was not auxiliary, was not ornamental—all that portended animation and potential idolatry—and hence most in need of neutralization.[2] Long before Kant or Derrida, that is, northern iconophobes distinguished between *ergon* and *parerga*, or between more or less potent aspects of an image. For the smashers in Ghent, the artwork seemed almost like editable text.

As in moments of image-breaking before and after 1566, the events in the Low Countries hinged on a fundamentalist reading of the Second Commandment (along with urban unrest), but also on a modern-seeming assumption of aesthetic cleave between structure and supplement. Traditionally, however, northern iconoclasm has been read by scholars as an all-or-nothing affair—a question of the image's absence or presence, rather than, as this chapter will suggest, its alteration or ruin. For as much as sixteenth-century Reformers trafficked in the language of negation, they (like their modern-day examiners) were often entranced by rhetorics of comparison: churches true and false, acts versus words, seen and unseen gods. Yet the stuff latticing, garlanding, and polychroming chipped faces (fig. 12.1) was often allowed to stand in the sixteenth century—not because it no longer bracketed a figure, but because, post-attack, it now framed—indeed, ornamented—mutilated evidence of that figure's *critique*. Only a few scholars have explored this process, generally in broader contexts.[3] This chapter delves more deeply into the ambivalent status of physical and discursive ornament within some sixteenth-century debates. As something that was visual without being an image, ornament on its own was—if not entirely harmless—a challenge to clear antinomies of representation and matter; even after faces—textual and physical—had been angrily hammered away.

Outside and Inside

Consider a panel from the village church of Schwanden in the Swiss canton of Glarus (fig. 12.2).[4] Painted in Swabia sometime in the 1460s, it shows an Annunciation scene. The Virgin is flanked by two red curtains. There is tooled punchwork and simulated brocade and, on an opposite side, an unidentifiable saint, holding a sacramental wafer next to a banderole. We know that these paintings, along with several other artworks in the same locale, including an altarpiece wing of Catherine and Barbara (fig. 12.3), were attacked on St. Thomas Day, December 21, 1528.[5] Scores and cuts appear across the panel. The iconoclasts were very specific in what they targeted. Materializations of the divine—the host, the dove—seem to have invited particular anger, with seven deep gougings now visible on the panel. We know that the paintings were stripped and cut with tools, and were even thrown into the Linth River, later fished out downstream at the nearby village of Mitlödl.[6]

Fig. 12.1. *Retable of St. Anna*, Netherlandish, ca. 1500, attacked March 7, 1580, polychromed sandstone. Domkerk, Utrecht. Photo: Gert Jan Kocken.

Huldrich Zwingli, the fiercely image-opposing reformist pastor, was actually based in Glarus between 1506 and 1518.[7] A correspondent of Erasmus, Zwingli had offered one of the most sustained defenses of image-removal in public disputations in Zurich in October 1523. "Images are not to be tolerated," he argued simply, "For anything which God has forbidden is not an indifferent thing."[8] It was sculpted images adorned with cloth or jewels—in visual ways the *originary* species of the Byzantine cult images that made their way to Europe (fig. 12.4)—that were presented as most appalling in such discourses, because of their associations both with the sensory and the accumulative. Physical adornments augmented votive images' potential for entrapment; in the village of Hüll near Betzenstein, in 1561, for example, a preacher declaimed against a statue covered in baubles like "a lure, with which one attracts birds."[9] A 1470 treatise on superstition by the

Fig. 12.2. *Annunciation*, Upper Swabia, attacked December 21, 1528, oil and tempera on panel. Museum des Landes Glarus, Näfels, Switzerland. Photo: Gert Jan Kocken.

Erfurt theologian Johannes Wuschilburgk, meanwhile, described a town near Bamberg where locals prayed every day to an old wooden cross dressed with silk and linen tunics. Such cloths ensured that the object could work miracles; the removal of the drapery was regarded by the locals as blasphemous.[10] In late medieval Tournai, wealthy women donated clothing to the Virgin, often with the stipulation that they be allowed to rewear the vestments at certain times of the year.[11] Dressed effigies were common attractors of preachers' ire and became particularly problematic in southern German lands with the rise of Virgin cults in the late fifteenth century. Functionally, these object additions were anything *but* supplementary; within them the talismanic and the ornamental overlapped. Here, adornment seemed—as it would be in the ironic lament of modernist critics—an ethical issue, which spurred the crassest forms of emotionalism (rather than misidentification) in both its devotees and revilers.

Luther used the word ornament in two senses: *tzyerd*—to mean the actual items in churches, like bells and candles, and *auffsetz*, in the figurative sense (ironically) of embellishments or superfluities to religious thinking.[12] Zwingli's dynamic acolyte, Leo Jud (1482–1542), was more specific, targeting three-dimensional sculptures for the cult of St. Anne at Oberstammheim: ". . . people accord such images great honor, and entreat them with ornaments, silver, gold, precious stones, with sacrifices and with reverence . . . all of which, however, God has forbidden."[13] Art works, in effect, made *surface* the incarnation of material, summoning tactile as well as optical allure. Even Emser, writing a few years later in defense of images, chastised such excess in terms of desire: "whorish and rougish" were the layers of garments placed on sculptures.[14] Affect, in such a case, *occluded* an appropriate sensory denial. Notably, cognates of the word "ornament" (Luther had used the word *geleyssen* [glitter]) appear in almost every sixteenth-century eyewitness account of iconoclastic violence to describe the garments and the additions to images that were attacked.[15] Back in Antwerp in 1566, in fact, a sculpted Virgin on a staff was pelted with rocks

Fig. 12.3. *Saints Catherine and Barbara*, Upper Swabia, mid-fifteenth century, attacked December 21, 1528, oil and tempera on panel. Museum des Landes Glarus, Näfels, Switzerland.

Fig. 12.4. *Virgin of Nicopoia*, ca. 1280. Basilica of San Marco, Venice.

and stones at her yearly *ommeganck* (a medieval pageant procession)—it was her ornamental garments, particularly, that were ripped and despoiled.[16]

The power of clothing was often distinguished from that of images proper, for iconodules and iconomachs alike. Particularly in the textile-driven economies of Netherlandish cities, actual brocade could become a crucial component of a local cult statue—indeed, woven decor often became, locally, *the* image itself.[17] Netherlandish Madonna "figures" became increasingly doll-like, bearers solely of seasonally changing vestments, as in a miracle-working fourteenth-century figure from 's-Hertogenbosch (fig. 12.5).[18] In the first part of the sixteenth century the iconography of the *Schutzmantelmadonna*—literally, the Madonna of the Sheltering Cloak—became extremely popular in the Upper Rhine.[19] To pray, in this metaphorics, was to place oneself under the Virgin's magisterial garment of grace; each devotional act made the holy mantle that much more elaborate: "for every prayer uttered to me will you find a flower upon this cloak" spoke the Virgin in a mystical German homily, first published in 1539.[20] Period altarpieces resonate with this imagery, often picturing the Virgin's mantle as protective cape and contour, a wall between worlds (fig. 12.6). These architectonics extended to three dimensions; the figure of the Virgin herself was presented as a highly ornamented "shell," its surface an easy fit with theological readings of Mary as a simple vessel. The light weight of dressable sculptures when *un*ornamented (where they were often little more than a wood stalk beneath silk robes) meant that they were extremely portable—in fact in Spanish America it was *imágenes de vestir* that became the hegemonic type of devotional and proselyting image.[21] Yet in northern Europe, dressed *beelden* (images) had become so elaborate by the end of the century that in a place like Leuven, for instance, the arms and legs of a sculpture had to be removed to allow heavy textiles to fit.[22] Protestant iconoclasm, unexpectedly, seems to have aided the spread of such dress-as-statue effigies, in very material terms: sculptures destroyed in waves of violence were replaced not with new bodies, but with more-economical heads atop huge dresses.

Fig. 12.5. The *Zoete Moeder* of 's-Hertogenbosch, before 1320, polychromed oak, silk brocade. St. Janiskathedraal, 's-Hertogenbosch, Netherlands.

Fig. 12.6. *Schutzmantelmadonna*, Hamburg, early sixteenth century, oil and tempera. Kunsthalle St. Annen, Lübeck.

A New Distinction

For Luther, *Bild* could mean almost anything conventionally visual, language as well as objects; figuration was any of the "adornments [*tzyerd*] that God does not need."[23] And yet artworks and ornaments were not synonymous concepts for Luther; when he spoke of "glitter [*geleyssen*]," notably it was as a register not of shine of dimming, obscuring. This was a rhetorical inversion of the image/not image antithesis, which associated adornment with withdrawal and concealment. For Luther, ornament was paradoxically that which renders indistinct (he uses the verb *verdunkeln*, "darkening") rather than reveals. Luther actually went on to idealize this realm of austerity in Islam, as he decried local iconoclasts in a pamphlet of April 1529, *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* (On war with the Turks). "It is part of the Turks' holiness," he wrote, "that they tolerate no images."[24] (There are actually letters from the Ottoman sultan, Murad III (r. 1574–94), to Queen Elizabeth I underlining similar parallels between the two faiths, Islam and Protestantism.)[25]

Zwingli's rhetoric of iconomachy (hostility to images as objects of worship), meanwhile, was singular in relation to earlier reformers like Karlstadt and particularly Luther. It pivoted on argumentative antitheses between internal/external elements of worship. Zwingli's acolyte Jud would later radicalize this antipodal approach. Jud followed on earlier arguments published by Swiss reformers like Ludwig Haetzer to defend image-removal through a contrast between the Old and New Testament ideas of image. As Jud put it at public disputes in Zurich in 1523, the Annunciation had brought about the idea of the *internal* cults; figural likenesses of the holy were redundant, since God existed in real bodily form on earth.[26] Iconodules countered that images were (in fact) sanctioned by the Old Testament—consider, they said, those sculptural encrustations described in Exodus 25:18, adorning the Ark of the Covenant: the "two cherubs of gold." As the disputation was recorded, Jud replied that such cherubim were but "ornamentation and decoration on the cornice [*sunder ein gläns und gezierd am kranzwerk*]" and hence ordained by God. The cherubim, that is, were not images ("*Dise cherubim sind ghein bilder*").[27] They were superadded and were something else.

Misuse of Matter

What, then? In practice, of course, iconoclasm was rarely a theology. In 1522, again in Zurich, not far from Schwanden, a local resident named Lorentz Meyger heard a lay sermon and then entered a local church, St. Peter's. He approached the church warden and said ". . . that it would please him very much if the chaplain would knock all the idols off the altar with the candlesticks, because there were so many poor people who sat in front of the churches and elsewhere, and had very little but must suffer great hunger and drudgery, who could easily be helped with such decorations; for one can easily find in Ambrose that such decorations are food for the poor."[28]

While the pastor did not, we know from trial records, do anything, a preacher advised the town council in 1523 to ban "the silver, gold, or otherwise bejeweled images"[29] in that same church. In many Swiss cities, it was worry over this kind of conspicuous consumption that fueled iconoclasm proper. In 1524, a Zurich weaver actually broke into the Fraumünster church to smash liturgical oil lamps—a contemporary pamphleteer called them *ölgotzen* (oil-idols)—countering that while in the liturgy such lamps were adornment, for the poor their contents provided warmth.[30] The charge of cancelled fungibility became a frequent vector for discussions of, and actions toward, "ornament" specifically. In Münster in 1534, iconoclasts made a point to break only sculptures that could not be repurposed within the cathedral, and to carry off others specifically for use as building materials.[31] The year before, in Augsburg, Zwingli's follower Michael Keller had taken off "two large wagonloads of ornaments [2 *gross geladen wägen mit ornat*] and precious instruments . . . to be bought and sold for worldly purposes."[32] This kind of recycling represented the most concrete example of ornament being turned into something else. During Elizabeth's reign in England, preachers sold scrap lead and tin culled from "the roofs of ecclesiastical buildings, old bells and broken metals statuary" to the Ottoman forces fighting the pope; we know that they were actually used for casting canons and ammunition.[33] And even in the Schwanden piece (see fig. 12.2), the Annunciate's garment is scarred with a different kind of stroke than the faces, hands, and host above. This is because after the altarpiece was attacked and temporarily drowned, the valuable blue ultramarine was carefully stripped off and sold.

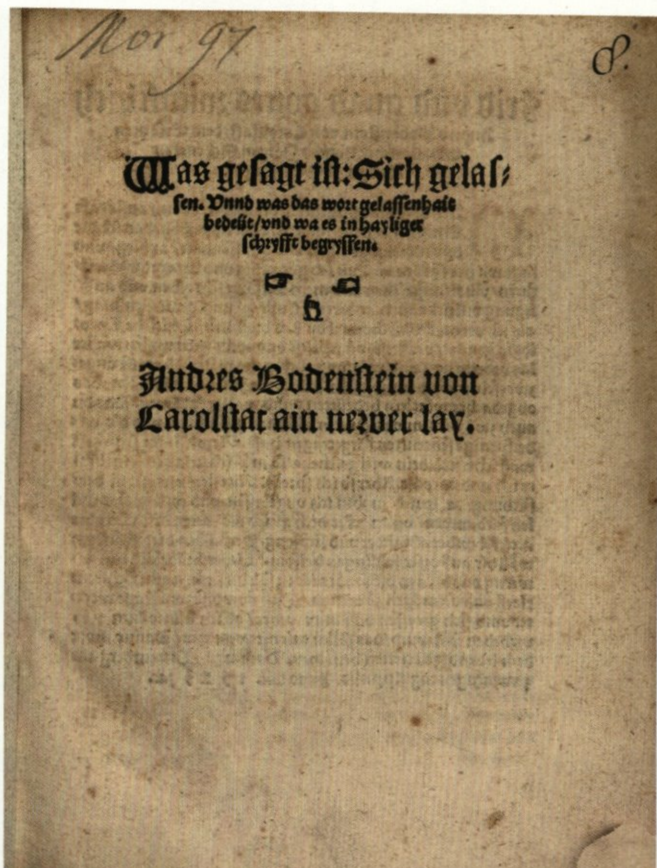
In such cases, interaction was stirred by luxuriously decorated surfaces. As much as the "faces" in images were the bits needing theological neutralization and punishment, the "ornamental" areas, by being so unspecific, were the easiest to get at and convert. Protestants sought not the annihilation of the artwork so much as a defusing of its status as sensory entreaty, often *deliberately* leaving scars and signs of removal on the surface as a powerful reminder of transformation. Specifically crucial to Swiss theology was the Old Testament idea of the *Deus abscondis*, the hidden God, who can be dealt with "only as clothed and displayed in his word."[34] Describing later English iconoclasm, a visiting Dutch Calvinist summed up how iconoclastic acts did not so much cancel ornament as subtractively leave it behind to create a new idol, a god of sheer material: "popish ornament of all *remaineth* but is utterly defaced, broken in pieces and put to profane uses,"[35] he wrote. The punished and hammered faces, as van Vaernewijck had detailed, were scrubbed back into supplementarity, and God's hiddenness was thereby restored.

Not Broken but Gone

Reformation images were rarely attacked outright but more commonly stowed, displaced, and put away. Perhaps the most notorious condemnation of images, published by Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt in 1522, spoke not (just) of images being obliterated but of their *Abtuhung*—their banishment or prohibition.[36] This is an important distinction. In many ways Karlstadt was recalling late-medieval liturgical drama's "burials" of Christ—rituals that, too, aimed to point to the deadness of an *image* of God, rather than of God himself.[37] In January 1529 in Augsburg, a cleric described iconoclasts laying images in a cathedral crypt and "covering them with planks." As his chronicle lamented, "[T]hey took away from us what else belonged to us in the way of vestments, books, chalices and so on and had it shut away."[38]

Crucial, in fact to Karlstadt's theology was the ambiguous idea of *Gelassenheit*, a quiet "letting-be" or "yielding" or "detachment." *Gelassen*, in one sense, bespoke that notion of self-annulling and surrender familiar from numerous faiths. Yet for Karlstadt, *gelassen* was an active, ongoing process of severing—one which, if stopped to reflect upon, was faultily pursued: "You must cut away (*abschneyden*) everything from your heart and you must sweep your house clean."[39] And further: "You must not concern yourself with your detachment . . . you must not stand still when you ought to flee. If you were yielded in an active manner, you would not desire and love either your suffering or your works, so that nothing might be seen or noted in your mind."[40]

Iconoclastic acts, we can recall, are anything *but* a tranquil letting-go. But *Gelassenheit* for Karlstadt—as the term was for earlier German mystics like Master Eckhart, and later mystics like Heidegger and Schopenhauer—mandated disengagement from bodily schemes of image-formation, from modes of vision hinging on the restaging, the re-presentation, of the known or seen.[41] Images, Karlstadt writes in a gloss on Isaiah, "are nothing."[42] The second edition of a Karlstadt pamphlet, printed at Augsburg



Was gesagt ist: Sich gelas-
sen. Vnnd was das wort gelassenhait
bedeüt/vnd wa es in hayliger
schryfft begryffen.

Andres Bodenstein von
Carolstat ain newer lay.

Fig. 12.7. Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, title page from *Was gesagt ist: Sich gelassen, und was das Wort gelassenhait bedeut . . .*, 1523. Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.

in 1523, even pictured this with a design on its cover page (fig. 12.7); beneath the letterpress title, three disembodied right hands encircle a little void, pointing at, literally, nothing. The hands summon the letting-go urged by the tract itself, and almost suggest the condition of sensory blankness at the center of true faith.

Defusion through Reuse

Beginning in the 1540s, there even developed a curious practice in certain Swiss locales of publically displaying defaced statues or incorporating them in walls. A sandstone sculpture from Bern made in about 1480 (fig. 12.8) was used as building material in a mid-sixteenth-century house. Such an object functions as symbolic evidence of idols vanquished. And yet mutilated—but not *destroyed*—this mitred figure seen now, with part of its cope untouched while its face and hands are cut away, tacks inconsistently between depiction and material, effigy and stone. It upends the presumed hierarchy of material transformed over material *qua* stuff. As spolia, the attacked sculpture shows this not, as is often said, by replacing the figural with the "abstract" or by shutting down the idea that conventional vision is of any use in the appreciation of the divine.[43] The iconoclast submerges—not destroys—figuration, hides it, puts it away; what remains becomes no longer auxiliary but the cipher for what is unseen, a god only dimly apprehended, and who can only be perceived through fragments, a god who no longer "glitters."

For polemicists this was often not an idealist question of essence versus appearance, or of sign and referent, but the theatricalizing of the *dimly* visible. In this, what now seems like adornment may—in subsisting in an *eclipse* from conventional visibility (in ways Gottfried Semper once articulated[44])—have suggested to

Fig. 12.8. *Bishop*, Upper Rhenish, ca. 1480/1490, sandstone. Switzerland, private collection.

some Reformers what a visuality untethered from "image" might be. The process is best summarized by Siegfried Kracauer (writer not just on ornament but also on Luther), who spoke of "the revelation of the negative."[45]

In this light, then, Luther's most significant contribution to the image debate might have been his shrugging indifference to it: his ruling that images are neither evil nor necessary, intrinsic nor extrinsic, inside nor outside, up nor down, supplement nor core. This was far more damaging to the traditional priority of images in the cosmic hierarchy than outright bans. And yet Luther's lack of any detailed commentary on material shapes, or *figurae*, spelled a dangerous separation of words and things in Reformed thought.[46] Luther, that is, felt that images were so self-evidently artificial that he need not even address their potential danger; for him, figuration was purely a matter of language. In this, Luther and many followers neglected the mysterious and fearful facets of the *art*-image, opening space for others to have their say on the matter of *figurae*'s potential enchantment by ornament. And this they did, often with picks, chisels, and hammers.

Rarely is the "portability" of ornament underlined so emphatically as in early modern iconomachy, where decoration, like images, was almost never completely annihilated, and far more frequently stashed or carried away. Today, many of the artworks that survived iconoclasm are endlessly reproduced, enfolded into a larger spectacle culture. Image defacement hinged on the idea of a difference between two functional registers—the superadded and the magical—registers inextricably cohabiting in the same image, and to the quixotic and ultimately architectonic idea that devotion was increased around vacuums.[47] The defaced image was no longer an entreaty. Seen adjacent to gouges of wood, ornament was permitted to stay, because it got closer to one truth of painting; its flatness. Indeed, subsequent English Reformers—among the most vehement of iconoclasts—revived Jewish law's old distinction between protuberant and flat images: "the worse and more flat the work is," wrote Thomas Tenison in the seventeenth century, justifying earlier image-breaking, "the less danger there is of its abuse."[48] Tenison's contemporaries cited Maimonides, the twelfth-century philosopher, by name on this point.[49]

Ornament produced marks closer to physical inscribing, which, seen now, neatly allegorize the supposedly Protestant conversion of image to language. But laid bare with this was not some prescient critique of representation, but the illegitimacy of universally readable art/ornament or original/modified taxonomies. These are the hierarchies that Loos's "Ornament and Crime" essay resonantly established as ones of enmity or, more precisely, illegality, casting back in time a discourse that was, and is, rightly political. Image breakers are historically stunning image-makers and are consistently beguiled by those specters they claim to abhor. Yet as Marx's teacher Feuerbach stated, negation is never absolute; even fundamentalist fantasies of censorship or art-historical myths of objectivity will always be just that much ornament, undetachable from the real-world materiality of the *thing* that, once defacement is complete, always remains.

89. For the recently established provenance of the so-called Kubachi wares and tiles in Qumisheh, a village of Isfahan to which ʿAbbas I moved the Safavid capital in the 1590s, see Lisa Golombek (project director and editor), Robert B. Mason, Patricia Proctor, and Eileen Reilly, *Persian Pottery in the First Global Age: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), esp. 170–81. However, it is unclear when the many vessels found in Kubachi came there and whether some of them were produced in Tabriz as well as other places. On the role of Tabriz, "a claimant for part of the Kubachi wares," and of Azerbaijan before ca. 1550 in the dissemination of Safavid mass produced ceramics to Hungary, through the Black Sea via the land route of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were Ottoman vassals, see Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary*, 69–84, esp. 71, 77. For the impact of Iznik ceramics on late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century polychrome Kubachi wares, and their former attribution to Tabriz (reconquered by Shah ʿAbbas I from the Ottomans, who had occupied it between 1585 and 1603), see Denny, *Iznik*, 180; and Yolande Crowe, "La céramique dite de Kubatcha et la collection de T. B. Whitney," in *Purs décors? Arts d'Islam, regards du XIX siècle; Collections des Arts Decoratifs*, exh. cat., ed. Remi Labrusse (Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs and Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007), 198–203, esp. 201–2.

90. Quoted from Fra Sabba da Castiglione in Elizabeth Miller, "Prints," in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat., ed. Martha Ajmar-Wollheim and Flora Dennis (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2006), 329; see also Anna Contadini, "Middle Eastern Objects," in ibid., 308–21, and her chapter in the present volume.

91. Claus-Peter Haase, "Foreword," in *Ottoman Rugs in Transylvania*, exh. cat., ed. Stefano Ionescu (Berlin: Museum für Islamische Kunst, 2007), 5; Beate Wild, "Transylvania, a World of Diversity between Worlds," in ibid., 7–21; and Evelin Wetter and Ágnes Ziegler, "Osmanische Textilien in der Repräsentationskultur des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Patriziats," in *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Robert Born and Sabine Jagodzinski, Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia, no. 14 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014), 269–85.

92. For the anti-Trinitarian Adam Neuser, who fled to the Ottoman Empire, converted to Islam, and became the leader of a group of German converts to Islam in Istanbul, see the diary of the Lutheran priest of the Austrian Habsburg embassy in the Ottoman capital, Stephan Gerlach (1573–78), cited in Krstic, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam," 48n50. She also discusses the Hungarian convert and court interpreter Murad b. Abdullah, who harbored Unitarian sympathies and celebrated the unity of God in hymns written in Ottoman Turkish, Latin, and Hungarian.

93. Walter B. Denny, *The Classical Tradition in Anatolian Carpets*, exh. cat. (Washington DC: Textile Museum, 2002), 53–55, 108–9.

94. Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 100–101, 243 (cat. 20).

95. Ibid., 180–81, 233 (cat. 12 and 13). Selmin Kangal, ed., *Osmanlı Sarayı'nda Rusya / Russia in the Ottoman Palace*, exh. cat. (Istanbul: Topkapı Palace Publications, 2010), esp. 32–35, 224. See also gifts sent to the tsars from the Ottoman and Safavid courts in the exhibition catalogue *The Tsars and the East: Gifts from Turkey and Iran in the Moscow Kremlin* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2009).

96. Julia Gonnella and Jens Kröger, eds., *Angels, Peonies, and Fabulous Creatures: The Aleppo Room in Berlin* (Rhema: Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2008); and Julia Gonnella, *Ein christlich-orientalisches Wohnhaus des 17. Jahrhunderts aus Aleppo (Syrien): Das "Aleppo Zimmer" im Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Mainz am Rhein: P. Von Zabern, 1996).

97. The unpublished decrees dated 959 (1552) are in the Topkapı Palace Library, K. 888, fols. 292r–293r, 438r–v, 458v. Later decrees are cited in Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 170–71.

98. For gift exchange between the Ottoman and Safavid courts, see Sinem Arcak, "Gifts in Motion: Ottoman-Safavid Cultural Exchange, 1501–1618" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2012).

99. Andreas Tietze, "Mustafa ʿAli on Luxury and the Status Symbols of Ottoman Gentlemen," in *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, ed. Aldo Galotta and Ugo Marazzi (Rome: Herder, 1982), 577–90. Not meant for a wide public, the textile and carpet trade of Safavid Iran was largely oriented toward neighboring regions rather than Europe, including the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Bukhara. Increasing in popularity during the seventeenth century, Safavid luxury goods mostly reached Hungary via the Ottoman Empire, which did not allow Iran to trade directly with the West. For luxurious Safavid silk carpets captured by Hungarians as booty from the Ottomans, particularly after the second siege of Vienna in 1683, and the observation that "Persian art was habitually displayed by Ottomans as part of their own accoutrement," see Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary*, 41–48, 55, 62, 143. On Safavid Iran's foreign relations and the silk trade, see Willem Floor and Edmund Herzig, eds., *Iran and the World at Large in the Safavid Age* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); and Rudolph P. Mathee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver 1600–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Thanks to the maritime networks of the Portuguese, Safavid carpets were collected in the second half of the sixteenth century by Portuguese royal and elite patrons; see Jessica Hallett, "Carpet, Painting and Text," in *The Oriental Carpet in Portugal: Carpets and Paintings, 15th–18th Centuries*, exh. cat. (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2007), 40–45.

100. Iskandar Munshī, *History of Shah ʿAbbas the Great*, 1:164. On Ottoman and European silk textiles sent in 1560 as gifts by Sultan Süleyman to Shah Tahmasp, when the rebel Ottoman prince Bayezid sought refuge in Qazvin, see Gürsu, *The Art of Turkish Weaving*, 195.

101. Tietze, "Mustafa ʿAli on Luxury," 577–90. On the graded quality levels in Ottoman fabrics, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 165, 220–25. The concept of decorum in residential architecture and the stratified ranking of luxury goods are discussed in Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 115–17, 120.

102. Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 171.

103. Five named master tile makers from Iznik were ordered to be sent to the sultan's court with their tools and implements in 978 (1570); see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, MAD 14, no. 819, p. 576. Ten named master carpet weavers from Cairo were ordered to come to the sultan's court in 993 (1585) with a supply of died wool; see Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1553–1591)* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 133, no. 54. For the unpublished decree recruiting five named painter-decorators from Chios in 1573, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 242, 534n310.

104. For Chios textiles, see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 172–75, 251–52.

105. Sheila R. Canby, ed., *Shah Abbas: The Remaking of Iran* (London: British Museum Press, 2009).

Chapter 12

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Koerner's comments on an earlier version of this chapter, which I presented as a talk at Harvard in April 2012, were invaluable. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in what follows are my own.

1. Marcus van Vaernewijck, *Mémoires d'un patricien gantois du XVIe siècle: Troubles religieux en Flandre et dans les Pays-Bas au XVIe siècle* (Ghent: N. Heins, 1905–6), 1:103: "Les briseurs d'images grattaient les yeux et les visages des peintures . . ."; and 1:128: "[ils] cognaient et grattaient les figures des statues . . ."; and 1:141: "Ils s'acharnérent surtout aux visages."

2. See Joseph Koerner, "The Icon as Iconoclash," in *Iconoclash*, ed. Bruno Latour and Pieter Weibel (Karlsruhe: ZKM, 2002), 179: "the eyes, mouth and hands [were] organs of sight, speech and action . . . places of the image's purported power."

3. Anna M. Kim, "Creative Iconoclasms in Renaissance Italy," in *Striking Images: Iconoclasms Past and Present*, ed. Stacey Boldrick et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 65–80.

4. Jürg Davatz, *Glarner Heimatbuch: Geschichte* (Glarus: Kantonaler Lehrmittelverlag, 1980), 74.

5. The Schwanden events seem to have constituted Protestant retaliation for a Catholic mob's vandalizing of a Lutheran pastor's home. See Carlos Eire, *War against the Idols* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 114.

6. Valentin Tschudi, *Chronik der Reformationsjahre 1521–1533* (Bern: K. J. Wyss, 1889), 35, doc. 80: "truogend dus den merteil bilder und wurfend si in de Lint." See also Cécile Dupeux et al., eds., *Bildersturm: Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille?*, exh. cat. (Bern: Historisches Museum, 2000), 340. The river dunking, as a kind of mock baptism, was actually a mode of image-defacement in Swiss towns; see Donald A. MacColl, "*Ad fontes*: Iconoclasm by Water in the Reformation World," in *The Idol in the Age of Art*, ed. Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 183–213.

7. Gottfried Heer, *Ulrich Zwingli als Pfarrer in Glarus* (Zurich: Friedrich Schultheiss, 1884).

8. "Hierumb so sind die Bild nit ze dulden; den alles, das got verboten hat, das ist nit ein mittelding," (*Huldrych Zwinglis sämtliche Werke* [Leipzig: M. Heinsius, 1908], 2:708, lines 22–24). On Zwingli and the image debate in 1523, see C. Carside, *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966); and M. Senn, "Bilder und Götzen: Die Zürcher Reformation zur Bilderfrage," in *Züricher Kunst nach der Reformation*, exh. cat., ed. Marianne Naegeli et al. (Zurich: Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, 1981), 33–38.

9. ". . . mit lumpen angehenckt, geziert und geschmuckt wie ein kautzen, damit man vögel zum fang reytzet . . ." (cited in Gerhard Hirschmann, *Die Kirchenvisitation im Landgebiet der Reichsstadt Nürnberg 1560 und 1561* [Neustadt a. d. Aisch: In Kommission bei Degener, 1994], 134).

10. Richard Trexler, "Die Heiligen neue Kleider: Eine analytische Skizze zur Be- und Entkleidung von Statuen," in *Gepeinigt, begehrt, vergessen: Symbolik und Sozialbezug des Körpers im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Nobert Schnitzler (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1992), 367–68.

11. Maarten Delbeke, "The Altar and the Idol: Housing Miracle-Working Statues in the Southern Netherlands," in *Machinae spirituales: Les retables baroques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux*, ed. Ralph Dekoninck and Brigitte d'Hainaut-Zveny (Brussels: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, 2014), 224.

12. See, for example, Martin Luther, *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe; Schriften: Weihnachtspostille 1522* (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–), 10:35.

13. Cited in Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 110n27.

14. Emser, in *A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser and Eck on Sacred Images*, ed. Bryan D. Mangrum and Giuseppe Scavizzi (Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1998), 93.

15. In Münster in 1532, the preacher Bernhard Rothmann described how "der ausgelassenen evangelischen Freiheit, und von der Abschaffung der Abgötter, welche die Zuhörer dergestalt erhitze, das sie sogleich in alle Pfarrkirchen der Stadt einfielen, die Behältnisse der Abendmahlsgefässe zernichten, die Vorhänge der Altäre gerissen, die Bilder zerbrachen, den ganzen alten Schmuck der Kirchen wegnahmen." (The riotous evangelical freedom and the abolition of idols so inflamed the audience that they immediately invaded all the parish churches of the city, wrecked the communion vessels, tore the altar curtains, broke the images, and took away the old decorations of the churches.) Quoted in Martin Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte? Die Bilderstürme der Wiedertäufer in Münster 1534–1535," in *Bildersturm: Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerkes*, ed. Martin Warnke (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1973), 72.

16. Van Vaernewijck, *Mémoires*, 1:64–66.

17. Marlène Albert-Llorca has suggested that the production and fitting of such figures in the Low Countries offered a community-building process, an act of social enmeshment physically symbolized by weaving. See Albert-Llorca, *Les Vierges miraculeuses: Légendes et rituels* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), 121.

18. H. Hens et al., eds. *Mirakelen van Onze Lieve Vrouw te 's-Hertogenbosch 1381–1603* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1978), 34–39.

19. Vera Sussmann, "Maria mit dem Schutzmantel," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1929): 285–351.

20. ". . . soviel Gebete beteiligt ihr mir gesprochen habt, soviele Blumen finden an diesem Mantel." Gertrude of Helfta (first published in 1539 by Johannes Landesperger), quoted in Thomas Lentes, "Die Gewänder der Heiligen: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zum Verhältnis von Gebet, Bild, und Imagination" in *Hagiographie und Kunst*, ed. Gottfried Kirscher (Berlin: Reimer, 1993), 150n98.

21. Susan Verdi Webster, "Shameless Beauty and Worldly Splendor: On the Spanish Practice of Adorning the Virgin," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 249–71.

22. Delbeke, "The Altar and the Idol," 225.

23. Luther, *Werke*, 10:35.

24. Ibid., 30:128: "Zu den heiligkeit gehört auch das [The Turk] keine bilder leidet." This, according to Luther, placed them above the (hypocritical) iconoclasts in Germany: "Den unser bilden stürmer leiden und haben gerne bilder auff den gulden, grosschen, ringen und fleinoten. Aber der Turck gar keine, Münzet eitel buchstaben auff seine münze." (It is part of the Turk's holiness to tolerate no images. For our iconoclasts tolerate and cherish images on coins, rings, and ornaments, but the Turk tolerates none of this and stamps nothing but letters on his coins.)

25. The Ottomans actively supported the Protestant movement to weaken the Catholic Church and papacy. See Gerald Maclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 45–49.

26. Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (London: Routledge, 1993), 53–54.

27. *Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*, 2:697, lines 5–6.

28. Emil Egli, ed., *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519–1533* (Zurich: J. Schabelitz, 1879; reprint, Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1973), 159 (doc. 414): "dann es wär so mänigs arms mentsch, das vor den kilchen und sunst allenthalb sässe und weder umb noch an hett, sonders grossen hunger und arbentseligkeit liden müesste, mit welichen kostlichen zierden denselben wol geholfen möcht werden, dann man heiter finde in Ambrosio, dass solich gezierden syg ein spis der armen." On the Meyger episode, see Lee Palmer Wandel, "Iconoclasts in Zürich," in *Bilder und Bildersturm in Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Robert Scribner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 126–28.

29. *Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*, 2:814: "silbrinen, guldinen oder sust zierlichen bild . . ."

30. Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 70n56.

31. Warnke, "Durchbrochene Geschichte?," 79.

32. *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte Augsburg, 4 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, 23)* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1894), 340. Keller is discussed in Emily Fisher Grey, "Lutheran Churches and Confessional Competition in Augsburg," in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 39–62.

33. The pope had banned the sale of lead to the Ottomans. See Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 179; and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 41.

34. Martin Luther, as cited and translated in John Dillenberger, ed., *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1961), 191.

35. Edward Peacock, ed., *Inventarium monumentorum superstitionis: English Church Furniture, Ornaments and Decorations, at the Period of the Reformation; As Exhibited in a List of the Goods Destroyed in Certain Lincolnshire Churches, A.D. 1566* (London: J. C. Hotten, 1866), 51. Emphasis added.

36. Andreas Karlstadt, *Von abtuhung der Bilder und das keyn Bedtler unther den Christen seyn sollen* (Wittenberg: Nickell Schyrlentz, 1522).

37. Amy Powell, "A Machine for All Souls: Allegory before and after Trent," in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, ed. Marcia B. Hall and Tracey E. Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 273–94, esp. 278–85.

38. ". . . dasselbe [panels and paintings] alles in die frust gelegt und mit prettern verschlagen . . . doch daneben haben sie uns, was unse sonst zügehorig von ornanten, bichern, felchen und anderm hinweg nemen und einschlagen lassen." In *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. Bis. 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: G. Hirzelm, 1906), 29:76n3. I owe this reference to Bridget Heal.

39. Andreas Karlstadt, *Was gesagt ist: Sich gelassen und was das Wort Gelassenhait bedeut und wa es in Haliger Schryfft begryffen* (N.p., 1523), fol. D1r: "Dabey verstee wie du alle ding must gelassen / oder von deinem hertzen abschneyden / und dein hauss rayn keren" (for English translation, see E. J. Furcha, *The Essential Karlstadt* [Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1995], 151). On Karlstadt's understanding of *Gelassenheit* in the tract, see Ulrich Bubenheimer, "Karlstadtrezeption von der Reformation bis Pietismus im Spiegel der Schriften Karlstadts zur Gelassenheit" in *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541), ein Theologe der frühen Reformation*, ed. Sigrid Looss and Markus Matthias (Wittenberg: Drei Kastanien Verlag, 1998), 25–71.

40. Ibid. fol. B3v: "du dich deiner gelassenheit nit an nemest . . . unnd das du nitt da steest / da du uber fliehen solltest Ob du in thuender unnd würcctender weyss werest gelassen gewest, und hottest weder in deinem gemüette gasr nichts gesehen oder geacht / und gedachtest bey dir" (trans. in the *Essential Karlstadt*, 143).

41. U. Dierse, "Gelassenheit," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. Joachim Ritter (Basel: Schwabe und Co., 1974), vol. 3, pp. 219–24, cols. 219–20.

42. On this passage and Karlstadt's "legalistic hermeneutic" in the tract, see Neil R. Leroux, "'In the Christian City of Wittenberg': Karlstadt's Tract on Images and Begging," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34, no. 1 (2003): 73–105.

43. Sven Lütticken, "Gert Jan Kocken en de kunst van het iconoclasme," *SMBA Newsletter* 100 (2007): n.p.

44. See the chapter by Spyros Papapetros in this volume.

45. Siegfried Kracauer, "Der Künstler in dieser Zeit" (1925), in *Schriften*, ed. Inka Mülder-Bach (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990), vol. 5.1, p. 305.

46. Ann Kibbey, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 74–77.

47. Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), 111–13.

48. Thomas Tenison, *Of Idolatry: A Discourse, in Which Is Endeavored a Declaration of, Its Distinction from Superstition, Its Notion, Cause, Commencement, and Progress* (London: Francis Tyton, 1678), 267; cited in Michael Gaudio, "The Space of Idolatry: Reformation, Iconoclasm, and the Ethnographic Image," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 41 (2002): 87.

49. See, for example, Henry Hammond, *Of Idolatry* (Oxford: Henry Hall, 1646), 17–19.

Chapter 13

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I presented this study at the conference "Ornament: Between Globalism and Localism," Harvard University, April 2012. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own; I would like to thank Alina Payne for reviewing this work.

1. John George Keysler, "Letter IX ('Churches, and Other Religious Edifices at Naples')," in *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, and Lorrain: Giving a True and Just Description of the Present State of Those Countries . . .* (London: A. Linde, 1756–57), 378–431, esp. 380, quoted in Sabina de Cavi, "Applied Arts in Naples: Materials and Artistic Techniques from Micro to Macrocosmos," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 19, no. 2 (Fall–Winter 2012): 196–230. For Keysler on Naples, see Alvar Gonzales Palacios, "Un adornamento vicereale per Napoli," in *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, exh. cat., ed. Silvia Cassani (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1984), 253.

2. Luigi Alfonso, *Tomaso Orsolino e altri artisti di "Natione lombarda" a Genova e in Liguria dal sec. XIV al XIX* (Genoa: Biblioteca Franzoniana, 1986).

3. Agostino Del Riccio, *Istoria delle pietre* (1597; Turin: Allemandi, 1996).

4. Raniero Gnoli, "Introduzione," in *Marmi Antichi*, ed. Gabriele Borghini (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2004), 13–17.

5. Anthony Blunt, *Neapolitan Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (London: Zwemmer, 1975), 74. For studies on architecture in Naples in this period, see Gaetana Cantone, *Napoli barocca* (Rome: Laterza, 1992); Daniela del Pesco, "Il viceregno spagnolo nell'Italia meridionale" in del