

Power, Faith, and Pictures

Frans Hogenberg's Account of the *Beeldenstorm*¹

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121

Frans Hogenberg's depiction of the *Beeldenstorm* is one of the most popular and influential visual accounts of iconoclasm. However, it has been considered controversial in Academia due to the account's complex visual rhetoric. To tackle this complexity this contribution offers a close reading of Hogenberg's depiction as an historical source by exploring its various references and allusions. The printed image allows historians to gain insights into the religious and political culture of the second half of the sixteenth century. This essay argues that Hogenberg's account of the *Beeldenstorm* is a reflection on the power of images and its limitations. As such, the print was directly involved in the battle of how to understand contemporary religious and political conflicts. Although the account appeals to a heterogeneous audience, it depicts the *Beeldenstorm* in neither a neutral nor in an objective way, but from a position of religious compromise and secular unanimity.

Macht, geloof, en afbeeldingen. Frans Hogenbergs uitbeelding van de Beeldenstorm
Frans Hogenbergs uitbeelding van de Beeldenstorm is een van bekendste en invloedrijkste visuele weergaven van iconoclasmie. Binnen het academisch onderzoek hebben echter verhitte discussies gewoed als gevolg van de gecompliceerde visuele retoriek in de afbeelding. Om deze complexiteit te ontfaan hanteert dit artikel een nauwkeurige lezing van de afbeelding als historische bron en onderzoekt het de verschillende verwijzingen en zinspelingen er in. De afbeelding verschaft historici de mogelijkheid inzicht te krijgen in de religieuze en politieke cultuur van de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw. Het artikel stelt dat Hogenbergs weergave van de Beeldenstorm een reflectie is op de kracht van beelden en hun beperkingen. De gravure was als zodanig zelf onderdeel van de strijd over de vraag hoe de religieuze en politieke conflicten van die tijd moesten worden begrepen. Hoewel de afbeelding uiteenlopende toeschouwers



Nach wenig Predication
Die Calwische Religion

Das bildens surmen fiengen an
Das nicht ein bildt dauon bleib span
Anno Dñj. M. D. LXXVij. XX August

Kap. Montfrantz, kilch, auch die altar
Und wess sonst dort vor handen war.

Zerbrochen all in kurzer fundt
Gleich gar vil leuten das ist fundt.

▲
Frans Hogenberg (1535-1590), The Iconoclasm (1566).
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

wil aanspreken, geeft zij de Beeldenstorm niet op een neutrale of objectieve wijze weer, maar vanuit een stellingname voor een religieus compromis en seculiere eensgezindheid.

Two long ropes are tied around the statue's neck and feet. Six men are pulling it down from its high pedestal. Two other sculptures are already lying shattered on the church floor, their heads and limbs hacked off. A chest is broken open with hammer and chisel: another is already cleared of its contents. Not far from the shattered lid, a chalice and a candle holder are lying on the ground. Two men are tearing a vestment apart, while a third destroys books. Another man is balancing on a ladder, a club ready to strike, eager to smash the church window. At the back a winged altar is hit by heavy blows. There are two ropes fixed to the crucifix in order to pull it down. Along with all the other objects associated with Catholic worship, every single image in the church is being destroyed, whether they are made of wood, glass or stone.

This iconoclasm is shown on a broadsheet that was printed and offered for sale in Cologne in 1570.² It was made by the Dutch Protestant Frans Hogenberg and has become one of the best known representations of the iconoclastic riots that took place in the Low Countries during the so called 'Wonder Year' 1566.³

Hogenberg's etching depicts both the religious images and how they are attacked. As an image of image destruction it is reacting to the ostentatious violence against material representations of holiness. The observer not only sees the violent actions of the iconoclasts, but also the condemned images that are being destroyed. The iconoclastic violence aimed at demonstrating the sacral powerlessness of the images in order to curb or even disturb their effect on men, for in the perspective of the iconoclasts, cult images could

1 This article originated from a paper given in May 2014 at the 'Europe 1300-1700' seminar, at the University of Leiden. I am indebted to Judith Pollmann, her research team and the audience for commenting on the subject of this article. Earlier thoughts on the subject were presented in Peter Burschel's and Johannes Helmrath's colloquium at Humboldt University Berlin.

2 Franz Hogenberg and Abraham Hogenberg, 'Geschichtsblätter', Fritz Hellwig (ed.) (Nördlingen 1983) 111. A newer, but smaller edition is Frans Hogenberg, 'Broadsheets. Vol. 1: Plates', in: Ursula Mielke and Ger Luijten (eds.),

The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700, vol. 21 (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2009) 60.

3 The most extensive account is given by Fritz Hellwig, 'Einführung', in: Fritz Hellwig (ed.), *Franz Hogenberg – Abraham Hogenberg. Geschichtsblätter* (Nördlingen 1983) 7-31. For the wide reception of the print see Alastair C. Duke, 'Calvinists and "Papist Idolatry": The Mentality of the Image-Breakers in 1566', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Farnham 2009) 179-197, here 179.

seduce their viewers into mistaking the depiction for the depicted.⁴ This argument was not new, but in the sixteenth century the representation of transcendence once again became an issue.⁵ To believe in the sacred power of images had become a focal point where the differences between the developing confessional churches became apparent.⁶ The ostentatious destruction of sacred images therefore meant an open and provocative assault on what was seen in the pictures on the other side of the confessional divide.⁷ However, both the Catholic cult of images and the Protestant iconoclasm were based on the assumption that images could motivate people to act in certain ways. No matter whether one attributed a sacred quality to them or not, they were believed to exert power.⁸ Hence, in the Age of Religious Wars the representations of the sacred were at the same time both *object* and *means* of the conflict.⁹ By visualising the iconoclastic activities, the Hogenberg print negotiates the contradictory positions of the controversy on how images are able to affect their viewers.¹⁰

This raises the question of how Hogenberg's broadsheet depicts the event. Which means of visual composition and rhetorical strategies to represent the *Beeldenstorm* have been applied in the print? Is the print advocating a position in the current conflict? By answering these questions, this essay seeks insights into the religious and political culture of the later sixteenth century. Since the Dutch Revolt was predominantly shaped by how people perceived and communicated the on-going events, the analysis of Hogenberg's print promises to contribute to a better understanding not only of the *Beeldenstorm* as one of its main turning points, but also of the conflicts that followed.¹¹

4 For a general discussion of the relationship between Calvinism and art see Daniel W. Hardy, 'Calvinism and the Visual Arts: A Theological Introduction', in: Paul Corby Finney (ed.), *Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge 1999) 1-16. The theological arguments are recapitulated by Carlos M.N. Eire, 'The Reformation Critique of the Image', in: Robert W. Scribner (ed.), *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 1990) 51-68.

5 Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich 2004).

6 Robert W. Scribner, 'Volksfrömmigkeit und Formen visueller Wahrnehmung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit', in: Lyndal Roper (ed.), *Religion und Kultur in Deutschland 1400-1800* (Göttingen 2002) 120-146.

7 Guido Marnef, 'The Dynamics of Reformed Religious Militancy: The Netherlands, 1566-1585', in: Philip Benedict et al. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585* (Amsterdam 1999) 51-68, here 54.

8 Duke, 'Calvinists and "Papist Idolatry"', 190.

9 See for instance, Harry Oelke, *Die Konfessionsbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel illustrierter Flugblätter* (Berlin 1992) who analyses how popular prints helped to establish confessional churches.

10 Such an artistic self-reflection of paintings after the Wonder Year of 1566 has already been examined by Koenraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum 1566-1585* (New Haven, London 2012).

11 Duke, 'Introduction', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Farnham 2009) 1-7,

So far there has been no research done on the Hogenberg prints as a whole. Although Hogenberg's etchings are virtually omnipresent in the literature on the Dutch Revolt, the complete corpus of his reports has not yet been an object of an extensive historical inquiry.¹² Instead, his prints are commonly used as mere illustrations of already known facts. That means that until now Hogenberg's accounts of the events in the Low Countries were not considered a historical source *sui generis*. The same is true for his depiction of the *Beeldenstorm*.

Art historians on the other hand, in recent years have developed an interest in Hogenberg's etchings. The representation of the iconoclasm is one of his broadsheets that from time to time is a subject of inquiry, but even in these cases the opinions are deeply divided on how to interpret the meaning of the print. Contradictory interpretations came from, for instance Werner Hofmann, Horst Bredekamp and Mia Mochizuki. While Hofmann argues that the account conveys the impression of 'Aufruhr, Raub und dunklen Machenschaften sowie eines merklichen Verlusts obrigkeitlicher Autorität'¹³, Bredekamp insists that Hogenberg presents the iconoclasm 'in Form einer eher nüchternen Bestandsaufnahme'.¹⁴ Mochizuki, on the other hand, spots 'an organized and orderly endeavor', 'a well-orchestrated demolition' and, thus, a 'sanitized version' of the iconoclasm.¹⁵

In order to assess these different interpretations this essay offers a close reading of Hogenberg's depiction of the *Beeldenstorm*. Firstly, essential information on Hogenberg, his workshop and the visual accounts of historical events will be compiled. This section will end by considering which insights the prints offer as historical sources in general. Secondly, Hogenberg's etching on the iconoclastic riots will be analysed. For this purpose not only the composition and design of the print will be examined but its iconography as well. Finally, this essay will consider what could be deduced with regard to the relationship between power, faith and images in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

here 5. For a general account of the beginning of the Dutch Revolt from this perspective see Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, London 2008). Daniel R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand (1566-1584)* (Zutphen 2003) analyses political broadsheets, but excludes explicitly Hogenberg's prints from his inquiry, see 18. The Habsburg side is analysed by Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam 2012).

12 The only exception is Christi M. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws. Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode*

1590-1600 (Zutphen 2005) who analyses Hogenberg's depictions among other news prints of military events from 1590 to 1600.

13 Werner Hofmann, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst (Katalog zur Ausstellung, Kunsthalle Hamburg, 11. November 1983-8. Januar 1984)* (Munich 1983) 146-147.

14 Horst Bredekamp, 'Maarten van Heemskercks Bildersturmszyklen als Angriff auf Rom', in: Robert W. Scribner (ed.), *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 1990) 203-247, here 204.

15 Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566-1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot 2008) 106-108.

The Hogenberg prints as historical sources

The broadsheet on the *Beeldenstorm* first appeared on the book market in Cologne as part of a series consisting of nineteen broadsheets and an accompanying title page.¹⁶ The series of prints deals with the beginning of the Dutch Revolt and is devoted to crucial events reaching from the *annus mirabilis* of 1566 to September 1570. The depiction of the iconoclasm is preceded by two prints. The first one covers the handing over of a petition by several hundred members of what was known as the Compromise of the Nobility to Margaret of Parma, half-sister of Philip II and his regent in the Low Countries.¹⁷ In that petition the Compromise called upon Margaret to moderate the heresy laws.¹⁸ In an attempt to avoid open conflict with large sections of the Dutch nobility, on her own authority Margaret suspended the Inquisition. This decision made it possible for clandestine Protestant churches to abandon secrecy. The second print of Hogenberg's series shows how they organised hedge preaching outside Antwerp in the summer of 1566.¹⁹ The broadsheet following the *Beeldenstorm* print covers the uproar of Calvinists near Antwerp the following year.²⁰ As a whole, the series constitute a chronological narrative that deals with the outbreak of violence, first against objects, then against people.

The title of the print series underlines the factuality of the account:

Kurtzer bericht/deß jenigen was sich ihm Niderlandt in Religionssachen/
Vnd sunst von Anno. M.D.LXVI. biß auff diß Gegenwertigen siebentzigsten Jars
zugetragen hat/mitt sampt dem Krich zwisshen Duca d. Alba vnd dem Printzen
zu Vranien/Vnd was drauß erstanden ist/alhie gar ordentlich mit Figuren/
vnd auch schriftlich/nach der blussen warheit/einem jeden zuverstan geben/
Beschrieben auß glaubwürdigen schrifftten/vnd auß dem Mundt dern/so es
selbst schier alles gesehen.²¹

Relying on trustworthy writings and the testimony of eyewitnesses, the short report would truthfully describe the recent events in the Low Countries both with pictures and words. The title of the series, thus, presents its

16 Hogenberg, 'Geschichtsblätter', 106-130.

17 Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 74-82.

18 Petition of 5 April 1566, in: Ernst H. Kossmann and A.F. Mellink (eds.), *Texts concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London, New York 1974) 62-64.

19 Hogenberg, 'Geschichtsblätter', 109-110.

20 *Ibid.*, 112.

21 *Ibid.*, 106. Translated to modern English: 'A brief account of what had happened in the

Netherlands concerning religious affairs and other things from 1566 up to this present year of 1570, including the war between the Duke of Alba and the Prince of Orange and what came out of it, properly and truthfully described with pictures and words for anybody to understand, relying on trustworthy writings and the testimony of those who saw it all themselves' (My translation, R.V.).

nineteen broadsheets as visual reports. It also makes clear that the prints were published at the end of 1570, four years after the actual *Beeldenstorm*.²²

By that time news of the iconoclastic riots had already reached the Free Imperial City of Cologne and frightened its population. The Cologne burgher and member of the city council Hermann Weinsberg noted in his family chronicle in 1566 that people were ‘very shocked’ and ‘diligently kept guard and watch’ in order to prevent iconoclastic riots in the Rhine metropolis.²³ Although Cologne at that point was not yet connected to the network of the Habsburg post, the city maintained several messengers who brought information on the *status quo* of the troubles from cities in the Low Countries.²⁴ Apart from this, many emigrants who left the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt found refuge in the Free Imperial City of Cologne and spread the news about the on-going developments at home.²⁵

Frans Hogenberg was one of them.²⁶ He had left the Low Countries at some point in the 1560s and at the end of the decade had settled in

- 22 This becomes also evident by Bernhard Fabian (ed.), ‘Die Messkataloge Georg Willers. Herbstmesse 1564 bis Herbstmesse 1573’ (Hildesheim etc. 1972) 366.
- 23 Hermann Weinsberg, ‘Gedenkboich. Liber luventutis’, in: Manfred Groten (ed.), *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Hermann Weinsbergs – Digitale Gesamtausgabe*, www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de (1 May 2015) 518r. The original text reads: ‘Zu Coln ist man dissmail seir erschreckt gewest, man hat gar flislich gut hut und wacht gehalten’. On Weinsberg see Wolfgang Herborn, ‘Die Protestanten in Schilderung und Urteil des Kölner Chronisten Hermann von Weinsberg (1518-1598)’, in: Wilfried Ehbrecht and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *Niederlande und Nordwestdeutschland* (Cologne, Vienna 1983) 136-153. For the measures of the city council see Joachim Deeters, ‘Köln als Zufluchtsort vor Herzog Alba (1570)’, in: Joachim Deeters and Klaus Miltzer (eds.), *Belgien in Köln. Eine Ausstellung des Historischen Archivs der Stadt Köln im Belgischen Haus Köln, 9. April bis 27. Mai 1981* (Cologne 1981) 71-86, here 73.
- 24 Wolfgang Behringer, ‘Köln als Kommunikationszentrum um 1600. Die Anfänge des Kölner Post- und Zeitungswesens im Rahmen der frühneuzeitlichen Medienrevolution’, in: Georg Mölich and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Köln als Kommunikationszentrum. Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgeschichte* (Cologne 2000) 183-210. For the exchange between Cologne and the Netherlands see Annie Stolp, *De eerste couranten in Holland. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der geschreven nieuwstijdingen* (Haarlem [1938]) 35-48.
- 25 Heinz Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert. Ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte* (Gütersloh 1972). For Cologne as a place of exile for Dutch artists see Ilja M. Veldman, ‘Keulen als toevluchtsoord voor Nederlandse kunstenaars (1567-1612)’, *Oud Holland* 107 (1993) 34-58. For the impact of the emigrants on the exchange of news see Cornel Zwierlein, ‘Religionskriegsmigration, Französischunterricht, Kulturtransfer und die Zeitungsproduktion im Köln des 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 37 (2010) 97-129. See additionally Geert Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge 2014).
- 26 On Hogenberg see Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, 57-67.



Gar viel vom Adell auß Brabant
Der von Parma sfellen zu handt

Zu Brüssel ein supplication
Von wegen der Religion
Anno Dñj. M. D.

Da in seie all sementlich
Begeren vndertheniglich
LXVI. VI. Aprilis.

Das die Religion seie frey.
Ohn fewr, strick swerd vnd tyranny.

▲
Frans Hogenberg, Aanbieding van het Smeekschrift van de edelen [Submission of the petition by the nobility] (1566).
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Cologne. Since he was not able to hand in a testimony from his home parish proving that he was Catholic he was actually banned from the city. However, he managed to stay in Cologne somehow, perhaps due to the intercession of one of his well-established friends in the city's book trade.²⁷ In 1579, he was sentenced to pay a fine because he had not only attended underground meetings of a secret Protestant congregation, but also because he had married the daughter of one of the other members. The surviving records in the Historical City Archive of Cologne indicate that the members of that underground congregation were Lutherans; at least they claimed to be adherents of the Augsburg Confession.²⁸ This suggests that Frans Hogenberg was a Lutheran, too.²⁹ In any case, he was not a radical Protestant. One can assume that Hogenberg took a moderate stance with regard to iconoclasm as well. Despite his quarrels with the City authorities, he was one of the very few Dutch immigrants who were allowed to stay in the city despite the fact that the council was anxious to remain neutral in the conflicts that raged in the immediate vicinity.³⁰ Over the years, Hogenberg managed to build up a successful and flourishing workshop. After his death in 1590 his son Abraham took it over and continued his father's work.³¹

In Cologne Frans Hogenberg contributed to most of the maps in Abraham Ortelius' seminal atlas and made a fortune with a complementary project – the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, an atlas presenting views and maps of all the major cities in the world.³² The material for the city views and their short historical description was gathered by Georg Braun, a learned theologian and

27 Some ties of friendship are revealed by Abraham Ortelius, 'Album Amicorum. Édition facsimile', *De Gulden Passer. Bulletin van de Vereeniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen* 45 (1967) 1-125 and 46 (1968) 1-99 for notes and a translation.

28 Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, inv. nr. 45 – Reformation. N. 48 and 49.

29 Some studies tend to view Hogenberg as a Calvinist (see, for instance, Philip Benedict, *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Geneva 2007) 27), others as a pragmatic or even opportune sympathizer with the Protestant movement (see, for example, Veldman, 'Keulen als toevluchtsoord voor Nederlandse kunstenaars (1567-1612)', 43). Additionally Walter Stempel, 'Franz Hogenberg (1538-1590) und die

Stadt Wesel. Mit einem Beitrag zu seiner Biographie', in: Jutta Prieur (ed.), *Karten und Gärten am Niederrhein. Beiträge zur klevischen Landesgeschichte* (Wesel 1995) 37-50.

30 Hans-Wolfgang Bergerhausen, *Köln in einem eisernen Zeitalter 1610-1686* (Cologne 2010) 10.

31 Ursula Mielke, 'Art: "Hogenberg"', in: Andreas Beyer, Bénédicte Savoy und Wolf Tegethoff (eds.), *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* (Berlin 2012) 178-183.

32 For the atlas, see Abraham Ortelius, 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum', Raleigh Ashlin Skelton (ed.) (Amsterdam 1964). For the book of cities, see Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, 'Civitates Orbis Terrarum. 1572-1618: In six parts', Raleigh Ashlin Skelton and A.O. Vietor (eds.) (Amsterdam 1965).



Der alter kirch mißbrauch sehr groß
Von Gottes Worde und lehr gar bloß:

Haben beweget die gantze gemein,
Das sei die lehr begerten rein.

Darumb sei auff verschiedn ort
Lauffen, zuhoren Gottes Wort.

Wie das Martinus hatt verkflert
Auch was dawon Calimus lert.

Anno Dñj. M. D. LXVI In Junio. XIII.

▲
Frans Hogenberg, Hagenpreken buiten Antwerpen
[Hedge preaching outside the walls of Antwerp] (1566).
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

tutor.³³ Apparently Hogenberg had no qualms cooperating with someone clearly Catholic. Together with his collaborator Simon van der Neuvel, or Novellanus, Hogenberg's primary task was to transfer the heterogeneous material into a uniform design.

In addition to these well-known maps and city plans, Hogenberg's workshop published about 250 visual reports during Frans's lifetime and another 170 under the guidance of his son Abraham.³⁴ All in all, the workshop manufactured approximately 420 visual reports from 1570 to 1631, most of them covering political and military events in an area reaching from the Ottoman Empire to the British Isles. The reports focused mainly on the Dutch Revolt and the French Wars of Religion however.³⁵ Hogenberg devoted about three quarters of his publications to these Western European conflicts.³⁶ It is more than likely that Hogenberg turned to the same network of informants who supplied the material for the book of cities. Hogenberg sold the visual reports both as single broadsheets covering recent events and later as compiled series.³⁷ His visual reports represented their subject in such a way that they not only passed the city's censorship, but also occasionally gained the approval of the authorities to be sold 'cum privilegio'.³⁸ They were bought throughout Europe, not least in the Low Countries.³⁹

The broadsheets have entered collections in contemporary archives and libraries mostly in the form of compiled series.⁴⁰ Hogenberg also integrated his prints in two large-scale historiographical narratives of the Dutch Revolt, with the result that most of the prints have survived in

33 Stephan Füssel, 'Natura sola magistra – Der Wandel der Stadtkonographie in der Frühen Neuzeit', in: Stephan Füssel (ed.), *Städte der Welt – Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne 2008) 8-41.

34 Hogenberg, 'Geschichtsblätter'.

35 For the Dutch Revolt see, for instance, Simon Groenvelde et al. (eds.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en Consolidatie in de Nederlanden (ca. 1560-1650)* (Zutphen 2008) and Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY 1977). For a standard reference on the French Wars of Religion see Arlette Jouanna et al. (eds.), *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion* (Turin 1998).

36 For an overview, see Hellwig, 'Einführung', 32-43.

37 Fabian (ed.), 'Die Messkataloge Georg Willers. Herbstmesse 1564 bis Herbstmesse 1573', 366, 443, 506 and 531-532. See additionally Frans Hogenberg, 'Broadsheets. Vol. 2: Text', Ursula

Mielke and Ger Luijten (eds.), *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*, vol. 21 (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel 2009).

38 The only exception are prints covering the conflict between Cologne and its former ruler, see Hellwig, 'Einführung', 7. For the censors see Isabel Heitjan, 'Die Stellung der Burchgewerbetreibenden in der Stadt Köln und zu ihrer Universität (15. bis 18. Jahrhundert) (mit Register)', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 11 (1970-1971) 1203-1205. For visual reports sold 'cum privilegio' see Hogenberg, 'Geschichtsblätter', 166, 237-238 and 260.

39 For prices see Duke, 'Posters, Pamphlets and Prints', 170.

40 Hogenberg, 'Broadsheets. Vol. 2: Text'.

stand-alone compilations or these voluminous accounts.⁴¹ As they were widely disseminated when produced, they have been used to account for the nature of the conflict and in our own times becoming a part of the collective memory of the Dutch Revolt.⁴² This massive success was only possible because they offered their audience something other oral or written accounts of the events could not – the impression of seeing the main occurrences with one's own eyes. They appear to make visible what actually was invisible for most of the people. In other words Hogenberg's prints bridged a gap in the market of publications on contemporary history.⁴³

As historical sources, the Hogenberg prints therefore are not as instructive concerning what the actual events really looked like as one might expect at first glance. The broadsheets do not make clear on what information they are based. They indeed claim to depict the occurrences truthfully and to rely on accounts of trustworthy eyewitnesses, but they do not give their audience the possibility to examine their sources of information. On the contrary, one has to suspect that, as commercial products, they incorporated what the majority of their audience were willing to buy. That means it is most likely that they represented the events in ways that would meet the approval of their buyers. The reference to the eyewitnesses and their testimonies could therefore work as a means to underline the prints' public approval.⁴⁴ From this point of view Hogenberg's visual reports become even more revealing concerning how people successfully ascribed sense to the current conflicts on religious and political authority.

41 Michael von Aitzing, AD || HISPANIAE ET HVNGARIAE || REGES || TER MAXIMOS. || DE || LEONE BELGICO, || eiusque Topographica atque histo= || rica descriptione liber || Quinque partibus Gubernatorum Philippi Re= || gis Hispaniarum ordine, distinctus, Insuper || et Elegantißimi illius artificis FRANCISCI || HOGENBERGII Centum & XII. figuris orna= || tus; Rerumque in Belgio maxime gestarum, || inde ab anno Christi M. D. LIX. || vsque ad annum M.D. LXXXIII || perpetua narratione continua= || tus. || MICHAELE AITSINGERO AVSTRIACO || AVCTORE || CVM PRIVILEGIO CÆSAREO || FRANCISCO HOGENBERG: CONCESSO (Cologne 1583). The second account is Emanuel van Meteren, *Historia || unnd Abcontrafeytung || fürnemlich der Niderlendischer Geschichten || und Kriegßhendelen || mit höchsten fleiß beschrieben durch Merten von Manevel* ([Cologne] 1593).

42 See for instance, Franz Hogenberg, 'De 80-jarige oorlog in prenten', Leon Voet (ed.) (The Hague

1977). The memory of the Dutch Revolt is one of the main objects of inquiry for the Vici project 'Tales of the Revolt: Oblivion, memory and identity in the Low Countries, 1566-1700', supervised by Judith Pollmann. Its latest publication is Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Boston 2013).

43 For a general overview on the market see Brendan Dooley (ed.), *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot 2010); Joop W. Koopmans (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Leuven 2005); Gerhild Scholz Williams and William Layher (eds.), *Consuming News: Newspapers and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Amsterdam 2008).

44 Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill 2004).

Hogenberg's depiction of the iconoclasm and the power of images

The etching representing the *Beeldenstorm* was the third sheet in Hogenberg's first series of prints on Dutch contemporary history.⁴⁵ Each broadsheet measures about 21 cm in height and 28 cm in length. They all follow the same layout and consist of an image, a caption and a frame connecting both. The focus clearly lies on the visual representation as the caption covers only a small part of the sheet. The caption is comprised of eight verses that offer additional information:

Nach wenigh Predication/ Die Caluinsche Religion/ Das bildensturmen fiengen an/
Das nicht ein bildt dauon bleib stan/ Kap Monstrantz, kilch, auch die altar/
Vnd weiß sonst dort vor handen war/ Zerbrechen all in kurtzer stundt/ Gleich
gar vil leuten das ist kundt.⁴⁶

The caption serves as a means to qualify the visual statement of the image. In the case of the *Beeldenstorm* print, it points to the Calvinist hedge preaching as the trigger for the iconoclastic riots and refers thereby to the preceding print of Hogenberg's series showing the sermons outside the city walls of Antwerp.⁴⁷ The depiction of the iconoclasm, thus, zooms further in. Underneath the caption the date the riot took place is mentioned: 'Anno Domini M. D. LXVIXX Augusti'.⁴⁸

Ten days after the iconoclastic riots started in the *Westkwartier* they reached the big cities of the southern Low Countries in the third week of August 1566.⁴⁹ In Antwerp the tinderbox that sparked iconoclasm was the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw* procession on Sunday, 18 August, the most prestigious *ommegang* of the metropolis.⁵⁰ The next day William of Orange, who had tried to appease the city's confessional factions, was summoned to an urgent meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece and left the city. Outside the gates hedge preachers attracted thousands of listeners.⁵¹ On Tuesday, 20 August, the riots broke out as the canons of the *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwewerk* tried to save their most precious effigy of the Virgin.⁵² From there the attacks spread

45 Hogenberg, 'Geschichtsblätter', 106-130.

46 *Ibid.*, 111. James Tanis and Daniel R. Horst (eds.), *De Tweedracht Verbeeld – Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr 1993) 41 offers a translation to modern English: 'After a little preaching/ Of the Calvinist religion,/ The breaking of images commenced/ Which left no statue standing./ Cowl, monstrance, goblet, also the altar/ And all else that was at hand,/ All was broken in short time/ As many people soon learned.'

47 *Ibid.*, 110.

48 *Ibid.*, 111.

49 Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 90.

50 *Ibid.*, 139, 143-148.

51 For a prosopographical study of Protestantism in Antwerp in general see Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577* (Baltimore, London 1996) and for the *annus mirabilis* 88-105.

52 Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 144-148.

to all the other churches and religious houses. As all the written accounts by contemporaries make clear, the chapel and statue of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw constituted the centre of the Antwerp iconoclasm: but how does Hogenberg's print represent the *Beeldenstorm* in Antwerp?

The layout of the picture is clearly structured. The perspective constitutes a visual space the vanishing point being situated at the crucifix behind the rood screen. As the point of view is directly opposite to it, the viewer occupies an elevated and distanced position to the scene on the ground, but is at the same time at eye level with the crucified Christ. The columns and half-columns inside the church stress the geometrically regular structuring of the print and at the same time emphasise the verticals. This arrangement acquires dynamism from, or is even disturbed by, both the ladder leaning against the wall and the taut diagonal ropes with which the crucifix and the statues of the saints are being pulled down. The images are about to fall from the level of the viewer to the ground.

The events outside the church frame the Iconoclastic Fury. Several groups of people can be discerned who are distinguished not only by their clothing and arms but also by their actions. On the left side, three people are standing in the doorways of neighbouring houses, armed with halberds and pikes, apparently eager to guard them, pointing to the church with their free hands. Two men, both equipped with clubs, are passing them. In the bottom left corner the observer sees a man and a woman facing each other. They are wearing expensive looking clothes and point to what is happening inside the church, looking as if they were talking about it.

Next to them there is a person covering his or her face in a cloak. He or she is clearly smaller than the couple. Left and right of the vertical centreline, there are two men standing in the foreground, vested with harnesses, helmets and halberds. A dog is trotting away from the man standing on the left; another dog is leaping towards the one on the right. Both dogs are moving in different directions, but their motions are perspectively orientated towards the vanishing point of the picture. Between the two halberdiers and directly next to the vertical centreline, a female person can be seen who carries a bundle in her arms. Her gaze follows the direction of that of the left halberdier and the dog to the right. The other halberdier seems to be looking back to his comrade-in-arms. Both are pointing with their free hands towards two men armed with clubs. The first one wears a cuirass; the other one lacks armour and carries a candle. They are moving towards the right margin of the sheet. Their route crosses that of several people who seem to come out of an annex of the Gothic church and who are heavily laden. Another figure is descending the staircase of the adjacent building. An absurdly huge sack is balanced on his overloaded back. On the second floor of the building, four people are sitting around a laid table, eating and drinking. In the cellar another person is breaking open barrels and spilling their contents.

With the direction and gestures of the people portrayed, a movement is generated that starts at the left and the right in the upper third of the picture, following the reading direction in the lower part and running up to the lower right margin of the picture. This movement is underlined by the way shadows are cast. In fact, the etching shows two different cohesive spaces of action with no interaction, but in both cases the eyes of the viewer are guided downwards and from one scene to another.

The viewer can look into the three-aisled church because the front wall is missing. This was a common technique, also used for example in what is called the *Quarante Tableaux* from which Hogenberg copied several prints for his first series on the French Wars of Religion.⁵³ It is akin to the cross section of architectural drawings.⁵⁴ Additionally, the view created by this technique resembles the appearance of antique ruins and thus connotes the decline of Rome's greatness and power.⁵⁵ Following these image traditions, the fictitious view into the church makes clear that this representation of the iconoclasm is not meant to be a one-on-one depiction of the actual occurrence. The missing wall underlines that this picture is a well-composed staging. It shows artistically an event that for most of its audience was impossible to see.

The vanishing point on the crucified Jesus points to the issues both of the print and the iconoclastic controversy: that is the relation between transcendence and earthly existence. Revealingly, the image of the incarnate son of God is most remote from the viewer so that it is hardly seen. Instead, the audience looks at how idols are destroyed and the Decalogue's prohibition of images is violently executed. The vertical centreline on which one sees the crucifix, two patrolling iconoclasts with club and pickaxe, the tearing of vestment and books, the open relic chest and the beheaded statue, summarises the whole subject.

The coordinated interaction of the participants make the iconoclasm appear to be a planned and well-tuned endeavour. The different clothes of the iconoclasts makes it clear that people of different social backgrounds are working together across the borders of status and rank. The destructive cooperation establishes a counter-order in comparison to the socially stratified order that was led by the Habsburg rulers.⁵⁶ The commitment to the *Beeldenstorm* transcends normal social boundaries and constitutes a community among equals. This disturbance of the political order even

53 Benedict, *Graphic History*, 26-27, and broadsheet 11.

54 Francesco Fiore and Arnold Nesselrath (eds.), *La Roma die Leon Battista Alberti: Umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento* (Milan 2005) 196.

55 See, for instance, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam (ed.), *In de Vier Winden. De*

prentuitgeverij van Hieronymus Cock 1507/10-1570 te Antwerpen (Rotterdam 1988) 32-35.

56 Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 12-49. How these different social orders are performed in Antwerp and Brussels is the subject of Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007).

corresponds to the disorder of the geometric structure of the Hogenberg print by the taut diagonal ropes, thereby transferring the disorder of the scene depicted to its visual medium.

Apparently, the city authorities assume a passive or even sympathetic attitude towards the iconoclastic violence. Instead of protecting the church, armed members of the city militia are standing aside from the action.⁵⁷ Some of them seem to be involved in the destruction of images. Nevertheless, the cautious attitude of the majority of the city militia prevented violence escalating further.⁵⁸ The dogs, barking and walking to and fro, could be understood as a sign of their ambiguous loyalties and conflicting duties, too.⁵⁹

Furthermore, Hogenberg's print shows the event not during the day but at night: the iconoclasts are acting in the dark. This is made clear by the candles and torches the guards are carrying. Hogenberg's print compresses the actual event that needed three days to one nocturnal action. Although the iconoclasts are operating under the veil of darkness, they want their deeds to be seen in daylight. This discrepancy between secret action and public effect gives the *Beeldenstorm* the appearance of being illegal. The disguised person in the foreground strengthens the impression of secrecy and indecency. In this manner, the whole enterprise is called into question. Thus, Hogenberg's print is pointing to the main danger of Protestant iconoclasm: the reformative counter order could lead to social disorder.

This disorder can also be identified at the right margin of the sheet. Here, not only people looting the Church's goods are shown but also carousing and feasting. The wine barrels in the cellar are broken, their content is wasted.⁶⁰ Hogenberg's print reflects not only the theological, political and social impacts of the iconoclasm. It points out that the violence against images produces what it actually tries to combat – deeds that go directly against God's commandments. The inherent tension between aspiration and reality counteracts the whole iconoclastic enterprise.

By showing how the iconoclasts try to destroy a statue of Saint Simon the Apostle, the print reveals itself as a polyvalent play of references and reminiscences. Simon's attribute, the saw, refers not only to his cruel martyrdom but also to his position as patron of lumberjacks.⁶¹ In the medieval tradition,

57 For this ambivalent attitude see Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 120-121; Duke, 'Calvinists and "Papist Idolatry"', 182.

58 In France things were different, see Judith Pollmann, 'Countering the Reformation in France and the Netherlands: Clerical Leadership and Catholic Violence, 1560-1585', *Past & Present* 190 (2006) 83-120.

59 Gerrit Walther, 'Art. "Hundehaltung"', in: Friedrich Jaeger (ed.), *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit. Bd.*

5: *Gymnasium – Japanhandel* (Stuttgart, Weimar 2007) col. 706-711.

60 For these carnival aspects see Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 146-148.

61 Gregor Martin Lechner, 'Art. "Simon (Zelotes)"', in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Begründet von Engelbert Kirschbaum* 5. Achter Band: *Ikonographie der Heiligen Meletius bis zweiundvierzig Martyrer. Mit 310 Abbildungen*, Wolfgang Braunfels (ed.) (Rome etc. 1976) 367-371, here 369.

for instance in the *Legenda Aurea*, Saint Simon fought against evil sorcerers by destroying their pagan idols.⁶² In fact, the whole story of Saint Simon is concerned with the truthfulness and power of images: it shows the conflict that the Apostle's main task is to spread and propagate the words of Christ, but that it is not possible to depict him. When, for instance, King Abgarus of Edessa sent a painter to draw a picture of Jesus, the human face of the incarnation of God glowed so brightly that the painter could not see anything. Instead, it was Jesus who accomplished the task: 'Quod cernens dominus uestimentum lineum ipsius pictoris accipiens et sua faciei superimponens, sui ipsius ymaginem eidem impressit ac desideranti rege Abagaro destinavit'.⁶³ Stories like this from the *Legenda Aurea* were wide-spread and circulated in many forms; the Acts of Saints by Jacobus de Voragine, apart from the Bible, was the most widely read book in late medieval Europe.⁶⁴ So it is more than likely that Hogenberg and his contemporaries were aware of these stories.

As Hogenberg's print depicts how the cult image of Saint Simon the Iconoclast is going to be destroyed, the sheet plays the tradition of the Old Church off against itself. Since the punch line of this motif is the implied analogy between early Christian and early modern iconoclasm, this way of criticism corresponds with the way humanists on both sides of the confessional divide usually argued.⁶⁵ The iconoclast Saint Simon who is going to be a victim of iconoclasm himself contradicts the daily practice of creating and adoring cult images. This tradition is confuted in the same manner as the Protestant iconoclasm that easily led to violence and the breaking of God's Commandments. One could, therefore, conclude that Hogenberg's representation reveals the paradox of the present cult of images in a humanist way.

The couple in the left corner in the foreground illustrates that the consequences of iconoclasm were discussed among contemporaries. Both are bigger than any other person presented in the picture and resemble the figures used in the *Civitates* to show how inhabitants of the towns depicted usually looked.⁶⁶ In this print, they represent well established citizens of Antwerp observing and discussing the ongoing Iconoclastic Fury. In fact, they could be two of the eyewitnesses the title of the series mentions. Such a strategy of referring visually to an eyewitness is also used by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen

62 Iacopo da Varazze, 'De sanctis Symone et Iuda', in: *Legenda Aurea. Edizione critica. Bd. 2*, Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (ed.) (Florence 1998) 1079-1087.

63 *Ibid.*, 1081. In English: 'As the Lord saw this, he took the linen vestment of the painter, laid it upon his face, pressed his image on it and left it to King Abgarus who wanted to possess an image of Christ' (My translation).

64 Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda aurea* (Brussels

1991); Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Überlieferung deutscher Texte im Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Doctoral thesis University of Cologne 1990) 56-60.

65 For instance, Juan Luis Vives, 'De causis corruptarum artium lib. II', in: *Opera omnia. Vol. 6. Faksimile Reprint of the Edition from 1785*, Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (ed.) (London 1964).

66 Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates*.

for his tapestries of which Hogenberg published a copy in the same year he released his first series on the Dutch Revolt.⁶⁷ The couple fulfils the same task as Vermeyen's self-portrait on his tapestries: both claim that the depiction is based on authentic observations. This in turn, suggests that the beholder of Hogenberg's print could become an eyewitness him- or herself by looking at it. The couple underlines not only the truthfulness of the representation, but also serves as an example of how to react in face of the *Beeldenstorm*: one possible response is to discuss the whole issue.

This proposal must not be mistaken for an ambivalent attitude towards iconoclasm. Hogenberg's print is clearly taking a stance.⁶⁸ Since the point of view lies on the crucifix, the beholder is looking down at the people's deeds. By choosing this perspective, the viewer is given a position literally above the conflicting parties.⁶⁹ The print does not show the *Beeldenstorm* from the point of view of the people involved or as a fight against the Antichrist.⁷⁰ Rather, it states that neither the iconoclasm nor the cult of images conform to godly behaviour. To that end, it applies an argumentation aimed at being compatible with a Catholic audience, but at the same time it obliges the viewer to a critical and distanced attitude. On the one hand, the print advises against a radical and violent overthrow of the established social order. On the other hand, it criticises the Old Church for its cult of images and thus demands its reform. Therefore the print is ascribing to its viewers a trans-confessional point of view that could be identified with a *via media*. However, this is not a position of neutrality or objectivity. In the Age of Religious Wars, it is a partisan position of religious compromise.⁷¹ It is the humanist-irenical point of view of the moderate middle party.⁷²

As the conflict of the sacred status of images is presented in a picture, Hogenberg's print refers to the capacity of visual representations. That is why

67 Hendrik J. Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen: Painter of Charles V and His Conquest of Tunis: Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Cartoons & Tapestries* (2 vols.; Doornspijk 1989) 14, 130-131.

68 This is not a unique feature of the Hogenberg prints, see Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art*, 81-261.

69 For the symbolic meaning of perspective see Frank Büttner, 'Perspektive als rhetorische Form. Kommunikative Funktionen der Perspektive in der Renaissance', in: Joachim Knape (ed.), *Bildrhetorik* (Baden-Baden 2007) 201-231.

70 Compare a perspective from below, for instance, Benedict, *Graphic History*, broadsheet 11. For iconoclasm as a fight against the Antichrist see *De Tweedracht Verbeeld*, 38-39.

71 Juliaan Woltjer, 'Political Moderates and Religious Moderates in the Revolt of the Netherlands', in:

Philip Benedict et al. (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585* (Amsterdam 1999) 185-200.

72 For the irenic humanism see Gerrit Walther, 'Humanismus und Konfession', in: Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther (eds.), *Späthumanismus. Studien über das Ende einer kulturhistorischen Epoche* (Göttingen 2000) 113-127. For the middle group see, for instance, Guido Marnef, 'Protestant Conversions in an Age of Catholic Reformation: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in: Eszter Andor (ed.), *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400-1750* (Budapest 2001) 255-265 and Woltjer, 'Political Moderates', 185-200.

his depiction could be understood as a reflection on the extent and limits of the power of images. Hogenberg's print appeals affirmatively to its audience by displaying an occurrence and providing the observer with insights into an event that was well-known, but could not be seen by the majority of Hogenberg's customers. The power of images, the visual report therefore claims, does not lie in their metaphysical transcendence, but rather in their artistic quality of revealing what is actually invisible.

Coming back to the three diverging interpretations of this print, one has to admit that, to some extent, all three of them were right, but each of them grasps only one aspect of Hogenberg's multi-layered visual report. The print does indeed criticise the use of violence and the 'Verlust obrigkeitlicher Autorität', as Hofmann writes⁷³, but it emphasises the need for religious reform as well. The print does show the iconoclasm as 'an organized and orderly endeavor', as Mochizuki points out⁷⁴, but it does so in order to show the dangers that could emerge from a social counter-order. The print does look like a 'eher nüchterne Bestandsaufnahme', as Bredekamp summarised⁷⁵, but that is because it applies a complex visual rhetoric in order to establish a third point of view, a plea for religious reform and political unanimity.

Conclusion

This essay argued that Hogenberg's series of prints is not only a visual means of news reporting or historiography aiming at the long term remembrance of the conflicts depicted. As an account of the religious and political troubles in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Hogenberg series were directly involved in the battle of how to understand the current developments. They shed light on the struggle for interpretational sovereignty and thus for political power. As historical sources the visual reports do not portray reality in the sense of demonstrating for instance, what the iconoclasm really looked like. Rather, they give insights into how Hogenberg and his contemporaries fought for the interpretation of recent seminal events. Using his visual report on the *Beeldenstorm* as an example, this article showed that the impression of objectivity and impartiality is caused by a complex visual rhetoric.

As a commercial product made by an apparently moderate Protestant, Hogenberg's representation of the *Beeldenstorm* was designed to pass Cologne's censorship and to obtain as much approval as possible from a denominationally heterogeneous, non-radical audience. Placing his visual report on the book market caused Hogenberg to take care to avoid any

73 Hofmann, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, 146-147.

74 Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm*, 106-108.

75 Bredekamp, 'Bildersturmzyklen', 204.

confessional polemics. His print therefore does not show any metaphysical or transcendent aspects of iconoclasm. Instead, denominational differences are de-emphasised, only their political impacts are addressed. That is why religious issues appear only insofar as they result in perceivable actions. Hence, Hogenberg's print not only promises its viewers the impression of becoming eyewitnesses themselves. It also offers the opportunity to judge the *Beeldenstorm* not with reference to religious beliefs, but to what could be observed of their actual effects.

This suggestive power of the print derives from standing aloof from the conflicting parties. Instead of advertising one of them, Hogenberg's representation transfers visually its audience to a moderate point of view. Therefore the print, on the one side, was compatible with a heterogeneous audience and on the other side, advocated a position of religious compromise. In view of a profound social change, it favoured political as well as religious unanimity and conciliation. Hogenberg's broadsheet could even be understood as a means of visually generating this *via media*.

The print was part of the struggle for authority and religion, but not in the sense of dull propaganda. On the contrary, the visual report demanded a great deal from its audience: the viewer must be ready to make up his or her own mind on what they see, although Hogenberg's print nudges them to criticise both radical change and unwillingness to reform. The visual report does not claim to portray what the depicted event really looked like. Quite the opposite is true: it flirts with the virtuosity and craftsmanship of its visual representation. The print promises to show its audience what the conflicts were about. Hogenberg's depiction of the *Beeldenstorm* makes clear that this power of images results from their ability to provide an understanding of the events depicted by looking at them. As a new form of both reporting news and historiography, Hogenberg's visual report therefore addressed and reflected the complex relationship between power, faith and pictures.

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