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978-0-521-47222-7 - Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation
Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel

Lee Palmer Wandel

Excerpt

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Introduction

For the past two decades, much of the discussion of the early years of the Reformation, the 1520s, has been dominated by what I would like to call a two-tiered model of culture.¹ One tier was “elite,” that of the “learned elites,” those who had access to a specific kind of education, who were trained in particular disciplined modes of interpretation and whose vocabulary and syntax were drawn primarily, perhaps exclusively, from texts.² The other tier was “popular,” those cultural practices and beliefs of the great majority of Europeans, who had not had that education.³

¹ The now classic statement of this model is Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978). See also, *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (Berlin & New York, 1984); *Rethinking Popular Culture: Contemporary Perspectives in Cultural Studies*, ed. Chandra Mukerji & Michael Schudson (Berkeley, 1991), esp. pt. 1; *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London, 1984), esp. pt. 2. For an early challenge to that model, see Natalie Davis, “From ‘Popular Religion’ to Religious Cultures,” in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), pp. 321–41. For more recent efforts to move round that model, see Hans-Christoph Rublack, “The Song of Contz Anahans: Communication and Revolt in Nördlingen, 1525,” in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Ithaca, 1988), pp. 102–20; and Robert Scribner, “Varieties of Reformation,” which he shared with me in typescript.

² Many studies of individual theologians place them primarily, if not exclusively in dialogue with other theologians, both living and dead. Among the exceptions to this are Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* (Berlin, 1982), trans. as *Luther: Man between God and the Devil* (New Haven, 1989); and William Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford, 1988).

³ For a discussion of the problems inherent in the term “the people,” see, for example, James S. Amelang, “The Artisan as Icarus: Popular Autobiography in Early Modern Europe,” a paper he presented at the Wesleyan Renaissance Seminar, Nov. 1993, pp. 5–7; and Marc Venard, *Réforme protestante, réforme Catholique dans la province d’Avignon au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 1045–6. For discussion of some of the recent work on the “people” and the Reformation, see Thomas A. Brady, “Peoples’ Religions in Reformation Europe,” and Tom Scott, “The Common People in the German Reformation,” *The Historical Journal* 34 (1991): 173–82, 183–92, respectively.

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Most often these two tiers are treated as severable, often in tension or even opposition.

While enormously fruitful – it has led us to attend to “the people” in ways we did not before – this model has also engendered many problems in the ways we speak about “the Reformation.” “Learned elites,” in particular Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, and John Calvin, have been distanced from their communities, those for whose souls they were held partially, if not fully, accountable. We hear less forcefully the rich metaphors and emotionally powerful allusions that made these preachers, along with their fifteenth-century predecessors Bernardino of Siena and Geiler von Kaysersberg, so influential in their own time, as they addressed specific congregations and sought to engage their minds and souls. So, too, insofar as these men have been treated more as authors rather than preachers, their theological formulations have lost something of their resonance, their concreteness, their application. More troubling, the “people” have lost much of their agency in this model. The great majority of late-medieval and early-modern Europeans have been denied much creative role in the formation of learned culture or the “Reformation,” and are, most often, relegated to the role of audience, their function to receive, to respond, frequently to misapprehend.⁴ Peter Blickle’s work notwithstanding, the early years of the Reformation, the 1520s – when ordinary people⁵ were participating variously, sometimes collectively, sometimes individually, sometimes violently, frequently vociferously, but participating actively in “Reformation” within their communities – have lost their sense of electric tension, of potentiality, their exhilaration and the terrifying specter of anarchy as individual Christians chose to act in ways no authority, secular or ecclesiastical, had sanctioned, defined, or articulated.

Perhaps the greatest damage this two-tiered model has done, however, is to our discussion of Christianity in sixteenth-century

⁴ Even Franziska Conrad’s wonderful study, *Reformation in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft: Zur Rezeption reformatorischer Theologie im Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1984), frames the peasants’ relation to Reformation in terms of response and reception; see esp. chap. 2.

⁵ I follow Wayne te Brake here in the use of the term “ordinary people.” See, for example, “Revolt and Religious Reformation in the World of Charles V, 1516–1555,” Working Paper no. 151, New School for Social Research.

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Europe. Implicitly it divides two dimensions of Christianity from each other. On the one hand, it treats theology as the formal discourse on the nature of God and on the relations among the three persons of the Trinity, whose terms, vocabulary, syntax, and conceptual structures are historically determined by textual traditions. “Learned elites” discuss theology, most often in the medium of the written word. Separate, indeed often viewed as autonomous from theology, on the other hand, are the cultural practices of the “people.” In distinguishing theology from the practice of Christianity, that model denies the practices and actions of ordinary Christians their theological content. In doing so, it denies Christianity its immediacy, its vitality: Christianity becomes less a lived religion than a set of doctrines and their (mis)applications. It also makes much more difficult to explain the participation of hundreds of laymen and laywomen in the enterprise of Reformation: *Why* was the mass such an abomination to so many if they were not theologically sensitive? *Why* was it so important to have evangelical preachers – to hear “the Word” preached by those who would not distort it? *Why* were so many willing to risk imprisonment, fines, even execution to destroy the images in the churches?

This book seeks to redress the distortions of the two-tiered model in two ways: first, to return to ordinary people their agency in the process of reform and, thereby, to suggest a more dynamic vision of “Reformation”; second, to recover something of their theologies,⁶ their conceptions of the nature of God and of humanity’s relation to Him. To do so, it takes up iconoclasm, the earliest and the most dramatic expression of reform among a broad spectrum of Europeans, lay and clerical, artisan and magistrate, rural and urban. In the sixteenth century, in dozens of towns and villages, otherwise ordinary people – parish clergy, bakers, carpenters, gardeners, most employed and most of them citizens – broke into local churches and smashed up or burned thousands of long-beloved, familiar, treasured objects: altars, altar

⁶ As will become evident in the discussion that follows, I am broadening the use of the term “theology” to encompass those thoughts ordinary people held on the nature of God and His relation to humankind that were not articulated in the formal language of the discipline of Theology as it was taught in the schools.

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retables, crucifixes, carved and painted triptychs and diptychs, panel paintings, architectural and free-standing sculptures, chalices, patens, candlesticks, and oil lamps. Many were brought to trial, the earliest to face the charge of blasphemy, a capital crime in many communities. When their judges and critics, magistrates and neighbors, asked them why they had destroyed these precious objects, many responded as Hans Zirkel of Basel did: “for the honor of God and the betterment of one’s neighbor.”⁷ For them, iconoclasm was an act of piety. For them and for a number of the chroniclers who recorded their acts, iconoclasm was central to the reformation of Christian life: To “do away with the images” was to “reform.”

Work in a number of fields enables us to dismantle the conception of “culture” the two-tiered model predicates and thereby to revise our understanding of iconoclasm in the process of Reformation. Some cultural anthropologists have developed models of culture as exchange and conflict, in which all members of a community, variously defined, participate, albeit oppositionally, in a whole that is constituted out of their confrontations and negotiations.⁸ Other anthropologists have sought to cross the divide between verbal cultural forms and gestural or behavioral cultural forms, developing ways of excavating the meaning of acts within specific cultures, acts that have not been verbally explicated by their contemporaries.⁹ A number of literary theorists have gone a long way in breaking apart a unified vision of readers; response theory, deconstruction, as well as semiotics argue for a much more nuanced understanding of the transmission, the reception, and the interpretation of cultural products. Following the impact of various areas of literary theory, readership and audience have become more variegated, less homogeneous. So, too, art historians have argued for a more varied viewership: Beginning with the work of Michael Baxandall and Svetlana Alpers, art historians

⁷ *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534*, ed. Paul Roth, vol. III (Basel, 1937), no. 86.

⁸ See, for example, David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven, 1988). For a recent and important discussion of the relation between “person” and “culture,” see Richard A. Schweder, *Thinking Through Cultures: Expeditions in Cultural Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

⁹ See, for example, the work of Gilbert Lewis, *Day of Shining Red* (Cambridge, 1980).

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have delineated important differences among different viewerships, according to a range of “contexts,” economic, political, social, even educational.¹⁰ The work of microhistorians, such as Giovanni Levi, Ed Muir, and Elizabeth and Tom Cohen, has shifted the perspective from broad divisions between social and political “elites,” on the one hand, and “the people,” on the other, to delineating various networks of influence and patronage within communities, be they large, such as towns, or small, such as families, thereby articulating dynamics between members of different social groups, dynamics that underline negotiation, exchange, connection.¹¹

Within the field of Reformation history, the work of Bob Scribner has done much to undermine that model, articulating a much more textured feel for the practices of ordinary Christians than had been previously done, and a powerfully prismatic vision of “the people.”¹² So, too, the writings of William Bouwsma, Heiko Oberman, Jaroslav Pelikan, and Charles Trinkaus have underlined the human dimensions of theologians’ work – their immediate audiences and influences, the human presences in every text. The work of social historians of Christianity, such as Pierre Chaunu, Eamon Duffy, A. N. Galpern, Virginia Reinburg, Jacques Toussaert, and Bernard Vogler, has provided a much richer vision of the culture of Christianity, one that incorporates the ever more refined understanding of social variation within its definition of the practices and institutions of Christian-

¹⁰ Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972) and *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven & London, 1980); Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago, 1983) and *Rembrandt’s Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago, 1988).

¹¹ Levi, “On Microhistory,” in *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (University Park, Pa., 1993), pp. 93–113; Muir, Introduction to *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, ed. Edward Muir & Guido Ruggiero, trans. Eren Branch (Baltimore & London, 1991), pp. vii–xxviii; and Elizabeth S. & Thomas V. Cohen, “Camilla the Go-between: The Politics of Gender in a Roman Household (1559),” *Continuity and Change* 4 (1989): 53–77, and *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto, 1993).

¹² In addition to the essays collected in *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London & Ronceverte, 1987), see “Volkskultur und Volksreligion: zur Rezeption evangelischer Ideen,” in *Zwingli und Europa*, ed. Peter Blickle, Andreas Lindt, & Alfred Schindler (Zurich, 1985), pp. 151–61; and “The Impact of the Reformation on Daily Life,” in *Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit: Leben - Alltag - Kultur* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 315–43.

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ity.¹³ Finally, the work of William Christian, Jr., has sought, with considerable success, to realign our perspective, moving it from the global and broadly sociopolitical to the local: that location, he argues, for Christianity as it was understood and realized by all Europeans, except, perhaps, the Pope.¹⁴

This book rests upon a conception of “culture” derived from reading in these areas. While that conception receives fuller explication in the following chapters, let me offer a few words here about its commitments. First, as the work of cultural anthropologists and literary theorists has argued, “culture” cannot be so easily divided into two groups: Culture as often provides a field for conflict as it does the means of cohesion; levels of “learning” differ within each group; “reading,” and other forms of cultural exchange are more individuated than the two-tiered model allows. Thus, in the discussion that follows, I have sought to delineate one dynamic with many participants who adopt various cultural media, including acts, to articulate their conceptions of Christianity and of “Reformation.” Second, as the work of John Boswell, Pierre Chenu, and Reinburg has argued, theology was expressed in the cultural practices of Christianity:¹⁵ in the patterns of behavior of the clergy, in the ritual gestures of processions and the mass, in the modes and forms of liturgy, and in the ethical behavior of all.¹⁶ As is evident in all sorts of sources, from chronicles to trial records to pamphlets, for the great major-

¹³ See, for example, Chaunu, *Église, culture et société: essais sur Réforme et Contre-Réforme (1517–1620)* (Paris, 1981); Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (London & New Haven, 1992); Galpern, *The Religion of the People in Sixteenth-Century Champagne* (Cambridge, 1976); Reinburg, *Praying the Book of Hours: Traditional Religious Practices and the Reformation in France* (Ithaca, forthcoming); Toussaert, *Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1960); and Vogler, *Vie religieuse en pays rhénan dans le seconde moitié du XVIe siècle (1556–1619)*, 3 vols. (Lille, 1974).

¹⁴ William Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981).

¹⁵ Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, 1980); Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris, 1957), parts of which were translated as *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968).

¹⁶ In *Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich* (Cambridge, 1990), I argued for the interconnections between formal theology and the practice of communal ethics.

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ity of Christians, European and then American,¹⁷ where and how one worshiped God – both liturgy and ethics – were the expression, the outward form, of one's theology, one's understanding of God and His relation to humankind. With these commitments, let us return to iconoclasm during the early years of the Reformation.

Iconoclasm was not new to Christianity in the sixteenth century.¹⁸ There had been violence against the images in churches throughout the history of Christianity, most dramatically in the eighth century, during the Byzantine iconoclastic controversy. At no time, however, had attacks on the images in the churches encompassed as broad a range of the people. Unlike its antecedents, Reformation iconoclasm was initially the expression not of secular or ecclesiastical authorities, emperors or bishops. It was not even the original intent of theologians, as the work of Margarethe Stirm, Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, and Charles Garside has shown.¹⁹ Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli called into question the value of the images in the churches in the ear-

¹⁷ See David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Harvard, 1989), for Anglo-American Christian practices.

¹⁸ Helmut Feld provides a history predominantly of the discussion of iconoclasm among theologians in the West, beginning with Gregory the Great (590–604), in *Der Ikonoklasmus des Westens* (Leiden, 1990). On the earliest iconoclasm, see Leslie W. Barnard, *The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (Leiden, 1974), esp. pp. 89–103, and “The Theology of Images,” in *Iconoclasm*, ed. Anthony Bryer and Judith Herrin (Birmingham, England, 1977), pp. 7–13; and Paul C. Finney, “Antecedents of Byzantine Iconoclasm: Christian Evidence before Constantine,” in *The Image and the Word: Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Missoula, Minn., 1977), pp. 27–47. For a narrative of iconoclastic controversies from the seventh to the ninth centuries, see Edward James Martin, *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, 1930). On medieval iconoclasm, see Horst Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte: Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution* (Frankfurt a.M., 1975); William R. Jones, “Art and Christian Piety: Iconoclasm in Medieval Europe,” in *The Image and the Word*, pp. 75–105; Anthony Ugolnik, “The Libri Carolini: Antecedents of Reformation Iconoclasm,” in *Iconoclasm vs. Art and Drama*, ed. Clifford Davidson & Ann Eljenholm Nichols (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 1–32.

¹⁹ Stirm, *Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation* (Gütersloh, 1977); von Campenhausen, “Die Bilderfrage in der Reformation,” in *Tradition und Leben: Kräfte der Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen, 1960), pp. 361–407, and “Zwingli und Luther zur Bilderfrage,” in *Das Gottesbild im Abendland* (Witten & Berlin, 1959), pp. 139–72; Garside, *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven, 1966). Most recently, Sergiuz Michalski has endorsed the previous scholarship in *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London & New York, 1993), esp. chaps. 1–2.

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ly 1520s; Zwingli would move late in 1523 to call for their removal, but Luther ultimately endorsed the presence of certain kinds of images in the churches.²⁰

Given the breadth of participation in the iconoclasm of the 1520s, in which literally hundreds of Christians, lay and clerical, urban and rural, participated actively in the reformation of worship, it is most puzzling that Reformation iconoclasm has been much less studied than the Byzantine iconoclasm of eight centuries earlier. Moreover, studies of Reformation iconoclasm have centered upon the theologians, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, who themselves did not instigate the earliest incidents but sought to mitigate, interpret, and, in some cases, stop acts of iconoclasm.²¹ Much of the work on continental iconoclasm that has been done up to now has rested upon the two-tiered model of culture: Preachers motivated people to attack the images, sometimes intentionally – in the cases of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt in Wittenberg,²² Leo Jud and Zwingli in Zurich, and Martin Bucer in Strasbourg – and sometimes unintentionally. Yet Karlstadt did not publish his treatise *Concerning the Removal of Im-*

²⁰ On Luther's attitude toward images, see (in addition to von Campenhausen and Stirm) Carl Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, Ohio, 1979), chap. 2; Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts*, chap. 1; and Martin Warnke, "Lutherische Bildtheologie," pp. 282–93.

²¹ In addition to the studies of von Campenhausen, Eire, Stirm, and Michalski, Herbert Smolinsky has done a comparative study of Karlstadt and Emser's conflict over the proper attitude to images in "Reformation und Bildersturm: Hieronymus Emser's Schrift gegen Karlstadt über die Bilderverehrung," in *Reformatio Ecclesiae: Beiträge zu Kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit* (Festgabe für Erwin Iserloh), ed. Remigius Bäumer (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, & Zurich, 1980), pp. 427–40. The earliest modern study of Reformation iconoclasm, Friedrich Fischer, "Die Bildersturm in der Schweiz und in Basel insbesondere," *Basler Taschenbuch* 1(1850): 1–43, provides the most details of the acts of destruction themselves, as well as an important argument about the correlation between the extent and specific victims of iconoclasm on the one hand, and the form of Protestantism instituted on the other.

²² Carlos Eire attributes to Karlstadt a "revolutionary iconoclastic theory," which called for the violent, if necessary, removal of the images in the churches, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 62–5. Both Hermann Barge, in *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Leipzig, 1903), vol. 1, pp. 387–407, and Paul Sider, in *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt: The Development of his Thought 1517–1525* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 165–73, argue the contrary, that Karlstadt did not intend to provoke either the violence or popular seizure of the initiative of the removal of the images.

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ages²³ until after the iconoclasm in Wittenberg in 1522; and Ludwig Häetzer did not publish the other famous iconoclastic pamphlet, *Our God's Judgement, How One Should Conduct Oneself With All Idols and Images*,²⁴ until after that, in 1523. Moreover, these two treatises, which may reveal something of the content of Karlstadt and Jud's²⁵ iconoclastic preaching, help little to explain the precise acts of iconoclasm. The treatises consist primarily in biblical injunctions against representing God, injunctions that do not explain most of the "images" iconoclasts attacked: oil lamps, liturgical utensils, and representations of Mary and of the Deposition – not images of the Incarnation or of moments in Christ's life. If we look to the acts themselves, they reveal perceptions of the objects in the churches that differ at points from those articulated by the preachers. These pamphlets do not explain the acts of the iconoclasts – neither their focus, the specific objects they attacked, nor their timing, the specific moments the iconoclasts chose to attack objects in the churches. People did not take up, moreover, other biblical injunctions in support of redistribution of wealth, of charity toward the poor, of the reordering of social ethics, with equal passion or effect.

Till now, the acts of iconoclasts have not been the focus of study. Implicitly they have been treated, following the two-tiered model of culture, as the response of the laity to preachers, as the extension into action of the perceptions and attitudes of theologians. If we adopt a different conception of culture, however, one of dynamic and exchange, the acts of iconoclasm are no longer explained by the words of the preachers. Quite the contrary, they pose a series of questions. The question that drives this book is

²³ *Von abtuhung der Bylder* [Wittenberg: Nickell Schyrlentz, 1522], published as "Von Abtuhung der Bilder" in *Flugschriften der frühen Reformationsbewegung (1518–1524)*, ed. Adolf Laube, Annerose Schneider, with Sigrid Looß, vol. I (Berlin, 1983), pp. 105–27.

²⁴ *Ein urteil gottes unsers ee gemahels wie man sich mit allen goetzen vnd bildnussen halte sol* [Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 23. IX. 1523], published as "Ein Urteil Gottes . . . , wie man es mit allen Götzen und Bildnussen halten soll," in *Flugschriften der frühen Reformationsbewegung*, vol. I, pp. 271–83. Cf. Charles Garside, "Ludwig Haetzer's Pamphlet Against Images: A Critical Study," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 34 (1960): 20–36.

²⁵ At the time he published *Our God's Judgement*, Haetzer was still living in Zurich, active in the reform movement there, and closely linked to the evangelical leadership, among whom was Jud.

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Why? Why would ordinary people choose to destroy objects that may well have been a part of their practice of Christianity, objects long familiar, objects that, as the outcry at their destruction attests, were beloved, treasured by many in their communities? To view the iconoclasts' acts as simple response obscures the question *Why*, as well as the agency of ordinary people: They *chose* to act. Why did they risk fines, imprisonment, even death to destroy objects in churches? It also denies their initiative: Not all acts of iconoclasm follow iconoclastic preaching; some *precede* it – evidence that the relationship between these acts and such preaching is a more complex dynamic among persons of differing modes of expression.

Iconoclasts risked a great deal, sometimes their lives, to communicate something to their communities. This book takes up their story, viewing the acts of the iconoclasts as themselves a form of “speaking,” as a mode through which ordinary Christians entered into the dynamic of “Reformation.” In so doing, it seeks to return to their actions that belief they experienced individually and privately, to explore the acts as an outward expression, sometimes individual, sometimes collective, of ordinary people’s understanding of the central tenets of Christianity. This book seeks, in other words, to discern in the actions of “the people,” most often understood in terms of their political and social dimensions,²⁶ their theological content. In treating the acts this way, this study seeks both to suggest how those acts of violence might have contributed to the preachers’ and the magistrates’ understanding of the place of images in traditional worship, and to explicate the relation between the images in the churches and “Reformation.”

If iconoclasts have received less attention than the theologians, it is in part that the iconoclasts communicated in a form much

²⁶ Martin Warnke has argued for the social content of iconoclasm; for the Reformation period, see “Durchbrochene Geschichte? Die Bilderstürme der Widertäufer in Münster 1534/35,” in *Bildersturm: Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks*, ed. Martin Warnke (Frankfurt a.M., 1988), pp. 65–98. His argument is supported by Matthias Müller, *Von der Kunst des calvinistischen Bildersturms* (Marburg, 1993), which locates iconoclasm against objects in the Elizabeth church in Marburg in the later sixteenth century. Eire argues that iconoclasm was a “revolutionary tactic,” *War Against the Idols*, pp. 151–60.