



# IMAGES TO BELIEVE

Catholics and Protestants  
in Europe and Barcelona  
16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries

# Project in cooperation with the Gelonch Viladegut Collection

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APSMP - Arxiu Parroquial de Santa Maria del Pi  
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BC - Biblioteca de Catalunya  
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FIA - Fundació Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic  
GNN - Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg  
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MET - Metropolitan Museum, New York  
MFM - Museu Frederic Marès  
MIRG - Musée International de la Réforme, Geneva  
MUHBA - Museu d'Història de Barcelona  
PA - Palau Antiguitats  
SML - Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig  
MCU - Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht  
RA - Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam  
ZZ - Zentralbibliothek, Zürich

## **IMAGES TO BELIEVE**

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In early modern Europe, shaken by religious conflicts, Barcelona became one of the capitals of the Counter-Reformation or Catholic Reformation. The mark made by churches and convents on the urban space is, even today, a highly visible reminder of the intense transformation of the social and cultural fabric of the city that took place from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. This was, in part, a result of formal social control, with the unleashing of a renewed Inquisition and the subsequent repression. But it was also due to religious control and organisation in key areas of the lives of ordinary people, such as civic festivities, devotional confraternities and the early teaching of reading and writing. All in all, this was a form of social disciplining.

In this vast undertaking of teaching to believe, in all senses of the word, a wide range of different strategies and media were used. Engraving was a formidable propaganda tool throughout Europe. In Barcelona, there was considerable printing activity in the early-sixteenth century, but this industry then began to decline. This fact and the great distance from the major centres of power led the sector in the Catalan capital to borrow from foreign graphic culture, imitating its models. However, despite the differences between local and international production, both were very effective in influencing consciences.

Procession of the Pure Blood on  
Easter Thursday, by the Fraternity  
of Santa Maria del Pi. ANONYMOUS,  
late-eighteenth century, APSMP

## EUROPE AND RELIGION IN THE EARLY MODERN AGE

In the early-sixteenth century, the world had been made bigger by Europe's discovery of America. At the same time, interest in the Greco-Roman legacy encouraged the civic dream of Renaissance Humanism. Medieval religious hierarchies were questioned, and some thinkers even dared to explore the idea of the separation between the State and the Church. However, religion continued to play an undiminished role in the public sphere, and attempts at reforming the Church unleashed a long wave of conflicts.

The sixteenth-century world. S. MÜNSTER, C. PTOLEMY and H. PETRI: *Geographia universalis*, 1545. ICC



## THE DECISIVE ROLE OF ENGRAVING

Engraving, as an art of drawing on a hard surface, came from afar. The first forays into engraving on canvas or metal went back to the fourteenth century, and the use of woodcut and intaglio prints to make single illustrations dated back, in Europe, from the first decades of the fifteenth century. As we can see, then, technical innovation preceded Gutenberg's press. The reasons for the spread of engraving include the increased availability of paper in Europe and the growing popularity of playing cards in the late-fourteenth century. Later, thanks to its widespread use as an ideal medium for disseminating works on religious themes, engraving began to play a leading role in early modern Europe.



The Altar of Love  
M. RAIMONDI, c. 1520  
CGV

Gallant scene  
M. KALDENBACH, from  
the book *Der Swa-  
gern Frauen und  
Hebammen Rosegar-  
ten*, 1513. CGV





Roma orbem domuit. Romam sibi Papa subegit.  
 Viribus illa suis, fraudibus ille suis.  
 Quanto ille major Lutherus, major et illa.  
 Illam illamq; uno qui domuit calamo.

Andreas Bressa.

Room heeft met krijg en macht en d' Antichrist van Rome  
 Met leugen en bedrog de wereld ingenomen—;  
 Maar Luther is veel meer die d'zen en d'and' vekkend.  
 En met de tonge drijngt, en met de penne—romd.

Samuel Jansson.



## TIME OF REFORMATIONS

Numerous attempts to regenerate the Catholic Church had been made for many years. Unlike medieval reform movements like the Waldensians, the Cathars and the Hussites, Lutheranism triumphed because it was in line with the social and cultural changes of the time and was supported by several German princes keen to escape from papal taxation and rule. The split first opened up by Luther (1483-1546), who made his 95 Theses public at Wittenberg in 1517, widened rapidly. The movement, known as the Protestant Reformation, ended in break-up with Rome and religious conflicts, which also reflected social and political tensions, fuelled a long cycle of violence and war in Europe.

## THE RELIGIOUS REFORMATIONS: INITIAL TIMELINE (SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

YEAR	PROTESTANTISM	CATHOLICISM
1517	Luther's Theses against indulgences (Wittenberg)	
1520	The expansion of Protestantism begins: cities and territories in Germany and Switzerland; Netherlands; France	Papal condemnation of Luther and his Theses.
1527	Lutheranism in Sweden	
1530	Presentation of the <i>Augsburg Confession</i>	
1534	Anglicanism in England	
1536-37	Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway	
1540		Papal approval of the Company of Jesus
1542		The Congregation of the Roman Inquisition
1545		The Council of Trent begins
1553		Re-Catholisation of England (Mary Tudor)
1555	Peace of Augsburg: Confessional division of Germany	
1559	Consolidation of Anglicanism in England (Elizabeth I)	Persecution of Catholics in the England of Elizabeth I
1560	Calvinism in Scotland (John Knox)	
1562	Killings of Huguenots in France. Beginning of French wars of religion between Catholics and Huguenots	
1563		Closing of the Council of Trent
1596		Persecutions of Protestants in Styria, Carinthia and Carniola ordained by Archduke Ferdinand
1598	Edict of Nantes	

## REFORMING THE CHURCH

In the early-sixteenth century, those leading attempts to reform the Church through Humanism included such figures as Cardinal Cisneros and, specially, Erasmus of Rotterdam. When religious conflict first broke out, Luther praised Erasmus, sharing his denunciation of the state of the Church and considering his critical edition of the New Testament to be of crucial importance; initially, the Catholic Church, to which Erasmus remained faithful, also claimed him as one of its own, calling on him to take a position openly opposed to the Protestants. Finally, Erasmus was deprecated by both sides.

Erasmus of Rotterdam  
J. C. FRANÇOIS, based  
on H. HOLBEIN, c.1760  
CGV



## THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

The reform advocated by Luther was based on five theological principles or *solae*: 1) The Bible in the vernacular as the sole source of doctrine (*Sola scriptura*); 2) Salvation by faith alone (*Sola Fide*); 3) The justification of salvation by God's grace alone, in opposition to the belief in the role of good works (*Sola gratia*); 4) The elimination of any mediator between God and men except Jesus Christ, as opposed to the intercession of the saints (*Solus Christus*); and 5) The glorification of God alone, worshipping no other being, object or symbol (*Soli Deo Gloria*). In short, Luther questioned both the mediating role of the Church and papal authority. To this was added criticism of the excesses of the curia and the denouncement of the sale of indulgences to raise money.

### THE EXPANSION OF PROTESTANTISM

- Expansion area
- Regions of Catholic domination
- Regions of Lutheran domination
- Regions of Calvinist domination
- Regions of Anglican domination



## Humanism, Spirituality and Protestantism

The Protestant reformers shared certain common characteristics, such as humanistic scholarship and, especially, the legacy of the so-called Brethren of the Common Life, a spiritual movement forged in the Netherlands towards the end of the fourteenth century which defended a more genuine, personal religious experience (known as the *Devotio Moderna*). In practice, however, the Reformation led to the emergence of a number of Protestant movements, each of which carried the imprint of its own reformer, whether Luther, Calvin, Zwingli or some other figure.



1



2

Along with Martin Luther, the main reformers were John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli and Philipp Melanchthon

1. John Calvin. F. PILOTY, based on H. HOLBEIN, 1830. CGV

2. Huldrych Zwingli R. HOUSTON, 1759. CGV

3. Philipp Melanchthon L. CRANACH, THE YOUNGER, 1561. CGV



3

## Images: Pedagogy or Idolatry?

The confessional debate also concerned the nature and use of religious images. Some iconoclastic acts of destruction incited by the writings of Carlstadt and Zwingli led Luther and Calvin, among others, to reflect on the matter. Both condemned the idolatrous use of images, but while Luther accepted their educational and propaganda value, Calvin wrote, in *Institutions of the Christian Religion*, that man, through his corrupt nature,

*When God is worshipped in images, when fictitious worship is instituted in His name, when supplication is made to the images of saints, and divine honors paid to dead men's bones, against these, and similar abominations, we protest...*

irrevocably falls into idolatry if images are authorised, and that it is impossible to express what is sacred in a finite form.

John Calvin. *The Necessity for Reforming the Church*



Presentation of the Augsburg Confession to Emperor Charles V  
G. PFAUTZ, c. 1740. CGV

The Augsburg Confession is the name given to the document written by Philipp Melancthon, a friend and follower of Luther, and presented at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, convened at the behest of Emperor Charles V. Its purpose was to set out the Lutheran doctrine while also seeking compromise with the Roman church, but in this endeavour it failed completely: the emperor commissioned its refutation (*Confutatio Pontificia*) and Luther himself considered it excessively submissive. However, the Augsburg Confession continues to exercise its influence even today, and can be considered a key document in shaping the Lutheran Church.



## The House of Habsburg and Protestantism

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Emperor Charles V fought Lutheranism unsuccessfully in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) confirmed the legal division of Christendom within the empire, according to the pragmatic principle that the religion of the ruler should be that of the subject (*cuius regio eius religio*). Half a century later, in the territories of the central branch of the House of Austria, Emperor Ferdinand II successfully carried out a harsh campaign of re-Catholicisation, with the support of the Jesuits and other religious orders.

### THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG AGAINST PROTESTANTISM

YEAR	PROTESTANTISM	CATHOLICISM
1521		Diet of Worms: Charles V against Luther
1531	Formation of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League	
1538		Catholic League of Nuremberg
1547		Imperial-Catholic victory at Mühlberg
1552	Protestant victories at Innsbruck and Metz	
1559		Philip II forbids study at foreign universities. Firstly in Castile and, in 1568, in the Crown of Aragon.
1596		Persecutions of protestants in Styria, Carinthia and Carniola ordained by Archduke Ferdinand
1609		Maximilian I of Bavaria founds the Catholic League.
1618	Revolt of the Czech Protestant nobility. Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.	
1620		Catholic victory at the Battle of White Mountain (Prague)
1623		Forced re-Catholicisation of the Kingdom of Bohemia.
1648	The Peace of Westphalia confirms the independence of the Protestant provinces in the Netherlands	



## THE COUNTER-REFORMATION OR CATHOLIC REFORMATION

By 1520, the differences between Protestants and the Roman Church had become insurmountable. The Church's response was not only reactive, as the term "Counter-Reformation" might suggest, but also, in its way, renewing. That is why, nowadays, this reaction is known as the Catholic Reformation. Together, the founding of new religious orders, including the Jesuits; the establishment in 1542 of the Roman Inquisition to eliminate any dissent; the repressive activity of inquisitorial tribunals in various parts of Europe; the formulation of the Index of Prohibited Books, which included the works of Erasmus; and the Council of Trent (1545-1563), all served to channel the institutional and doctrinal reorganisation of a Church determined to ensure that its authority and influence prevailed.

*Repraesentatio Totius Orbis Terraquei cuius partes, Quae Umbra carent fide Catholica*  
H. SCHERER, 1702. CGV



Saint Ignatius of Loyola  
H. WIERIX, c. 1595. CGV

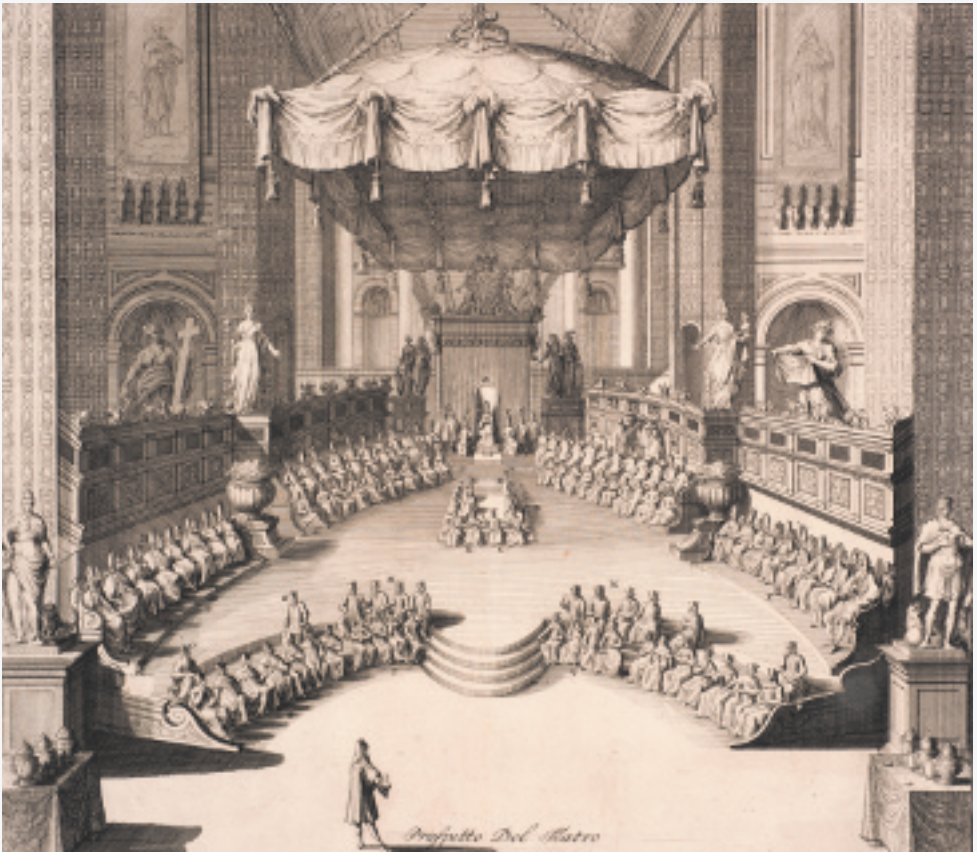


## The Council of Trent

The reaction of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to the Protestant Reformation was not immediate. Charles V, the emperor, urged the Pope to convene a council on German soil, but Rome was reluctant to agree. Finally, the meeting was called in Trent: inside the Empire, but on Italian soil. Over the nearly twenty years that the Council took to complete its work (1545-1563), the Catholic Religion was reformulated. Besides theologically defining the Holy Trinity, the Mystery of the Eucharist, the condition of the Virgin Mary, the role of the saints and so on, the Council also aimed to reorganise the Church and eradicate excesses that the institution admitted to internally. The authority of the bishop was strengthened and the periodical organisation of provincial councils, diocesan synods and pastoral visits and missions would regulate parish life.



The Council of the Holy See. J. AMMAN  
Originally in the book  
*Catalogus Gloriarum*  
*Mundi*, by B. DE CHAS-  
SENEUZ, 1579. CGV



Canonisation at the Vatican. ANONYMOUS, 1704. CGV

## The Exaltation of Saints and Relics

In the Catholic world the saints were maintained, like Our Lady, as role models and mediating figures whose beneficial intervention should be invoked and thanked. Canonisations, now controlled and approved by papal authority, proliferated after the turn of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the issue of the saints encouraged documentary historiography to combat the arguments of the Protestant historian Matthias Flacius, who linked the Reformation to the early Christians. The historian Cesare Baronio and the archaeologist Antonio Bossi studied files and catacombs and published monumental works aimed at establishing the authenticity of the relics of the first martyrs and at legitimising the primacy of the Roman Church. Meanwhile, the cities sought the bodies of saints in order to make show of their Catholicism.

## Trent and Holy Images

A decree issued at the final session of the Council of Trent (1563) ratified the validity of images to narrate the Holy Scriptures. In line with previous councils, it was considered that holy images instructed the illiterate, helped the forgetful to remember and moved the faithful. However, such images should conform to official written sources, and the bishop was made responsible for their decorum. The edict encouraged theologians to write treatises on sacred images. Clement VIII even instructed Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti to compile an index of prohibited images with a view to establishing censorship, as already occurred with the written word. However, the project was left unfinished due to the prelate's death in 1597.

*They who affirm that veneration and honour are not due to the relics of saints; or, that these, and other sacred monuments, are uselessly honoured by the faithful; and that the places dedicated to the memories of the saints are in vain visited with the view of obtaining their aid; are wholly to be condemned, as the Church has already long since condemned, and now also condemns them.*

Excerpt from the last decree from the Council of Trent, 1563



Saint Eustache and his Children Taken into Heaven by Angels. M. DORIGNY based on S. VOUET, 1738. CGV



Saint Rosalia of Palermo. ANONYMOUS, Catalonia, in the second half of the eighteenth century. MFM



Saint Peter in Chair. ANONYMOUS, Castile, third quarter of the sixteenth century. MFM

## PRINTING AND ENGRAVING

The emergence of the printing press in fifteenth-century Europe revolutionised all spheres of communication and knowledge, an eruption comparable with other major technical innovations such as writing or, in our own day, the Internet. The serial reproduction of books, engravings, printed sheets and other works thanks to movable type and woodblock processes accelerated the dissemination of ideas to a growing audience. The market expanded rapidly and by around the year 1500 there were printing presses in some 250 European cities.

### LEADING PRINTING CENTRES IN EUROPE UP TO 1500

- Printing centres
- Printing centres with more than 3,000 works
- 1450-1459
- 1460-1460
- 1470-1479
- 1480-1489
- 1490-1499

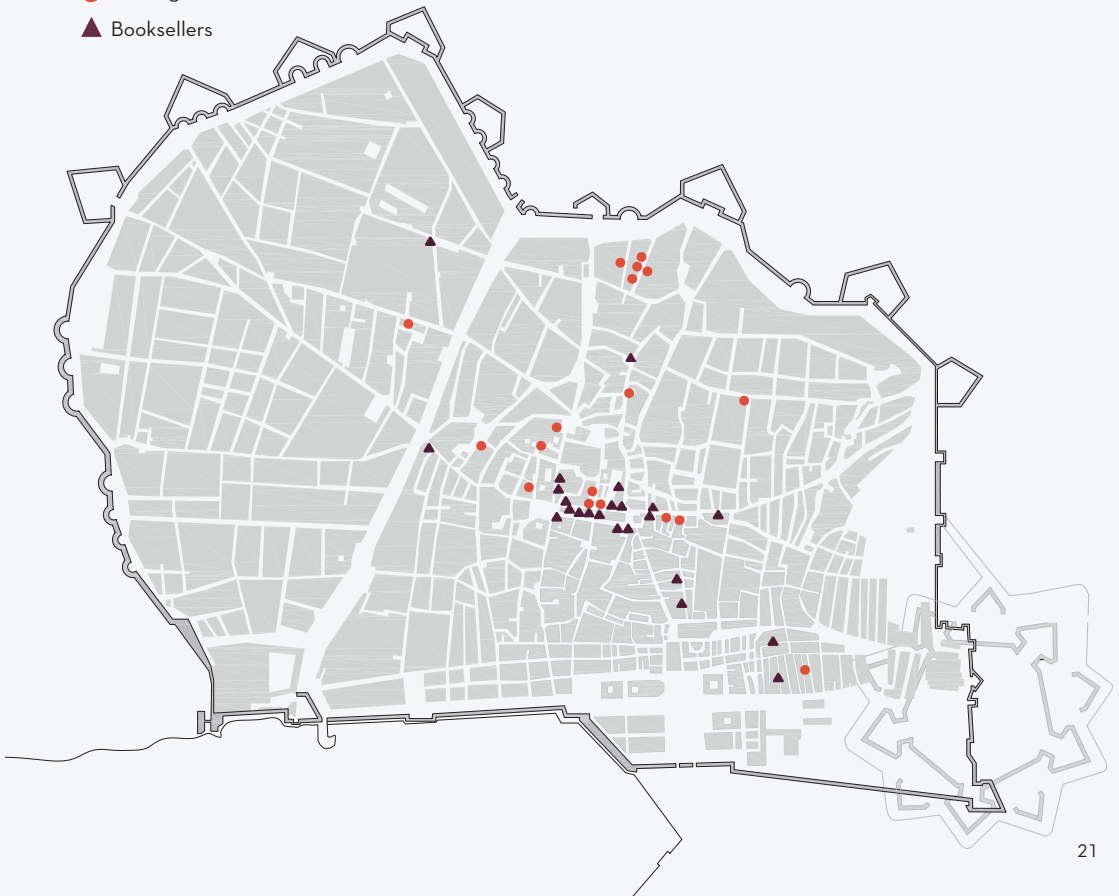


## New Means of Communication

The printing press not only enabled the rigorous editing of key works, such as The Holy Bible itself, but also allowed innovation in the ways ideas and news were communicated, with the hybridisation of texts and images with the oral tradition. Unlike painting, which only the elites could afford, engravings were printed at low cost. Most of the population was illiterate, and reading aloud, accompanied by illustrative images, was a frequent practice. These forms of communication increased the potential audience for engraved works, including prints, which became very important resources for underpinning and disseminating doctrine.

### BOOKSELLERS AND PRINTERS IN BARCELONA AT THE BEGINNING OF 18TH CENTURY

- Printing houses
- ▲ Booksellers



### **The Printing Press: “A Gift from God”**

The Reformation movement used printing and engraving in a highly conscious way. For Luther, the printing press was “a gift from God.” For the first time, its potential was harnessed for mass distribution. Although Luther was opposed to idolatry of images, he appreciated the educational value of art, and artists such as Dürer and Cranach put themselves at the service of spreading his ideas. Moreover, the translation of the Bible, which Luther completed in German in 1534, stimulated both printing and literacy. Thanks to the printed word and the image, the Reformation quickly spread into The Netherlands, France and England, among other regions.

### **The Catholic Printing Press**

In the Catholic territories, the ban on the vernacular Bible led to an increase in the publication of works that combined text and image. The Jesuits, or Company of Jesus, an order strongly committed both to obeying the Pope’s authority and to teaching and spreading the doctrine, began to stand out in their use of

images in religious books in order to stimulate meditation and as a support for their style of preaching. An example is *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, written by the Jesuit priest Jeroni Nadal. Illustrations also abounded in works of the theology, hagiography, mysticism and holy prayer, as well as in liturgical drama. As concerns the publication of reference texts, a particularly outstanding example is the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, which followed the model of that published in Alcalá de Henares at the beginning of the century.



Engraving that  
Depicts Luther as an  
Instrument of the Devil.  
E. SCHÖN, c. 1535. SML

### **The dispute through satires**

The religious struggle in pulpits and streets ran parallel to the dissemination of engraved images. This is what has been called the “first campaign of pictorial satire”. It was vital to get the message across and convince people, and all sides used the image powerfully both to illustrate their own doctrine and their opponents’ defects. They all commissioned works with clearly critical content against their enemies, but the Protestants won the battle of the image with the virulence and clarity of their visual attacks.



Portrait that Merges  
the Pope with the Devil  
ANONYMOUS, seven-  
teenth century. MCU

# PROTESTANT ANTI-CATHOLIC IMAGES



*The Mass of the Hypocrites*  
ANONYMOUS, 1566. RA



*Luther Triumphant*  
ANONYMOUS, 1566-1568. RA

Henry VIII of England  
Tramples on Pope Clement VII  
ANONYMOUS, c. 1641. cvg





The Two Ways of  
 Preaching. G. PENCZ,  
 1529. AV



Satire of the Catholic  
 Clergy. M. GERUNG,  
 c. 1530. GNN



## PROTESTANT ANTI-CATHOLIC IMAGES



The Pope and Clergy in the Cauldron of Hell.  
M. GERUNG, 1546. HAUMB



The Pope as a Three-Headed Monster  
M. LORCK, 1555, MET



The Shipwreck of the Catholic Church  
M. GERUNG, 1548  
HAUMB

1



2





3



4

1. The Devil Fires Heresy and Incredulity at the Catholic Church. ANONYMOUS, 1550-1599. RA

2. A Fury Killing John Calvin, Martin Luther and Theodore de Bèze. ANONYMOUS, seventeenth century. MIRC

3. The Cauldron of Heresy. ANONYMOUS, 1520. zz

4. Luther as a Seven-Headed Monster H. BROSAMER, 1529. BS





## WAR AND VIOLENCE

The religious violence and wars that shook early modern Europe not only mirrored the struggle between different options for the spiritual life but also reflected many other conflicts, though always in a religious key. These ranged from social and economic tensions in the countryside and in the cities to geostrategic movements made by great continental powers. That is why these so-called religious reforms reached such levels of virulence; because much more earthly matters were also mixed with such issues as the salvation of the soul.

### **The Social Order Questioned: The German Peasants' War**

In the revolt that swept across the German countryside and towns in 1524-1525, spiritual and social demands merged, at least in manifestos like the *Twelve Articles*, first published by the peasants of Swabia. When the rebellion started to spread, Luther angrily criticised the rebels and legitimised the nobility in violently quashing them. On the other hand, Thomas Müntzer, a radical reformer, believed that the time had come for the poor to touch the heavens. The peasants were defeated, however, and Luther and other reformers came to the conclusion that the Word of God could not be left in just anyone's hands. These events marked a turning-point in the Protestant Reformation.



Thomas Müntzer.  
R. De HOOGHE,  
1701. cgv

## The Kingdom of France, Split by Religious Wars

In France, the Calvinists, known as Huguenots, quickly found more and more followers among the educated urban classes and the elites in the southwest and south of the kingdom. The country had been rocked by violence and civil wars since the mid-sixteenth century, and the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Protestants in Paris in 1572 was a particularly bloodthirsty episode. In 1593, Henry III of Navarre converted to Catholicism to be crowned as Henry IV of France; in 1598, in order to reduce tensions, he issued the Edict of Nantes, which established protective measures and authorised Protestant worship. Almost a century later, Louis XIV - "one king, one faith, one law" - revoked the Edict, causing a mass exodus of Protestants, impoverishing the kingdom and provoking an uprising of the *Camisards* in Cevennes.



The Duke of Guise, mortally wounded, on the 18th February 1563, J. TORTOREL. *Premier volume contenant quarante tableaux ou histoires diverses qui sont mémorables touchant les guerres, massacres et troubles advenus en France en ces dernières années [...], 1569-1570. RA*

## Iconoclasm and Political Revolt in the Netherlands

Since the 1520s, iconoclasm, or the destruction of religious images, had been a frequent phenomenon in Protestant areas of countries like Switzerland, the Holy Roman Empire, England, Scotland and France. But it was in Flanders and Brabant and, especially, the city of Antwerp, then financial capital of the continent, where the *Beeldenstorm*, or storm of images, broke out in 1566. This systematic attack on carvings, paintings and stained-glass windows, incited by Calvinist preachers, was the prelude to the revolt against the monarchy of Philip II of Spain, an uprising which, eventually, led to the secession of the seven northern provinces.

## Remembering the Martyrs

Amid the violence, each religion counted its martyrs. In England, John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* focused on the Protestant victims of the brief restoration of Catholicism during the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558). In Rome, following the guidelines of the Council of Trent, Cesare Baronio, father of hagiography as a historical critical genre, purged and updated the catalogue of Catholic martyrs (*Martyrologium Romanum*, 1589). But some reacted in other ways. When the Calvinists of Geneva sentenced Miquel Servet to be burned at the stake, the Protestant theologian and humanist Sébastien Castellion wrote that: "to kill a man is not to defend an idea, but to kill a man."

The Burning of a Heretic. *Les grandes misères de la guerre*  
J. CALLOT, 1633. CGV







Iconoclastic Attack on the Cathedral of Our Lady of Antwerp. F. HOGENBERG, 1610. RA



**Barcelona:  
Frontier, "Contagion"  
and Inquisition**

When civil wars broke out between Catholics and Protestants in the neighbouring kingdom of France in the mid-sixteenth century, King Philip II of Spain and the Inquisition, alarmed by the risk of contagion, increased their vigilance and control of the border. Nearly all French subjects who arrived in Catalonia, fleeing from the conflict or in search of the chance of a better life, were Catholic in origin, but in the eyes of the inquisitors they were equally

suspect. They could easily find themselves accused of heresy or of marrying whilst keeping a previous marriage secret. Some booksellers sentenced to the galleys also came from France. As regards control of publications, the Inquisition censored all kinds of works and periodically inspected bookshops and even some private libraries.



Sign worn around his neck in punishment by a man accused of being "led by the evil spirit" and to have stolen some pipes from an organ. ANONYMOUS. Barcelona, 1612. AHCB

Saddle used on those condemned by the City. ANONYMOUS, Barcelona, seventeenth century. MUHBA

In February 1564, not long after the Council of Trent ended, Philip II visited Barcelona. In order to dispel any suspicion of Lutheranism and show itself as a Catholic stronghold against heresy, the city organised a ceremonial programme charged with enormous symbolic importance. When the king reached the Saint Anthony Gate, a scene was enacted in which Saint Eulalia gave him the keys to the city and proclaimed that Barcelona was not infected by the Lutheran disease. Later, after the swearing of the constitutions in the Tinell Room, Philip was escorted into Plaça del Rei, where he watched *The Attack on the Lutheran Castle*, a performance in which Christian soldiers besieged the heretics' fortress, shouting "Spain, Spain: some, Saint James, others Saint George, close, in: victory, victory". The ceremonial programme ended on March 5 in Plaça del Born with one of the few acts of faith attended by the king. At it, eight men were burned at the stake, and two more in effigy, accused of Lutheranism.

[We] prohibit all and any images, portraits, coins, prints, inventions, masks, representations and medals that are made printed, painted, drawn, carved, woven or represented in any material whatsoever in such a manner that they ridicule the saints and demonstrate contempt and irreverence towards them, their images, relics or miracles, habit, profession or life.

Clause 12 from the *Index of Prohibited Books* of Gaspar de Quiroga, 1583



Censored portrait and description of Machiavelli. *Pauli Iovii ... Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium [...]*. P. GIOVIO, Basel, 1596. CRAI-UB

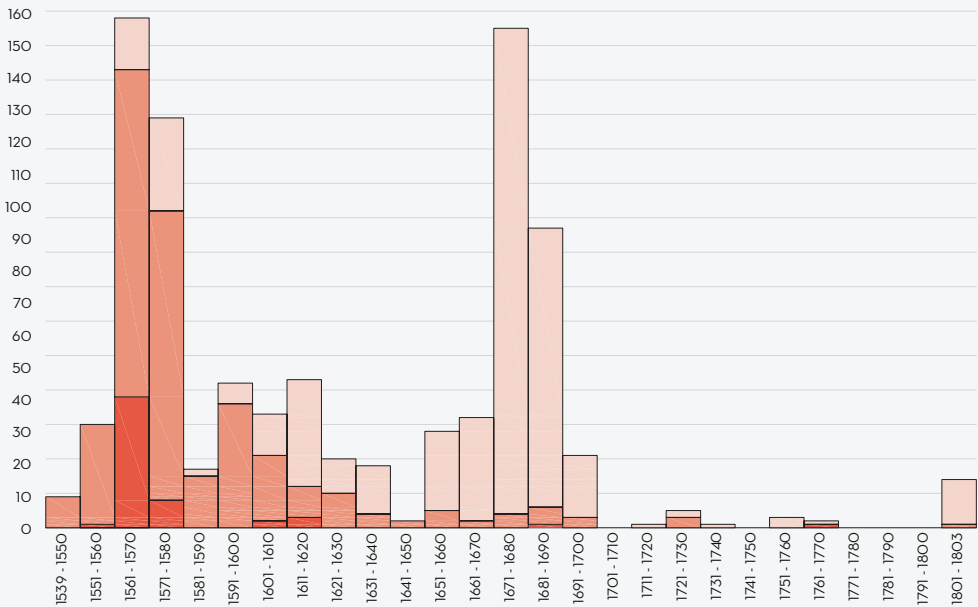


Censored portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam *Cosmographia universalis*. Sebastian MÜNSTER 1554. CRAI - UB

## INQUISITION OF BARCELONA TRIALS FOR LUTHERANISM (1539-1803)

The Tribunal of the Holy Office of Barcelona, which held jurisdiction over much of Catalonia, tried 5,425 cases during its existence, including 821 for Lutheranism, 15% of the total. Of these, 27 (3%) ended in execution –the last in 1619– and 27 more in execution in effigy. With time, absolutions increased more and more, representing more than 90% of cases after the second half of the seventeenth century.

### CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO SENTENCE



Source: based on Juan Blázquez, *Catálogo de los procesos inquisitoriales del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Barcelona*, Madrid, 1990.

Trials initiated	821
Executions, in person or in effigy*	54
Other sentences**	336
Absolutions	431

\* When those condemned were tried in absentia, an effigy representing them was executed

\*\* Banished, reconciled, fined, whipped, sentenced to temporary reclusion and sentenced to galleys

## ORIGIN OF THE ACCUSED



*You know that the errors of Luther's evil sect are abroad in France and the danger of harming this land due to the vicinity with France, and despite all remedies possible being taken to prevent this, it appears to us that the inquisitors should go around the places in this principality and the countries on the border with the lands of Vendome.*

Letter of Philip II to García de Toledo, viceroy of Catalonia, 1560

## THE ENGRAVED BIBLE

After the publication of the first Bible printed by Gutenberg in 1455, there were efforts to translate and broaden access to the sacred text. Catalan was the third language to have its own translation, with the “Valencian” Bible, printed in 1478. But the Church was suspicious of these initiatives and, after the outbreak of the religious conflict, forbade the publication of the complete Bible in the vernacular. Meanwhile, translations of the Bible, often accompanied by illustrations, spread like wildfire around the Protestant world. After Cranach had illustrated Luther’s German version of the New Testament in 1522 and the Holy Bible in 1534, many editions began to include engravings in order to help the mainly illiterate population to understand the texts.

In the early modern age, artists produced works for their patrons, both Catholics and Protestants: they worked on commission. The religious affiliations of these artists were vague and changeable, and anonymity was a frequently-employed strategy to maintain this ambiguity, enabling them to be more versatile and accept all and any commissions. Many engravers and printers produced work for both opposing factions.

Printing  
*Traicté des manieres de  
graver en taille douce [...]*  
A. BOSSE. Paris, 1645. BC



## Reproductive prints: from Painting to Plate

Reproductive prints reproduced paintings or sculptural works of art on paper. Engravers like Marcantonio Raimondi popularised paintings by such artists as Raphael and helped to spread the Renaissance throughout Europe. Some prints and book illustrations reproduced major works of religious art, making them accessible to wider audiences. The influence of prints on the creative processes of other fine artists – painters, sculptors, ceramists, silversmiths and so on – increased the value of some of these representations, elevating them almost to the status of normative models.

## Divergent Iconographies

With the subtlety of their stroke and the beauty of their forms, Bible illustrations, whether Catholic or Protestant, helped to bring out the doctrinal points that required emphasis. In response to the Protestant *sola fide*, the Catholic territories were flooded with prints depicting the Seven Acts of Mercy. Eucharistic exaltation and adoration, along with healing properties of saints and relics, were concepts illustrated in the Catholic world, while the parables and public examples of Christ's mercy were found commonly in images circulating in the Protestant territories.



*La Madonna de Foligno*  
V. VICTORIA, based on  
RAPHAEL, c.1700. CGV

## The Bible in Engravings

Richly illustrated Bibles were published in both Protestant and Catholic territories, in the latter case in Latin. At first, the woodcut was used, then the burin, combining the printed word with the graphic image in a coherent whole in which the two media could be interpreted together. The city of Antwerp, first and foremost, but also Lyon, Venice, Frankfurt and Ingolstadt, were the leading centres for the printing of Bibles and the commentaries that theologians wrote on some of its books. Series of numbered prints were also published, their legends translated into various languages to facilitate access to the Holy Scriptures and to make such initiatives more profitable.

1



1. Jacob's Ladder  
A. ZUCCHI, based on  
TINTORETTO, 1720. CGV

2. King David  
R. SADELER based on  
M. DE VOS, 1674. CGV

3. Moses. J. MATHAM,  
based on G. CESARI,  
called IL CAVALIER  
D'ARPINO, 1602. CGV

2



4



4. Abraham Caressing  
Isaac. REMBRANDT, 1645  
CGV

5. Lot and His Family  
Fleeing from Sodom  
H. ALDEGREVER, 1550  
CGV

6. Adam and Eve  
S. CANTARINI, called  
LE PESARESE, c.1639  
CGV





3



5



6





7



8



9



10

7. The Crucifixion  
A. FUCHS, c. 1545. CGV

8. Christ and the Samaritan Woman. C. MARATTA, based on A. CARRACCI, 1649. CGV

9. Jesus Condemned to Death. Ph. GALLE, based on A. COLLAERT, 1587. CGV

10. Christ in Limbo  
L. VAN LEYDEN, 1521. CGV

11. The Baptism of Christ  
J. J. KLEINSCHMIDT, based on C. LE BRUN, 1720. CGV

12. Jesus Washes the Disciples' Feet  
C. STELLA, based on N. POUSSIN, 1680. CGV

13. The Prayer in the Garden. A. DÜRER, 1515. CGV





The Tears of Saint  
Peter. J. DE RIBERA,  
1621. CGV



Saint Paul  
J. DE GHEYN II  
based on  
K. VAN MANDER,  
c. 1600. CGV

## THE SAINTS

The disagreements between Catholics and Protestants were not restricted to the use of the Bible. Certain matters of dogma, such as the nature of the saints and the act of worshipping them, were also the subject of argument. After the Council of Trent, the Catholic world, unlike the Protestant movement, continued to worship the saints. Besides individual worship, saints and Mothers of God inspired collective veneration, especially when they were presented, along with the angels, as guardians who watched over the well-being of a given city, region or community.



The Protestant reformers fiercely questioned the worship of saints and their relics. They stressed the value of the saints as models of virtue who should be remembered and give inspiration but not, however, worshipped, and rejected their mediating role as intercessors between God and men. The Protestants also criticised the fantastical nature of many hagiographies. Only the figures of certain deeply rooted saints, devoid of any spirit of worship, were retained in the Protestant iconography; martyrologies also appeared, illustrated by images of those who lost their lives due to their reformist faith.

Saint Bartholomew  
A. DÜRER, 1523. cgv

## Barcelona, City of Saints

During the baroque period, Barcelona, whose mythical founder was Hercules, found a new identity, in religious key, as a city of martyrs and relics. The canonisation of Saint Raymond of Penyafort in 1601 was greeted with euphoria. Soon after this, Baltasar Calderón spoke of “another new Rome” in his *Alabanzas de la insigne Ciudad de Barcelona... y de los seys cuerpos santos que tiene* [Praise of the Great City of Barcelona... and the Six Bodies of Saints that It Has]. Calderón alluded to the saints Eulalia, Matrona, Raymond of Penyafort, Severus, Pacian and Olegarius. The prestige of the city and its elites were at stake in this battle of the saints. The governing body of the city, known as the *Consell de Cent*, spared no effort and used all its ingenuity to sponsor and fund religious orders, cults and canonisations.



Martyrdom of Saint  
Eulalia, Patron Saint  
of Barcelona  
B. CHASSE, Barcelona,  
c.1700. PA

Saint Raymon  
of Penyafort  
B. TRISTANY, 1686. PA.



The Virgin of Mercy  
of the Councillors  
ANONYMOUS  
Barcelona, 1690  
MNAC. Photo: FIA.

At the top is the Virgin of Mercy, accompanied by another sixteen Barcelonan saints. Below are highly realist portraits of the six councillors of the city in 1690. The painting, which was installed that same year in the antechamber of the Trentenari Nou, was commissioned to commemorate both the fact that the city had been saved from a plague of locusts in 1688 and that, in 1690, the Barcelona councillors had secured the right not to have to take off their hats before the king.

### **The Consolidation of Marian Devotions**

The power of Our Lady to intercede was reaffirmed exactly when the Protestant religions began to question this role. In Barcelona, as in many other Catholic cities, many niches and chapels containing Her image were built, some of them still in existence, and the confraternities continued to champion such popular invocations as Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of Sorrows. Other Marian invocations took on a new profile, moreover. These included Our Lady of Mercy (La Mercè), consolidated due to the episode of the plague of locusts in 1686-88. The cult of the Immaculate Conception, in turn, was propitiated by the policy of unifying devotions ordained by the monarchy, which even encouraged artists in several cities, including Seville and Madrid, to create an appropriate iconography.



N<sup>o</sup> 1070.

ACCION DE LA REAL COMP<sup>a</sup> DE COMERCIO ESTABLECIDA EN B.

Interesa *Juan Sanmarti Comerciante Vecino de Barcelona*  
 en la R<sup>a</sup> Comp<sup>a</sup> con esta Accion por doscientos y cinquenta pesos de à ciento y veinte y ocho quartos  
 puesto en su Tesoreria; y en los repartos de utilidades que se hizieren en el modo y tiempos que se aco-  
 rregare al dueño de la Accion, ó à su apoderado, lo que por ella le corresponda: De este instrumento  
 con el Contador, le referendare el Secretario, y sellara con el sello de la R<sup>a</sup> Compañia. Barcelona  
 nueve del Mes de mil seiscientos cinquenta y ocho.

*Don Juan Sanmarti* *Don Juan de S. Juan y Maura*  
 Tomó razón *Don Juan de S. Juan y Maura*  
*Don Juan de S. Juan y Maura* *Don Juan de S. Juan y Maura*  
 Por acuerdo de los S.<sup>os</sup> D.<sup>os</sup> *Don Juan de S. Juan y Maura*



## BELIEF IN BARCELONA SOCIETY

It was not all contrasts or differences between Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Among the common points there was a similar mistrust towards popular culture, with its universe of beliefs, and the search for effective mechanisms of social disciplining. Despite the proximity of the French border and the repeated presence of foreign troops, especially during the War of the Spanish Succession (when each faction accused the other of being a danger to the true religion), few heretical episodes are known of in the Catholic Barcelona of the modern era. The ecclesiastical structure built by the Counter-Reformation left a lasting mark on the organisation of Barcelona society.



The City of Barcelona, Protected by Saints. Share certificate for the Royal Trading Company of Barcelona. I. VALLS, based on M. TRAMULLAS. Barcelona, 1750. PA



Procession of the Good Death on Palm Sunday, by the Arch-Fraternity of the Mare de Déu dels Dolors from the Convent of Bonsuccés in Barcelona. G. REIG, s.XVIII. MUHBA

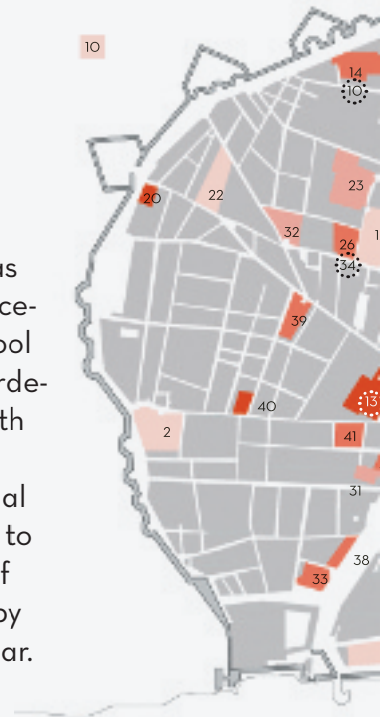


## A NEW RELIGIOUS TOPOGRAPHY

Pastoral control revolved around the parish, which was a key element in the system for teaching belief. There were eight parishes in early modern Barcelona. The application of the decrees issued by the Council of Trent was led particularly by Joan Dimes Lloris, bishop of the diocese of Barcelona from 1576 to 1598. Lloris founded the diocesan seminary, encouraged the search for saints and relics and insisted on the importance of moral rigorism, recommending parish control of the customs of the faithful from the age of twelve. Throughout the modern period, more and more convents and monasteries were built due to the arrival here of Counter-Reformation orders. In total, the presence of such sites increased by 70%: from 27 at the end of the fifteenth century to 46 by the end of the eighteenth. These new ecclesiastical sites were established, above all, in the Raval neighbourhood of the city.

## ECCLESIASTIC CONTROL OF EDUCATION

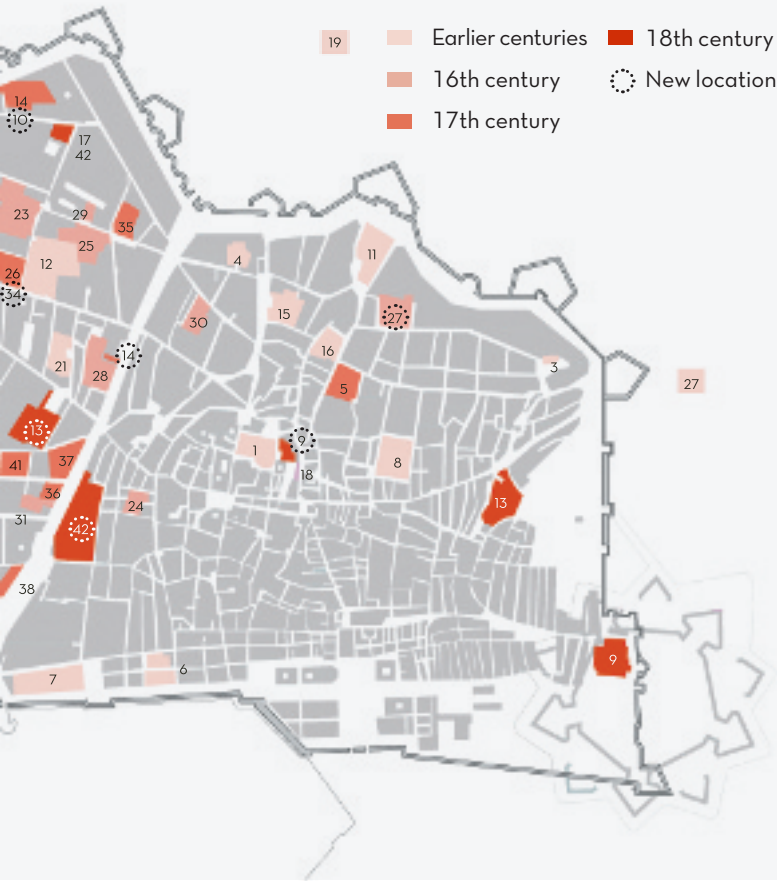
Apart from the municipal school of “first letters” (early learning), known as the *Corralet* and suppressed in 1714, and a number of private teachers, teaching was practically an ecclesiastical monopoly in modern Barcelona. All the major religious orders had their own school and young people from good families went to the Cordelles school, run by the Jesuits from the mid-seventeenth century. Lay teachers were also under the control of the diocesan authority. It was not until new educational requirements emerged in the eighteenth century due to the expansion of the calico industry and the growth of overseas trade that the vocational schools financed by the Board of Trade (*Junta de Comerç*) began to appear.



## CONFRATERNITIES AND SOCIAL DISCIPLINING

Lay devotional confraternities, each linked to a particular religious invocation, were a key tool for disciplining the population. Their composition was varied, including members from different social classes, and they were supervised by, at least, a priest. To belong to a religious confraternity entailed certain religious obligations, such as going to Mass, going regularly to confession and doing spiritual exercises, as well as social duties like performing charitable work and visiting hospitals. But, at the same time, the confraternities provided arenas for sociability, sources of mutual assistance and a framework for civic and popular festivities.

### CONVENTS AND MONASTERIES IN BARCELONA



### CONVENTS AND MONASTERIES IN BARCELONA

- 1 Canònica de la catedral
- 2 Sant Pau del Camp
- 3 Sant Pere de les Puel·les
- 4 Santa Anna i Santa Eulàlia
- 5 Sant Joan de Jerusalem
- 6 La Mercè
- 7 Sant Francesc
- 8 Santa Caterina
- 9 Sant Antoni i Santa Clara
- 10 Valldonzella
- 11 Santa Maria de Jonqueres
- 12 El Carme
- 13 Sant Agustí
- 14 Natzaret
- 15 Montsió
- 16 Santa Maria Magdalena
- 17 Montalegre Closed
- 18 Capella Reial
- 19 Convent de Jesús
- 20 Sant Antoni Abat Closed
- 21 Santa Maria de Jerusalem
- 22 Sant Maties
- 23 Els Àngels
- 24 La Trinitat
- 25 Santa Elisabet
- 26 Nostra Senyora de la Victòria Closed
- 27 Sant Francesc de Paula Closed
- 28 Sant Josep
- 29 Sant Guillem d'Aquitània
- 30 Santa Teresa
- 31 Sant Àngel
- 32 Santa Margarida la Reial
- 33 Santa Mònica
- 34 Jesús Maria
- 35 Bonsuccés
- 36 Sant Bonaventura
- 37 Bonanova
- 38 Sant Pere Nolasc
- 39 L'Encarnació
- 40 Sant Vicent i Sant Ramon
- 41 Agustines Penedides
- 42 Santa Madrona

## CONVENTS AND MONASTERIES IN BARCELONA

Preparation for death was governed by series of guidelines and rules of conduct aimed at ensuring that, at the end of life, the individual would go to heaven. Religious texts advised on how to go about saving one's soul and insisted –unlike Protestantism– on the importance of good deeds. At death's approach, the sacrament of extreme unction, accompanied by confession and communion, closed the life cycle. The prayer for the dead, through the intercession of a saint, could shorten time that souls had to remain in purgatory and help them to enter heaven sooner.

*The First of the Four  
Last Things, on Death,  
and its Ways, P. ABADAL  
1684. AHCB*



## THE INQUISITION, STILL...

In the eighteenth century, the Inquisition continued to do what it had for the last two centuries, to encouraging the denunciation of Jews and crypto-Jews, alumbados (members of a sixteenth-century philo-Protestant movement) and Lutherans and Protestants in general. However, the dangers had now changed as a result of the spread of the works and the ideas of Enlightenment thinkers. For this reason, the Court of the Holy Office in Barcelona heightened its control over books and expanded the list of forbidden texts, but was still unable to prevent the circulation of the ideas that were eroding the Ancien Régime. This was, however, a slow erosion: the religious strategies and institutional structures established at the time of the Counter-Reformation had a long-lasting impact.



*Troupe of Charlatans*  
F. DE GOYA, c.1790  
CGV

When Canon Jaime Caresmar dared to question the historical veracity of at least part of the story of the martyrdoms of Saint Eulalia, he became the target of a virulent campaign to discredit him, and the Cathedral Chapter banned him from access to the archive. The application of the critical method to document saints, in response to the fanciful historiography of the baroque period, still caused scandal, even in 1789, the year of the French Revolution.



*May the Cord Break*  
F. DE GOYA, 1814-1815  
CGV

*Destruction of the  
Inquisition in Barcelona*  
H. LECOMTE, 1820. AHCB



*Destruction de la Inquisition en Barcelona.*



## TOWARDS THE MODERN AGE

In early modern Europe, the division between the Protestant and Catholic worlds reshaped the relationships between cities and between social and political spheres. Religious rivalries generated a new geopolitics and a new cultural map on a continental scale. This division is illustrated by religious engravings, with their contrast between, on the one hand, the narrative repertoire of Biblical iconography made popular in the Protestant world and, on the other, the invocation of Eucharistic exaltation and the mediatory figures of the saints and Our Lady in Catholic engravings. However, these two branches did not develop independently. In both the Catholic and the Protestant worlds, the key issue was disciplining the people, teaching to believe through intimidation or, even better, persuasion: in this sense, the use of engravings represents the first mass printed propaganda operation in history.

All this until, in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the emergence of the Enlightenment, the place of religion in the public sphere began to be questioned more and more, with an appeal to reason, the demystification of rulers and the separation between the State and the Church. In early-nineteenth-century Barcelona, the laborious suppression of the Inquisition (1813-1834) was a milestone in the incipient process of secularisation. This process was not linear anywhere and in Barcelona it served to highlight both the strength of the ecclesiastical fabric woven over previous centuries and growing popular unrest, of which anticlericalism was one of the most visible manifestations.

## IMAGES TO BELIEVE. CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS IN EUROPE AND BARCELONA 16TH-18TH CENTURIES

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Sílvia Canalda, Cristina Fontcuberta i Famadas, Antoni Gelonch i Viladegut (coordination) and Xavier Torres

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Iris García Urbano and Marina Masnou

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