

The Cult of Corpus Christi in Early Modern Bavaria: Pilgrimages,
Processions, and Confraternities between 1550 and 1750

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

19th June 2014 (Corpus Christi)

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Abstract

Transubstantiation and the cult of Corpus Christi became crucial Counter-Reformation symbols which were assigned an even more significant role during the process of Catholic renewal from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Practices outside Mass, such as pilgrimages, processions, and prayers in front of the consecrated host flourished, in particular, in early modern Bavaria. The former Duchy of Bavaria has generally been regarded as the archetypal ‘confessional’ state, as the Bavarian dukes from the House of Wittelsbach took the lead in propagating the cult of the Eucharist. They acted as patrons of Baroque Catholicism which was presented to the public as an obvious visual marker of Catholic identity. This study therefore investigates how the Eucharist was popularised in the Catholic duchy between 1550 and 1750, focusing on three major themes: pilgrimages, confraternities, and the Corpus Christi procession.

This study does not, however, approach the renewal of Catholicism in terms of a top-down process implemented by the Wittelsbach dukes as a method of stately power and control. Rather than arguing in favour of a state-sponsored piety imposed from above, this work explores the formation of Catholic confessional identity as a two-way-process of binding together elite and popular piety, and emphasizes the active role of the populace in constituting this identity. This is why this investigation draws primarily on research from local archives, using a rich body of both textual and visual evidence. Focusing especially on the visual aspects of Catholic piety, this project works towards an interdisciplinary approach in order to understand the ways in which Eucharistic devotion outside Mass was presented to and received by local communities within particular visual environments.

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Acknowledgements

The writing of this thesis would not have been completed without the support and stimulus of numerous individuals and institutions, and it is a great pleasure to acknowledge them here. I am deeply grateful to my supervisor (“Doktormutter”), Dr Bridget Heal, who has been a stimulating companion throughout the four years of my PhD in Germany and the UK, for her invaluable advice and assurance both professionally and personally. In the School of History and Reformation Studies Institute at St Andrews, the staff and students provided an ideal working climate. I thank them all, particularly my ‘doctoral sister’, Róisín Watson, for proof-reading parts of my thesis, and many more of my fellow PhDs, primarily Bess Rhodes, Saskia Limbach, and Lucas Kriner, for making the office a familiar and pleasant place to work. I owe a further debt of thanks to my internal and external thesis examiners, Professor Andrew Pettegree of St Andrews and Professor Lyndal Roper of Oxford, for their valuable comments on many aspects of this work, as well as for celebrating my passed viva with a bottle of champagne.

Further thanks are owed to the archivists, librarians, and museum workers who helped to make my research stay in Bavaria both efficient and enjoyable: at the diocesan archives of Passau, Munich, and Regensburg; at the Bavarian Main State Archive, National Museum, and State Library in Munich; at the German National Museum in Nuremberg; at the university library in Munich and the diocesan library in Freising; and at the Munich and Landshut state archives. The city archivists Markus Hiermer at Erding, Mario Tamme at Landshut, and Matthias Haupt at Wasserburg am Inn deserve particular thanks for their excellent service, and especially for their help with decoding the manuscript sources. I want to extend my thanks to all those who proved generously helpful in discovering the local churches, chapels, and museums, above all Dr. Claudius Stein at Erding, Dieter Schulz at Tüßling-Heiligenstatt, and Harald Schuwerack at Ingolstadt-Unsernherrn. In terms of funding, I am also indebted to the generous support of the estate of the late Dorothy B Miller (née Menzies), the German History Society, and the DAAD.

Thanks to a PhD Fellowship from the Leibniz Institute of European History in Mainz I could bring this thesis to a conclusion, and I owe much to my mentor there, Dr. Andrea Hofmann, who always had an open door to lend an ear. Finally, my greatest debt remains to my dearest loves. My family, Werner, Irmgard, and Christopher Kundmüller have given me constant support, through highs and lows, while my partner, Felix Pentzlin, has always encouraged me to stay calm and carry on.

St Andrews, November 2014

Abbreviations

ABP	Archiv des Bistums Passau
AEM	Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising
BHSA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München
BNM	Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München
BZAR	Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv Regensburg
DBE	Diözesanbauamt Eichstätt
GNM	Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg
KR	Kirchenrechnungen
ME	Heimatmuseum Erding
OB	Oberbayern
OÖ	Oberösterreich
OÖLM	Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum Linz
PfA	Pfarrarchiv
Pfa	Pfarrakten
PfAE	Pfarrarchiv Erding
PfAI	Pfarrarchiv Ittling
PfAU	Pfarrarchiv Ingolstadt-Unsernherrn
SAL	Staatsarchiv Landshut
SAM	Staatsarchiv München
SRM	Schatzkammer der Residenz München
StAE	Stadtarchiv Erding
StAL	Stadtarchiv Landshut
StAM	Stadtarchiv München
StAW	Stadtarchiv Wasserburg am Inn

Introduction

By the mid-eighteenth century, religious art was flourishing in Catholic Germany. South Germany witnessed amazing achievements in the visual arts and architecture. Bavaria, in particular, became a land of many churches and chapels that articulated a distinct devotional landscape. The former abbey church of the Benedictine monastery at Oberalteich is one of Bavaria's many such artistic monuments. Situated on the Danube in the Lower Bavarian town of Bogen, it was rebuilt during the seventeenth century, and its interior was richly decorated during the eighteenth century. The cycle of 36 fresco paintings – designed by Abbot Dominicus II Perger (r. 1721-1757) and executed by the German painter Joseph Anton Merz (1681-1750) between 1727 and 1730 – constitutes one of the masterpieces of South German ceiling painting.¹ Particularly interesting is the fresco cycle's iconography: it depicts the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church over Protestantism and polemicizes against Protestant reformers.² In one fresco, Luther, the most dangerous threat to Catholicism in Bavaria, appears riding through the air on a wild boar and surrounded by little, demon-like bats, while a Benedictine monk chases him away, warding off the escaping reformer with a statue of the Virgin Mary in his left hand and a holy water sprinkler in his right (figure Intro.1).³ In another fresco, Luther is shown together with two additional reformers, Calvin and Zwingli. All three are depicted as dogs with human heads, fleeing from a priest who raises a monstrance with the consecrated host during a procession (figure Intro.2).⁴ This depiction represents, most dramatically, a counter-argument to Protestant attacks on Catholic Eucharistic doctrine and devotion.

The Oberalteich fresco cycle reflects a new style – or rather cultural development – in the visual arts and architecture which flourished in Europe between 1600 and 1750. This style was primarily inspired and sponsored by the Catholic Church and its search for an art that would not only express religious truth, but also arouse the devotees'

¹ Neueder, Hans, *Die barocken Fresken von Oberalteich: Beschreibung und Deutung einzigartiger Bilder in der ehemaligen Benediktiner-Abteikirche* (Regensburg, 2010).

² Brossette, Ursula, *Die Inszenierung des Sakralen: Das theatralische Raum- und Ausstattungsprogramm süddeutscher Barockkirchen in seinem liturgischen und zeremoniellen Kontext*, vol. 1: *Textband* (Weimar, 2002), pp. 387-398.

³ Neueder, *Die barocken Fresken*, pp. 96-97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

sentiments.⁵ This *baroque* style was intensely eye-catching and assigned the visual sense an important role in Catholic devotion. The great resurgence in church building and in the production of religious art reflected a climate in which the senses, especially the sense of sight, were seen as helping ‘to sustain and satisfy the visual and sensual piety of the Catholic faithful’.⁶ Art and architecture were not the only notable features of such a deeply sensual Catholic culture, which historians refer to as ‘Baroque Catholicism’.⁷ Catholic rituals were additional features of a baroque piety that involved an intense focus on the visual sense: pilgrimage shrines, a variety of processions and meditations, and elaborate liturgical ceremonies became once again popular devotional events throughout the baroque Catholic world, after they had suffered due to harsh Protestant criticism.⁸

The wave of artistic and architectural productions in the age of the Baroque can be seen, therefore, in part as a response to the Protestant critique of ‘core precepts of Catholic doctrine, such as purgatory, transubstantiation, and the unique honour due the Virgin Mother’.⁹ The rather late series of frescos of Oberalteich suggests that, even in the mid-eighteenth century, Protestant teachings were still seen as challenges to be countered on the Catholic side. More importantly, it highlights the cult of the Eucharist as a central theme of Counter-Reformation iconography. Devotion to the sacrament of the Eucharist – as depicted by a white wafer which can be seen through the monstrance – was central to Catholic religious life. Due to its centrality, the Eucharist had to be defended fiercely against the Protestant reformers who were – as seen through the eyes of their Catholic counterparts – a ‘pack of yappy dogs’.¹⁰ Protestants rejected most medieval rituals, principally the Catholic custom of displaying the Eucharistic wafer during pilgrimages, processions, and other devotional practices focussed on seeing the sacrament outside Mass. Protestant critique of Eucharistic devotion was, thus, a complete break with the

⁵ Soergel, Philip M. (ed.), *Arts and humanities through the eras*, vol. 5: *the age of the Baroque and Enlightenment 1600-1800* (Detroit et al., 2005), p. xiv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 354-355.

⁹ Wandel, Lee P., ‘The Reformation and the visual arts’, in Ronnie P. Hsia (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Christianity*, vol. 6: *reform and expansion: 1500-1660* (Cambridge et al., 2007), pp. 345-370, esp. p. 365.

¹⁰ Brossette, *Die Inszenierung des Sakralen*, vol. 1, p. 397.

medieval church which had placed the consecrated host in the centre of Catholic visual piety.

Visual Eucharistic Piety during the Late Middle Ages

On the eve of the Reformation, the Eucharist was an object of *visual* devotion, represented through the consecrated host. Devotion to the Eucharist increased during the high and late Middle Ages, furthered by the dissemination of the doctrine of transubstantiation affirming that Christ was really present in the Eucharistic bread and wine because of their (invisible) transformation into his body and blood during their consecration at Mass.¹¹ This doctrine, as set by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, defined, in the words of Lee Wandel, ‘Christ’s *real presence* – that Christ’s body and blood are truly, in reality, present in the bread and wine’.¹² The formulation of the doctrine of transubstantiation resolved, therefore, one of the most fundamental questions of Christianity: that of the nature of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist. This question would be discussed throughout the later Middle Ages.¹³ It would fuel fierce controversy again in the sixteenth century, resulting in the divisions of what Wandel has labelled as the ‘Catholic Eucharist’, the ‘Lutheran Eucharist’, and the ‘Reformed Eucharist’.¹⁴

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 also decreed that parishioners were obliged to receive the Eucharistic wafer once a year, at Easter.¹⁵ The infrequency of communion surely shows why Eucharistic piety was primarily visual during the Middle Ages. Pioneering studies from the early twentieth century emphasised the intense focus on the sense of sight, which was believed to make the consecrated host release its sacred power. The French theologian Edouard Dumoutet drew attention to the ‘*désir de voir l’hostie*’, or the ‘desire to see the host’, according to the title of his book written in the

¹¹ Angenendt, Arnold, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997), p. 505.

¹² Wandel, Lee P., *The Eucharist in the Reformation: incarnation and liturgy* (Cambridge et al., 2006), p. 21.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. v.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

1920s.¹⁶ In the 1930s, the German theologian Peter Browe made us aware of a visual piety as well, stressing ‘the people’s craving and longing to see the unveiled sacrament’.¹⁷ Both of them demonstrated that there was an important shift in the devotion to the Eucharist during the late Middle Ages, indicating that the practice of swallowing or receiving the sacrament during communion came to be replaced by that of viewing the consecrated host during what Dumoutet called a ‘communion spirituelle’, or ‘spiritual communion’.¹⁸ This so-called ‘Augenkommunion’ has more recently been discussed by the social historian Charles Zika and the church historian Charles Caspers, who have referred to it as a ‘communion of the eyes’ or ‘ocular communion’.¹⁹ Likewise, Miri Rubin and Caroline Bynum have pointed us towards the Eucharistic fervour that characterised the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and highlighted the visual as an important theme of late-medieval lay piety.²⁰

The visual piety of the later Middle Ages was manifested in a number of *outward* displays, which were later to be condemned by the Protestant reformers. The host was exposed in front of the worshipper’s eyes in a variety of ways inside and outside the church’s sanctuary. Mainly accessible through the visual sense, the host’s miraculous or healing power unfolded through the very act of consecrating and viewing it: during the celebration of Mass, when the uncovered host was elevated by the priest; in special objects, such as monstrances, tabernacles, and sacrament houses, designed to protect the wafer and increase its visibility to the public in processions and permanent expositions; and at host-miracle shrines which proliferated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and promoted pilgrimages to wonder-working wafers.²¹ The increasing importance of an outward Eucharistic piety was clear also in iconographic themes. One of the most

¹⁶ Dumoutet, Edouard, *Le désir de voir l’hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 1926).

¹⁷ Browe, Peter, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1933), p. 166.

¹⁸ Dumoutet, *Le désir*, p. 75; cf. Browe, *Die Verehrung*, pp. 55-58.

¹⁹ Zika, Charles, ‘Hosts, processions and pilgrimages: controlling the sacred in fifteenth-century Germany’, *Past and Present* 118 (1988), pp. 25-64, esp. p. 33; Caspers, Charles, ‘The Western Church during the late Middle Ages: Augenkommunion or popular mysticism?’, in Charles Caspers, Gerard Lukken, and Gerard Louwhorst (eds.), *Bread of heaven: customs and practices surrounding Holy Communion. Essays in the history of liturgy and culture* (Kampen, 1995), pp. 83-97, esp. p. 84.

²⁰ Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture* (repr. edn., Cambridge et al., 1994); Bynum, Caroline W., *Wonderful blood: theology and practice in late medieval northern Germany and beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007).

²¹ Zika, ‘Hosts, processions and pilgrimages’, p. 25; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 292; Bynum, *Wonderful blood*, p. 5.

widespread images of the fifteenth century was the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, depicting the vision of Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590-604) during Mass: Christ appears as the *Man of Sorrows*, instead of the host which the pope had just consecrated and elevated.²² The visionary *Man of Sorrows* image was, undoubtedly, the most popular representation of the mystery of the Eucharist in late-medieval art.²³

Reformation Challenge and Catholic Renewal

During the Reformation, the Protestant reformers, above all Martin Luther (1483-1546), Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), and John Calvin (1509-1564) criticised the cult of the Eucharist fiercely.²⁴ Although they were not against the sacrament of the Eucharist *per se*, they were opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation and the adoration of the consecrated host within and outwith the church. We need to be aware, however, that, in spite of their shared distaste for transubstantiation and the many medieval displays of the host, they differed widely concerning the question of Christ's presence in the Eucharist: a controversial question which revealed the irreconcilable, and major, differences between them. The differences in their theological understandings of the Eucharist were to become, as Kaspar von Greyerz has pointed out, 'the symbol for all points of doctrinal contention separating Protestants of the Reformed (Zwinglian and, later, Calvinist) persuasion from those of Lutheran faith'.²⁵ While Luther still believed in Christ's Real Presence, yet without acknowledging the doctrine of transubstantiation, Zwingli and Calvin expressed more radical views, explicitly denying the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist.²⁶

²² On the development of this iconographic theme: Bauerreiss, Romuald, 'Basileus tes doxes: Ein frühes eucharistisches Bild und seine Auswirkung', in Theologische Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (ed.), *Pro mundi vita: Festschrift zum Eucharistischen Weltkongress 1960* (Munich, 1960), pp. 49-67; Hecht, Christian, 'Von der imago pietatis zur Gregorsmesse: Ikonographie der Eucharistie vom hohen Mittelalter bis zur Epoche des Humanismus', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 36 (2005), pp. 9-44.

²³ Sallay, Dóra, 'The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in late medieval art', *Annual of medieval studies at CEU* 6 (2000), pp. 45-80, esp. p. 47.

²⁴ Wandinger, Nikolaus, 'Der wahre Christus im Brot', in Oliver Seifert (ed.), *Panis angelorum - das Brot der Engel: Kulturgeschichte der Hostie. Begleitbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung des Museums der Brotkultur, Ulm, 2004* (Ostfildern, 2004), pp. 149-165, esp. p. 153.

²⁵ Greyerz, Kasper von, 'The Reformation in German-speaking Switzerland', in Ronnie P. Hsia (ed.), *A companion to the Reformation world* (Malden et al., 2006), pp. 86-101, esp. p. 89.

²⁶ Neunheuser, Burkhard, *Eucharistie in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau et al., 1963), pp. 52-53.

During this time of religious instability and confessional strife, when the foundations of Roman Catholicism had been challenged by the Protestant reformers, efforts were undertaken to strengthen the Catholic cause against their attacks. One key to Catholic reform and renewal was the Council of Trent. Taking place in three periods and twenty-five sessions between 1545 and 1563, the Council of Trent was the clearest answer to the Protestant critique. It defended Catholic Eucharistic doctrine and devotion and set a process of doctrinal and ecclesiastical renewal in motion.²⁷ In the tradition of late-medieval Eucharistic theology, the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent (11 October 1551) reaffirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation, as it had first been formulated on the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.²⁸ In the decree on the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, the Council declared anew that ‘by the consecration of the bread and wine, there takes place the change of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood. And the holy catholic church has suitably and properly called this change transubstantiation’.²⁹ As *the* theological definition of Christ’s Real Presence, according to the Council’s decree ‘that, after the consecration of the bread and the wine, our lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man, is truly, really and substantially contained in the propitious sacrament (...) under the appearance of those things which are perceptible to the senses’, the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation justified the ‘worship and reverence to be shown to this most holy sacrament’, even outside Mass.³⁰

The Prime Example of Baroque Catholicism: Bavaria

In response to the Protestant Reformation, Counter-Reformation Catholicism affirmed its commitment to transubstantiation and the devotional rituals that accompanied it. Practices outside Mass, such as pilgrimages, processions, and prayers before the consecrated host flourished, in particular, in early modern Bavaria. Here, they evolved into distinct devotional practices by the mid-eighteenth century, which were, as we have

²⁷ Hsia, Ronnie P., *The world of Catholic renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge et al., 1998), chap 1.

²⁸ Mullett, Michael A., *The Catholic Reformation* (London et al., 1999), p. 48.

²⁹ Tanner, Norman P. (ed.), *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, vol. 2: *Trent to Vatican II* (London, 1990), p. 695.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 693.

seen with the Bavarian Oberalteich frescos, presented to the public as an obvious visual marker of Catholic identity. Bavaria appears, in this regard, as a prime example of Baroque Catholicism. The development of a distinct Catholic baroque religiosity in Bavaria was, however, a lengthy process, starting about two hundred years earlier, in the mid-sixteenth century. The current study therefore investigates how the Eucharist was popularised in the former Duchy of Bavaria during the process of Catholic renewal from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century: through pilgrimages, processions, and the Corpus Christi procession.

The former Duchy of Bavaria has generally been regarded as the archetypal ‘confessional’ state, as the Dukes of Bavaria from the House of Wittelsbach took the lead in rebuilding the foundations of the Catholic Church. From the early sixteenth century onwards, the Bavarian Wittelsbach rulers presided over a unitary state which was one of the largest territories of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1506, following the War of the Succession of Landshut (1503-1505), the previously partitioned duchies of Upper and Lower Bavaria, which had been subdivided between different branches of the Bavarian Wittelsbach dynasty since 1255, were reunited, including the *Innviertel*, a region south-east of the River Inn which now forms part of Upper Austria. During the Thirty Years War, in the 1620s, the Duchy became the Electorate of Bavaria, with its territory being expanded to a large extent by the invasion, occupation, and annexation of the Upper Palatinate. Apart from the Duchy of Neuburg (the Palatinate branch of the House of Wittelsbach) and a few important enclaves (the Bishoprics of Freising and Regensburg, the Free Imperial City of Regensburg, and the County of Ortenburg), the Duchy and later Electorate of Bavaria ran along fixed territorial boundaries which enabled the establishment of a politically compact confessional state. To the east lay the Archbishopric of Salzburg, the *Fürstpropstei* of Berchtesgaden, the Archduchy of Austria, and the Kingdom of Bohemia. To the north were the Margravate of Ansbach-Kulmbach/Bayreuth and the Free Imperial City of Nuremberg. To the west, the duchy bordered the Bishopric and Free Imperial City of Augsburg. The County of Tyrol, which was held by the Austrian rulers from the House of Habsburg, lay to the south.³¹

³¹ Ziegler, Walter, ‘Bayern’, in Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (eds.), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500-1650*, vol. 1: *Der Südosten* (Münster, 1989), pp. 56-70, esp. pp. 57-58.

Chronologically, the current study covers the reigns of six Wittelsbach rulers: Duke Albrecht V (r. 1550-1579), Duke Wilhelm V (r. 1579-1597), Elector Maximilian I (r. 1597-1651), Elector Ferdinand Maria (r. 1651-1679), Elector Maximilian II Emanuel (r. 1679-1726), and Elector Karl Albrecht (r. 1726-1745).³² The Wittelsbach dynasty provided the stimulus for making Bavaria ‘one of the heartlands of Baroque Catholicism’.³³ But why does this study focus on a period lasting about two hundred years? The mid-sixteenth century marked a watershed in confessional politics and, hence, the start of the Bavarian Counter-Reformation. From the 1550s onwards – that is, since the beginning of Duke Albrecht’s reign – the Bavarian Wittelsbachs played a significant role in championing the Catholic cause. As the initiators of a state-directed piety, Albrecht V, Wilhelm V, and Maximilian I of Bavaria laid the foundations for the formation of Catholic confessional identity.

As part of their policy of recatholicisation, they strongly supported the new Counter-Reformation orders, most notably the Jesuits. The Jesuits proved to be the most zealous Catholic reformers, whose importance for advancing the cause of Catholicism in German-speaking lands, including Bavaria, has been underlined by John O’Malley. He has pointed to their strenuous efforts to reduce the impact of Protestantism in the Duchy of Bavaria during the 1550s and 1560s, describing them as ‘the single most important agent for the consolidation and restoration of Catholicism’ by 1600.³⁴ The renewal of particular practices which were to become the basic features of Catholic baroque piety would take, however, another three generations of Wittelsbach dukes. Many churches and chapels were not renewed until the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The same can be said about the other aspects of Baroque Catholicism: pilgrimages, processions, and confraternities. Their renewal continued at least into the early eighteenth century and witnessed a kind of ‘popular revival’ during the following decades. This is why this study has extended its chronological scope up to the 1750s.

³² On the Wittelsbach rulers and their years of reign: Schmid, Alois, Weigand, Katharina (eds.), *Die Herrscher Bayerns: 25 historische Portraits von Tassilo III. bis Ludwig III.* (2nd edn., Munich, 2006).

³³ Forster, Marc R., *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Basingstoke et al., 2007), p. 180.

³⁴ O’Malley, John W., ‘The Society of Jesus’, in Hsia (ed.), *A companion to the Reformation world*, pp. 223-237, esp. p. 231.

Due to the initiative of the Wittelsbach rulers, the Duchy of Bavaria remained a stronghold of Catholicism during the sixteenth century. Albrecht's predecessor, Duke Wilhelm IV (r. 1508-1550), had summoned the first Jesuits to the university town of Ingolstadt in 1549 to reform the duchy.³⁵ But it was, as Ronnie Hsia has made clear, the following three generations of Wittelsbach dukes who transformed their duchy into 'the most successful of the Counter-Reformation states', imposing confessional conformity among their subjects as a means of bringing them under social control.³⁶ Protestant ideas had found adherents in the duchy by the mid-sixteenth century among many members of the Bavarian citizenry and nobility.³⁷ From the later 1550s onwards, in order to stop the evangelical movement, Duke Albrecht adopted a hard-line policy against its supporters, restricting their rights.³⁸ His Counter-Reformation policy was, furthermore, institutionalised through the creation of the Clerical Council at Bavaria's capital Munich – the so-called *Geistliche Rat*: an effective instrument for enforcing Catholic orthodoxy through visitation by secular and ecclesiastical officials.³⁹

Duke Wilhelm V continued the rigid policy of his predecessor, the aim of which was to consolidate the Bavarian state church. In 1583, Wilhelm signed a concordat with the papacy which was a decisive step in the implementation of Tridentine reforms.⁴⁰ It certainly helped the ducal state exercise greater control over the territorial church, the key reason why the concordat has been considered a compromise that profited the Wittelsbach dynasty, rather than the episcopacy.⁴¹ In his attempt to catalyse Catholicism, Wilhelm drew on the Jesuits as the primary agents of Catholic reform,

³⁵ Lutz, Heinrich, 'Das konfessionelle Zeitalter. Erster Teil: Die Herzöge Wilhelm IV. und Albrecht V.', in Andreas Kraus and Max Spindler (eds.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*, vol. 2: *Das alte Bayern: Der Territorialstaat vom Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1969), pp. 295-350, esp. p. 332.

³⁶ Hsia, Ronnie P., *Social discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750* (London et al., 1992), p. 129.

³⁷ On the evangelical movement in the bishopric of Freising: Rößler, Hans, *Geschichte und Strukturen der evangelischen Bewegung im Bistum Freising 1520-1571* (Nuremberg, 1966).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Albrecht, Dieter, 'Das konfessionelle Zeitalter. Zweiter Teil: Die Herzöge Wilhelm V. und Maximilian I.', in Kraus/Spindler (eds.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 351-409, esp. p. 353.

⁴¹ Ziegler, Walter, 'Reformation und Gegenreformation 1517-1648: Altbayern', in Walter Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2: *Von der Glaubensspaltung bis zur Säkularisation* (St. Ottilien, 1993), pp. 1-64, esp. p. 59.

especially on their ability to make use of images.⁴² An excellent example of the co-operation between the duke and the Jesuits is their promotion of the image of Saint Michael as Bavaria's new patron saint as well as a means of strengthening the Catholic faith and Wilhelm's reputation as a pious ruler. The art historian Jeffrey Chipps Smith, in particular, has pointed to the militant iconography and visual representations of St Michael in Jesuit art and architecture as an integral part of a particular Counter-Reformation art in Bavaria.⁴³ However, it was not the archangel Michael, but the Virgin Mary who was to become the main Counter-Reformation saint during the reign of Wilhelm's successor, Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria.

Duke and then Elector Maximilian was one of the most prominent Counter-Reformation rulers who, as Robert Bireley has stated, 'aimed sincerely at the triumph of Catholicism, which they tended to equate with their own political advantage'.⁴⁴ Under Maximilian, the Duchy of Bavaria became a bulwark of Catholicism that centred on the Counter-Reformation cult of Mary. Both in imperial politics and at home, devotion to the Virgin Mother was propagated as a state cult. Maximilian commanded his subjects to wear a rosary in public and introduced the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. He acted, additionally, as a commissioner of art and architecture to promote Mary's image as *Patrona Bavariae*, or Bavaria's patroness. In 1616, a Marian statue was erected above the front façade of the new Munich residence. During the Thirty Years War, the flags of Maximilian's army bore depictions of Mary. The construction of the *Mariensäule* (Marian column) in Munich in 1638, centrally positioned in the market place, made Mary the most visible sign of Bavaria's Catholic identity.⁴⁵

⁴² On the Jesuit contributions to art and architecture: Smith, Jeffrey C., *Sensuous worship: Jesuits and the art of the early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton et al., 2002); Bailey, Gauvin A., O'Malley, John W. (eds.), *The Jesuits and the arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia, 2005); Jaffe, Irma B., Wittkower, Rudolf (eds.), *Baroque art: the Jesuit contribution* (New York, 1972); Levy, Evonne A., *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley et al., 2004). On Jesuit art and architecture in Bavaria: Baumstark, Reinhold (ed.), *Rom in Bayern: Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, München, 30. April bis 20. Juli 1997* (Munich, 1997).

⁴³ Smith, *Sensuous worship*, pp. 68-75. See also Baumstark (ed.), *Rom in Bayern*, pp. 412-434.

⁴⁴ Bireley, Robert, 'Refining Catholicism: Trent and beyond', in Hsia (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Christianity*, vol. 6, pp. 145-161, esp. pp. 160-161.

⁴⁵ Ziegler, 'Reformation und Gegenreformation', in Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 51; Albrecht, Dieter, *Maximilian I. von Bayern: 1573-1651* (Munich, 1998), pp. 292-297.

Mary-centred devotion flourished under Maximilian and continued under his successors, Ferdinand Maria, Maximilian Emanuel, and Karl Albrecht. Like the preceding three generations of Bavaria's ruling house, the next three Wittelsbach rulers showcased their Catholic piety, which constituted a key element of their dynastic rule. All three sponsored Marian pilgrimage piety. The Marian pilgrimage site at Altötting had become important as Bavaria's 'national' shrine, because, from Maximilian's death in 1651, the hearts of the Bavarian princes were preserved there.⁴⁶ Ferdinand Maria, following in his father's footsteps, signed a letter of personal pledge, written in his own blood, to consecrate himself and his territory to the Madonna of Altötting. He also laid the foundation stone of a Franciscan monastery, meant for the pastoral care of the pilgrims, and planned to extend the Altötting shrine. Maximilian Emanuel and Karl Albrecht also favoured Marian pilgrimage, pledging themselves explicitly to Our Lady at Wessobrunn.⁴⁷

Our brief, chronological survey demonstrates that the secular rulers of the Wittelsbach dynasty made zealous efforts to advance the cause of Catholicism in early modern Bavaria. But how did baroque religiosity develop in their duchy? Our picture of the formation of a strong Catholic piety in Bavaria between the 1550s and 1750s has been coloured by studies stressing the role of the Council of Trent, the ruling Wittelsbach dynasty, and the new Counter-Reformation orders, primarily the Jesuits and Capuchins, as three major themes.

Several German studies have approached the revival of Catholic confessional identity in terms of a Tridentine process, regarding the popularity of Catholicism mainly as a result of Tridentine reform. In this sense, the frequently cited term 'Baroque Catholicism' is generally used to describe the devotional forms – including the cult of Mary and the saints, confraternities and congregations, pilgrimages and processions – which arose as a consequence of a Tridentine process of Catholic renewal, with their popularity assessed by the extent to which they met the standards of the Tridentine

⁴⁶ Schmid, Alois, 'Vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zum Reichsdeputationshauptschluss: Altbayern', in Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 293-356, esp. p. 308.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

Church.⁴⁸ This view was advanced in older works, written by German church historians, like Ludwig Lenhart's and Ludwig Veit's *Kirche und Volksfrömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock*, published in 1956, as well as Benno Hubensteiner's *Vom Geist des Barock: Kultur und Frömmigkeit im alten Bayern*, which was first published in 1967, with a second edition being published in 1978.⁴⁹ Hubensteiner, for example, states that baroque piety was, first and foremost, post-Tridentine piety – that is, 'a religiosity determined by the laws and decrees and experienced through the spirit of the great Council of Trent'.⁵⁰ Inspired by the Tridentine reforms, he argues, the Bavarian rulers initiated a new style of Catholic piety, drawing upon the visual spirit of the Baroque, in particular.⁵¹ The notion that a uniform Catholic standard, as formulated by the Tridentine Church, was brought into line with the ruling Bavarian dynasty was also formulated by Peter Steiner during the 1980s. Focusing on Maximilian's state programme, which propagated a Marian Counter-Reformation cult, Steiner emphasises the exemplary role of the ruler in creating a strong collective identity that bound his subjects to him.⁵²

As part of this Baroque Catholicism, other German-language studies have drawn attention to a specific dynastic piety and highlighted the ruler's role in promoting his dynasty's reputation and alliance with the Tridentine Church by setting an example through his virtuous religiosity. With the publication of her seminal work on the origin and development of baroque piety in Austria in 1959, published again in 1982, the Austrian historian Anna Coreth introduced the expression 'Pietas Austriaca', or 'Austrian piety', into historical scholarship to show that the implementation of exclusive Catholicism served as a confessional marker and an important method of stately power and control for the House of Habsburg. According to Coreth, the

⁴⁸ Weiß, Dieter J., *Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation: Ein Überblick* (Darmstadt, 2005), chap. 9, esp. pp. 172-178.

⁴⁹ Lenhart, Ludwig, Veit, Ludwig A., *Kirche und Volksfrömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1956); Hubensteiner, Benno, *Vom Geist des Barock: Kultur und Frömmigkeit im alten Bayern* (Munich, 1967, 2nd edn., 1978).

⁵⁰ Hubensteiner, *Vom Geist des Barock*, p. 20. See also Hausberger, Karl, Hubensteiner, Benno, *Bayerische Kirchengeschichte* (Munich, 1985), p. 241.

⁵¹ Hubensteiner, *Vom Geist des Barock*, pp. 20, 51, 64, 205.

⁵² Steiner, Peter B., 'Der gottselige Fürst und die Konfessionalisierung Altbayerns', in Hubert Glaser (ed.), *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, vol. 2,1: *Um Glauben und Reich: Kurfürst Maximilian I. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst 1573-1657* (Munich, 1980), pp. 252-263, esp. pp. 257-258.

Habsburg rulers sponsored devotion to the Eucharist and, in particular, to Mary, joining different confraternities throughout their realm; moreover, they made pilgrimage piety a distinctive feature of their dynastic devotion by personally undertaking yearly pilgrimages to holy shrines, above all the Marian pilgrimage site at Mariazell.⁵³

Like the Austrian Habsburgs, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs furthered Catholicism in their Duchy and later Electorate of Bavaria by setting a personal example – a fact that Gerhard Woeckel has referred to as ‘*Pietas Bavarica*’, or ‘Bavarian piety’.⁵⁴ Like Hubensteiner, Woeckel indicated that, as the initiators of a distinct Catholic Bavarian *Pietas*, the Wittelsbach dynasty – from Duke Wilhelm V to Elector Karl Albrecht – actively engaged as commissioners of art and architecture, inspiring the rich religious culture of Baroque Catholicism.⁵⁵ Pilgrimage, processional, and confraternal piety played a particular role in shaping the personal devotional style of the Wittelsbach rulers, which was passed on from one generation to the next. In this way, state and church, territorial prince and Catholic Church constituted, as Woeckel has pointed out, ‘a unified whole’, the so-called ‘*Staatskirchentum*’ (‘state church’).⁵⁶

More recent studies have expressed a similar view, approaching Habsburg and Wittelsbach piety in terms of a recatholicisation which was imposed from above. In his study, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben: Rekatholisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Arno Herzig argues that, for the Wittelsbach and Habsburg rulers, the public observance of religious rites was an important part of monarchical programmes promoting religious uniformity between the monarch and his subjects.⁵⁷ In their attempts to set a uniform Catholic standard, as Herzig indicates, the Habsburg and Wittelsbach rulers systematically employed the instruments of Baroque Catholicism, namely pilgrimages, processions, and the veneration of saints, which they popularised,

⁵³ Coreth, Anna, *Pietas Austriaca: Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich* (Munich, 1959); idem, *Pietas Austriaca: Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock* (2nd edn., Munich, 1982), pp. 18, 45, 51, 59.

⁵⁴ Woeckel, Gerhard P., *Pietas Bavarica: Wallfahrt, Prozession und Ex-voto-Gabe im Hause Wittelsbach in Ettal, Wessobrunn, Altötting und der Landeshauptstadt München von der Gegenreformation bis zur Säkularisation und der “Renovatio Ecclesiae”* (Weißhorn, 1992).

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 33-36.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁷ Herzig, Arno, *Der Zwang zum wahren Glauben: Rekatholisierung vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2000).

above all, with the help of the Jesuits.⁵⁸ Herzig draws particular attention to Marian pilgrimages, processions, and confraternities as means of recatholicisation, highlighting their disciplining, demonstrative, and didactic purposes.⁵⁹ Among the resurgent religious orders, the Jesuits were, according to Herzog, in the vanguard of promoting the cult of the Virgin Mary. Drawing on pre-Reformation image cults, they reactivated pilgrimages and processions to Marian shrines, which had suffered from Protestant attacks.⁶⁰

The dynastic alliance between the Wittelsbach state and the Catholic clergy, including the Jesuits, has also been acknowledged by English-speaking historians like Philipp Soergel and David Lederer. Soergel has pointed to the centrality of legends, wonders, and miracles to Bavaria's confessional politics, emphasizing their propagandistic uses in Counter-Reformation Bavaria.⁶¹ As Soergel states, 'Bavaria's state and clerical reformers attempted to revitalise traditional rituals as a way of renewing enthusiasm for the Roman Church'. For this purpose, counter-reforming clergy, state officials, and Wittelsbach dukes used pilgrimages and processions as attestations of a particular visual piety, defending them through the printing press during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶² Among the Catholic reformers' actions to control the visual sense and to direct it towards the Eucharist was the enormously elaborated festive procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, which embodied Bavaria's alliance with the Roman Church and defended Christ's Real Presence in the transubstantiated host against Protestant attacks.⁶³

Like Soergel, Lederer has underlined the importance of dynastic patronage for the renewal of post-Tridentine piety in early modern Bavaria.⁶⁴ Lederer pays much attention to the role of the Jesuits in advancing the Catholic cause in conjunction with

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 58, 84.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 84-86.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 106, 110-11.

⁶¹ Soergel, Philip M., *Wondrous in his saints: Counter-Reformation propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley et al., 1993); idem, 'Spiritual medicine for heretical poison: the propagandistic uses of legends in Counter-Reformation Bavaria', *Historical Reflections* 17 (1991), pp. 125-149.

⁶² Idem, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 9.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 90-91.

⁶⁴ Lederer, David, *Madness, religion and the state in early modern Europe: a Bavarian beacon* (Cambridge et al., 2006), p. 105.

the secular rulers of the Wittelsbach dynasty. Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria had initially lent support to the Jesuits, who, led by Petrus Canisius, made Ingolstadt and its university a centre of Catholic reform: Bavaria's first Jesuit college was founded in Ingolstadt in 1555 by Wilhelm's successor, Albrecht V.⁶⁵ Most devoted to the Jesuits was the following ruler, Duke Wilhelm V, whose close relationship with members of the new order found its most visible expression in the construction and 1597 consecration of the early baroque church of St Michael in Munich.⁶⁶ From the beginning of Wilhelm's reign in 1579 onwards, the Jesuits became more and more active as political advisors, a fact that Lederer also emphasises: 'For an unbroken period of a hundred years, from 1579 to 1679, the Jesuits tenaciously held the coveted post of father confessor to the Wittelsbach Dukes, earning themselves both political power and the envy and enmity of their rivals at court in Munich'.⁶⁷

Bavaria as the Archetypal 'Confessional' State?

On the basis of this literature, it may be inferred that post-Tridentine devotion, as imposed by an alliance of state and church, constituted a central theme of confessional propaganda and baroque Catholic identity, particularly in early modern Bavaria. Nonetheless, it shows us only one side of the coin, since it approaches Baroque Catholicism in terms of a top-down policy, in which the elite, consisting of secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and the new religious orders, above all the Jesuits, enjoyed a uniform power to dictate a certain religious style. Maximilian I, in particular, took a leading role in establishing a dynastic state cult under the protection of Mary, as Damien Tricoire has most recently argued.⁶⁸ The Duchy of Bavaria seems to be, in this sense, the prime example of Catholic 'confessionalisation', in which the Mary-centred piety of the Wittelsbach rulers dominated both elite and popular devotion. This assumption has been fostered by the 'confessionalisation concept', a historical approach still dominating German-language scholarship. In his 1993 study, the German historian Wolfgang Reinhard advanced the notion that, in Catholic territories, primarily in

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 42, 72.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 73-75.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶⁸ Tricoire, Damien, *Mit Gott rechnen: Katholische Reform und politisches Kalkül in Frankreich, Bayern und Polen-Litauen* (Göttingen, 2013), pp. 170-179.

Bavaria, there was a process of Catholic confessionalisation, whereby church and state undertook a co-ordinated action for the indoctrination and implementation of uniform religious behaviour amongst their subjects from about the mid-sixteenth century to about the mid-eighteenth century.⁶⁹ Reinhard suggests, furthermore, that during the confessionalisation process, secular and ecclesiastical authorities created a type of confessional identity that was completely new, pointing us to a complete break between the medieval church and post-Reformation Catholicism.⁷⁰

This is a rather limited view and we therefore need to see the bigger picture by looking at the other side of the coin – namely, at how elite policy from above was *received* from below, or, with regard to Bavaria, how people responded to the dynastic piety of the Wittelsbach rulers at the local level. Catholic confessionalisation appears to be, in this regard, not only a top-down, but also a bottom-up process, in which both the elite and the local populace played a role in shaping Catholic identity in the Baroque period. In order to investigate how people responded to the dynastic piety of the Wittelsbach rulers at the local level, we should re-examine the general assumption that baroque religiosity was a result of doctrinal or state-sponsored reform, or, as Klaus Ganzer suggested, that popular piety was regulated and controlled from above, by the ruler.⁷¹ The present study focuses, instead, on the *interaction* between state-sponsored piety and local religious practices and sees it as a major theme in the creation of the distinct devotional landscape of Baroque Bavaria.

Nor does this study see post-Tridentine devotion as something entirely different from pre-Reformation piety, but as a result of a gradual process of continuity and change. In order to understand the ways in which Baroque Catholicism developed, we must keep in mind that people's religious experience was not primarily shaped by doctrine,

⁶⁹ Reinhard, Wolfgang, 'Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?', in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung: Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1993* (Münster, 1995), pp. 419-452, esp. pp. 432-435.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 421, 437-438.

⁷¹ Ganzer, Klaus, 'Das Konzil von Trient und die Volksfrömmigkeit', in Klaus Ganzer and Hansgeorg Molitor (eds.), *Volksfrömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit* (Münster, 1994), pp. 17-26, esp. p. 22.

particularly in an agrarian society's daily life, as Bob Scribner observed.⁷² People rather experienced religion in terms of a 'practical piety', or 'praxis pietatis', as German *Volkskundler*, or folklorists, most of all Wolfgang Brückner and Walter Hartinger, made clear.⁷³ Hartinger, for instance, redefined the concept of 'popular piety'. Seeing the Wittelsbach dukes in the tradition of late-medieval popular devotion, he stated that the Marian devotion in Southern Germany was firmly furthered by the ruling families in Bavaria and Austria; however, it was not an 'invention' of either the Wittelsbachs or the Habsburgs, but a 'continuation' of the practice of religion of the high and late Middle Ages.⁷⁴

The Relationship between Elite and Popular Piety: The European Context

There are already some examples of historical studies that approach baroque piety in terms of a relationship between elite and popular religiosity. On the German side, Werner Freitag has emphasised the role of both elite and popular religion in the formation and furthering of Marian pilgrimage sites in the Prince-Bishopric of Münster from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century.⁷⁵ On the one hand, Freitag presents the prince-bishopric as a prime example of Catholic confessionalisation, stressing the role of the elite – the prince-bishop, his administrative authorities and his chapter, and religious orders – in promoting pilgrimage piety as a means of advancing stately power and control. Giving the example of the Marian pilgrimage site at Telgte, Freitag illustrates the methods employed to propagate the cult as part of an elite-sponsored programme: the erection and establishment of a new pilgrimage church and infrastructure, the printing of devotional literature, and the installation of a Marian image as the main object of devotion. On the other hand, and even more importantly,

⁷² Scribner, Robert W., 'Cosmic order and daily life: sacred and secular in pre-industrial German society', in Greyerz, Kaspar von (ed.), *Religion and society in early modern Europe 1500-1800* (London et al., 1984), pp. 17-32, esp. p. 26.

⁷³ Brückner, Wolfgang, 'Die Neuorganisation von Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvolkes im nachtridentinischen Konfessionsstaat', *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 21 (1998), pp. 7-32, esp. p. 7; Hartinger, Walter, 'Weltliche Obrigkeit und praxis pietatis in der frühen Neuzeit', *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 21 (1998), pp. 33-50, esp. p. 34; idem, 'Katholische Volkskultur im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im 17./18. Jahrhundert', in Peter C. Hartmann (ed.), *Religion und Kultur im Europa des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), pp. 473-488, esp. p. 473.

⁷⁴ Hartinger, 'Weltliche Obrigkeit und praxis pietatis', p. 40.

⁷⁵ Freitag, Werner, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit: Marienwallfahrten im Fürstbistum Münster* (Paderborn, 1991).

Freitag emphasises local popular religiosity, focusing on the people's *reception* of the shrine. To demonstrate its popular appeal, Freitag draws on a rich collection of visual material, including wayside shrines, oil paintings, and votive pictures which were donated or commissioned by the local population.⁷⁶

While Freitag's case study points to both sides of Catholic confessionalisation, there has been a recent tendency outside Germany to approach the progress of Catholic reform in terms of local reception, particularly in regional studies on Spain and Italy. William Christian has investigated popular Catholicism in sixteenth-century Spain.⁷⁷ Other scholars, most notably Sara Nalle and Henry Kamen, have followed him, looking at Spanish religiosity from a local perspective.⁷⁸ David Gentilcore has produced another important local study, analysing the relationship between the local Church and Tridentine reform in Southern Italy. Gentilcore argues that 'organised forms of devotion, which provided for the sacramental aspect, were only a part of the entire ritual complex, existing alongside ways of sensing and approaching the supernatural which originated from below, responding to local needs and traditions'.⁷⁹ Within this European context, there has also been a trend to address important local forces, like religious reform orders, parish priests, and local officials, as 'cultural intermediaries', taking a middle position between the local population and elite initiatives.⁸⁰ Seeing the process of Catholic renewal in the European context, the religious orders, above all the Jesuits, appear in a different light.

English-speaking historians focusing on Baroque Catholicism in Germany have situated their studies in a broad European context, adopting many of these new perspectives.

⁷⁶ Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit*, pp. 109-163, 253-257. See also Suntrup, Rudolf, 'Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation: Die Begründung der Telgter Wallfahrt durch Christoph Bernhard von Galen', in Roland Liebenberg, Gudrun Litz, and Heidrun Munzert (eds.), *Frömmigkeit - Theologie - Frömmigkeitstheologie: contributions to European church history. Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leiden et al., 2005), pp. 577-590.

⁷⁷ Christian, William A., *Local religion in sixteenth-century Spain* (Princeton, 1981).

⁷⁸ Nalle, Sara T., *God in La Mancha: religious reform and the people of Cuenca, 1500-1650* (Baltimore et al., 1992); Kamen, Henry, *The phoenix and the flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven et al., 1993).

⁷⁹ Gentilcore, David, *From bishop to witch: the system of the sacred in early modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester et al., 1992), p. 36.

⁸⁰ Cited in Barnes, Andrew E., 'The social transformation of the French parish clergy, 1500-1800', in Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla A. Hesse (eds.), *Culture and identity in early modern Europe (1500-1800): essays in honor of Natalie Zemon Davis* (Ann Arbor, 1993), pp. 139-157, esp. p. 149.

Marc Forster, by looking at the Bishopric of Speyer in Southwest Germany, criticised the confessionalisation thesis and its view of a religious style imposed from above; instead, he argues in favour of the people's active role in the creation of confessional identity, stressing the relationship between elite and popular piety.⁸¹ In contrast to other regions, like the Prince-Bishopric of Münster and the Duchy of Bavaria, where we find strong state and church apparatuses, the Bishopric of Speyer was a rather weak state lacking powerful political and ecclesiastical structures. But even without 'an elite-sponsored program of social discipline or modernization', to quote Forster, 'Baroque Catholicism appealed to the population because it was generally adapted to local and communal needs and desires'.⁸² The peasants and townspeople of the bishopric 'were neither passive "subjects" (*Untertanen*) of the rising state, nor simply objects of Church policy, but rather active and decisive participants in the development of local Catholicism'.⁸³ Forster draws attention to the fact that, in the century after 1650, the ritual practices of Baroque Catholicism, primarily pilgrimages, processions, and confraternities, flourished in local village and town communities.⁸⁴ He, furthermore, stresses the 'continuities in the Catholic experience', emphasizing that certain 'basic characteristics of Baroque Catholicism were important aspects of pre-Reformation Christianity' and that 'especially after 1650 one can hear strong echoes of late medieval religion'.⁸⁵

Whereas Freitag's and Forster's studies of the relationship between elite and popular religiosity focus on the western and south-western parts of Germany, few historians have dealt with this subject in early modern Bavaria. The only real survey on both elite initiative and popular reception remains Trevor Johnson's 2009 study on the recatholicisation of the Upper Palatinate, which, after roughly 70 years of Protestantism, became part of the later Electorate of Bavaria under Duke Maximilian I in the 1620s.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Forster, Marc R., *Catholic revival in the age of the Baroque: religious identity in southwest Germany, 1550-1750* (Cambridge et al., 2001); idem, *The Counter-Reformation in the villages: religion and reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720* (Ithaca et al., 1992).

⁸² Forster, *Catholic revival*, p. 15.

⁸³ Idem, *The Counter-Reformation*, p. 247.

⁸⁴ Idem, *Catholic revival*, p. 11.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁸⁶ Johnson, Trevor, *Magistrates, madonnas, and miracles: the Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Farnham et al., 2009).

Johnson's study clearly reveals that following the Bavarian invasion, much of the impetus towards Catholic expressions of piety was driven by lay authorities, above all Maximilian I of Bavaria and his successors. While the secular and ecclesiastical authorities took the lead, Johnson points to the significant contributions that the Counter-Reformation orders, primarily the Jesuits and Capuchins, and the parish clergy made to the revival of Catholic practices, acting as intermediaries between official and local religion.⁸⁷ Compared with German studies on Bavaria, however, Johnson focuses to a much greater extent on the interplay between the 'norms and initiatives of church and state' and 'the local populace itself, without whose active and voluntary participation Upper-Palatinate Catholicism would have lacked all vibrancy'.⁸⁸ Johnson offers, therefore, a wealth of archival material in order to highlight the popular responses to the elite's as well as the intermediaries' initiatives.⁸⁹

Visual Eucharistic Piety in the Duchy of Bavaria

While most studies have approached the process of Catholic renewal by focusing, in particular, on the cult of Mary and the saints, the cult of the Eucharist is still a rather neglected theme within this context. The present study aims at complementing what has been done on Marian piety by examining Eucharistic piety. The role of the visual in Catholic devotion is a central theme of this study. It seeks to combine the rich visual culture of Baroque Catholicism, as initiated by elite patronage, with an examination of the reception of this state-sponsored, highly visual baroque piety. The investigation of pilgrimages, confraternities, and the Corpus Christi procession will form the core of the PhD. In addition, I will explore Eucharistic iconography in church art and architecture to investigate how the visual experience of the Eucharist changed from the late Middle Ages to the mid-eighteenth century. Through this research, this study intends to examine the question of continuity and change in late-medieval Eucharistic devotion. What, for instance, happened to late-medieval images, like the *Man of Sorrows* – were they still used in the context of Eucharistic devotion, and if not, what replaced them? How was the Catholic doctrine of Christ's Real Presence in the transubstantiated host,

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 286-290.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

so central to Tridentine piety, conveyed visually? Were innovations, such as altar tabernacles, implemented? To approach these issues – firstly, the relationship between late-medieval and post-Reformation devotion and, secondly, the question of how the impetus from above was made acceptable to the public – my study will focus to a much greater extent than either Forster or Johnson on visual piety.

There is a recent tendency in historical scholarship to draw upon visual sources, stressing their role not only in the mediation of beliefs, but also in the formation of confessional identities in the early modern period. This has led scholars to argue in support of an exchange between art history and research on confessionalisation.⁹⁰ Jens Baumgarten, in his study on Rome and Silesia, has made us aware of a visualisation policy directed towards a particular *Pietas* – or piety – which aimed for control and discipline.⁹¹ Howard Louthan, by focusing on Bohemia, has seen the pattern less as one of a piety imposed from above, but as one of a negotiation between ecclesiastical or secular elites and local communities.⁹² It is time, therefore, to apply this method to Bavaria, using visual sources as a way of analysing the role of the local populace in shaping Catholic religious life in interaction with the elite's standards.

Art historical research proves especially useful in analysing the physical environment in which interactions occurred.⁹³ It not only enables us to decode an image's or an object's iconography and style, but also helps us explain contextual use, what David Ganz and Georg Henkel refer to as the spatial, situational, and medial contexts: the physical setting; religious rituals, like prayers, offerings, processions, clothing, and crowning; and visual media, including accounts of legends and miracles, prayer cards, devotional

⁹⁰ See esp. Ganz, David, Henkel, Georg (eds.), *Rahmen-Diskurse: Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Berlin, 2004); Packeiser, Thomas, 'Zum Austausch von Konfessionalisierungsforschung und Kunstgeschichte', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 93 (2002), pp. 317-338; Roeck, Bernd, 'Visual turn? Kulturgeschichte und die Bilder', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 29 (2003), pp. 294-315; idem, *Das historische Auge: Kunstwerke als Zeugen ihrer Zeit. Von der Renaissance zur Revolution* (Göttingen, 2004), chap. 7.

⁹¹ Baumgarten, Jens, *Konfession, Bild und Macht: Visualisierung als katholisches Herrschafts- und Disziplinierungskonzept in Rom und im habsburgischen Schlesien (1560-1740)* (Hamburg et al., 2004), esp. chap. 3,2.

⁹² Louthan, Howard, *Converting Bohemia: force and persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge et al., 2009), esp. chap. 5.

⁹³ 'Forum: the visual turn in early modern German history and historiography', *German History* 30 (2012), pp. 574-591, esp. p. 577.

pictures, and elaborate forms of art and architecture.⁹⁴ But how did people respond to this kind of Catholic renewal, and how did they receive it? Chipps Smith has revealed that the Jesuits employed a variety of visual media, arguing that they used effectively ‘the power of art to affect the viewer’s spiritual development’.⁹⁵ Before him, David Freedberg recognised the question of response as a major theme, arguing in favour of a special relationship between the visual and its viewer.⁹⁶ For our historical understanding of images, however, the question remains what significance was attached to the visual by the viewer him- or herself.⁹⁷ Why did people respond to the visual and make it an image or object of devotion in a particular way? To answer the questions of how and why people responded to the Eucharistic host – visualised through pilgrimages, processions, and confraternities – this study looks at a body of primary source material which is much more diverse than that used by art historians.

Chapters and Sources

In the first chapter, I shall consider the question of the *promotion* of pilgrimage. Through the example of Bettbrunn, I will demonstrate the role of the Bavarian Wittelsbachs in promoting Eucharistic pilgrimage piety through texts and images. I will also consider how typical Bettbrunn was, compared with three other dynastic sites: Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut, Andechs, and Deggendorf. With the examples of four additional Eucharistic shrines, at Erding, Donaustauf, Bogenberg, and Heiligenstatt near Altötting, I shall then investigate the role of different local actors in promoting pilgrimage, dealing with the question of whether they and the Wittelsbachs went about this in the same ways, or whether there were differences. With my final example, a case study of the early eighteenth-century shrine at Ittling, I will address the issue of popular pressure, examining local resistance against clerical interference.

⁹⁴ Ganz/Henkel (eds.), *Rahmen-Diskurse*, pp. 26-27.

⁹⁵ Smith, *Sensuous worship*, p. 199.

⁹⁶ Freedberg, David, *The power of images: studies in the history and theory of response* (Chicago et al., 1989).

⁹⁷ Talkenberger, Heike, ‘Von der Illustration zur Interpretation: Das Bild als historische Quelle. Methodische Überlegungen zur Historischen Bildkunde’, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 21 (1994), pp. 289-313, esp. p. 305.

The primary sources examined for the study of Wittelsbach promotion constitute printed material, including pilgrimage books and devotional pictures. But, in contrast to Soergel who draws primarily on printed propaganda to highlight the revival of Catholic pilgrimage piety, the present study makes more use of archival material. To explore the process of interaction between elite-sponsored and local piety, I have consulted the state, church, and town records of the Bavarian State Library in Munich, the state archives in Munich and Landshut, the diocesan archives at Regensburg, Munich, and Passau, and the local city, town, and parish archives at Munich, Erding and Ittling. These hold the correspondence between both the local and secular or ecclesiastical authorities, protocols of visitations, and devotional prints. Among the manuscript material referred to were also charters, chronicles, church accounts, and miracle reports.

The question of the *experience* of pilgrimage is explored in the second chapter which stresses the importance of visual and material piety for the renewal of the Eucharistic pilgrimage sites. To explain how people experienced the sacred and how the Eucharist and transubstantiation were presented visually in front of the people's eyes, I will examine the visual culture of two Eucharistic shrines: the shrine of the Holy Saviour at Bettbrunn and that of the Holy Blood at Erding. Their pilgrimage art and architecture drew attention to characteristic features common to the group of Eucharistic pilgrimage shrines as a whole. This chapter therefore explores the full range of these cults to study the aspect of reception, including the question of how and why people responded to the objects and images of the shrines' visual environments.

To study local piety and perception, this chapter draws on a body of textual and visual evidence. Textually, the sources mainly include church and miracle accounts. Visually, they include material testimonies of popular belief, principally votive panels, which people donated to pilgrimage sites. To investigate the local cult practices, I have also drawn upon the field of study dominating research on pilgrimage piety in Germany and Austria: the *Volkskunde*, most appropriately labelled as folklore studies. Their regional surveys and inventories offer rewarding insights into the local customs and traditions,

including, most notably, their visual testimonies.⁹⁸ To reconstruct the environments in which this practical piety took place, I found it particularly useful to consult multi-volume inventories giving an overview of the monuments of art of particular places. Additionally, I have drawn upon art historical studies to explore Eucharistic art and iconography.

The third chapter will explore how devotion to the Eucharist was presented and received during the major sacramental procession on the primary Eucharistic feast day: Corpus Christi. The Corpus Christi procession offered a strong visual demonstration of the Bavarian dukes' alignment with Catholic Eucharistic doctrine, and to draw out its Counter-Reformation significance, I will examine the Munich pageant. The transformation of the Munich procession from a local, civic event into a far-reaching, ducal spectacle by the end of the sixteenth century was driven by ducal forces. To show the interaction of ducal and local forces, I will present the procession at the former residential town of Landshut in Lower Bavaria. Here, an enormous array of military personnel, ducal representatives, and ecclesiastical institutions became involved in the annual Corpus Christi celebration. Smaller towns in the Bavarian countryside, like Wasserburg am Inn in Upper Bavaria, by comparison, give us a sense of a more locally entrenched procession, promoted by religious lay associations: the confraternities.

In order to study the role of the dukes in promoting the Corpus Christi processions in the two residential towns of Munich and Landshut, I use ducal instructions and correspondence in the Bavarian state archives of Munich and Landshut. The textual material also includes rhyming verse descriptions and processional orders published as festive programmes. These convey a vivid picture of how the Eucharist was presented visually during the Corpus Christi procession. To focus on the role played by local promoters, this chapter furthermore draws upon printed and manuscript orders of procession as well as confraternity accounts from the local municipal archives at Landshut and Wasserburg. This enables an examination of these local processions'

⁹⁸ On the variety of votive traditions: Andree, Richard, *Votive und Weihegaben des katholischen Volkes in Süddeutschland* (Braunschweig, 1904); Kriss, Rudolf, *Volkskundliches aus altbayerischen Gnadenstätten: Beiträge zu einer Geographie des Wallfahrtsbrauchtums* (Augsburg, 1930); Kriss-Rettenbeck, Lenz, *Bilder und Zeichen religiösen Volksglaubens: Rudolf Kriss zum 60. Geburtstag* (2nd rev. edn., Munich, 1971); idem, *Ex voto: Zeichen, Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zurich et al., 1972).

visual themes. Particularly interesting in this sense is the people's insistence on a dragon being carried around during the Eucharistic procession, which highlights the ambiguous relationship between the nature of the Corpus Christi spectacle and the piety it was intended to promote.

In the fourth, and final, chapter, I consider the question of the promotion and experience of Corpus Christi confraternities. This involves an examination of the role of the Counter-Reformation order of the Capuchins in reactivating the confraternities and their devotional practices under the protection of the dukes and later electors of Bavaria. As the main driving forces behind their institutionalisation, the Capuchins promoted the Counter-Reformation cult of the Eucharist at the parish churches of the localities where they often established their organisations as the Eucharistic equivalents to the Marian Rosary confraternities. This underlines an important contrast to the Jesuits who sponsored devotion to Mary through their congregations at colleges that were situated mainly at urban centres. Through increasingly intense forms of devotion, the confraternities aimed at a spiritual renewal of the local population. Public and private forms of piety shaped each individual's life. This is why the last section of this chapter investigates the cult of Corpus Christi in terms of the experience of confraternal life.

To examine the devotional practices that the Corpus Christi confraternities promoted, I draw primarily on their statutes. These survive in the form of confraternity books and confraternity letters in the diocesan archives of Munich, Passau, and Regensburg, as well as the university library in Munich and the diocesan library in Freising. To study the localities, this chapter also undertakes an investigation of account books. Special emphasis is put on the accounts of the confraternity in Pfarrkirchen, which are located in the parish archive of the diocesan archive in Passau, and those of the confraternity in Wasserburg, which lie in the local city archive. The confraternity accounts give, like the statutes, insights into membership figures and the visual environments within which devotion to the Eucharist took place. Through donations by bequest we can get an additional sense of local response.

This broad range of primary source material is crucial to our understanding of what it meant to be a Bavarian Catholic during the Counter-Reformation. The questions of both promotion and experience are crucial in examining continuity and change in Catholic religious life in early modern Bavaria. The first will primarily involve analysing the ways in which the Catholic Church sought to 'sell' itself to the laity: through the verbal and visual promotion of pilgrimages, processions, and confraternities through images and texts. The second, and more important, question, however, will reveal why the cult of Corpus Christi appealed to the laity and how it shaped local baroque piety.

Promoting Eucharistic Pilgrimage

I. Late-medieval Eucharistic Pilgrimage Piety

During the late Middle Ages the consecrated host was perceived as a potent relic with extraordinary miraculous powers. Pilgrimages to ‘miracle-hosts’ and ‘bleeding-hosts’ proliferated during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries in Europe.⁹⁹ They were associated with a variety of Eucharistic ‘host-miracles’: stories of consecrated hosts that supposedly bled or manifested other miraculous behaviour, hovering independently over the ground, making themselves disappear from the earth, or displaying visual symbols of Christ himself.¹⁰⁰ Promoted by the clergy through images, texts, and sermons in the vernacular, such Eucharistic miracle tales served, as research by Miri Rubin demonstrated, as exemplary stories ‘to capture the ‘popular mind’’. Telling the miracle of ‘a pure, wheaten, white host which had been transubstantiated’, the various tales conveyed the true nature of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist in order to remove doubt, correct error, and prevent abuse of the host through its reception by unworthy individuals.¹⁰¹

In Germany, host-miracle shrines proliferated, in particular, in late-medieval Bavaria during what Steven Sargent has called ‘the golden age of medieval pilgrimage’ in the century and a half before the Reformation.¹⁰² Eucharistic pilgrimage piety within this area has, in German scholarship, mainly been considered by folklorists, like Johannes Heuser, as well as theologians, such as Manfred Eder, Michael Hartig, Anton Bauer, and Romuald Bauerreiss.¹⁰³ Only a few historical studies have approached this topic,

⁹⁹ On ‘Mirakelhostien’ and ‘Bluthostien’: Döring, Alois, ‘Hostie/Hostienwunder’, in Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (eds.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 15: *Heinrich II. - Ibsen* (Berlin and New York, 1986), pp. 604-606; idem, ‘Bluthostien’, in Michael Buchberger and Walter Kasper (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 2: *Barclay bis Damodos* (3rd rev. edn., Freiburg im Breisgau et al., 1994), c. 539.

¹⁰⁰ On the broad range of ‘host-miracles’: Browe, Peter, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1938).

¹⁰¹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 108-129, esp. pp. 109, 129.

¹⁰² Sargent, Steven D., ‘Miracle books and pilgrimage shrines in late medieval Bavaria’, *Historical Reflections* 13 (1986), pp. 455-471, esp. p. 455.

¹⁰³ Heuser, Johannes, ‘“Heilig-Blut” in Kult und Brauchtum des deutschen Kulturraumes: Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Bonn, 1948); Eder, Manfred, ‘Eucharistische Kirchen und Wallfahrten im Bistum Regensburg’, in Paul Mai and Georg Schwaiger (eds.), *Wallfahrten*

and the majority of them are limited by their very local focus. This is not surprising, since, compared with the pilgrimage sites dedicated to Mary and the saints, those dedicated to Christ are in a clear minority. Research by Lionel Rothkrug draws attention to the great popularity of pilgrimages to saints' shrines in pre-Reformation Bavaria, listing more than 200 shrines dedicated to saints, but no more than 50 dedicated to Christ.¹⁰⁴ Rothkrug could not always prove, however, their late-medieval origins with absolute certainty – a problem that was identified by Sargent in the later 1980s.¹⁰⁵

Amongst the shrines dedicated to Christ, most of Germany's host-miracle shrines were in today's Bavaria. Bauerreiss has identified around 70 host-miracle stories in Germany, more than half of them in Bavaria.¹⁰⁶ The geographical centre of the proliferation of host-miracles was the region that formerly constituted the Duchy of Bavaria (figure 1.1).¹⁰⁷ On the basis of the existing scholarship, I have identified 21 Eucharistic shrines, primarily assigned to one or more of the following patrons: Holy Blood (Heilig Blut), St Saviour (St Salvator), Holy Grave (Zum Heiligen Grab), Our Lord (Zu Unserem Herrn), Holy Site (Zur Heiligen Statt), or Holy Sacrament (St Sacramentum).¹⁰⁸ These were associated with host-miracle tales which dated the origins of most of them to the late-medieval period, mainly the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The late-medieval existence of pilgrimages to Bavaria's host-miracle shrines cannot be confirmed, however, in every case, primarily due to the lack of extant miracle books from the pre-Reformation period.¹⁰⁹

im Bistum Regensburg: Zur Tausendjahrfeier des Todes des hl. Bischofs Wolfgang (Regensburg, 1994), pp. 97-172; Hartig, Michael, 'Die eucharistischen Gnadenstätten in Bayern', in Theologische Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (ed.), *Pro mundi vita*, pp. 97-113; Bauer, Anton, 'Eucharistische Wallfahrten zu "Unserm Herrn", zum "Hl. Blut" und zum "St. Salvator" im alten Bistum Freising', in Adolf W. Ziegler (ed.), *Eucharistische Frömmigkeit in Bayern* (2nd rev. edn., Munich, 1963), pp. 37-71; Bauerreiss, Romuald, *Pie Jesu: Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein Einfluss auf die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit* (Munich, 1931).

¹⁰⁴ Rothkrug, Lionel, 'Popular religion and holy shrines: their influence on the origins of the German Reformation and their role in German cultural development', in James Obelkevich (ed.), *Religion and the people: 800-1700* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp. 20-86, esp. pp. 55, 58; idem, *Religious practices and collective perceptions: hidden homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Waterloo, 1980), pp. 205-206, 213.

¹⁰⁵ Sargent, Steven D., 'A critique of Lionel Rothkrug's list of Bavarian pilgrimage shrines', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987), pp. 351-358.

¹⁰⁶ Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁷ See map of Eucharistic pilgrimage sites in the former Duchy and later Electorate of Bavaria (Author).

¹⁰⁸ See above, n. 103.

¹⁰⁹ Sargent, 'Miracle books', p. 469, n. 57.

In terms of the types of tales retold about the shrines, we can, according to Eder, put them into two main categories. Firstly, there are stories about the consecrated host performing its miracle when *unintentionally* mistreated or not appropriately venerated. Secondly, there are the legends focusing on an *intended* crime against the host, the so-called ‘Hostienfrevel’, or ‘host-crime’. Concerning the first type, the tales focus on dropped, lost, or vomited hosts which, after being consecrated during communion, hover ‘miraculously’ over the earth, swim ‘wondrously’ in fountains, or rest ‘wonderfully’ in their place. This type of tale was told of numerous sites, including Einsbach and Bettbrunn in Upper Bavaria, and Bogenberg and Mainburg in Lower Bavaria. Concerning the second type, most stories deal with the theft of consecrated hosts or liturgical objects specially designed for their reservation. These tales also featured prominently and were reported to have occurred at places like Munich and Ecksberg in Upper Bavaria, and Ittling in Lower Bavaria.¹¹⁰

A special sort of the host-crime legend was that of the ‘host-desecration’, which German-language scholarship refers to as the so-called ‘Hostienschändung’ – an accusation of host-abuse made against the Jews.¹¹¹ Host-desecration legends, the oldest of which was said to have taken place in Paris in 1290, proliferated over a large geographical area during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most widely in German-speaking Franconia, Swabia, and Austria, where Jews suffered ruthless persecutions.¹¹² Host-desecration charges were anti-Semitic fictions which were exploited as explanations and justifications for Jewish pogroms. In the tales, the Jews are blamed for desecrating stolen hosts which often bleed as a result of their sacrilege.¹¹³ Within the region of the former duchy, we know of only one bleeding-host shrine associated with an anti-Jewish host-desecration legend: at the Danubian town of Deggendorf in Lower

¹¹⁰ Eder, Manfred, ‘Wallfahrten, eucharistische’, in *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*, 10 Sep. 2010, <http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/artikel/artikel_45332> (17 Dec. 2010).

¹¹¹ Kirmeier, Josef, ‘Hostienfrevel, -schändung’, in Norbert Angermann, Robert Auty, and Robert-Henri Bautier (eds.), *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5: *Hiera-Mittel bis Lukanien* (Munich et al., 1991), c. 139.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ On host-desecration tales against the Jews in late-medieval Europe: Browe, Peter, ‘Die Hostienschändung der Juden im Mittelalter’, in Thomas Flammer and Hubertus Lutterbach (eds.), *Die Eucharistie im Mittelalter: Liturgiehistorische Forschungen in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht* (Münster et al., 2003), pp. 361-379; Rubin, Miri, *Gentile tales: the narrative assault on late medieval Jews* (New Haven et al., 1999); Merback, Mitchell B., *Pilgrimage and pogrom: violence, memory, and visual culture at the host-miracle shrines of Germany and Austria* (Chicago et al, 2012).

Bavaria. Research by Eder indicates that it was not until the later fourteenth and, probably, early fifteenth centuries that an anti-Jewish tale of 1337 was invented, to defend an actual massacre of the same year, which was part of a wave of persecutions of the Jews in Lower Bavaria.¹¹⁴

Although the Deggendorf occurrence seems to stand out as an isolated case, its foundation legend follows a story-line that was common to both types of the duchy's Eucharistic miracle tales, no matter whether the holy sacrament of the altar was said to have been taken away from its original sanctuary *intentionally* or *unintentionally*. Serving as exemplary stories to teach the laity Eucharistic doctrine through miracles, the many tales 'attempted to locate the miraculous within the immediate surroundings of their audience', referencing to local traditions and town names.¹¹⁵ The protagonists were, most frequently, lay people who caused, without understanding or believing in transubstantiation, harm to the host. Often representing Bavaria's rural population, for example shepherds, peasants, and farm women, they either regret having maltreated the host and confess their sins or they are punished severely for their host-crimes by being burned – an execution method identifying them as heretics.¹¹⁶ Animals also feature regularly, proving the host's holiness through their devotion. The removal of the host from its special place of safe-keeping often happened during Easter communion. In terms of the narrative, two themes, the clergy's solemn elevation of the holy host from the ground where it was found, and the erection of a chapel or church on the particular place of finding as a kind of sin offering for the mistreatment of the sacrament, run through the tales. In the Deggendorf legend, for instance, the consecrated host, desecrated by its Jewish abusers, performs its miracle by bleeding and even appearing in the form of a child before it is solemnly returned by the clergy into the church which was said to have been built as an act of atonement for the brutal crime.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Eder, Manfred, *Die „Deggendorfer Gnad“: Entstehung und Entwicklung einer Hostienwallfahrt im Kontext von Theologie und Geschichte* (Passau, 1992), pp. 223-243.

¹¹⁵ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 114.

¹¹⁶ Lang, Johannes, '... vocari Undique-lucentem: Marginalien zu einer Salzburger Ketzergeschichte', *Salzburg Archiv* 27 (2001), pp. 155-166, esp. p. 163.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Eder, *Die „Deggendorfer Gnad“*, pp. 223-243.

What happened to the late-medieval host-miracle shrines, which had become so deeply entrenched in pre-Reformation Bavaria, during the Reformation period and afterwards? Trevor Johnson mentions two late-medieval bleeding-host shrines at the monasteries of Walderbach and Waldsassen in the Upper Palatinate which were among the more prominent sacred sites of a lively pre-Reformation pilgrimage network.¹¹⁸ They fell, however, into decline during the Reformation period. The bleeding-host kept within a chapel at Stockhof near Walderbach was removed by a Lutheran pastor in 1556.¹¹⁹ Waldsassen's miracle-host probably suffered the same fate.¹²⁰ Even in the Duchy of Bavaria where the dukes made every effort to stamp out Protestantism and its persistent attacks on the practice of pilgrimage, the general picture of the Bavarian shrines was one of decline, mainly in the years between 1520 and 1570.¹²¹

In response to Protestant attacks on the practice of pilgrimage, host-miracle shrines underwent a process of Counter-Reformation renewal between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The leading and most visible initiative in this process was taken by the Bavarian Wittelsbach rulers themselves, as for them, to quote Philip Soergel, 'pilgrimage was one means of solidifying ideological and political control over their state'. For this purpose, 'the Wittelsbach state and its clerical elite concentrated their efforts domestically in order to achieve sacralization of the territory'.¹²² This, first and foremost, involved the Catholic ruler from the House of Wittelsbach himself who made Eucharistic pilgrimage practice a distinctive feature of Counter-Reformation piety by personally visiting and donating to several host-miracle shrines. By setting an example through his virtuous and righteous religiosity and passing his devotional style on from one generation to the next, he paraded himself as a pious patron of pilgrimage, binding his subjects to him.

¹¹⁸ Johnson, *Magistrates, madonnas, and miracles*, p. 280

¹¹⁹ Batzl, Heribert, 'Die Wallfahrt „zum Stock“', *Rodinger Heimat* 20 (2003), pp. 151-153.

¹²⁰ Pötzl, Walter, 'Volksfrömmigkeit', in Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 871-961, esp. p. 883.

¹²¹ Soergel, 'Spiritual medicine', p. 125; Pötzl, 'Volksfrömmigkeit', pp. 882-887.

¹²² Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 161.

II. Wittelsbach Promotion of Eucharistic Pilgrimage Piety

The prime example of Wittelsbach promotion of Eucharistic pilgrimage piety is the host-miracle shrine dedicated to St Salvator at Bettbrunn, situated near the university town of Ingolstadt in Upper Bavaria, which was a traditional pilgrimage destination of the Bavarian dukes. Ferdinand of Bavaria (1550-1608), the second son of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, consecrated himself to the shrine during an illness, and left a visual reminder of his personal pilgrimage by donating several, albeit now destroyed, frescos on the pilgrimage church's outer wall as a votive offering in thanks for his recovery in 1575.¹²³ Duke and later Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria travelled to Bettbrunn as a student at the Catholic, Jesuit-dominated, University of Ingolstadt.¹²⁴ Likewise, Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria visited the shrine.¹²⁵ Even members of the clerical elite, including a number of bishops of Regensburg and Eichstätt, repeatedly went on pilgrimages to the hamlet in the Upper Bavarian countryside which was the Eucharistic equivalent to the main Marian pilgrimage shrine of the Wittelsbachs at Altötting.¹²⁶

Focusing on the example of Bettbrunn, the present study will give an account of the methods employed to renew and promote Eucharistic pilgrimage piety in the former Duchy of Bavaria during the Counter-Reformation. To investigate how the Eucharistic pilgrimage shrine at Bettbrunn became a typical Counter-Reformation cult under the auspices of the Wittelsbach dukes, this study adopts a thematic approach, describing the revival of the pilgrimage practice as part of an exclusive, elite-sponsored programme. The example of Bettbrunn shows that its textual and visual promotion was a result of the dukes' initiatives, involving two strategies of Counter-Reformation renewal. Firstly, the dukes spearheaded a campaign that focused on the textual legitimisation of Bettbrunn's history and origins. As a result of their calling of priests and Augustinian friars, the secular and religious clergy engaged, secondly, in the textual and visual promotion of Bettbrunn's shrine. While the main emphasis will be given to the shrine at

¹²³ Diethauer, Franz, Schnell, Hugo, *Bettbrunn: Pfarr- und Wallfahrtskirche St. Salvator* (5th rev. edn., Munich et al., 1969), p. 5.

¹²⁴ Pötzl, 'Volksfrömmigkeit', p. 890.

¹²⁵ Eder, 'Eucharistische Kirchen', p. 134.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Bettbrunn, this section will also draw on other examples to assess how typical Bettbrunn was. But before discussing the state-sponsored strategies in greater detail, let us begin with the host-miracle shrine's supposed origins.

The Eucharistic pilgrimage site at Bettbrunn claims to be Bavaria's oldest host-miracle shrine, founded in the twelfth century. The oldest surviving account of its legend, an 84-verse poem dating from around 1430, recounts the story of a shepherd who, after Holy Communion in the nearby parish church of Oberdolling in 1125, took the consecrated host with him to his hometown of Bettbrunn to honour it on his crook. In a moment of carelessness, however, he cast his crook at his dispersed flock, and the holy host fell on the ground. Unsuccessful attempts to raise the consecrated host were made by both the shepherd and the local parish priest, and it was not until after the bishop of Regensburg, accompanied by the local populace, promised to erect a chapel in honour of the holy Salvator, the Saviour, above the site of the host's discovery as a kind of atonement offering that he was able to elevate it from the ground. As this chapel burned down soon afterwards, it was replaced by a stone church.¹²⁷ Later versions of this late-medieval legend point to the devotion of animals. The shepherd's herd of cattle was reported to have knelt in front of the dropped host, as if it wanted to worship God.¹²⁸ An additional version popularised during the Counter-Reformation centred on an image, rather than on the host, as the only surviving relic being able to resist the flames, as we shall see later.

Bettbrunn was situated on the duchy's periphery, bordering the Upper Palatinate. Due to its special location, Bavaria's 'border shrine' played a pivotal role in building a bridge between the Catholic duchy and the Protestant Upper Palatinate. The shrine functioned as a Counter-Reformation cult attracting not only the local populace, but also people from the Protestant neighbouring territory – despite relentless efforts by Protestant clergy and magistrates to suppress pilgrimage practice in the Upper Palatinate from

¹²⁷ Eder, 'Eucharistische Kirchen', p. 131. On the late-medieval rhyme text: Renner, Carl O. 'Bettbrunn', in Alois Fink (ed.), *Unbekanntes Bayern*, vol. 4: *Wallfahrtskirchen und Gnadenstätten* (Munich, 1959), pp. 150-163, esp. pp. 152-153.

¹²⁸ Eder, 'Eucharistische Kirchen', p. 132.

about the second half of the sixteenth century onwards.¹²⁹ Especially at the beginning of the Thirty Years War in the 1620s, when the former Protestant Upper Palatinate was subjected to a rigid policy of recatholicisation initiated by Duke Maximilian, pilgrimages to Bettbrunn were promoted on both sides of Bavaria's border. A major component of the Bavarian duke's campaign of reactivating pilgrimage piety was the installation of religious orders and confraternities. In the formerly Protestant Upper Palatinate, the new Counter-Reformation orders of the Capuchins and Jesuits actively engaged in the founding of confraternities to organise processions to the shrine.¹³⁰ In Bettbrunn, Maximilian took a leading role in improving its pilgrimage ministry.

From the fifteenth century onwards, as research by the German folklorist Alois Döring indicates, the pilgrimage ministry at Bettbrunn had rested on the local parish priest and two prebendaries. The number of Catholic priests installed at the shrine was increased, however, at Maximilian's behest in 1625 to guarantee suitable provision for the growing influx of people. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the number of pilgrims had, according to Döring, risen to such a great extent that members of the religious order of the Augustinian Hermits from their convent at Ingolstadt were called in for assistance to manage the flood of pilgrims. Supported by Maximilian's successors, Ferdinand Maria and Maximilian Emanuel, the order took complete charge of the local ministry of pilgrimage at the end of the seventeenth century.¹³¹ The Augustinians of both their Bettbrunn and Ingolstadt convents actively engaged in promoting the shrine, preaching not only at the local site, but also in the surrounding and remote regions.¹³² Their preaching and pastoral activities were backed by Franciscans from Ingolstadt as well as by members of the new religious orders of the Jesuits and Capuchins who were sent on pastoral missions to Bettbrunn during the key pilgrimage days.¹³³

¹²⁹ Döring, Alois, 'St. Salvator in Bettbrunn: Historisch-volkskundliche Untersuchung zur eucharistischen Wallfahrt', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 13 (1979), pp. 35-234, esp. pp. 81-82.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87, 98-100.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-133.

Textual Legitimation of the Shrines' Origins

Bettbrunn's location on the Upper Palatinate border is very important to explaining how and why the pilgrimage developed. The Wittelsbach dukes, fully aware of its confessional border location and close proximity to the university and printing press at Ingolstadt, led a campaign of textual propaganda in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries legitimizing the history and origins of Bavaria's oldest host-miracle shrine through the publishing of books, songs, and sermons. The Jesuit-influenced university town of Ingolstadt was a key component in this campaign, producing a new cadre of literate Counter-Reformation authors who not only studied, but also exploited its press for their printed pilgrimage literature. Bettbrunn therefore fits with Soergel's model of an elite-sponsored cult promoted through printed propaganda during a 'campaign to stamp out Protestantism and to establish Catholic hegemony'.¹³⁴ The 'pilgrimage book', in particular, was, as research by Soergel revealed, employed as 'a new literary genre' that was created by state and clerical propagandists alike to nurture pilgrimage piety within Bavaria's confines.¹³⁵ What made the Counter-Reformation pilgrimage book different from late-medieval miracle reports was, according to Soergel, not only its polemical character, defending the practice of pilgrimage against Protestant criticism, but also, and even more significantly, its combination of a theological defence, on the one hand, with miracle and myth surrounding the shrine, on the other.¹³⁶

Because of the dukes' initiatives, pilgrimage to Bettbrunn was, more than to other Eucharistic shrines of the duchy, promoted via printed material. The close co-operation between the dukes and their university emerges, above all, from the oldest extant pilgrimage book, *St Saviour at Bettbrunn in Bavaria*, published at Ingolstadt in 1584 and written by the university professor Johannes Engerd.¹³⁷ Combining Bettbrunn's legend with a sparkling account of the shrine's popularity and miraculous appeal, and

¹³⁴ Soergel, 'Spiritual medicine', p. 125.

¹³⁵ Idem, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 168.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 168-169.

¹³⁷ Engerd, Johannes, *Sanct Saluator zu Bettbrunn in Bayrn: Das ist, Von der Alten H. Capellen vnd wurdigem hochberühmten Gotteshauß vnsers lieben Herrn Sanct Saluators zu Bettbrunn in Fürstenthumb Bayrn, Regenspurger Bisthumb: Auch von den vielen Wunderzeychen, Heylthumb, Geliübden, Walfärten vnd anderer Christlichen Andacht desselben Orts, etc.* (Ingolstadt, 1584).

apologetic announcements advertising Eucharistic pilgrimage piety, Engerd's work promoted Bettbrunn, to quote Soergel, 'as part of Bavaria's counter-reformational policies on the part of both Church and state'.¹³⁸ Engerd's Counter-Reformation book was, as Döring has shown, circulated through the considerable number of 700 copies in 1584 and a new edition, issued and expanded through the addition of several miracle accounts by David Mörlin in 1597. The books were in such a high demand that only one year later, in 1598, the local parish priest, Jakob Hornstein, published a new book that was also based on Engerd's account of Bettbrunn's history and origins, including a register of its rich collection of relics.¹³⁹

Hornstein, following in the footsteps of the controversialist Martin Eisengrein (1535-1578), also composed a controversial sermon that was also published in Ingolstadt in 1596.¹⁴⁰ Personally sponsored by Duke Albrecht, the Catholic convert Eisengrein had made himself known as a Counter-Reformation preacher in and around the university town of Ingolstadt.¹⁴¹ He had promoted Bettbrunn and other famous shrines in a sermon printed in Ingolstadt in 1564, with at least two further editions published in 1565 and 1597.¹⁴² In his theological defence, Eisengrein had prompted his listeners to continue the traditional Catholic practice of pilgrimage, inviting them to go on a pilgrimage to Bavaria's and the world's most famous shrines: 'Walk, as I say, in the name of God, to Our Lady at Altötting, to the Saviour [at Bettbrunn] (...), up to the Holy Mountain [at Andechs] (...), to Our Lady at Loreto (...), even to Santiago de Compostela, to St Jacob in Spain, or to the Holy Grave at Jerusalem'.¹⁴³ Following Eisengrein's model, Hornstein defended Catholic processions and pilgrimages to God's chosen shrines as 'heylsame Remedia vnd Mittel' ('beneficial remedies and cures').¹⁴⁴ Like Eisengrein

¹³⁸ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 192.

¹³⁹ Döring, 'St. Salvator', p. 127.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95, n. 278, and p. 96.

¹⁴¹ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, pp. 105-107.

¹⁴² Eisengrein, Martin, *Ein Christliche Predig: Was vom Heilthumb, so im Papstumb, in so grossen ehren, zuhalten sey. Vnd Ob ain frommer Christ mit guttem gewissen, zu disem oder jaenem Heiligen walfarten gehen künde. Zu Ingolstatt in der Pfarrkirchen bey S. Mauritz gepredigt* (Ingolstadt, 1564, later edns., 1565, 1597).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, fol. 37r: 'Lauff hin, sag ich, in dem namen Gottes, zu vnser lieben fraw gen Alten ötting, zum Saluator (...), auff den hailigen Berg (...), zu vnser frawen gehn Lauretto (...), bis gar gen Compostel, zu S. Jacob in Hispania, oder gen Jerusalem zu dem hailigen grab'.

¹⁴⁴ Hornstein, Jakob, *Catholischer Beweyß vnd Anzeyg, daß Gott nit durchauß vnd zugleich, an einem Orth wie am andern, seine Göttliche Wunder, Gnaden vnnnd Gutthaten wircke vnd erzeyge, sonder hierzu*

before him, Hornstein ranked Bavaria's Bettbrunn among the most illustrious pilgrimage destinations dedicated to Christ, Mary, and other saints, including those at Rome and Loreto in Italy, Santiago de Compostela in Spain, and Einsiedeln in Switzerland.¹⁴⁵

Bettbrunn's origins were also described in printed songs. A pilgrimage song printed in Ingolstadt in 1585 was written by the local parish priest, Oswald Schönhauser.¹⁴⁶ In his song consisting of 34 strophes, Schönhauser promoted the host-miracle of 1125 as the cause of the construction of St Salvator's church, as can be seen from the title: *A new Catholic religious chant, or pilgrimage song: about the great miracle, which truly happened with the blessed sacrament of the altar at Bettbrunn in Bavaria in 1125 and thus was the reason why on that sacred site the glorious and gracious church of St Saviour was built.*¹⁴⁷ Schönhauser used the largest part of his song to remind its singers of the shrine's miracle tale, drawing on Engerd's pilgrimage book from 1584.¹⁴⁸ Besides emphasizing the tale's commemorative function, he pointed to its didactic purpose, using it as a Counter-Reformation example against Protestant Eucharistic doctrine.¹⁴⁹ According to Schönhauser, Bettbrunn's legend served as an effective means of reminding and reaffirming the 'Sieg' ('victory') of Catholic Eucharistic belief over Protestant 'Ketzerrey' ('heresy').¹⁵⁰ Schönhauser's pilgrimage song became very popular, as it was included in one of the earliest post-Tridentine song books printed in Munich in 1586, inscribed in the library catalogue of the Jesuit College in Munich.¹⁵¹

einen für den andern ehre vnnd außerwöhle. Wider alle Wallfahrtsfeind, im Gottshauß S. Saluators zu Bettbrunn, Regenspurger Bisthumbs: geprediget vnnd auffgeopffert (Ingolstadt, 1596), preface.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 26-39.

¹⁴⁶ Döring, 'St. Salvator', p. 152.

¹⁴⁷ Schönhauser, Oswald, *Ein newer Geistlicher Catholischer Rüff, Creutz oder Walfart Gesang: Von dem grossen Mirackel, das in dem 1125. Jar zu Bettbrunn in Bayrn mit dem allerheiligsten Sacrament deß Altars warhafftig geschehen ist, vnnd demnach ein vrsach gewest, daß an ermeltes heilige Ort, das herrlich vnd gnadenreiche Gottshauß Sanct Saluators erbawet worden (...)* (Ingolstadt, 1585).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., strophes 4-24.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., strophes 25-28.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., strophe 27, verse 7; strophe 28, verse 2.

¹⁵¹ *Gesang vnd Psalmenbuch: Auff die fürnembste Fest durchs gantze Jar, inn der Kirchen, auch bey Processionen, Creutzgäng, Kirch vnd Walfarten nuetzlich zugebrauchen. Auß den alten approbirten Authorn der Christlichen Kirchen zu gutem in dise Ordnung gebracht. Jedem Lobgesang vnnd Psalmen ist sein gewoenliche Melodey mit vleiß zugeordnet worden* (Munich, 1586).

The textual legitimisation of Bettbrunn's miraculous origins by Bavaria's counter-reformers functioned as a two-fold propaganda: not only did they write from a polemical standpoint, attacking Protestant theology, but they also disseminated Bettbrunn's Eucharistic miracle tale in the tradition of Johannes Engerd, promoting an image-, rather than a host-cult. What makes Bettbrunn's oldest pilgrimage book by Johannes Engerd from 1584 particularly interesting is the fact that he, for the first time, *created* an extended version of the original host-miracle, as described by the late-medieval poem's rhyme history, centring less on the miracle-*host*, but rather on a miracle-*image*. According to the author, 'ein Bild Saluatoris' ('an image of the Saviour') had 'wunderbarlich' ('miraculously') survived unscathed the fire which was said to have destroyed the first wooden pilgrimage chapel.¹⁵²

But when did the chapel fire and, hence, the shift from host-cult to image-cult take place? The authors of the subsequent sixteenth-century pilgrimage books about Bettbrunn's shrine, David Mörlin and Jakob Hornstein, followed Engerd's version closely. While Mörlin's book from 1597 is a re-edition of Engerd's version, Hornstein's work is more specific about the origins of the church name 'S. Saluator' itself. Contrary to Mörlin and Engerd, according to whom the old wooden chapel had already been built in honour of the Saviour, Hornstein draws on historical documents to date the shift from the host- to the image-cult. Referring to an old letter from 1378, he tried to prove that it was not until after the chapel fire and the image's recovery that the pilgrimage site was named after 'St Saviour', hence suggesting that the chapel fire and resulting shift had taken place sometime in the fourteenth century.¹⁵³

Engerd's textual prototype makes us believe, therefore, that it was not the consecrated host, but the Salvator image that could be saved from the flames as the only

¹⁵² Engerd, *Sanct Saluator*, p. 47.

¹⁵³ Mörlin, David, *Sanct Saluator Zu Bettbrunn in Bayrn: Das ist: Von der alten heiligen Capellen vnd würdigem hochbrühmbten Gottshauß vnsers lieben Herrn S. Saluators zu Bettbrunn, im Fürstenthumb Bayrn, Regenspurger Bistumbs. Dann auch vonn den vilen Wunderzeychen, Heylthumb, Gelübden, Wallfährten, vnd anderer Christlichen Andacht desselben Orts, etc.* (Ingolstadt, 1597), esp. preface and p. 47; Hornstein, Jakob, *S. Saluator, Das ist: Warhaffter kurtzer Bericht von der heiligen, berühmten Wallfahrtskirchen, vnsers einigen Heylands Jesu Christi, zu Bettbrunn im Fürstenthumb Bayern, Regenspurger Bisthums: Sampt einer besondern zugehörigen Figur, von dem ersten grossen Miracul vnnnd Wunderwerck, welches sich mit dem hochwürdigen Sacrament deß Altars, vnnnd einem Viechhirten, anfänglich verlossen vnnnd zugetragen* (Ingolstadt, 1598), p. 12.

incombustible relic. His re-created story of Bettbrunn's origins, in which the miracle-image of Christ – and not the Eucharistic wafer – was the principal actor, was a significant step in the popularisation of the host-miracle shrine's new cult relic. Placed on the high altar above the sacred site where the host had been found and raised from the ground, this image became the main cult object in the new stone church rebuilt in honour of the Saviour.¹⁵⁴ The new pilgrimage image also appears on the title page of Engerd's book under the designation of the *Salvator mundi* (Saviour of the world): Christ in a half-length portrait as the world's ruler and saviour in a royal robe, with an orb in his left hand and his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing (figure 1.2).¹⁵⁵

Bettbrunn was typical of the post-Reformation trend toward enhancing the miraculous origins of shrines through miracle-images that became, in addition to the miracle-hosts, the protagonists in the pilgrimage literature. The case of Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut in today's Upper Palatinate also demonstrates that the original host-miracle was, sometime around 1600, adapted to an image-cult.¹⁵⁶ Yet, unlike Bettbrunn's shrine, Neukirchen's pilgrimage site was fully transformed into a Marian image-cult, according to the German folklorist Walter Hartinger who published several studies on the Upper Palatinate shrine. Even though the previous legend had focused on a consecrated host, the revised and extended account shifted the emphasis to a statue of the Virgin Mary as the central pilgrimage attraction reported to have bled when stabbed by a Bohemian Hussite. The oldest account of its origins, including the original host-miracle as well as the new image legend, is known from a manuscript that the local schoolmaster, Martin Huetter, submitted to the ecclesiastical authorities at Regensburg in 1611.¹⁵⁷ In the same year, Huetter also composed a song which was printed in 1612 and named after the Bettbrunn version, *Ain schöner Catholischer Rueff* (*A fine Catholic chant*).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Engerd, *Sanct Saluator*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, title page.

¹⁵⁶ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 221.

¹⁵⁷ Hartinger, Walter, 'Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut: Von der geflüchteten Madonna zur Flüchtlingsmadonna', in Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and Gerda Möhler (eds.), *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen: Themen zu einer Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums und des Adalbert Stifter Vereins, München* (Munich et al., 1984), pp. 407-417, esp. pp. 407-409.

¹⁵⁸ *Idem*, 'Ain schöner Catholischer Rueff: Zur Genese eines barocken Wallfahrtsliedes', *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1972/75), pp. 195-210.

Like Bettbrunn, Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut was a confessional border shrine located in the Upper Palatinate at the frontier between Bavaria and Bohemia.¹⁵⁹ This explains why it was also integrated into a Counter-Reformation programme that encouraged the construction of the extended miracle tale. For the Bavarian dukes, the shrine functioned, like Bettbrunn, as an appropriate instrument to exert influence on believers in the adjacent Protestant territories of Bohemia and the Upper Palatinate, and this is why they sought to make the pilgrimage flourish and to attract pilgrims from both Catholic Bavaria and its Protestant neighbours, even before the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. This fact was, as Hartinger indicates, recognised in Maximilian's financial support for the extension of the pilgrimage church and the erection of a new high altar, besides his request through a Jesuit in Rome to obtain a range of indulgences for the shrine. To assist the local parish clergy, who proved unable to manage the mass of pilgrims, Maximilian also tried to bring in religious orders, calling on older orders, like the Franciscans and Benedictines, as well as new ones, including the Capuchins, Carmelites, and Jesuits. Yet, it was not until after Maximilian's death that the pilgrimage ministry was taken over by the Franciscans in 1657. Supervising the shrine from their new convent built next to the church, they even had to include Czech-speaking priests into their community to hear the confessions of non-German-speaking pilgrims.¹⁶⁰

Because of Bettbrunn's and Neukirchen's border locations, they were very actively promoted through collections of miracles attributed to their miracle-images, featuring as extracts in the printed pilgrimage books and in a considerable number of miracle books: separately bound manuscripts listing the pilgrims' names and places of origin as well as their requests and donations to the shrines.¹⁶¹ The miracles provide concrete evidence of the fact that, as a result of the Counter-Reformation programme promoting Bavaria's border shrines, pilgrimage rose noticeably during the seventeenth and, even more considerably, during the eighteenth century. The success of pilgrimage emerges from

¹⁵⁹ On Neukirchen's border location: idem, 'Die Wallfahrt Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut: Volkskundliche Untersuchung einer Gnadenstätte an der bayerisch-böhmischen Grenze', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 5 (1971), pp. 23-240; idem, 'Die Bedeutung Böhmens für die Wallfahrt Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 6 (1972), pp. 257-265.

¹⁶⁰ Idem, 'Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut', pp. 410-411.

¹⁶¹ Döring, 'St. Salvator', pp. 175-177; Hartinger, 'Die Wallfahrt', p. 157.

the dozens of miracle experiences surviving from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At Bettbrunn, approximately 10,000 miracles were recorded in six handwritten miracle books by the Augustinian Hermits between 1650 and 1768.¹⁶²

Bettbrunn seems, therefore, to have been typical in its promotion of an image through an extended Eucharistic miracle tale. But, in contrast to the Bavarian border shrines of Bettbrunn and Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut, the traditionally important dynastic shrines at Andechs and Deggendorf were not promoted on the basis of extended miracle stories specifically created during the Counter-Reformation to legitimise the cult of images. Their pre-Reformation cults were re-promoted on the basis of their late-medieval host-miracles to renew devotion to their original host-relics. The Benedictine abbey at Andechs, Upper Bavaria's Holy Mountain, had become popular as a host-miracle shrine in the later Middle Ages, because of three Holy Hosts that had supposedly bled during pontifical Masses to convince doubters of the Real Presence of Christ. Two were said to have been consecrated by Pope Gregory I (r. 590-604), and the third by Pope Leo IX (r. 1049-1054).¹⁶³

The hosts, as recounted in several fifteenth-century chronicles, belonged to the site's impressive relic collection of the counts of Andechs that was hidden for protection in wartime and lost for centuries until it was 'miraculously' rediscovered by a mouse in 1388.¹⁶⁴ The late-medieval myth of the loss and rediscovery of the counts' sacred treasury, including the three Eucharistic wafers, was, at the end of the sixteenth and the start of the seventeenth centuries, recirculated by Andechs' monastic clergy promoting the shrine as a traditional dynastic site, albeit now repackaged in the 'bold, apologetic, and devotional format' of the Counter-Reformation pilgrimage book.¹⁶⁵ The links between the Benedictine monks and the Wittelsbach dukes had been close since the mid-fifteenth century. In the 1450s, Duke Albrecht III had called for their assistance and built a monastery for them to manage the steady rise in pilgrimage.¹⁶⁶ For the renewal

¹⁶² BZAR, Pfa Bettbrunn, Sign. 222-227.

¹⁶³ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 209.

¹⁶⁶ Rückert, Rainer (ed.), *Der Schatz vom Heiligen Berg Andechs: Erschienen zur Ausstellung im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum München, 12. Mai bis 15. Oktober 1967* (Munich et al., 1967), pp. 12-13.

of the cult, they were even supported by the founding of new pilgrimage confraternities, like a *Dreihostienbruderschaft* (Three Holy Hosts confraternity), confirmed by the Bishop of Augsburg, Heinrich von Knöringen, in 1630.¹⁶⁷

The Eucharistic cult at Deggendorf in Lower Bavaria was, like that at Andechs, a host-miracle shrine promoted by Counter-Reformation theologians under Wittelsbach patronage. The most important of them was the theologian Johann Jakob Rabus, a Catholic convert who, thanks to the patronage of Duke Albrecht, the Ingolstadt controversialist Martin Eisengrein, and the Ingolstadt Jesuit Petrus Canisius, studied under the Jesuits in Rome, Cologne, Mainz, and Dillingen.¹⁶⁸ After his appointment as court preacher and theologian by Duke Albrecht in 1571 and another enrolment at the University of Ingolstadt, he gave, according to Eder, several sermons before Duke Wilhelm and his wife concerning the shrine's origins, probably in 1579 and 1580. Encouraged by Wilhelm, Rabus drew on the pre-Reformation tale of the host-desecration by Jews in order to produce a pilgrimage book on the bleeding-host shrine's alleged history, printed in Munich in 1584.¹⁶⁹ Another polemical pilgrimage book was published in Ingolstadt in 1604, written by Johannes Sartorius, a former student of theology at Ingolstadt and parish priest at Deggendorf between 1599 and 1609.¹⁷⁰

The anti-Jewish libel fitted well into the Wittelsbach rulers' confessional policy that was aimed at the implementation of Catholic orthodoxy within their lands. In 1551, the Jews had been expelled from their duchy.¹⁷¹ During the 1580s, Duke Wilhelm had ordered the further proliferation of Deggendorf's anti-Jewish origins.¹⁷² The early 1620s saw, furthermore, the institution of the Capuchins who produced further re-editions of Sartorius' pilgrimage book during the seventeenth century through their Corpus Christi confraternity founded in 1625.¹⁷³ Yet, we should not overestimate the anti-Jewish libel's importance for Bavaria's Counter-Reformation, as it seems to have lost much of its traditional, late-medieval significance. In the later Middle Ages, the anti-Semitic fiction

¹⁶⁷ Heuser, "Heilig-Blut", p. 120.

¹⁶⁸ Eder, *Die „Deggendorfer Gnad“*, pp. 262.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-266.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 276-280.

¹⁷¹ Ziegler, 'Reformation und Gegenreformation', p. 44.

¹⁷² Eder, *Die „Deggendorfer Gnad“*, p. 275.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-287, n. 428, and pp. 468-469.

had played a significant role in expressing hatred against the Jews. Now, as a post-medieval revival, it still perpetuated stereotypes against the Jews, but was employed rather as an anti-Protestant narrative, in which anti-Semitism and anti-Protestantism were merged into a single tradition of hate.¹⁷⁴

Visual Promotion

For the dukes, visual promotion was as important as textual promotion, but the main purposes of these two types of devotion differed. Whereas texts were exploited to legitimise the shrines, images were intended to encourage individual devotion. The clergy, both secular and religious, installed at the pilgrimage sites through the dukes' initiatives, played a vital role in popularising the shrines' origins and cult objects through printed images and church displays. At Bettbrunn, the cult of the miracle-image, or *Gnadenbild*, of St Salvator was, as Döring has shown, promoted in a number of ways. It was integrated into the liturgical celebrations on the main pilgrimage days when it was carried during sacramental processions and used to issue the blessing. Liturgical practices centring on the *Gnadenbild* also included decorative clothing and appropriate settings for its safe-keeping. In 1660, for instance, at the behest of Cardinal Franz Wilhelm Wartenberg following his church visitation, the image was newly decorated and placed into a specially designed glass cabinet to protect it from the pilgrims who used to touch and carry it around the altar to receive some of its healing power. Additionally, copies of the *Gnadenbild* made of wood, wax, and other materials, produced at the local site, were given to the pilgrims for veneration at home. Copies of the cult image functioned, furthermore, as reliquaries, containing some of the shrine's impressive collection of relics, which were also put on public display on the main festive days. Large reproductions of the miraculous image were even attached to wayside shrines, leading the way for the arriving processions along the busiest pilgrimage paths.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 180.

¹⁷⁵ Döring, 'St. Salvator', pp. 121-123, 129.

The pilgrimage image of Bettbrunn's shrine was disseminated, above all, through printed images, and a number of devotional pictures survive. A copperplate print, dating from the end of the seventeenth century, shows the image of the holy Salvator with the same features as the one depicted in Engerd's pilgrimage book of 1584, albeit in a full-length portrait: Christ as the world's saviour, standing on a cloud and holding an orb in his left hand, while his right hand presents a sign of blessing. Below him appears the pilgrimage church with two additional statues, one above the church's entrance and the other on top of its roof. Above the image of Christ the Saviour one can see the consecrated host which is kept in the sunburst-styled monstrance of the Baroque and surrounded by a host of angels within clouds (figure 1.3).¹⁷⁶ This copper engraving, produced by Melchior Haffner between 1681 and 1690, served as a template for later devotional prints including prayers to the 'wundervollen heiligen Salvator zu Bettbrunn' ('wonderful holy Saviour at Bettbrunn') that were published in the mid-eighteenth century (figure 1.4).¹⁷⁷

Although much emphasis was put on the pilgrimage image, Bettbrunn's origins as a miracle-host shrine still played a decisive role in its successful renewal. Bettbrunn's host-miracle was, like its miracle-image, not only textually legitimised, but also visually promoted. A pictorial broadsheet, printed in Ingolstadt in 1632, visualises the late-medieval host-miracle in eight images, with the rhymes of the fifteenth-century poem underneath (figure 1.5).¹⁷⁸ Even though this visual depiction does not include the extended legendary version introduced by Engerd, it does incorporate the image of the *Salvator mundi*: Christ as the universal ruler and saviour within clouds, with a crown, a long robe, and an orb. This image describing him as 'das lebendige Brodt, das vom Himmel kommen ist' ('the living bread having come from heaven') is enhanced through a representation underneath, depicting a monstrance which is carried by two angels on both sides who present the consecrated host to the viewer, while the pope, the bishop, and other clerics kneel in prayer and look devoutly upwards. Through the juxtaposition of the miraculous Salvator image with the miracle-host, the broadsheet effectively illustrates Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist. The visual depiction of the shrine's

¹⁷⁶ GNM, Wallfahrtsbilder, Graphik, Kapsel 1714, Bayern (copy from BNM).

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ GNM, HB 13564, Kapsel 1251 (Marburger Bildarchiv).

host-miracle also legitimises the cult of the miracle-image, which is shown in another devotional picture, probably dating from the eighteenth century (figure 1.6).¹⁷⁹ Here, we can see the ‘Wahre Abbildung des Heiligen Salvatoris zu Bettbrunn’ (‘true image of the Holy Saviour at Bettbrunn’), depicting Christ again as the saviour and ruler with a sceptre, a crown, and an orb.

While clerical and dynastic patronage centred on a miracle-image at Bettbrunn, the supposed miracle-hosts were promoted as the main cult objects at Andechs and Deggendorf. Their host-relics were, like the cult image of Bettbrunn, promoted through displays in the church as well as through printed pictures. At Deggendorf, for instance, the Wittelsbachs personally engaged in the acquisition of new church furnishings for the public display and liturgical exposition of the alleged bleeding-host relics. In a visitation report from 26 April 1624 the Clerical Council in Munich harshly criticised the improper veneration and safe-keeping of the ‘hochheiligen miraculous hostien’ (‘most holy miraculous hosts’) in the pilgrimage church of the Holy Grave; it was necessary, therefore, to arrange a more suitable setting for presenting the miracle-hosts to the viewers. This involved the erection of a new high altar and a tabernacle. The Clerical Council’s persistent efforts to spread the miracle all the more, both in and out of the country, was backed financially by a member of the ducal family: Albrecht VI of Bavaria, one of the sons of Duke Wilhelm V and brothers of Elector Maximilian I, who gave about one third of the costs estimated for the church’s beautification.¹⁸⁰ The miraculous host-relics were also publicised via devotional prints and legitimised through the portrayal of the original host-miracle. The ‘Ursprung des Mirackllosn Altar Sakrament zu Deggendorf’ (‘origins of the Miraculous Sacrament of the Altar at Deggendorf’) were published in holy pictures narrating the host-desecration tale in little image scenes beneath the Eucharistic host-relics that can be seen from within a magnificent monstrance (figure 1.7).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ BZAR, Sammlung Hartig, Wallfahrtsorte, Sign. 2, Bettbrunn, 6146.

¹⁸⁰ BHSA, Kurbayern Geistlicher Rat, Bd. 40, fols. 29v-31r.

¹⁸¹ On a prayer card from the late c. 18: Spamer, *Das kleine Andachtsbild vom XIV. bis zum XX. Jahrhundert* (2nd edn., Munich, 1930), p. 323 (Tafel CLXXI).

Andechs's and Deggendorf's cults appear to stand out as the only two of the former duchy's host-miracle shrines where miracle- or bleeding-hosts were promoted as the main objects of devotion. But there also images augmented the original host-relics as important cult objects. At Andechs, two Marian images, a pre-Reformation figure of Mary as the immaculate, dating from 1468, and a post-Reformation image of Mary enthroned, dating from 1609, were integrated into the high altar after 1609.¹⁸² At Deggendorf, worshippers showed, according to Eder, devotion to a late-medieval icon of the *Man of Sorrows*, dateable to the early sixteenth century, which was centrally placed before the sacramental house at the left side of the choir and the high altar. In 1611, however, the figure was, in spite of the population's protest, removed by the local parish priest who tried to refocus the people's attention from the image cult to the cult of the miracle-hosts.¹⁸³

Deggendorf's and Andechs's shrines therefore followed a general trend notable at all host-miracle shrines. The devotion to images either enhanced or replaced the original host-relics. As we will see in the following chapter, people primarily invoked miracle-images which they reproduced in their votive pictures, painted copies of the pilgrimage images. These image donations were also employed as a means of visual promotion. At the Eucharistic pilgrimage cult of Erding, for instance, the 'verlob Taflen', or votive panels, depicting the miraculous image, which people donated to the shrine in thanks for their miraculous recoveries, were hung up within the local church on large boards for everyone to see.¹⁸⁴ The miraculous image and host-miracle were also popularised through artistic productions in the church interior and through printed devotional pictures.¹⁸⁵ Erding's shrine is one of several pilgrimage sites where, as we shall see in the next section, local promoters contributed significantly to renewal through the visual promotion of both their cult images and Eucharistic host-miracle tales.

¹⁸² Götz, Ernst, Habel, Heinrich (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 4: *München und Oberbayern* (3rd rev. edn., Munich et al., 2006), p. 48.

¹⁸³ Eder, *Die „Deggendorfer Gnad“*, pp. 370-378.

¹⁸⁴ StAE, A III, KR 1710.

¹⁸⁵ On their depictions and detailed descriptions: chap. 2, pp. 79-86.

III. The Role of Local Authorities in Promoting Pilgrimage Piety

Rather than arguing in favour of a Counter-Reformation strategy imposed from above by a 'triumvirate' consisting of the Bavarian Wittelsbach dukes, their officials, and religious reform orders, we need to be aware of a two-way-process of binding the elite and the local populace together in actively promoting Bavaria's Eucharistic shrines, drawing on their late-medieval histories, legends, and miracles. The renewal of Eucharistic pilgrimage piety will, therefore, not be discussed here as part of an exclusively elite-sponsored programme, but as a process in which the initiative of local authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, in interaction with popular religiosity was key. This section will investigate the relationship between state-sponsored piety and local devotional practices, using four richly-documented examples: the host-miracle shrines at Erding, Donaustauf, Bogenberg, and Heiligenstatt near Altötting. These case studies attest to the importance of various intermediaries as promoters and shapers of local Catholicism. In order to renew the practice of pilgrimage, they employed methods similar to those adopted by the Wittelsbachs: the rebuilding and renovation of churches, the textual recording of their origins and miracles, and the use of images. The process of Catholic renewal was not always consensual, as the example of the Upper Bavarian Heiligenstatt will show. Nor should this process be seen only as a response to the threat of the Reformation; rather, it was part of a lengthy process of Catholic revival, during which many artistic and architectural projects were postponed because of the interruptions caused by the Thirty Years War.

The Example of Erding

In 1603, the town councillors of the Upper Bavarian town of Erding, then part of Lower Bavaria, sought permission and financial support from the prince-bishop of Freising to extend the local pilgrimage chapel, which was dedicated to St Salvator, but commonly referred to as the Holy Blood. In their letter, which also included a floor plan of the church they intended to build, they drew attention to the small pilgrimage chapel's popular appeal. Emphasizing the common belief in its late-medieval origins – namely, that the Blessed Sacrament had disappeared years before and an altar been erected on

the particular site of the consecrated host's wonder-working – the local councillors tried to convince the episcopal authorities at Freising of the need for the chapel's enlargement in order to provide enough space for the inflow of pilgrims to hear Mass.¹⁸⁶ Financial issues and the Thirty Years War may have been, however, the main reason why this proposal was not implemented until the 1670s, when the local municipality took a leading role in pushing through their plan of enlarging their pilgrimage chapel. A further push had already been given during the 1660s, when the local Freiherr, Christoph Benno von Eisenreich, bequeathed 2,000 Gulden for the extension of the church in 1661.¹⁸⁷

It was not until the year 1672 that the local magistrate's project to extend Erding's pilgrimage chapel was reconsidered. The church accounts of that year record the expenses for an architectural model, including an estimate of costs for the intended building measures, which was taken to the ecclesiastical authorities of the bishopric of Freising in person by three members of the town council: Erding's mayor, Friedrich Austerfer, the town clerk, Georg Christoph Pader, and the local master bricklayer, Hans Kogler.¹⁸⁸ Their personal presentation of the church extension plan reveals the town magistrate's strong desire to work towards its realisation this time, and the bishop of Freising was, indeed, quick to answer and approve the local initiative. Austerfer, Pader, and Kogler even travelled to Munich in order to persuade the Clerical Council of the importance of the local town council's building project.¹⁸⁹

Yet, the ducal officials' reaction in Munich in 1673 made the church extension project the object of further investigation and state control, for they instructed the city dean of Munich's parish church of St Peter, Dr Kaspar Kürmayr, to conduct an assessment of Erding's chapel. In January 1675, the Munich authorities gave permission to begin the construction of the new pilgrimage church at Erding, based on the report of the dean, who had visited and examined the local pilgrimage chapel as well as the magistrate's extension plans with the help of the town councillors and parish priest. As the records

¹⁸⁶ StAE, B VI, Nr. 70 a.

¹⁸⁷ StAE, B VI, Nr. 49.

¹⁸⁸ StAE, A III, KR 1672.

¹⁸⁹ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1993, 166.

suggest, the secular and clerical officials in Munich did not spare any expense to bring the new pilgrimage church into being according to the standards set by the Munich dean, and they persisted in the inspection of the complete correspondence between the local magistrate in Erding and the clerical authorities in Freising before giving their final permission to the new church erection in July 1675. In fact, the rough calculation of the church expenses of about 6,000 Gulden exceeded the previously estimated sum by more than 1,000 Gulden and had to be raised and subsidised by not only the local Freiherr's testament, but also by a considerable number of local institutions, among them the parish church of St John and its filial churches and the town's Rosary and Corpus Christi confraternities.¹⁹⁰

The instructions given by the state and church officials of the Bavarian elector's Clerical Council, relying on the personal assessment of the dean of St Peter's in Munich, illustrate their attempts to transform the existing chapel at Erding into a magnificent baroque church that was to control and discipline the practice of pilgrimage and to provide an orderly place of worship. The subsequent building operations entailed the construction of two entrance doors, wide and high to admit the mass of pilgrims and fresh air, as well as the exaltation of the high altar through the building of a new vault and a comfortable entrance beneath, so that it was protected against the people's permanent digging of earth from the pit behind it.¹⁹¹ The high altar was, henceforth, raised above the place where the Blessed Sacrament was said to have disappeared and performed its miracle. Underneath the high altar, the miracle-site itself was marked out through a new crypt altar including a grid for protecting the legendary place.¹⁹²

The new pilgrimage church was, in accordance with the Munich dean's prescriptions, also to be enlarged to such an extent, 'damit sonderbar Sommerszeit die walfahrter, so in grosser menge zu kommen pflegen, fugliches vnderkhommen haben' ('so that especially in summertime, the pilgrims, who usually come in a large crowd, find enough room').¹⁹³ Additionally, a capacious and bright sacristy was attached to the choir with a

¹⁹⁰ StAE, B VI, Nr. 49; BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1993, 166.

¹⁹¹ StAE, B VI, Nr. 49; BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1993, 166.

¹⁹² PfAE, Abteilung I, Fach XI, Akt 9.

¹⁹³ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1993, 166.

separate ceiling to accommodate the liturgical textiles. Furthermore, a two-floor sacristan house was built next to the church, with the main entrance and a stable in the basement, and a separate chamber on the first floor to accommodate noble pilgrims and clerics.¹⁹⁴ What is significant here is the fact that, from the initial building project in 1672 until the official commencement of the construction of Erding's pilgrimage church in 1675, the authorities of the local town council collaborated with both the ecclesiastical authorities in Freising and the electoral officials in Munich. The latter, in particular, tried carefully to maintain control over the later appearance of the church by assigning the dean a leading role in personally inspecting and assessing the site to make it an appropriate place of pilgrimage.

The case of Erding also shows, however, that the local town council did not always cooperate with the episcopal authorities at Freising. Concerned about complaints that the prebendaries often neglected their pastoral duties, influential town authorities took on a significant role in attracting the Jesuits, who were sent on their first mission to Erding in 1604, and later, the Bartholomäer.¹⁹⁵ Volker Press has even spoken of a well-considered and calculated church policy of Erding's town council, which dictated Erding's situation in the Baroque period.¹⁹⁶ Jesuits stayed at Erding until 1648, after fulfilling pastoral ministries (preaching, administering sacramental confession and communion, and holding Mass) during the 1620s, 1630s, and 1640s.¹⁹⁷ In 1649, they were replaced by secular priests belonging to a new community of clerics, founded by Bartholomäus Holzhauser, a Jesuit-educated priest who aimed at the religious reform of the secular clergy. The new institute of the Bartholomäer spread throughout Catholic Europe, particularly in the bishopric of Freising where they made Erding a centre of their reform activities. Here, they not only took over the local pilgrimage ministry, but also promoted a number of religious associations, among them a Rosary and Corpus Christi

¹⁹⁴ StAE, B VI, Nr. 49.

¹⁹⁵ Press, Volker, 'Städtischer Rat, Benefiziaten und geistliche Orden: Die Grundlagen der barocken Frömmigkeit', in Wolfgang Bauer (ed.), *Stadt Erding: Chronik, Bilderbogen, Dokumente* (2nd edn., Erding, 1980), pp. 129-139.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

¹⁹⁷ StAE, A III, KR 1629-1634, 1636-1648.

confraternity.¹⁹⁸ To resist attempts by the Freising authorities to maintain control over parish affairs, the town council even joined forces with the Bavarian elector, Maximilian Emanuel, and his officials to strengthen the position of the Bartholomäer and to, additionally, accommodate members of the Capuchin order in the 1690s.¹⁹⁹

The methods employed to renew and promote the host-miracle shrine at Erding were quite similar to those adopted to popularise the Eucharistic pilgrimage site at Bettbrunn. Besides the establishment of new religious orders and confraternities and a proper place of worship, miraculous healings were recorded in miracle books, and images were used to spread both the host-miracle and a pilgrimage image. Despite the fact that no miracle books have survived from the Eucharistic shrine at Erding, the church accounts testify to their existence and frequent usage. In 1671, they listed the costs for two books to inscribe the ‘geschechne Miracula’: the miracles that were reported to have occurred and that might have been, like those of Bettbrunn’s cult, attributed to its pilgrimage image.²⁰⁰

The Example of Donaustauf

Erding was not the only case of local authorities’ reaction to local needs regarding pilgrimage. The example of another Eucharistic pilgrimage site at Donaustauf, formerly situated in Lower Bavaria, also points us to a gradual process of church renovation and furnishing, especially in the years during and after the Thirty Years War. The local pilgrimage church had already been described as rich and wealthy in 1590, and, due to the great influx of pilgrims, its choir and nave were enlarged in 1607, with Masses being celebrated not only in the church, but also in an additional chapel on special feast days.²⁰¹ But the devastation wrought by Swedish forces during the 1630s and 1640s made its refurbishment necessary. On 16 March and again on 20 April 1643, the local *Pflegsverwalter*, Georg Sandermaier, an electoral official responsible for the district

¹⁹⁸ Kießlinger, Johann N., ‘Das Institut der Bartholomäer in der Erzdiözese München und Freising’, in Joseph Schlecht (ed.), *Wissenschaftliche Festgabe zum zwölfhundertjährigen Jubiläum des heiligen Korbinian* (Munich, 1924), pp. 429-456, esp. pp. 430-431, 434, 437, 443-444.

¹⁹⁹ Press, ‘Städtischer Rat, Benefiziaten und geistliche Orden’, p. 139.

²⁰⁰ StAE, A III, KR 1671.

²⁰¹ Uhl, Fritz, ‘600 Jahre St. Salvator: 1388-1988’, *Burgpfleifer: Mitteilungen aus Donaustauf*, special edn. (Jun. 1988), pp. 1-6.

court (*Pfleggericht*) of Donaustauf, one of Bavaria's local administrative units subordinate to the Lower Bavarian *Regierung* (government) of Straubing, informed the Straubing authorities about the local pilgrimage church's pressing need for two new bells as a replacement for the old ones, which had been destroyed during wartime. The new bells were, according to Sandermaier, indispensable for ringing in and ringing out the arriving pilgrims, and for celebrating Holy Mass at the local pilgrimage chapel that was situated in the valley beneath the nearby pilgrimage church at the top of the hill, especially during the forthcoming pilgrimage days at Pentecost and on the feast of saints Simon and Judas. As he expected an increase in pilgrimage 'at the local chapel of St Saviour' ('bey alhiesiger St: Salvatoris Gottshaus Capellen'), stating that it 'would be visited by all kinds of foreign people, of high and lower social rank, in processions or otherwise' ('von allerhand fremden, Hoch: vnnd Niderstandts Persohnen, mit Creuzgehn vnnd anderwärts besuecht würdet'), he aimed at providing them with a proper welcome and public church service at the chapel in the valley below, before they climbed up the hill to the pilgrimage church and its sanctuary.²⁰²

By the 1650s, the disruptions caused by destruction and theft during the Thirty Years War had become obvious. As was reported in a letter dated 24 November 1652, sent from Straubing to Maria Anna, the Electress of Bavaria, the last gilded silver chalice remaining had been stolen by burglars three years earlier. But the recent rise in pilgrimage to the local shrine had made it possible to acquire new valuable church plate to replace the basic or meagre tin chalices that had been used after the robbery. Besides the acquisition of new church plate and vestments, the local officials as well as the dean had been involved in building measures, among them the repair of stone stairs with 72 steps leading up the hill towards the pilgrimage church to protect weaker pilgrims, primarily pregnant women, against pushing and shoving during most hectic days.²⁰³ Further church repairs undertaken during the 1650s and 1660s included, as correspondence between the Straubing authorities and Elector Ferdinand Maria from 1 June 1655 and 26 June 1665 indicates, the repair and renovation of the ruinous pilgrimage chapel which, during busy pilgrimage days when the church could not

²⁰² SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 7738.

²⁰³ Ibid.

provide enough space for the large crowds, functioned as an additional place of worship for delivering the sermons and celebrating Mass.²⁰⁴

On the basis of this, we may infer that the electoral officials at Donaustauf and Straubing acted as intermediaries between the secular rulers of the Wittelsbach dynasty and the local population. Backed by the Bavarian state, the local authorities were eager to reactivate a pilgrimage infrastructure compatible with the populace's ongoing desire to devote themselves to the shrine. The authorities' measures to provide access to the divine but to maintain control over it through an appropriate pilgrimage environment emerges from two further church repairs completed at the end of the seventeenth century. These involved, first of all, the reconstruction of a bridge that, situated along the pilgrimage path connecting the stairs with the church, had very likely been broken by the mass of pilgrims on their way to the hill-top site; and, secondly, the repair of a little house on top of the hill which served as a station where pilgrims could hand in their wax offerings during pilgrimage days.²⁰⁵ The votive offerings made of wax were, like the votive paintings donated to Erding, a suitable means of promoting the efficacy of the pilgrimage cult, and much emphasis was put, therefore, on their safe-keeping and visual display within a specially designed cabinet.²⁰⁶

Much emphasis was also given to the local pilgrimage site's miraculous origins which were visually presented to the onlookers on eight large panel paintings within the church. A letter dated 4 December 1691, sent by the secular authorities in Straubing to the Bavarian elector, Maximilian II Emanuel, makes us aware of their joint efforts to refurbish the visual depictions of the late-medieval host-miracle. In their letter, the Straubing officials referred to the local arch-dean and parish priest who had already arranged the redecoration of the panels by the painter Bärtlme (Bartolomäus) Döller from the nearby town of Wörth, due to the urgent need to renew them after their last renovation in 1612. The local dean's decision to have them renovated had, as the letter indicates, also been due to the very frequent arrival of pilgrims who had devoted themselves to them with great zeal, above all on the two pilgrimage days a year. The

²⁰⁴ Ibid., A 7738, 7739.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., A 7740.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., A 7738.

local parish priest's sudden death and the new filling of his post had resulted, however, in a delay of the paintings' refurbishment.²⁰⁷

In their correspondence with Maximilian Emanuel, the authorities in Straubing not only reported on the priest's plan for the paintings' restoration, still during his lifetime, but also referred to the history and origins of the local pilgrimage site, as depicted on the eight pictures which, originally dating from the early seventeenth century, still hang on the walls along the church's nave.²⁰⁸ For the Straubing authorities, the paintings presenting the host-miracle shrine's origins related to a late-medieval event that had, as they claimed, happened 280 years before. According to them, the panels showed how three soldiers had robbed the ciborium with the consecrated hosts from the church at the nearby town of Sulzbach; how the three offenders had brought it to the top of the hill to bury it beneath a big stone, at the place where the later pilgrimage church had been erected; how they had subsequently tried to sell it on to a Jewish woman; and, finally, how God had penalised each of the three host-abusers or 'Bösewicht' ('villains') for neglecting Christ's presence in the Eucharist.²⁰⁹ The host-miracle was probably known to them through a fifteenth-century copy of a manuscript that had originally been written by the local dean, Albrecht Streicher, sometime before 1477.²¹⁰ Its post-Reformation promotion through the panel paintings played an essential part in renewing the local shrine, binding the elite, or rather *elites* – that is, electoral officials and the parish clergy acting as intermediaries at the local level – and the populace together in shaping the church's physical environment.

The Example of St Salvator's at Bogenberg

According to the annals from the Lower Bavarian monastery at Oberaltaich, recorded by the padre and cloister chronicler, Johann Pliemel, in around 1620, the parish clergy

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Drexler-Herold, Jolanda, Hubel, Achim, Morsbach, Peter (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern, vol. 5: Regensburg und die Oberpfalz* (2nd rev. edn., Munich et al., 2008), p. 128; Hager, Georg, Karlinger, Hans, Lill, Georg (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberpfalz und Regensburg, vol. 20: Bezirksamt Stadtamhof* (repr. edn., Munich, 1981), pp. 44-45.

²⁰⁹ SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 7738.

²¹⁰ Schuegraf, Joseph R., *Ursprung der Wallfahrt St. Salvator bei Donaustauf* (Regensburg, 1835), pp. 13-14, n. 3.

and patrons from the Benedictine abbey took a leading role in reactivating pilgrimage to the rather tiny church of St Salvator at the nearby village of Bogenberg.²¹¹ During the later Middle Ages, they had, according to Pliemel, raised and returned the consecrated wafer, built a wooden chapel and later a stone church. These events were re-inscribed and repainted on large panel paintings after the Reformation. Thus, as Pliemel's cloister records suggest, Abbot Benedictus had the original wooden chapel from 1413 replaced by a stone church in 1463 and the history of its supposed emergence painted and written down on six images along the church's nave. The pictures telling the story of a peasant boy who, by accident, vomits a consecrated host after communion on Good Friday in 1413, which is then solemnly elevated and returned to the local parish church at Bogenberg by Abbot Johannes and his convent, were, as Pliemel indicates, renewed and augmented by rhymes by one of the cloister community's priests in 1607.²¹²

The religious community's task of renewing the host-miracle shrine at Bogenberg was, however, not an easy one to accomplish, and here again, Pliemel's manuscript gives us a deep insight into the challenges and difficulties the religious clergy faced. Pliemel complains about his predecessors' unfortunate failure to pass on the pilgrimage church's history and origins to posterity. He criticises his forerunners, above all, for not having recorded the story of St Salvator's church in a book, so that he and his order did not know where the holy host had gone, which miraculous signs had happened, and by whom, when, and in whose honour the church had been consecrated.²¹³ Given this difficult task of recording the church's supposed emergence for posterity, Pliemel could only draw on two surviving pieces of evidence: firstly, the story of the lost and re-found host as it was visualised on the six church paintings and, secondly, some records of indulgences that had been approved by different bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, and written down on the outer wall next to the church's entrance. Those gave him, however, very limited information, since they had become barely legible with time.²¹⁴

²¹¹ On Johann Pliemel: Neueder, Hans, 'Die Einsiedelei bei St. Salvator auf dem Bogenberg', *Jahresbericht des Historischen Vereins für Straubing und Umgebung* 93 (1991), pp. 457-498, esp. p. 460 and n. 4.

²¹² BSB, Hoekeriana II, fols. 365r-366v.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, fols. 288, 366v.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 366r-367r.

In spite of the lack of information and original documentation the cloister chronicler had to cope with, by the 1670s, St Salvator's had become deeply embedded into a wider pilgrimage network linking the small pilgrimage chapel to a number of other surrounding chapels and churches. Together, they formed a distinct devotional region which Hans Neueder has referred to as the 'sacral landscape of the Bogenberg', a mountainous area overlooking the Lower Bavarian town of Bogen, with the main Marian pilgrimage and parish church of Our Lady at the top of the Bogenberg.²¹⁵ This sacred landscape had come into existence in the later Middle Ages, but not until 1679 do we witness efforts to have the origins and miracles of the pilgrimage churches publicised via a published pilgrimage book, written by Balthasar Regler on behalf of the Oberaltaich authorities.²¹⁶ By the 1670s a marked shift in the pilgrimage literature had occurred: Regler's account clearly lacks the polemical tone of the Counter-Reformation apologies.²¹⁷

Rather than producing a confessional narrative to defend pilgrimages to the Bogenberg against Protestant heresy, Regler created a work filled with classical symbolism to tell the legend and miracles of the Marian 'mother' shrine according to his own literary taste.²¹⁸ In his book, he also explains St Salvator's origins, for which he must have used Pliemel's annals as a source of reference.²¹⁹ St Salvator's Eucharistic miracle tale takes up not more than a few pages in Regler's book, and this is why we can presume that the tiny chapel, situated along the path leading towards the abbey church, was never able to compete with the major shrine on top of the Bogenberg. Nevertheless, it played an important part in guiding the pilgrim on his or her way up towards Lower Bavaria's holy mountain, as it was integrated into the sacral infrastructure which was to direct pilgrimage to its final hill-top destination. That people followed the chapel's guidance is

²¹⁵ Neueder, Hans, *Der Bogenberg in Niederbayern: 900 Jahre Marienheiligtum. Geschichte der Wallfahrt, Mirakelbücher* (Straubing, 2004), p. 35.

²¹⁶ Regler, Balthasar, *Azwinischer Bogen. In Ritter-Streit vnd Frewden-Spil bewehrt. In dem Feuer Maisterlich gestählt Auff der Erden Triumphierlich auffgericht. In dem Lufft zierlich mit seinen Farben scheinend In dem Wasser Natürlich nachgebildet. (...) Das ist Ursprung vnd altes Herkommen deß weitberuhmten Gnaden-Bildts Mariae Heimbsuchung auff dem Bogen-Berg, Unterlandts deß Churfürstenthumb Bayrn, auß etlich hundert jähigen Geschichten, vnd mit hundert Wunderthätigen Berichten erwisen* (Straubing, 1679).

²¹⁷ Soergel, 'Spiritual medicine', p. 138.

²¹⁸ Idem, *Wondrous in his saints*, pp. 220-221.

²¹⁹ Regler, *Azwinischer Bogen*, pp. 34-36.

demonstrated by the wife of the electoral *Gerichtsschreiber* (stenographer) Andreas Hayder, Sophia, who had, according to Regler, shown her devotion to Our Lord at ‘St. Salvatoris Capellen auf dem Bogenberg’ during her pilgrimage, before finally devoting herself to Our Lady at the hill-top shrine, in thanks for her recovery.²²⁰ The example of St Salvator’s at Bogenberg shows, therefore, how a smaller and rather less important Eucharistic shrine was successfully linked to the main Marian pilgrimage attraction within a larger pilgrimage network, promoted under the control of monastic patrons of the Benedictine abbey of Oberaltaich.

The Example of Heiligenstatt near Altötting

Sometimes, individual patrons’ desire to keep control of a pilgrimage shrine caused conflict. This was the case in Heiligenstatt near Bavaria’s key Marian shrine at Altötting in Upper Bavaria, where secular patrons fiercely defended their dynastic lordship over the local pilgrimage church against parish control. The church at Heiligenstatt, dedicated to St Salvator and commonly referred to as the Sacred Site, was a succursal church belonging to the parish of Burgkirchen am Wald and, hence, part of the parochial area that was centrally organised by the priory at Altötting in the archdiocese of Salzburg. But it was also part of the Hofmark Tüßling, a small estate owned by the notable members of the House of Törring. Exercising lordship as the landowners from their castle at Tüßling, the Törring dynasty had brought the church under their personal patronage during the later Middle Ages.²²¹ It was not long after its consecration in 1373 by Bishop Heinrich zu Raffenthal that the noble Törring family had chosen it as their burial church and turned it into a wealthy pilgrimage destination by endowing it with plenty of donations, relics, and indulgences.²²²

The Törring dynasty’s belief that their pilgrimage church had its origins in a miracle-host was decisive for their promotion of the Eucharistic host-miracle shrine. In 1630, Freiherr Johann Veit sent a letter to the provost and archdeacon of the proximate

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 346-348.

²²¹ On the church at Heiligenstatt: Striegl, Wolfram, ‘Die Wallfahrtskirche Heiligenstatt. Patrozinium: Unschuldige Kinder, am 28. Dezember’, *Oettinger Land* 18 (1998), pp. 185-205.

²²² SAM, Archiv Toerring-Seefeld, Lit. I. 1, Nr. 1, 2; ABP, OA, Pfa Burgkirchen am Wald - Heiligenstatt, I,4, I,12, I,21, II,5h.

Augustinian monastery at Baumburg, Johann Heinrich, in which he kindly asked him for the exact description of the ‘gross miracul vnd wunderwerkh cum Venerabili Eucharistia’ (‘great miracle and marvel with the consecrated host’) which had been elevated by the abbey’s convent ‘solemnissima processione’ (‘with a solemn procession’). Johann Veit explained his request by referring to his ancestors, the lords of Tüßling from the House of Törring, who had had the church at Heiligenstatt established because of their deep devotion and who had also endowed it with a considerable number of valuable reliquaries and donations. Veit also indicated that there had existed ‘ein gemalte figur vnd Tafel’ (probably a panel painting depicting the host-miracle through images and texts) within the church. But it had been so old and damaged that he had been determined to have it renewed with the help of Baumburg’s provost who, according to Veit, had undoubtedly kept the story of the pilgrimage church’s miraculous origins safe in his archive.²²³

In his attempt to create a new visualisation of the church’s history and origins, Veit explicitly stated that he had been inclined not to let the great miracle fade away from public memory, ‘sondern vil mer in Confirmationem piorum fidelium et confusionem Haereticorum dieser Zeitten zu propagirn vnd auszebraitten’ (‘but to propagate and spread it to confirm the pious [Catholic] believers and confuse the heretics of these days’). Despite the fact that only three days later the provost had to indicate his ignorance of the great miracle concerning the ‘sacratissimam hostiam’ (‘most holy host’), Johann Veit’s efforts seemed to bear fruit, since the provost signalled in his reply that he would do everything in his power to research into his question.²²⁴ Veit’s Counter-Reformation efforts to propagate the church’s origins seemed, indeed, to bear fruit. Four wooden panel paintings depicting the host-miracle in four images still survive. Dating from the sixteenth century, they were not renovated, however, until 20 years after Veit’s appeal, in 1650.²²⁵

²²³ SAM, Archiv Toerring-Seefeld, Lit. I. 1, Nr. 29.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Götz/Habel (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 4, p. 448; Hartmann, Maximilian, ‘Kirchen und Pfarreien im Landkreis Altötting’, *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 1 (1957), pp. 109-129, esp. p. 120.

The host-miracle of the church at Heiligenstatt was visually promoted not only through the wooden panel paintings within the church, but also through printed images. Printed devotional pictures showing both the host-miracle shrine's origins and its pilgrimage image featured at Heiligenstatt, just like at the other Eucharistic sites of Bettbrunn, Deggendorf, and Erding. Two devotional images, probably dating from the eighteenth century, show, like the prayer card surviving from the bleeding-host shrine at Deggendorf, the Eucharistic miracle tale of the church at Heiligenstatt near Tüßling. Four little images surrounding the holy monstrance of Heiligenstatt recount the pilgrimage church's origins and miracles: how, in 1373, a woman took a consecrated host away from the local parish church after communion and lost it on her way home; how the host was miraculously re-found, thanks to an angel appearing and cattle kneeling before it; how it was solemnly elevated by the local clergy; and how a church was eventually built on the site of its rediscovery as an act of atonement for the woman's offence (figure 1.8).²²⁶ Besides such holy cards illustrating the late-medieval host-miracle, there also exists an eighteenth-century print publicising its pilgrimage image: a printed depiction of Christ Crucified with an image of Our Lady of Sorrows below him (figure 1.9).²²⁷

Yet, the individual noble family's involvement in the promotion of the Eucharistic pilgrimage cult had given rise to bitter quarrels with the ecclesiastical authorities during the seventeenth century, with the dean and provost of the nearby monastery at Gars am Inn acting as arbitrator. One of the points made by the Törrings in a letter to the dean of Gars from 1624 was their concern about the parish priest's carelessness with the reliquaries which, as the family's personal property, played a key role in celebrating the annual church consecration feast on eight festive days, when indulgences could be achieved for seeing them during their salvific display.²²⁸ By 1632, there existed 27 vessels for the safe-keeping of the church's rich collection of relics, including particles from Christ's Holy Cross and Sepulchre, from the bench where he had sat during the Last Supper, from the stone of Christ's Agony in the Garden, from the sites of the

²²⁶ BZAR, Sammlung Hartig, Wallfahrtsorte, Sign. 7, Heiligenstatt (OB), 6149.

²²⁷ StAM, Historischer Verein Oberbayern, Graphiksammlung, HVGS-A-10-04.

²²⁸ SAM, Archiv Toerring-Seefeld, Lit. I. 1, Nr. 18, 29.

Flagellation and Ascension of Christ, and from the scepter that he had held, as well as the relics of a considerable number of other saintly figures.²²⁹

Both parties claimed access to the church's valuables, including the reliquaries and pilgrimage revenues. Back in 1617, the dean of Gars had been able to achieve an agreement that the vicar at Burgkirchen did not hold any keys for the offertory boxes, while the reliquaries were to be kept in the pilgrimage church at Heiligenstatt and not within the Törring castle at Tüßling.²³⁰ Yet, the Törrings retained control over their reliquaries which, belonging partly to the church and partly to their castle, were placed in a special chest by the priest of Burgkirchen, Wolfgang Fischer, in 1632 for carrying and transporting them back and forth, between the church at Heiligenstatt and the castle at Tüßling. Control over the reliquaries was tightened even further by leaving only one key in the hands of the priest and entrusting the additional keys for safe-keeping to loyal court officials, including the judge, Georg Holl, as well as the court clerk, Georg Arnold.²³¹

The Törrings were eager to establish a proper environment and shape the right kind of piety at the local pilgrimage site. But their problematic relationship with the ecclesiastical authorities deteriorated further, as they voiced serious grievances about the local prebendaries. In a letter to the bishop of Salzburg from 21 September 1638, the Freiherrin von Törring complained bitterly about the prebendary, accusing him of 'bestialitet' ('bestiality') and calling for a new and exemplary one. She undoubtedly feared for the established reputation of her family's 'zu rhuemblich würkhen gebrachte mit schönen indulgentiis vnd wallfarthen florirende Gottshaus' ('church which had come to fame and flowering through attractive indulgences and pilgrimages').²³² In the 1640s, Margrave Nestor Pallavicin raised several points against the vicar and his co-operator from the parish of Burgkirchen, who had been installed as the local prebendaries by the Altötting authorities. Pallavicin's grievances, sent to the dean of

²²⁹ Ibid., Nr. 27.

²³⁰ Ibid., Nr. 20.

²³¹ Ibid., Nr. 27.

²³² Ibid., Nr. 29.

Gars as judge of first instance, show his deep concern about proper pilgrimage ministry and pastoral care to provide for the salvation of his subjects.²³³

Pallavicin adamantly insisted, amongst other things, on carrying the Blessed Sacrament more frequently, in weekly processions and not just during the feast of Corpus Christi.²³⁴ He also criticised the vicar's reckless use of the Eucharistic vestments and liturgical vessels, admonishing him to minister more diligently 'damit der Andacht des Volcks ein satisfaction bescheche' ('so that the devotion of the populace may be satisfied').²³⁵ In a letter to the ecclesiastical authorities at Altötting and Salzburg from 1644, he complained that both local prebendaries were too tied up with their parish duties to fulfil their pilgrimage ministry, resulting in very long queues of the pilgrims. He therefore urged the Altötting and Salzburg authorities to provide a better ministry, campaigning for the right of the parish vicar and his co-operator to hear confession and to preach in the pilgrimage church which 'is frequented by devout Christians' ('durch fromme Christen frequentiert wirdt') and 'visited through pilgrimages' ('durch Kirchfahrten besuecht wirdt'), as sick people had been healed by evident miracles not only this year, but also in other years.²³⁶

To satisfy popular demand, Nestor Pallavicin vigorously defended his position as the secular patron of the pilgrimage church at Heiligenstatt. In a letter to the archbishop of Salzburg from 24 April 1645, he not merely asserted his church's independence from the parish of Burgkirchen and the Altötting priory, but even claimed the right to fill the ecclesiastical benefices donated by his family with his own and permanent prebendaries who were to hold early Mass and preach in wintertime for the old, sick, poor, and pregnant, in particular. In his approach to the archbishop, he also presented himself as a promoter of the Counter-Reformation orders. Hence, Pallavicin wanted, 'wie vor alter geschehen' ('as had been traditional custom'), the Jesuits as well as the Capuchins as

²³³ ABP, OA Pfa Burgkirchen am Wald - Heiligenstatt, I,21.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ SAM, Archiv Toerring-Seefeld, Lit. I. 1, Nr. 20.

²³⁶ Ibid., Nr. 29.

preachers during the fasting period, though the parish vicar was not willing to accept them.²³⁷

Pallavicin argued, most of all, in favour of the pilgrims, because he strongly criticised the prebendaries at the local pilgrimage church for ignoring their needs. In his letter to the archbishop, he also criticised the fact that the vicar's catechism classes on Sundays and feast days clashed with the time the pilgrims stopped at Heiligenstatt on their way to Altötting. The margrave certainly feared for the pilgrimage revenues, pointing out that the vicar stood, while teaching the children, in front of the offertory boxes and thus hindered the pilgrims from making their donations. But he also showed himself deeply worried about the fact that the pilgrims' access to the high altar was blocked by the crowd of children that was leaning against the pilgrimage image of Christ Crucified at the 'Miraculo', which was probably the sacred site of the miracle-host's legendary discovery. These disturbances caused by the parish vicar prevented access to the host-miracle shrine's sanctuary and, as a result, devotion to the Blessed Sacrament by the 'Khürchfertter' ('pilgrims').²³⁸

IV. Popular Pressure: The Example of Ittling

As we have seen with the examples of Erding, Donaustauf, the church of St Salvator at Bogenberg, and Heiligenstatt, local authorities, or elites – whether local town councillors, local electoral officials, local monastic patrons, or local secular patrons – took the initiatives in promoting their local Eucharistic pilgrimage churches. They reacted to the religious needs of the population and, as the examples of the Upper Bavarian Erding and Heiligenstatt have shown, often defended local devotional practices against ecclesiastical authorities. For the counts from the House of Törring, the separation of the church at Heiligenstatt from the parish at Burgkirchen and, hence, the church authorities at Altötting and Salzburg, seemed to be the best way of retaining control over the pilgrimage ministry. While here, however, the local population stayed rather in the background, we find interesting instances where the populace itself resisted

²³⁷ Ibid., Nr. 20.

²³⁸ Ibid.

clerical authorities. This possibility of popular resistance emerges from my final case study, involving a host-miracle shrine that arose in the Lower Bavarian countryside in the early eighteenth century and that generated a heated dispute between the secular authorities in Munich and Straubing, on the one hand, and episcopal administrators in Regensburg, on the other, concerning its continued existence.²³⁹

The local cult of the rural community at Ittling, now part of the town of Straubing in Lower Bavaria, arose from the population's belief in four miraculous hosts which, as we know from an account of its origins and miracles in a manuscript miracle book of 1708 in Landshut's archive, were said to have remained intact, in spite of an attack by two Lutheran soldiers during the War of the Spanish Succession in 1704.²⁴⁰ Subsequently, the place in the flood plain around Ittling, the Kleine Au, where the hosts were reported to have been re-found, attracted many people seeking cures from the site's healing power. In the miracle book, we hear of more than fifty people going on a pilgrimage to the 'heyligen 4 hostien blaz' ('site of the four holy hosts') between 1706 and 1707.²⁴¹ The pilgrims were primarily people from the surrounding rural countryside, but even came from as far afield as Salzburg. The single woman Maria Apolonia Hofmann, aged 50, had, for example, suffered from a tumbling illness for more than 20 years, and had sought cures at the most prominent pilgrimage destinations in both the German lands and Italy for years, yet without success. After so many years of suffering, she set her last hope on the new host cult at Ittling, for which she had collected money to donate a Mass. At the local site, her prayers, which lasted four entire days, were eventually answered.²⁴²

The ecclesiastical authorities from the consistory of the bishopric of Regensburg doubted, however, that the hosts had been consecrated. To trace the origins of the

²³⁹ Hausberger, Karl, 'Gottfried Langwerth von Simmern (1669-1741): Bistumsadministrator und Weihbischof zu Regensburg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg in der Barockzeit', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 7 (1973), pp. 63-370, esp. pp. 248-249.

²⁴⁰ SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 5960: miracle book, fol. 2. On transcripts of the miracle book and correspondence between the authorities: PFAI: transcripts by the parish priest, Josef Aukofer, 1923 (compiled and bound in 1986); Götz, Wilhelm, 'Wallfahrtsgeschichte der Kapelle zur Kleinen Au bei Ittling im Landkreis Straubing' (unpublished teaching qualification thesis, Straßkirchen, 1969).

²⁴¹ SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 5960: miracle book, fol. 8.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, fols. 20-21.

supposed miracle-hosts, they commissioned, according to the *Konsistorialprotokolle* (consistorial minutes), the vice-dean of the neighbouring village of Schneiding, to be found in the region of today's municipality of Oberschneiding, to report about the new host cult around Ittling in 1706.²⁴³ This resulted in further investigations and correspondence with Ittling's parish priest who, when tackled about the dubious hosts by the consistory's commissioner, confirmed that he had consecrated and eaten them after receiving them from the local sacristan. The dean reported, furthermore, that the local populace at Ittling had already collected stones and sand for the erection of a *Martersäule* (a representation of the pillar at which Christ was scourged) at the place of the hosts' miraculous discovery and that, in the meantime, 50 Gulden had been donated by now 'in dem bey aldasigem Crucifix bildt aufgerichtem stock' ('into the offertory box erected next to the local crucifix image').²⁴⁴

The local parish priest's statements did not assuage the doubts of the Regensburg authorities who ordered the 'aufgerichten Creuzopferstock vnnd andres' ('offertory box erected at the crucifix and other things') to be transferred into Ittling's parish church.²⁴⁵ For the transferral of the 'Crucifix sambt andren bildtnussen' ('crucifix including other [votive] images'), which the Regensburg consistory considered 'idololatrien vnnd imposturen' ('idolatrous things and impostures'), they had appointed the priest of Straubing in 1706, whom they had to ask repeatedly, due to the vehement opposition by the populace and parish priest of Ittling.²⁴⁶ The parish priest of Straubing, desperately trying to enforce the transferral into the church at Ittling, saw himself confronted by a ferocious opposition from the local populace. According to his report to the Regensburg consistory from January 1707, they had threatened armed force against him. They had even uttered the threat that, 'wan man ihnen solche andacht nit geduldete, sie die Rosenkränz hinweckhwerffen, und dem Satan dienen wolten' ('if one should not allow them such devotion, they would throw away their rosaries and serve the Satan').²⁴⁷

²⁴³ BZAR, Konsistorialprotokolle, Sign. 149, fol. 125v.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., fol. 147.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., fol. 259.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., fols. 259, 316v-317r.

²⁴⁷ BZAR, Konsistorialprotokolle, Sign. 151, fols. 17v-18r.

The local populace's threats led the Straubing priest to push for further measures to be undertaken against them. Firstly, the *Rentmeister*, a princely official ruling as local administrator over one of Bavaria's four *Regierungen* (governments), the Lower Bavarian province at Straubing, was to be appealed to create social order and discipline and to enable the parish priest to prevent the local population from their idolatrous practices. Secondly, they were to be excommunicated in the event of their further resistance. Thirdly, the local parish priest of Ittling was to be fined for his refusal to assist with the transferral, with the fine to be doubled in the case of the Ittling priest's future resistance.²⁴⁸ The parish priest of Ittling and his parishioners, on the other hand, did not show any signs of remorse. Nor did they stop building their own place of worship. This, in turn, resulted in action by the consistorial authorities at Regensburg. They, according to a report from February 1708, had now appointed a third commissioner acting on their behalf. The dean of Schneiding, the parish priest of Straubing, and the arch-dean of Pondorf were, by consulting Ittling's parish priest, to remove the prohibited objects and wax offerings without distinction and to transfer them into the local church. Furthermore, they were to count and hand over the pilgrimage revenues from the offertory box to the local parish priest, before demolishing the new chapel completely. The local peasants and parishioners were, ultimately, to be not only excommunicated, but also denounced as 'actuales excommunicatos' ('actual excommunicated people') in public, should they offer further resistance.²⁴⁹

The consistorial records suggest that the Regensburg authorities were eager to push through the chapel destruction as quickly as possible, and their correspondence with the secular authorities at Straubing and Munich, under Austrian occupation during that time, give us a clear picture of why things could not happen fast enough. The consistory's actions against the impostures and idolatrous things because of the veneration of non-consecrated hosts by the 'gemeinen pöbel' ('common populace') certainly played their part and helps explain why the Regensburg authorities attempted to suppress the cult. The main reason for their intervention, however, was their fear for

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Idem, Sign. 152, fols. 57v-58v.

‘zway sehr alte berühmte wallfahrtsorth, benamtlich Pogenberg und Sossau’ (‘two very old and famous places of pilgrimage, named Bogenberg and Sossau’) which, through ‘derley winkhel andächtleyen’ (‘such ‘corner’ devotions’, i.e. devotions without ecclesiastical approval), would suffer a disadvantage and a decline in their number of pilgrims and pilgrimage revenues.²⁵⁰

The Regensburg authorities were, nonetheless, willing to dedicate the pilgrimage revenues from the host cult to the local parish church which, according to them, was ‘ohnedies ganz arm und mittellos, daß sogar auf coram sanctissimo eucharistico kein ewiges licht vorhandten’ (‘anyway quite poor and out of money, so that there did not even exist an eternal light before the holiest sacrament of the Eucharist’).²⁵¹ The ecclesiastical authorities from the bishopric of Regensburg did have, indeed, good reason to argue that the pilgrimage sites at Bogenberg and Sossau, well-known Marian shrines within the area, might suffer considerably from the new host-miracle shrine’s immediate popularity. The ‘common populace’, like the townswoman Barbara Hepfl from Bogen or the peasant woman Maria Wenninger from Sossau, saw the pilgrimage site at Ittling as an additional opportunity to be cured. In order to recover from their illnesses, they had decided to go on pilgrimages to the more remote host cult at Ittling in 1706, rather than, or in addition to the more proximate and well-established Bogenberg and Sossau shrines.²⁵²

In support of the new host cult, the secular authorities at Munich and, in particular, at Straubing did not immediately support the consistory’s plan to pull it down, insisting on further investigations instead. 5 March 1708 was, in this respect, a decisive day when two letters arrived at the Austrian Emperor’s chancery in Munich: one from the consistory’s three commissioners – Adam Mückl, the arch-dean of Pondorf, Albert Gienger von Linde, the parish priest of Straubing, and Georg Christoph Dichel, the dean of Schneiding – hoping for Emperor Joseph’s instruction to tear down the host cult. The other letter came from Baron von Schmidt, the *Rentmeister* from the Lower Bavarian

²⁵⁰ SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 5960, Nr. 2.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.: miracle book, fols. 12, 33.

provincial government at Straubing, who spoke against the chapel's destruction.²⁵³ The Straubing official, Baron von Schmidt, in spite of his contempt for any kind of idolatry, imposture, or inconvenience, did not see any reason for the local cult's suppression. He argued, on the contrary, in favour of the shrine's sanctity and healing power. Hence, he clearly aligned himself with the local parish priest and schoolmaster who had both testified to the hosts' holiness and the miracle experiences of the populace.²⁵⁴

Von Schmidt's statements indicate a sharp divide from the ecclesiastical authorities, whom he criticised for their hasty judgements that hindered 'die andächtige verehrung der katholischen' ('the devout veneration by the Catholics'), indicated approval of the 'gottesräubrische entunehrung der kezerischen soldaten' ('blaspheming violation [of the holy hosts] by the heretical soldiers'), and frustrated, furthermore, the weaker people's hope for healing. Von Schmidt also disapproved of their ignorance, indicating that what had been labelled as a chapel by the Regensburg officials had been 'bloß derjenige plaz, wo die sacrilege die heiligen hostien ausgeschüttet haben, von mir mit brettern verschlagen und hiedurch von weiterer entunehrung, bis zu völliger der sachen untersuchung, geschützt' ('only the place, where the sacrilegious people had dispersed the holy hosts, boarded up and hereby protected against further violation by myself, until full investigation of the cult').²⁵⁵ The state official took, therefore, an active role in defending the local cult against the clerical elite in their jealousy of new pilgrimage sites that competed with the old-established shrines in the proximity.

Von Schmidt, by contrast, welcomed emerging pilgrimage cults like the one at Ittling, and another at 'Achdorf' (Niederachdorf).²⁵⁶ This clearly shows his alignment with the local populace who devoted themselves to the two new pilgrimage sites: firstly, the host-miracle shrine at Ittling and, secondly, the Holy Blood shrine at the nearby village of Niederachdorf. Here, the discovery of a holy blood relic, a little piece of earth soaked in Christ's blood, had resulted in the rise of a new relic cult in 1700, just a few years

²⁵³ Ibid., Nr. 3, 4.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., Nr. 4.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

before the sighting of Ittling's miracle-hosts.²⁵⁷ According to a miracle testimony of 1707, a single man, named Martin Pichelmayr, had initially dedicated himself 'zum heyligen blut nach Achdorf' ('to the Holy Blood at Niederachdorf') where he had heard that a new pilgrimage site had emerged at Ittling near Straubing. This is why he had vowed to go on a pilgrimage to this site as well.²⁵⁸ The secular authorities' support of the new pilgrimage sites at Ittling and Niederachdorf, due to the intervention by the Straubing official, caused conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, including the episcopal consistory and its commissioners, who were unwilling to depart from their plan of demolishing the cult at Ittling, or to undertake further and full investigations in co-operation with the state authorities.²⁵⁹

The ecclesiastical authorities kept opposing the state authorities' policy of promoting the new host-miracle shrine. To convince the Munich and Regensburg authorities of its venerability, Baron von Schmidt sent them a fascicle of miracles which he and the local parish priest had written down.²⁶⁰ He had personally added miracle experiences to the miracle book, after receiving them from the district courts where people had affirmed them. To prove the shrine's popularity, Baron von Schmidt recorded them in great detail and indicated that further miracle experiences would follow.²⁶¹ The Straubing official's actions demonstrate that he was led by his own firm belief in the site's efficacy. The Regensburg authorities, however, showed no interest in the miracle book at all, denying the comprehensive investigation 'dieses gleichwohl imposanten werkhs' ('of this, nonetheless imposing work').²⁶² We lack further evidence. But a still extant chapel erected in 1741, with two visual depictions of its origins painted on the ceiling, suggests that despite the opposition of the ecclesiastical hierarchy the local populace and the state authorities eventually succeeded in creating a proper place of pilgrimage.²⁶³

²⁵⁷ P. J. R. (n. s.), *Geistlicher Pilgerstab für andächtige Wallfahrer zum heiligen Blut in Niederachdorf an der Donau* (Straubing, 1862), pp. 3-14.

²⁵⁸ SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 5960: miracle book, fols. 48-49.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., Nr. 5.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., Nr. 7.

²⁶¹ Ibid.: miracle book, fols. 43-59.

²⁶² Ibid., Nr. 6.

²⁶³ Gröber, Karl (ed.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern*, vol. 12: *Bezirksamt Straubing* (repr. edn., Munich, 1982), p. 74.

V. Conclusion

Wittelsbach promotion played a significant role in reviving Eucharistic pilgrimage piety. In their attempt to establish a Catholic confessional state, the dukes paraded themselves as the champions of the *Pietas Bavarica* through public pilgrimages and patronage. Their Counter-Reformation policy involved the textual legitimisation of the origins of long-established host-miracle shrines. They exploited Bettbrunn's and Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut's confessional border locations, Deggendorf's host-desecration narrative, and Andechs's importance as a traditional dynastic site. Wittelsbach promotion focused, especially, on the host-miracle shrine at Bettbrunn, sponsoring it as the Eucharistic equivalent to their key Marian shrine at Altötting. Bettbrunn thus stands out as a model of ducal Counter-Reformation propaganda, due to its location on the Upper Palatinate border and in immediate proximity to Bavaria's university at Ingolstadt. It is from this site that most textual traditions have survived. Another distinctive feature about Bettbrunn is the image-cult which was, like that of Neukirchen bei Heilig Blut, legitimised through an expanded miracle tale. Deggendorf and Andechs, on the contrary, were important as Wittelsbach cults still boasting the original host-relics associated with dynastic prestige. As a result of ducal initiative, clerical authors produced polemical accounts in their pilgrimage books to legitimise and popularise the shrines' history and origins. The dukes' calling of secular and, in particular, religious clergy to improve the ministry helped the shrines to flourish even further. Augustinians, Franciscans, and Capuchins also promoted the shrines textually, through the collection of miracles and the re-edition of pilgrimage books. They concentrated their efforts, as well, on the visual promotion of the shrines' host-miracles and cult objects, through printed images and church displays.

On the other hand, no printed miracle or pilgrimage books have survived from most other host-miracle shrines. This highlights an important contrast between Wittelsbach-sponsored and locally promoted shrines. The process of Catholic renewal was more complex: involving institutional players acting neither from above nor from below, but rather from the *middle*. The success of *local* Eucharistic pilgrimage piety relied on the role of regional authorities or elites, both secular and ecclesiastical, in promoting the

shrines: local town councillors at Erding, secular officials supporting the shrines at Ittling and Donaustauf, and individual patrons – a monastery at Bogenberg and a dynasty at Heiligenstatt near Altötting. These promoters took a middle position, shaping local Catholicism on the people's behalf. The secular and ecclesiastical elite did, however, not always act together, since, as Erding shows, princely officials or even the Wittelsbachs themselves tended to support local Catholicism in opposition to the episcopacy.

As a result, we should view the process of the promotion of Eucharistic pilgrimage piety as an interactive, though not always consensual, process between the state *and / or* church elites, on the one hand, and local elites, on the other. Nor should we see the local population as passive subjects. As the example of the popular upsurge at Ittling has made clear, the local populace could be active participants in this process. To defend their local practice of pilgrimage against official Catholicism, as prescribed by the church authorities from the consistory of the bishopric of Regensburg, they did not even flinch from using weapons. The seriousness of their threat is confirmed by the fact that excommunication was employed as a means of counter-attack by the ecclesiastical elite. Seeing the renewal of pilgrimage piety in the Duchy of Bavaria as top-down, led by the Wittelsbach state church, is, therefore, too simple. To conclude, this study extends the challenge to confessionalisation into Bavaria put up by Forster who clearly speaks against the 'notion that there was a process of confessionalization, in which state and Church co-operated successfully to enforce religious conformity and inculcate religious identity'.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Forster, *Catholic revival*, p. 2.

The Visual Experience of Pilgrimage

The visual played a key role in the cult formation process. It functioned in two ways: through the presentation of the pilgrimage sites and miraculous objects, or *visual spectacle*, on the one hand, and the presentation of their histories, or *visual commemoration*, on the other. With regard to the latter, people knew the Eucharistic miracle tales not only through texts and preaching, but also through *seeing* the visual depictions that recounted their origins within the churches. Yet, while the host-miracle stories were probably known to them, the host-relics themselves could not, in most cases, be seen. The fact that the miraculous hosts either no longer existed or could no longer be seen at the majority of host-miracle shrines in the former Duchy of Bavaria begs the question of what people saw and, therefore, worshipped at the Eucharistic pilgrimage sites. It also raises the question of the *immanence* of the sacred, the ability of these objects or images to share ‘in the effective power of God’s transcendent presence’, as art historian Mitchell Merback has recently described it.²⁶⁵ At every Eucharistic shrine, an image appears to have replaced or, at least, enhanced the original host-relic(s) as a cult object, and it looks as if the transfer of immanence from the miraculous wafer to the pilgrimage image had already taken place before the Reformation.

The presentation of the pilgrimage sites is essential to our understanding of the people’s experience of pilgrimage. As we saw in chapter one, a number of Eucharistic pilgrimage churches were turned into precious jewels during the Baroque to present them as accessible, attractive, and authentic places of worship. But only a careful survey of the visual culture in and around the host-miracle shrines can reveal what actually appealed to the devotees. In order to understand the ways in which Eucharistic devotion was presented to and received by local communities within particular visual environments, the current chapter draws upon art historical scholarship. A recent volume of essays has given fresh insight into the investigation of pilgrimage, emphasizing the fact that it was ‘always a largely visual experience’ that was directed and enhanced by the art and

²⁶⁵ Merback, *Pilgrimage and pogrom*, p. 12.

architecture surrounding the shrine.²⁶⁶ This visual and material culture helped the pilgrims to approach the holy sites in an appropriate way. Whereas the host-miracle stories were provided as visual aids for the pilgrims to learn about the shrines' histories, additional forms of art and architecture were especially helpful to draw the devotee's gaze towards a particular site, object or image. Through their staging, they elicited certain responses from the worshippers who responded, as I shall argue, through both visual and material piety.

To examine the various ways in which cult images and objects were presented to their worshippers, this chapter will first of all focus on the imagery presented at two Eucharistic shrines as examples of clerical and lay promotion: the pilgrimage churches at Bettbrunn and Erding. Pilgrimages to these towns, like those to Deggendorf and Andechs, took place at a supra-regional level.²⁶⁷ The greater part of Old Bavaria's Eucharistic shrines, rank, by comparison, among the regional *Nahwallfahrten* (local pilgrimages) which attracted largely people from their immediate surroundings.²⁶⁸ Pilgrimage to regional and supra-regional shrines could be an individual experience, but most pilgrims were catered for as part of larger groups during processional pilgrimage over the days surrounding special church festivals or during the *Bitttage* (rogation days).²⁶⁹ Erding attracted the majority of its pilgrims during communal processions in the festive season around five main pilgrimage days.²⁷⁰ Like Erding, Bettbrunn attracted communal processions throughout the year, but, most of all, in the weeks between three particular pilgrimage days. During these days, the church granted open access to pilgrims from far afield. Because they slept in and outside the pilgrimage church, wardens were especially employed to guard the shrine's treasures during the nights of the busy pilgrimage season.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ Blick, Sarah, Tekippe, Rita W., 'Introduction: scope and focus of the volume', in Sarah Blick and Rita W. Tekippe (eds.), *Art and architecture of late medieval pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, vol. 1: *texts* (Leiden et al., 2005), pp. xiii-xxxii, esp. p. xvi.

²⁶⁷ Eder, 'Eucharistische Kirchen', p. 130; Heuser, "'Heilig-Blut'", pp. 40-41.

²⁶⁸ Reindl, Irmengard, 'Die Wallfahrtskirche St. Salvator in Ecksberg', *Das Mühlrad* 38 (1996), pp. 33-92, esp. p. 47.

²⁶⁹ Heuser, "'Heilig-Blut'", p. 39.

²⁷⁰ Bauer, 'Eucharistische Wallfahrten', p. 45.

²⁷¹ Döring, 'St. Salvator', pp. 130-132.

To address the question of visual commemoration, this study will then examine the presentation of the pilgrimage shrines' miracle stories. At nearly every Eucharistic shrine, no matter whether it was of regional or supra-regional importance, visualisations of its history and origins were prominent, displayed in large panel and mural paintings within the church. They had important functions that could scarcely have been fulfilled by written tracts. Through their idealised images displaying the host-miracles, they helped the pilgrim, immediately upon looking, to understand the shrine as a miraculous place. They also helped him or her to understand the invisible Eucharistic mystery of Christ's immanence in the consecrated host. The panel paintings served, above all, as a means of commemoration and instruction, and were addressed to a non-literate audience. They encouraged a greater participation on the part of the rural population in the rites and practices at the local places of pilgrimage. Evidence for the laity's response to this visual spectacle and visual commemoration can be found in the votive paintings that they left at the shrines, which will form the focus of the final section of the chapter.

I. Visual Spectacle

I.1 Bettbrunn

The magnificent interior of today's church was produced during the later eighteenth century.²⁷² We do not know much about its late-medieval appearance, except that, according to its miracle story, the first church was erected in 1125 at the legendary wonder-working site and was rebuilt in the fourteenth century after a fire, which left behind a wooden statue of Christ as the *Salvator mundi*, holding a sceptre in his right and an orb in his left hand.²⁷³ An extant votive candle from the nearby university town of Ingolstadt, dated 1378, suggests that the veneration of the *Salvator* image had already begun before the Reformation.²⁷⁴ To investigate how the people's visual experience of the Eucharist changed from the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, we must

²⁷² Götz/Habel (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 4, pp. 141-142.

²⁷³ Hofmann, Friedrich H., Mader, Felix (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Regensburg und der Oberpfalz*, vol. 13: *Bezirksamt Beilngries, Amtsgericht Riedenburg* (2nd edn., Munich, 1982), pp. 28, 32.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

rely, therefore, on the remaining church accounts, which can give us a sense of what was presented in front of the people's eyes, and how.

The Salvific Display of Relics

Testimony from Bettbrunn's church accounts from 1586 indicates that the people's gaze was directed towards the *Heiltumskanzel*, a pulpit on the outer wall overlooking the cemetery designed for the salvific display of relics, the *Heiltumsschau*, during the main pilgrimage feasts.²⁷⁵ We do not know whether relics had already been presented at Bettbrunn during the late-medieval period. The church accounts reveal, however, that the tradition of putting the relics on display was taken up during the Counter-Reformation, for many reliquaries were produced during the later sixteenth century. In 1586, for instance, three relics were framed and adorned with precious metalwork made of gold and silver. In the same year, other reliquaries were made through the re-use and refurbishing of votive offerings. A thorn of Christ's crown was cased with old silver which people had put into the offertory box, while a donated silver image was transformed into a monstrance-style reliquary for presenting relics behind its glass window.²⁷⁶

Bettbrunn's collection of relics was substantial, mostly acquired or donated after 1559, probably, as Gregor Lechner has recently suggested, from relic collections which had been dissolved during the turmoil of the Reformation.²⁷⁷ The number of relics and reliquaries increased steadily towards the end of the sixteenth century: from 28 reliquaries with 110 single relics in 1584, to 32 reliquaries in 1590, to 39 in 1597, and 41 in 1598.²⁷⁸ The highlights of the relic collection were not only presented from the *Heiltumskanzel* three times a year, but also promoted on single-page prints, one of which, a *Heiltumsbrief* (letter of relics) printed in Ingolstadt in 1622, survives (figure

²⁷⁵ Hofmann, Siegfried, 'Die Ausstattung der Kirche in Bettbrunn bis 1700 im Spiegel der Kirchenrechnungen: Mit einem Exkurs über den Pfarrhofbau von 1712', *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Ingolstadt* 88 (1979), pp. 116-159, esp. p. 118.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122.

²⁷⁷ Lechner, Gregor M., 'Der Heiltumsbrief von Bettbrunn: Ein seltener und später Einblattdruck der bayerischen Salvatorwallfahrt', *Das Münster* 54 (2001), pp. 30-34.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

2.1).²⁷⁹ The woodcut lists 45 different reliquaries, *ostensoria* (vessels for displaying saints' relics), and crucifixes with their visual depictions and written descriptions within separate sections which the pilgrims used to cut out and attach to their pilgrimage rods.²⁸⁰ The church accounts further indicate that these single sheets were commonly used and distributed to the pilgrims, with a number of 120 letters printed in 1650 and money spent on printing 'heilthumb brieffen' again in 1662.²⁸¹ Such prints were typical of cults where holy objects could be viewed during salvific displays. From the shrine at Andechs which had become famous for its rich relic collection during the late Middle Ages, there also survive printed letters from both the pre-Reformation and post-Reformation periods, from the fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries, depicting the considerable number of sacred objects on display.²⁸²

Among the many and varied objects shown during the salvific display at Bettbrunn were several *Salvator mundi* images with relics of Christ's sacrifice. The most important reliquary, however, centrally pictured on the *Heiltumsbrief* underneath a *Salvator mundi ostensorium*, was the Eucharistic monstrance which was, 'zu Verehrung vnnnd Vmbtragung deß zarten Fronleichnams Christi' ('for venerating and carrying along the tender body of Christ'), put on display in front of the people's eyes, 'als wahren Gott vnnnd Menschen, welcher allda mit Leib vnnnd Seel, Fleisch vnd Blut, Menschheit vnnnd Gottheit gegenwärtig vnd selbst persönlich vorhanden ist' ('as the true God and human creature who, by his body and soul, flesh and blood, human and divine nature, is personally present at this site').²⁸³ At the bottom of the print appears the original host-miracle which, as on the printed image of 1632, was illustrated in several little image scenes, together with the late-medieval rhyme of 1430.²⁸⁴ The host legend's official approval by both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities was also visualised through Duke Maximilian's coat of arms on the left side of the pictorial sequence as well as those of Albrecht IV von Törring, Bishop of Regensburg, on the right.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

²⁸¹ Döring, 'St. Salvator', p. 134.

²⁸² Rückert, Rainer (ed.), *Der Schatz vom Heiligen Berg Andechs: Erschienen zur Ausstellung im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum München, 12. Mai bis 15. Oktober 1967* (Munich et al., 1967), pp. 73-75.

²⁸³ Lechner, 'Der Heiltumsbrief', p. 31.

²⁸⁴ Cf. chap. 1, p. 44: figure 1.5.

²⁸⁵ Lechner, 'Der Heiltumsbrief', p. 31.

Church Decoration

The salvific display of Bettbrunn's relics enhanced the pilgrimage place's prestige and, augmented by single-page prints visualizing the main pilgrimage image and the host-miracle, encouraged people's belief that Christ was truly and personally present at this site. This visual experience was furthermore intensified through artistic and architectural programmes within the church. The redecoration of the choir and its altars from the later sixteenth century onwards helped the people to focus on the church's choir as *the* most important expression of Christ's salvific sacrifice which was commemorated at the high altar. Here again, the viewer was confronted with both the central pilgrimage image and a record of the site's miraculous origins. According to the church accounts of 1596, the *Salvator mundi* image stood below the choir altar, in a crypt indicating the place where the consecrated wafer was believed to have performed its miracle, and was framed with the depiction of the shrine's host legend on the altar's front walls.²⁸⁶ The *Salvator* image was also reproduced elsewhere, for instance as a stone statue above the entrance door, presenting Christ as a ubiquitous and personal companion for the worshipper when entering the church's sacred space in the early seventeenth century.²⁸⁷

The choir altar was renewed in 1603, when a new tabernacle was produced to be positioned above it. Major changes to the choir altar and its tabernacle were not implemented, however, until the 1650s, after electoral and episcopal commissioners from the Clerical Council in Munich had visited the church in 1651. Following their instructions, the worshipper now faced a monstrance presenting the consecrated host at all times in an elaborately embellished tabernacle, the importance of which was made clearer than before through its higher positioning on the choir altar.²⁸⁸ The way of assigning the central position in the sanctuary to the Eucharistic host – contrary to the traditional custom of placing it within a sacrament house at the side of the choir – was, indeed, an innovation. Baroque Catholicism therefore appears in the form of the new

²⁸⁶ Hofmann, 'Die Ausstattung der Kirche', p. 121.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 130.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 140-141.

high altar tabernacle and its prominent place in church space, pointing us to the major role of the Eucharist and frequent communion in Catholic devotion. The baroque innovation became a symbol of God's heavenly throne on earth, a novel concept that Johannes Hamm has explained in his recent art historical study by taking the examples of altar tabernacles in Southern Germany.²⁸⁹

Thanks to its prominent position, the high altar tabernacle became the centre of attention as the throne of the triumphant Christ whose permanent presence was manifested in the exposed host within the monstrance. Placed on top of the choir altar, above the Eucharistic site with the *Salvator mundi* image and the visual depiction of the shrine's miraculous origins, the high altar tabernacle and the monstrance formed a single baroque conception. The devotee was meant to understand this unity not only from the architectural programme of the high altar, but also from printed images speaking the same 'visual language'.²⁹⁰ Melchior Haffner's illustration, a copperplate print produced between 1681 and 1690, also shows Christ as the *Salvator mundi*, standing on a cloud, his right hand in a blessing gesture, his left holding an orb; above him, a splendid baroque monstrance shines within clouds, adored by angels; below him, the pilgrimage church features two further Salvator statues above the entrance door and on top of the roof.²⁹¹

New building measures were begun again in 1664 for the extension and decoration of the 'St. Salvators Prunnen' ('St Saviour's fountain') outside the pilgrimage church.²⁹² The site of the local pilgrimage fountain was also associated with the Eucharistic miracle tale: it was the site where the consecrated host was believed to have touched the ground, producing a spring of water, before eventually moving away to the place of the high altar, i.e. the place of its later discovery. However, this legendary version was not mentioned until the seventeenth century in the church accounts which indicate that an already existing fountain next to the church was transformed into a spectacular baroque artefact displaying the Saviour's sacrifice through his redeeming blood. A now lost

²⁸⁹ Hamm, Johannes, *Barocke Altartabernakel in Süddeutschland* (Petersberg, 2010).

²⁹⁰ Roeck, *Das historische Auge*, p. 53.

²⁹¹ See chap. 1, p. 44: figure 1.3.

²⁹² Hofmann, 'Die Ausstattung der Kirche', p. 142.

Salvator mundi image of Christ, made of metal, was attached to a draw well within a little pilgrimage chapel so that the water, once it was pumped through by the pilgrims, would have flowed out of his wounds.²⁹³

Further important building work was undertaken within the pilgrimage church between 1690 and 1691 when the high altar was integrated into a larger baroque ensemble. The high altar was surrounded with stucco work and larger windows, and in the chancel a new gallery, choir altar and altarpiece were also installed.²⁹⁴ The altarpiece dramatically displayed Christ's sacrifice for the world's salvation. Pictured again as the Saviour of the world, the *Salvator mundi*, the risen Christ is shown hovering within clouds and holding a sceptre in his right and an orb in his left hand; underneath, two figures represent the sacraments of salvation, with one of them holding two keys crossing symbolizing the Catholic church's authority to forgive sins, the other presenting the cross, chalice, and consecrated host as Eucharistic symbols (figure 2.2).²⁹⁵

Hence, by the end of the seventeenth century, the high altar had become 'part of a greater integrated whole', with its single baroque features communicating 'iconographically related messages'.²⁹⁶ The church decoration culminated in the lower high altar in front of the upper choir altar and altarpiece in the chancel which must have had a startling effect on the viewer. Before the baroque monument, one's gaze was drawn to the *Salvator mundi* image within the crypt below the lower high altar, shifting towards the high altar tabernacle with the ever-present host on display, and finally focusing on the upper choir altarpiece. This programme presented to the viewer an iconography of salvation and redemption, through which he or she could visually experience Christ arising from his grave as the world's redeemer and saviour by means of his sacrifice of his body and blood. The worshipper's visual experience was further enhanced from 1691 onwards when Bettbrunn's sacred relics were also displayed from

²⁹³ Ibid., pp. 146-147.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 144-145, 149.

²⁹⁵ Katholisches Pfarramt Bettbrunn, *Bettbrunn: Pfarr- und Wallfahrtskirche St. Salvator* (9th edn., Regensburg, 2007), p. 10; Götz/Habel (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 4, pp. 141-142.

²⁹⁶ Smith, *Sensuous worship*, p. 200.

the new choir altar on the upper gallery.²⁹⁷ As a result, the high altar became part of a theatrical ensemble which, like the Salvator fountain, was meant to catch people's eyes through the quintessentially baroque device of 'Theatrum Sacrum', or 'sacred theatre'.²⁹⁸

I.2 Erding

The increasing embellishments at Bettbrunn certainly enhanced its attractiveness. Yet, they also visualised the mystery of the Eucharist, the symbolic power of which was augmented through multiple copies of the main pilgrimage image and the pilgrimage church's origins. The various representations, multiplications, and reproductions were especially important to demonstrate Christ's Real Presence at a place where this had originally been manifested through a consecrated host, but where the host did not even exist anymore. In their efforts to prove the validity of the host-miracle shrines, clerical and lay authorities proved to be very creative, not only at host-miracle shrines dedicated to St Salvator, like Bettbrunn, but also at those venerated under the title of the Holy Blood, such as the pilgrimage chapel at Erding. Dedicated to 'vnnsers lieben Herrn Saluatoris vnnd seines Rosenfarben Bluets' ('Our dear Lord Saviour and his rose-coloured blood'), its patron saint was also St Salvator, but the pilgrimage chapel was commonly known and addressed to as 'bey dem heiligen Plueth' ('to the Holy Blood').²⁹⁹

Church Decoration

As a 'Chappellen dez heyligen pluetz' ('chapel of the Holy Blood') was first mentioned in a charter of 1360, pilgrimage to the Holy Blood shrine at Erding supposedly emerged during the fourteenth century.³⁰⁰ The Eucharistic miracle tale points, however, to the pilgrimage's origins in the fifteenth century, for the sacred signs manifested by a consecrated host, lost by a local peasant who had taken it home without permission after

²⁹⁷ Lechner, 'Der Heiltumsbrief', p. 30.

²⁹⁸ Harrer, Cornelia A., *Galerien und Doppelaltäre in süddeutschen Barockkirchen* (Munich, 1995), pp. 312, 319.

²⁹⁹ StAE, B VI, Nr. 70 a.

³⁰⁰ Bauer, 'Eucharistische Wallfahrten', p. 44.

Easter communion, were said to have been the reason for the chapel's erection in 1417.³⁰¹ Further records referring to a 'Salvatorkapelle' ('St Saviour's chapel') and a plenary indulgence for five pilgrimage days granted under Pope Sixtus IV in 1475 testify to the existence of pilgrimage to Erding before the Reformation.³⁰² The legendary version of the host-miracle, including the record of the five main pilgrimage days during which plenary indulgences could be obtained, is known from an old plaque, the date of which remains obscure. But it was given a new text in the later sixteenth century, according to a visitation report from 1570, after the local town clerk had recorded the chapel's origins 'ex private affectu' ('because of his personal affection') years before.³⁰³ Testimony from the church accounts reveals that this plaque, with a detailed description of the host legend and a little depiction in the centre, was refurbished in 1639, and again in 1663 when it was newly framed, surrounded by two side wings, and embellished with two gilded candlesticks.³⁰⁴

We do not know where the plaque originally hung, but it must have been prominently placed for the purpose of instruction. Presenting, in the central picture, the local peasant receiving communion on Holy Thursday in the nearby parish church and confessing to the bishop and other clergy that he had lost the Blessed Sacrament, it was meant to remind the visitor of the obligation to receive the sacraments of confession and communion at least once a year, at Easter (figure 2.3).³⁰⁵ For that reason, the pilgrimage days, among them Easter Tuesday and the Sunday after the feast of Corpus Christi, were established. The plaque also helped the pilgrims to commemorate the particular place where 'vor Jarn das hochwürdige Sacrament verschwunden vnnnd ainen Alltar auf dieselb Grueb (...) gesezet (...) worden ist' ('the Blessed Sacrament disappeared and an altar was placed on the same pit years ago').³⁰⁶ Like the interior decoration of the church at Bettbrunn, the host-miracle shrine at Erding was physically commemorated by an earth pit below the choir altar and linked to a pilgrimage image: a late-Gothic

³⁰¹ On the host-miracle: Kißlinger, Johann N., *Die Wallfahrt Hl. Blut in Erding* (Kaufbeuren, 1933), pp. 11-16; idem, *Die Wallfahrt Hl. Blut in Erding: 1475-1675-1975* (repr. edn., Erding, 1975), pp. 6-9.

³⁰² Stein, Claudius, *Die eucharistische Wallfahrt von Erding-Heilig Blut vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert: Eine frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Erding, 2002), pp. 13, 19-21.

³⁰³ BHSA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4183, Fiche 2.

³⁰⁴ StAE, A III, KR 1639, 1663.

³⁰⁵ The plaque hangs in today's church.

³⁰⁶ StAE, B VI, Nr. 70 a.

image of Christ dramatically displaying his five wounds through plastic streams of blood, which were probably added later, as Johann Kißlinger has suggested.³⁰⁷

This image took centre stage during the 1660s when it was integrated into an elaborate high altar and framed by further imagery presenting the pilgrimage icon.

Representatives of the local nobility played a leading role in commissioning this imagery. It was, in particular, the local *Pfleger*, i.e. the electoral official presiding over the district court (*Pfleggericht*) of Krandsberg, Christoph Benno von Eisenreich, whose resources went into the decoration of Erding's church. Hence, in 1662, the viewer would have been amazed by the 'Bildtnuß Christi, sambt den 2 Engeln' ('image of Christ, along with the two angels') as part of a new choir altar.³⁰⁸ Set within a recently plastered and whitened church interior, the new high altar appeared much more brightly lit.³⁰⁹ The pilgrimage image featured in many representations which reinforced the impression that Christ was present everywhere. Referred to as 'des heyl: Bluets Pildnus, samt 2 Engln' ('the Holy Blood's image, along with two angels') in the church accounts, the main pilgrimage image could also be seen in a ceiling painting in the choir above the high altar, together with an oil painting of the local town's coat of arms.³¹⁰ A similar statue of Christ was probably placed next to the offertory box. Here, however, his blood was not presented flowing out of his five wounds, but pouring down from his side only into a chalice standing at his feet.³¹¹ This statue has been dated to the late sixteenth century (figure 2.4).³¹²

The impression that the new baroque high altar with its pilgrimage image left on its onlooker must have been, without doubt, lasting, and it was augmented still further during the 1670s, when the 'cleines Gottsheusl oder Capellen' ('small church or

³⁰⁷ Götz/Habel (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 4, p. 446; Kißlinger, *Die Wallfahrt* (1933), p. 33.

³⁰⁸ SAM, Hofmark Aufhausen Urkunden, Nr. 193. See also Geiß, Ernest, 'Regesten ungedruckter Urkunden zur bayerischen Orts-, Familien- und Landesgeschichte: 2. Reihe', *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte* 2 (1840), pp. 339-355, esp. p. 355.

³⁰⁹ SAM, Hofmark Aufhausen Urkunden, Nr. 192; StAE, A III, KR 1662.

³¹⁰ StAE, A III, KR 1662.

³¹¹ Kißlinger, *Die Wallfahrt* (1933), pp. 33-34.

³¹² Hösch, Karin, *Erding: Die Kirchen der Pfarrei St. Johann* (Passau, 1997), p. 28.

chapel’) was turned into a large pilgrimage church between 1673 and 1678.³¹³ The viewer would have now been standing in front of an extended choir altar which was heightened through a ‘gwelb oder grufft’ (‘vault or crypt’) that was erected and made accessible through a ‘bequemmer eingang’ (‘comfortable entrance’) underneath. Through this entrance leading to the new under-croft construction below the high altar, one was able to access the legendary site of the host-miracle: ‘der Jenige ohrt, oder grueben vnderm altar, wo die heillige Hostia hineingesunckhen’ (‘that locus, or pit below the altar, into which the holy host sank’).³¹⁴

During the project planning, determined efforts had been made to leave the original sanctuary with the host-miracle site – physically marked out through the crypt’s shape – untouched, and to change only the surrounding church structure: a clear sign of both the elites’ and the local populace’s common belief in the sacred site’s physical efficacy.³¹⁵ What people would have known about this site’s origins was recorded in visual depictions of the host-miracle. On the antependium of the high altar, probably made or renovated during the church’s *Barockisierung* at the end of the seventeenth century, three images recount the miracle story of the pilgrimage to Erding, as it supposedly emerged during the fifteenth century.³¹⁶ On the left picture, two peasants are depicted on their way to the local parish church; on the right picture, the two peasants receive the sacrament of the altar during Easter communion; and the picture in the centre shows the consecrated miracle-host raised by the bishop, who is surrounded by the local clergy and parish community, with one of the two peasants as the consecrated host’s offender standing at the side (figure 2.5).³¹⁷

Building measures after the completion of the extension of the pilgrimage church included the repair of a draw well in 1681, which had to make way for the erection of a new hexagonal well house in 1701.³¹⁸ It seems very likely that the fountain, the existence of which has been dated to the fourteenth century by Sebastian Rieger, was

³¹³ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1993, 166. See also StAE, B VI, Nr. 50.

³¹⁴ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1993, 166.

³¹⁵ See chap. 1, p. 49.

³¹⁶ Bezold, Gustav von, Hager, Georg, Riehl, Berthold (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberbayern*, vol. 4: *Stadt München, Bezirksamt Erding* (repr. edn., Munich, 1982), p. 1234.

³¹⁷ The antependium hangs in today’s church.

³¹⁸ StAE, A III, KR 1681, 1701.

linked to the host-miracle during the pilgrimage's Counter-Reformation renewal.³¹⁹ According to the legend of 1417, the fountain was said to have been the place where a source of water originated after the original host-miracle at the site of the choir altar.³²⁰ The church accounts do not specify whether there was an image of Christ at the local draw well comparable to that at Bettbrunn's fountain. They, nevertheless, indicate that Christ's image was also depicted on the collecting boxes at the local pilgrimage site. In 1703, the 'Heyl: Bluet' ('Holy Blood') image of Christ was painted on a collection box. In 1715, a new collecting box was coated with red paint and the image of 'Unsern Herrn' ('Our Lord').³²¹ Christ was therefore referred to under different titles, as either Our Lord or the Holy Blood, but there seemed to be no difference between the two iconographies.

Decorative Programme

The church interior was again enhanced at the start of the eighteenth century, between 1703 and 1704, thanks to the sponsorship of the local parish priest and Bartholomäer, Wolfgang Grimb, who personally oversaw the project. The church underwent major changes in its stucco decoration, the iconography of which was meant to make its viewer experience an explicitly Eucharistic programme. When entering the church, one would have been, first of all, confronted with two paintings below the gallery presenting the manna and multiplication of the loaves and the banquet at the Pharisee's house.³²² These images were consciously chosen as a prelude to the main iconographic programme to make the viewer aware of the sacraments of confession and communion, the receiving of which was necessary for obtaining indulgences on any of the five main pilgrimage days.³²³

Once the worshipper moved through the nave towards the choir, the iconographic programme gradually unfolded, with the central paintings on the ceiling of the nave

³¹⁹ Rieger, Sebastian, *Der Gnaden- und Wallfahrts-Ort Heilig Blut bei Erding: Wie Hl. Blut wurde, war, ist und wieder werden soll* (Erding, 1917), p. 16.

³²⁰ Kießlinger, *Die Wallfahrt* (1933), p. 14.

³²¹ StAE, KR 1703, 1715.

³²² Bauer-Wild, Anna, Bunz, Achim (eds.), *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei in Deutschland: Freistaat Bayern, Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern*, vol. 7: *Landkreis Erding* (Munich, 2001), p. 144.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

presenting Eucharistic prefigurations and eight smaller paintings on both sides of the nave depicting Eucharistic emblems. In front of the sanctuary, one would have faced two wall pictures on both sides of the high altar: the northern painting with Moses and the Brazen Serpent; the southern with Moses and the Burning Bush. The Eucharistic programme finally culminated in the huge painting on the choir ceiling recording the church's miraculous origins. The consecrated host appears in heaven within an aureole, encircled by adoring angels within clouds, one of whom is bearing a censer. Below, the bishop of Freising who was, according to legend, said to have come with his chapter to solemnly raise the wafer from the ground, kneels in prayer, looking devoutly upwards and censuring the glorious sacrament in the sky. The bishop is accompanied by further clergy stretching a white altar cloth as if they intended to catch the hovering host which was supposed to have lowered to the ground before eventually sinking into the earth and disappearing at the site that was physically commemorated by the earth pit below the choir altar.³²⁴

Hence, by the early eighteenth century, the decorative programme of the church had reached a climax, overwhelming the onlooker by what has been called a 'total work of art', or rather *Gesamtkunstwerk*, one of the defining characteristics of baroque art and architecture.³²⁵ Its power was, most obviously, unleashed within the choir. Here, Christ's bloodshed was dramatically displayed through his Holy Blood image on the high altar, visualizing his blood flowing out of his five wounds into a clamshell which was added during the Baroque. His bloodshed was furthermore revealed in the high altar painting depicting Christ's Agony in the Garden and the instruments of his Passion.³²⁶ Below the altarpiece, one could access the Eucharistic miracle-site where Christ's Real Presence had been evidenced through the potent relic of a consecrated wafer which hovers majestically in the colossal ceiling painting above the high altar. Christ's sacrifice for the world's salvation through his body and blood could probably

³²⁴ Ibid, pp. 137-145.

³²⁵ Smith, *Sensuous worship*, p. 200.

³²⁶ Bauer-Wild/Bunz (eds.), *Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei*, p. 145.

also be recognised from the exterior red coat of paint that we know from the Eucharistic church of St Salvator at Ecksberg.³²⁷

These images, as displayed by the total artwork of the shrine's sanctuary, were meant to make the viewer memorise the pilgrimage site as a *Gnadenort* – a place of mercy and miracle. For this purpose, they were also entrenched in people's minds through multiple visual media, most notably printed images and liturgical ceremonies that referred to the decorative programme. For example, in 1709, on the occasion of the introduction of a new confraternity at the local church, the main pilgrimage image became the focus of a showy and spectacular feast for the eyes, including a stage play, sacramental processions, and sermons over a period of eight days. This was organised by the Bartholomäer priest, Grimb, who also edited a programme, printed in Munich in 1710.³²⁸ Besides the printed programme, 1,000 copies of a copper engraving depicting the host-miracle were produced specifically for this celebration.³²⁹ The prints were modelled on the three pictures of the high altar antependium (figure 2.6).³³⁰

In the sermon on the seventh festive day, the Capuchin preacher, Father Stephan, drew the people's attention to the main pilgrimage image that was enshrined at the high altar: 'the sacred, so largely made, and so beautifully adorned image of Christ on the choir altar, which is now carried around in that magnificent procession, out of which, or from the holiest five wounds of whom his most precious blood flows, like from a fountain of grace (as many have experienced it)'.³³¹ The Capuchin also referred to the shrine's history to draw the attention of the faithful to its host-miracle sites: the sacred 'Orth oder Grufft' ('locus or crypt') as well as the 'Brunn, so gleich ausser der Kirchen-Thür

³²⁷ Reindl, 'St. Salvator in Ecksberg: Eine Untersuchung zur spätgotischen Kirche und ihrem barocken Nachfolgebau - einem Werk von Domenico Christoforo Zuccalli' (unpublished master's thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, no date of publication), p. 91.

³²⁸ *Achtägiges Ehr- und Freuden-Fest Dem Lieb-verwundten, Blut-trieffend Allerheiligsten Hertz Jesu, Bey herrlicher Einsetzung dessen Lobl. und Gnaden-reichen Bruderschaft in dem Wunderthätig und würdigen Gotts-Hauß zum H. Blut nächst der Stadt Erding, mit möglichster Solemnitet bey versamleter grosser Volck-Menge angestellt und gehalten, auch mit 8 ausserlessenen Lob- und Ehren-Predigen vom 13. biß 20. Octobris 1709 geziehrt*, ed. by Wolfgang Grimb (Munich, 1710).

³²⁹ Kißlinger, *Die Wallfahrt* (1933), p. 43.

³³⁰ A copy from 1787 is located in the ME.

³³¹ Grimb, *Achtägiges Ehr- und Freuden-Fest*, p. 132: 'die so groß geschnitzte auf dem Chor-Altar, jetzunder in der so herrlichen Procession herumgetragne heilige, und so schön geziehrte Bildnuß Christi, worauß, oder auß dessen heiligsten 5 Wunden, gleich auß einem Gnaden-Brunnen (wie es viel erfahren) sein kostbahristes Blut springet'.

so wunderlich entsprungen' ('fountain, so miraculously arisen immediately outside the church door').³³² He emphasised, in particular, the place of the crypt, into which the holy host sank. Pointing to the painting of Moses and the Burning Bush on the southern side of the choir altar, he reminded his hearers that God, according to Exodus 3:5, had told Moses to remove his shoes: 'locus in quo stas, terra sancta est' ('the place, on which you stand, is holy ground').³³³

The complete unity of the main pilgrimage image and host-miracle site was also presented on holy pictures, printed in the eighteenth century. On them, Christ appears half-naked before an aureole, in a long coat, with his crown of thorns, and standing above a clamshell, into which his blood is running from his five wounds. An inscription above him refers to his official title: 'Das Heil: Blueth nechst Erding' ('The Holy Blood at Erding'). Below him, in a little shrine, the miracle-host is shining on top of a bowl which is filled with earth, commemorated through the inscription: 'Gnadenreiche Heilige Erden, In welcher Anno 1417 die Hoch heilige Hostien versincket ist' ('Gracious holy earth, into which in 1417 the most holy host sank') (figure 2.7).³³⁴ People probably took these pictures away with them as pilgrimage souvenirs for their personal veneration at home, as true copies of the main pilgrimage image, as it was presented on the high altar above the church crypt (figure 2.8).³³⁵ The pilgrimage's attractiveness steadily increased, and the various multiplications and reproductions functioned as the basic tools to increase the sacred aura of the shrine. Still in the eighteenth century, in 1738, a holy blood relic of Christ was acquired and displayed within a precious reliquary which was crowned with a copy of the pilgrimage image of the Holy Blood.³³⁶

So, *what* would people have seen at the pilgrimage sites, and *how* would they have accessed it? Art and architecture provided a visual framework which Marc Forster has

³³² Ibid., p. 130.

³³³ Ibid., pp. 135-136. The Latin inscription can also be recognised from the ground in today's church crypt.

³³⁴ On a copy from c. 18: AEM, Sammlung Wallfahrtsbilder, Schachtel 10, Mappe 32, Erding 2.

³³⁵ The pilgrimage image stands in today's church crypt.

³³⁶ Brenninger, Georg, Steiner, Peter B. (eds.) *Gnadenstätten im Erzbistum München und Freising*, vol. 3: *Gnadenstätten im Erdinger Land* (Munich et al., 1986), p. 28.

called ‘the interplay of the place and experience of German Catholicism’.³³⁷ This framework, as can be seen from the visual culture at the Upper Bavarian host-miracle shrines of Bettbrunn and Erding, directed one’s movement in and around the church building. The imagery at both pilgrimage sites guided the worshipper towards two important pilgrimage points. The fabric of the churches focused, firstly, on the *sacred locus* – that is, the special place where the lost wafer was said to have been found and performed as a miracle-host – physically marked out through an open space, in the form of a pit and a fountain. As the example of Erding demonstrates, both spaces were greatly enhanced during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to provide access for the church visitors. The fabric focused, secondly, on a *sacred image* of Christ that was fixed to the host-miracle sites. While the main pilgrimage image was placed in the choir, at the original sacred locus, copies of it were produced to combine it with the host-miracle site of the fountain at Bettbrunn during the later seventeenth century.

II. Cult Images

The most powerful symbol of sacred power was a Christocentric image, which offered a synthesis between Eucharistic and sepulchral signs at the sacred locus. At most host-miracle shrines, Eucharistic devotion was redirected from the miracle-host as the ‘primary’ Eucharistic relic or cult object to what Merback, using Godefridus Snoek’s terminology, has labelled as a ‘secondary eucharistic relic’: an ‘authorized cult-image’ based on the ‘venerable prototype’ of Pope Gregory’s vision, the *Man of Sorrows*.³³⁸ This icon, physically fixed to the legendary find-spot as a substitute for the host, represented the ‘relic *and* image’ of Christ who appeared to the ordinary pilgrim as if he rose or had already risen from his crypt-tomb.³³⁹ Two major variants of the late-medieval *Man of Sorrows* icon, positioned above the sacred locus as the main Eucharistic cult images, conveyed this impression at most host-miracle shrines: the suffering and rising Christ displaying his blood, as it was presented in Erding, and the

³³⁷ Forster, *Catholic revival*, p. 83.

³³⁸ Merback, Mitchell B., ‘Channels of grace: pilgrimage architecture, Eucharistic imagery, and visions of purgatory at the host-miracle churches of late medieval Germany’, in Blick/Tekippe (eds.), *Art and architecture*, vol. 1, pp. 587-646, esp. pp. 618, n. 98, and pp. 620, 629; Snoek, Godefridus J. C., *Medieval piety from relics to the Eucharist: a process of mutual interaction* (Leiden et al., 1995), p. 385.

³³⁹ Merback, ‘Channels of grace’, p. 629.

risen and crowned *Salvator mundi* as the visual embodiment of Christ's resurrection, as in Bettbrunn.³⁴⁰ Both iconographic types were probably used, to agree with Marion Jaklin Latk and Johannes Tripps, in liturgical celebrations enacting the death, entombment, and resurrection of Christ as a 'Fons Pietatis' ('Fountain of Grace').³⁴¹ Devotees probably conceived these figural representations as 'the host's mimetic doubles, literalizing surrogates for the Corpus Christi' which were both *miraculous* and *memorable*, disclosing their Eucharistic function through their spatial relationship with the sacred locus.³⁴²

As the miracle-image, or *Gnadenbild*, was the main object of devotion credited with curative power, it was addressed with particular rituals. The cult image of a host-miracle church at a town also called Heiligenstatt, now in Upper Austria, then in the *Innviertel* of the former Duchy of Bavaria, for instance, was a *Man of Sorrows* figure dating from the end of the fifteenth century, which was integrated into a later baroque high altar built during the 1750s.³⁴³ Prominently positioned at the high altar above the Eucharistic find-spot, it displayed the typical Holy Blood theme: Christ standing between two angels, holding a chalice in his right hand for collecting his blood from his side wound (figure 2.9).³⁴⁴ Pilgrims perceived this image not as a mere representation, but rather as a true personality which they could approach in a very direct way. People suffering from eye complaints hoped to get cured by wiping their eyes with Christ's red coat. They also donated votive offerings made of iron, like iron chains, to represent themselves as tied to Christ.³⁴⁵ These pilgrimage rituals were supported by the local

³⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 621-622.

³⁴¹ Latk, Marion J., 'Die Inszenierung der spätmittelalterlichen Messfeierlichkeiten mit „blutenden“ Christusfiguren', *Das Münster* 57 (2004), pp. 209-216, esp. p. 213; Tripps, Johannes, '„Ein Crucifix, dem aus den funff Wunden rotter Wein sprang“: Die Inszenierung von Christusfiguren in Spätgotik und Frührenaissance', in Mark R. Hesslinger and Eckhard Leuschner (eds.), *Das Bild Gottes in Judentum und Islam: Vom Alten Testament bis zum Karikaturenstreit* (Petersberg, 2009), pp. 117-127, esp. pp. 124-125. On the iconography of the 'Fountain of Grace': Underhill, Evelyn, 'The fountain of life: an iconographical study', *The Burlington magazine for connoisseurs* 17 (1910), pp. 99-109; Wadell, Maj-Brit, *Fons pietatis: Eine ikonographische Studie* (Göteborg, 1969).

³⁴² Merback, 'Channels of grace', p. 629.

³⁴³ Hainisch, Erwin, Woisetschläger, Kurt (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs*, vol. 3: *Oberösterreich* (4th rev. edn., Vienna, 1960), p. 113.

³⁴⁴ The figure can still be seen in today's church.

³⁴⁵ Gugitz, Gustav, *Die Wallfahrten Oberösterreichs: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme mit besonderer Hinsicht auf Volksglauben und Brauchtum* (Linz, 1954), pp. 57, 80; idem, *Österreichs Gnadenstätten in*

authorities who had them recorded as prayer cards, one of which survives from the eighteenth century (figure 2.10).³⁴⁶

Bettbrunn's cult image, in particular, served, as the art historian Friedrich Fuchs has recently suggested, as an image prototype for other church decorations in the surrounding area.³⁴⁷ Bettbrunn's widespread reputation resulted in the copying of its cult object, and this was, most obviously, the case at the Eucharistic pilgrimage site in the Upper Bavarian hamlet of Unsernherrn situated nearby. The local church was named after its great 'mother' shrine at Bettbrunn. To distinguish between the two, the shrine at Bettbrunn was called 'Groß-Salvator' ('Major Saviour'), whereas its close counterpart at Unsernherrn became commonly known as 'Klein-Salvator' ('Minor Saviour').³⁴⁸ The sacred locus at the high altar – physically commemorating the place where consecrated hosts were said to have been buried, found, and elevated – was, as at Bettbrunn, combined with a *Salvator mundi* image. This icon can still be recognised on the high altar painting, including, at the bottom, two little pictures of the host-miracle, dating from ca. 1690, and surrounded by two figures of saints Peter and Paul (figure 2.11).³⁴⁹

On special feast days, particularly on the Fridays between Easter and Pentecost, pilgrims arrived in communal processions to engage in particular rituals. During special Mass celebrations, they viewed, and probably also received, the Blessed Sacrament which was solemnly exposed within a monstrance, the sacred aura of which was increased through its visual setting. The viewers experienced Christ's Real Presence through the dramatic setting of a precious baroque monstrance, dating from 1655, which stylistically related to the Eucharistic imagery of the high altar, when raised by the priest before it. Christ could then be experienced in place of the host: Christ as the

Kult und Brauch: Ein topographisches Handbuch zur religiösen Volkskunde in fünf Bänden, vol. 5: *Oberösterreich und Salzburg* (Vienna, 1958), p. 42.

³⁴⁶ BZAR, Sammlung Hartig, Wallfahrtsorte, Sign. 7, Heiligenstatt (OÖ), 6152.

³⁴⁷ Fuchs, Friedrich, 'Neufund eines altdeutschen Tafelgemäldes', *Das Münster* 57 (2004), p. 218.

³⁴⁸ Böck, Emmi (ed.), *Legenden und Mirakel aus Ingolstadt und Umgebung* (Ingolstadt, 1998), pp. 58, 70; Pötzl, Walter, 'Katalogteil zum Eichstätter Wallfahrtenbuch' (manuscript of the Eichstätter Diözesangesichtsverein, 2002), p. 110.

³⁴⁹ Götz/Habel (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 4, p. 1303; Bezold, Gustav von, Riehl, Berthold (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberbayern*, vol. 1: *Stadt und Bezirksamt Ingolstadt, Bezirksämter Pfaffenhofen, Schrobenhausen, Aichach, Friedberg, Dachau* (repr. edn., Munich, 1982), p. 91. On the pilgrimage image: PFAU, Schuwerack, Harald, 'Der Salvator und seine Kirche: Orgelmusik und Bilder zur 200-Jahr-Feier der Pfarrei im November 2007' (PowerPoint, 2007).

Salvator mundi could be seen above the sacred locus at the high altar between Peter and Paul and on the top of the monstrance above the consecrated host, with two statues of Peter and Paul placed on each side (figure 2.12).³⁵⁰

From Host Devotion to Image Devotion

At most host-miracle shrines, there was an important shift from host to image devotion. But *when* and *why* did this shift actually happen? To tackle the first question, we must consider the dating of the Eucharistic cult images. Several, including Erding's cult image, have been dated to the late Middle Ages.³⁵¹ Merback, however, has questioned its late-medieval provenance, arguing instead for a post-medieval iconographic type.³⁵² Nonetheless, he has suggested that the process of transference from host to image devotion had begun prior to the Reformation, in the period between 1490 and 1520.³⁵³ My own material supports this proposition. At the Lower Bavarian town of Mainburg, for instance, the surviving votive paintings prove that a *Salvator mundi* icon, dateable to ca. 1520, attracted the donors' attention as the main devotional object through its central position on the former high altar, replacing or enhancing another, late-medieval cult object: a sandstone half-figure, probably dating from the sixteenth century, depicting a suffering Christ displaying his wounds.³⁵⁴

It is possible to suggest that the Eucharistic cult images stemmed from the visual culture of the pre-Reformation and that they were redecorated during the Baroque. The key devotional image at another host-miracle church dedicated to St Salvator at the Upper Bavarian hamlet of Ecksberg was a late-Gothic *Man of Sorrows* representation, dating from between 1511 and 1520, which was centrally placed on the high altar within a splendid baroque church built during the 1680s. Here, Christ presents his wounded left

³⁵⁰ Pötzl, 'Katalogteil', p. 110. On the monstrance: DBE, Kunstinventar der Diözese Eichstätt, Alte Pfarrkirche St. Salvator in Ingolstadt-Unsernherrn, Nr. 63, 64; PFAU, Schuwerack, 'Der Salvator und seine Kirche: Orgelmusik und Bilder zur 200-Jahr-Feier der Pfarrei im November 2007' (PowerPoint, 2007).

³⁵¹ See above, pp. 80-81 and n. 307.

³⁵² Merback, 'Channels of grace', p. 617.

³⁵³ Ibid., pp. 621, 629.

³⁵⁴ Ritz, Josef M., *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern*, vol. 18: *Bezirksamt Mainburg* (repr. edn., Munich, 1983), pp. 104-105.

hand to the viewer as if issuing a blessing, with his right hand pointing to his side wound. Christ's blood is plastically shown through a thick stream of red wire leading into a vessel standing at his feet before him. As the art historian Irmengard Reindl has suggested, the red wire and chalice were added during the church's *Barockisierung* in the later seventeenth century (figure 2.13).³⁵⁵

This imagery is very similar to that of other Eucharistic shrines. Visual testimonies from Erding reveal that people venerated two additional pilgrimage icons, which might have been replaced by or juxtaposed with the cult image on the high altar, showing common features: 'the Holy Blood's image, along with two angels' integrated into the new high altar during the 1660s and another image of Christ displaying his blood that has been traced back to the late sixteenth century.³⁵⁶ Several donors had the former image copied in their votive panels, the oldest of which dates from 1672: an almost naked Christ standing on a cloud in his crown of thorns and a long coat, with light emanating from behind his head. Two angels standing next to him on each side present him to the devout onlooker for veneration, with the right angel collecting his blood from his side wound in a chalice (figure 2.14).³⁵⁷

This iconography also appears on the title page of a twelve-verse song, dating from the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century and composed by Hieronymus Christophorus Textor who signed his song as 'olim haereticus, nunc Ludimagister indignus Erdingae' ('former heretic, now undeserving schoolmaster at Erding').³⁵⁸ A Latin inscription above and below the image praises Christ in symbolic terms: 'Sacer Cruor Clype[us]. Omnibus in eum sperantibus' ('Holy Blood – a shield for everyone trusting in it') (figure 2.15).³⁵⁹ Another votive panel of 1701 reproduced the later Holy Blood image of Christ which might have been placed next to the offertory

³⁵⁵ Reindl, 'Die Wallfahrtskirche', pp. 41-44; idem, 'St. Salvator', pp. 20-23. The statue stands in today's church.

³⁵⁶ See above, p. 81 and n. 312.

³⁵⁷ The votive panel is located in the depot of the ME.

³⁵⁸ BSB, Cgm 4087, fol. 1v.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., fol. 1r.

box: Christ displaying his blood flowing off his side wound into a chalice standing in front of him (figure 2.16).³⁶⁰

Why, then, did the primary host-relic cults shift to secondary image-cults? Can this transfer be seen as a result of the late-medieval debates on the authenticity and proper adoration of the miracle-hosts? Transformed hosts and bleeding-hosts had come under massive attack in the fifteenth century. Prominent reform intellectuals and theologians, like the papal legate Nicholas of Cusa, attacked their public expositions and veneration as the true body of Christ, expressing the fear that their adoration laid the basis for superstition. This led to several miracle-hosts being either removed or consumed, or displayed for veneration on special days – provided that freshly consecrated hosts were placed alongside the miraculous ones.³⁶¹ The removal of the primary cult objects, the host-relics, may well have provoked a shift to ‘secondary eucharistic objects, especially images’.³⁶² As ever-present addressees of cultic worship replacing the old hosts that were only rarely to be seen, the new cult images were, at a few shrines like those at Mainburg and Ecksberg, installed immediately before the Reformation, and, at most other pilgrimage sites, after it, as baroque revivals.

The primary host-relics were still displayed, however, at Andechs and Deggendorf where the original miracle-hosts and bleeding-hosts had been presented for veneration on special days since the later Middle Ages. Due to the dynastic patronage of the Wittelsbachs, their host-relics did not suffer from clerical doubts as to their validity and venerability. Nicholas of Cusa who, in 1451, had visited Andechs and scrutinised its most sacred relics – the Three Holy Hosts that were annually displayed on three special feast days – not only authenticated them, but even issued an indulgence for their devout onlookers.³⁶³ In the 1580s, negotiations between Duke Wilhelm V and the papal nuncio led to further investigations, during which Cusa’s authentication was confirmed.³⁶⁴ To

³⁶⁰ The votive panel is located in the depot of the ME.

³⁶¹ Zika, ‘Hosts, processions and pilgrimages’, pp. 30, 52, 56; Bynum, *Wonderful blood*, p. 27; Brückner, Wolfgang, ‘Liturgie und Legende: Zur theologischen Theorienbildung und zum historischen Verständnis von Eucharistic-Mirakeln’, *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 19 (1996), pp. 139-168, esp. pp. 152, 157, 164.

³⁶² Merback, ‘Channels of grace’, p. 620.

³⁶³ Idem, *Pilgrimage and pogrom*, pp. 165, 167.

³⁶⁴ Kraft, Benedikt, ‘Andechser Studien: 1. Band’, *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte* 73 (1937), pp. 1-260, esp. p. 75.

increase devotion to the relics, Wittelsbach patronage also focused on the ways in which the supposed miracle-hosts were presented, through their funding of church furnishings. At Deggendorf, for instance, a new high altar tabernacle for safe-keeping and displaying the host-relics was built in 1624, supported by Wittelsbach sponsorship.³⁶⁵

The Constellation of Cult Objects

The Wittelsbach-sponsored cults at Andechs and Deggendorf were, in spite of their focus on primary host-relics, typical of the trend of enhancing the visual cultic environments at all host-miracle shrines through a ‘constellation of eucharistic objects’.³⁶⁶ At dynastic shrines, where miracle-hosts were periodically presented as cult objects during salvific displays, the primary host-relics were juxtaposed with additional cult relics. This was the case of the host-miracle shrines under the patronage of the Wittelsbachs, including Andechs, and individual patrons, like Heiligenstatt near Altötting in Upper Bavaria, where the primary host-relics had become part of prestigious relic collections acquired before and, increasingly, after the Reformation. The range of cult objects involved, furthermore, ‘made’ secondary relics, including not only cult images, but even cult relics linked to the miracle stories of the host’s martyrdom.³⁶⁷ At Deggendorf, specially produced secondary relics, like a thorn and an awl relic that were said to have been employed by the Jews to desecrate Christ in the sacrament, were made during the Counter-Reformation to be displayed in precious reliquaries alongside the primary host-relics.³⁶⁸

At most host-miracle shrines which could not claim still extant miracle-hosts, we find a constellation of Eucharistic cult objects that juxtaposed secondary relics with Christ-relics. In the Upper Bavarian village of Einsbach, a wooden particle from the stump of a tree, said to have been touched by the miracle-host before it fell down and set forth a spring of water on the sacred locus, was, according to a visitation report of 1621, placed

³⁶⁵ See chap. 1, p. 45.

³⁶⁶ Merback, ‘Channels of grace’, p. 595.

³⁶⁷ Idem, *Pilgrimage and pogrom*, p. 130.

³⁶⁸ Eder, *Die „Deggendorfer Gnad“*, pp. 435-438.

within a reliquary and, in 1732, augmented by a Passion relic of the True Cross.³⁶⁹ This secondary cult relic was joined by another secondary cult image of Christ, which was probably painted during the church's *Barockisierung* in the later seventeenth century on the choir ceiling, above the 1688 draw well at the sacred locus.³⁷⁰ Here, Christ is shown full-length and half-naked in a long red coat and his crown of thorns, carrying a cross in his left hand and holding a chalice in his right for collecting a thick stream of blood gushing out of his side wound (figure 2.17).³⁷¹ At Heiligenstatt in Upper Austria, a similar cult image was juxtaposed with a reliquary that also contained a fragment of the True Cross. This Passion relic had been brought from the Holy Land in the fifteenth century, as we know from a late-medieval panel commemorating its blood miracle alongside the original host-miracle.³⁷² Both miracles were, like the cult image, multiplied through printed cards, one of which survives, probably from the eighteenth century (figure 2.18).³⁷³

The constellations of Eucharistic cult objects at the Bavarian host-miracle shrines reveal their common affiliation with the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, in Rome, home of the original *Man of Sorrows* prototype and Passion relics, and therefore appear as local surrogates for the Roman archetype.³⁷⁴ The icon and the Passion instruments were supposed to have appeared in Pope Gregory the Great's vision, copies of which were propagated and produced as cult images all over Europe throughout the fifteenth century.³⁷⁵ People responded to the enhanced cultic environments at the find-spots: the constellations of Christ-relics, including primary host-relics, secondary cult relics, and additional relics of Christ's Passion. This becomes clear in my final example, the host-miracle church of the Upper Bavarian village of Elbach.

Here, two pilgrimage images were linked to the sacred locus within a baroque cultic environment. A *Man of Sorrows* icon based on pre-Reformation imagery, including the

³⁶⁹ Böck, Robert, *Wallfahrt im Dachauer Land* (Dachau, 1991), p. 120.

³⁷⁰ Bezold/Riehl (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberbayern*, vol. 1, p. 288.

³⁷¹ The painting can still be seen in today's church.

³⁷² See below, pp. 97-98.

³⁷³ BZAR, Sammlung Hartig, Wallfahrtsorte, Sign. 2, Heiligenstatt (OÖ), 6148. See also above, pp. 88-89: figure 2.10.

³⁷⁴ Merback, *Pilgrimage and pogrom*, pp. 148, 184.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

instruments of the Passion and two angels standing beside him, with the right catching his blood from his side wound, was redecorated and integrated into an early baroque high altar during the 1630s, and positioned above a new tabernacle setting in the 1670s (figure 2.19). Christ's blood was, furthermore, very plastically presented in a baroque high relief on the choir ceiling of the second half of the seventeenth century, which depicts Christ standing on an orb in a long red coat within an aureole, with the blood from his side wound collected by Christ himself, and from his other wounds collected by angels. A further high relief above the high altar represented the Passion instruments (figure 2.20).³⁷⁶

This environment was enhanced in the early eighteenth century when a Benedictine priest acquired a blood relic.³⁷⁷ People responded to this blood relic within the enriched display connecting the sacred locus and cult images with the new cult object, which was probably presented on the magnificent stage of the baroque high altar within the tabernacle area built in the 1670s, above a new precious tabernacle produced in 1724 and below the main cult image of Christ.³⁷⁸ This emerges from several votive panels displaying the holy blood reliquary. A votive painting of 1726, for instance, depicts a father and his son kneeling before the reliquary. From its inscription at the bottom, we hear that Wolfgang Siberer pledged his son 'Zum H: Bluet' ('to the Holy Blood'): he had plugged a bean into his nose which could not be removed until after the vow when it came out of its own accord (figure 2.21).³⁷⁹

III. Commemorative Panels

Visual Accounts of Host-miracles

The experience of pilgrimage was shaped not only by the presentation of pilgrimage sites and images, but also by the presentation of their histories. The graphic host legend depictions explained the sites' miraculous origins and featured, like the pilgrimage

³⁷⁶ Rochow, Evelin von, *Die Kirchen St. Andreas und Hl. Blut in Elbach* (Lindenberg, 2002), pp. 27, 30-32.

³⁷⁷ Heuser, "Heilig-Blut", pp. 8, 58.

³⁷⁸ Rochow, *Die Kirchen*, pp. 30-31.

³⁷⁹ The votive panels are located in a local depot on the premises of the former, now retired parish priest.

image, in numerous copies as visual evidence of the Eucharistic miracle's truth. The commemorative panels shaped what people would have known about the pilgrimage sites' histories. As visual narratives of the Eucharistic miracle tales, the images in the church interiors helped the pilgrims to understand the pilgrimage sites as sacred places. People recognised the holy site's miraculous origins through visual commemoration, and here again, the Erding case illustrates that they were receptive to the miracle tales. The pilgrimage site's history and origins were known to people coming to the shrine, which emerges from a miracle account of 1604 recording an interrogation of two young members of the furriers' guild called Adam and Nicolas. Adam stated that he had told Nicolas of the host legend on their way to the church and also shown him the church's sixteenth-century plaque with the written description and visual depiction of the miracle story.³⁸⁰

This document shows clearly how knowledge of the pilgrimage site's origins was disseminated. The miracle story's widespread fame was spread by word-of-mouth and reinforced by image and text at the local shrine. The case of Adam and Nicolas highlights the role of travelling journeymen in spreading knowledge about Erding's pilgrimage and advancing its supra-regional reputation. The two of them were ordinary individuals visiting the pilgrimage church independently, and not as part of communal processions which drew the majority of pilgrims to the shrine. As their statements testify, both of them came from distant areas outside the former Duchy of Bavaria, with one of them even being a Protestant. While the 24-year-old Adam Dodl came from the Catholic *Herrschaft* of Mindelheim in the Bavarian region of today's Swabia, his companion of the same age, Nicolas Peler, was a Lutheran from Bad Kreuznach, a town situated southwest of Mainz, within the Protestant territory of the Rhineland Palatinate.³⁸¹

The two journeymen visiting the shrine at Erding were, according to their statements, able to read the local plaque's story, coming from towns where literacy was more common. Nicolas testified, indeed, that, due to its immense length, he had only read

³⁸⁰ StAE, B VI, Nr. 70 b.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

barely half of the ‘Tafel, daran das Miracul beschriben stehet’ (‘plaque, on which the miracle was written down’).³⁸² Both of them probably considered the pilgrimage’s origins by looking at the little image in the centre of the plaque, as well. Displaying the two peasants of the original host-miracle during sacramental confession and communion, the image provided the visitors to the church with a visual metaphor which was used to remind them of their annual Easter obligation (figure 2.22).³⁸³ But how could such a narrative, which was largely textual, be understood by illiterate people, at a time when most rural populations still could not read? To make them ‘readable’ by all the laity, both literate and illiterate, most of the commemorative panels were predominantly visual. For this reason, the visual host legend depictions were even more important than written tracts for the renewal of the pilgrimage sites.

Like the various visual depictions within the church at Erding, including the plaque and the antependium, the paintings at most of the other Eucharistic pilgrimage sites were renovated or renewed between around the mid-sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth centuries, and remain in place in the churches today. In the church at Unsernherrn in Upper Bavaria, for instance, four panel paintings, dating from around 1550, recount the host-miracle of the cult. Placed on the back of the high altar, people used to walk around them during processions to commemorate the pilgrimage’s origins.³⁸⁴ Other panel paintings were redecorated during the seventeenth century, as we have seen in the previous chapter. In the church at Donaustauf, eight wooden panel paintings recount the pilgrimage site’s origins within the nave. They date from around 1600, and were renovated in 1612 and again in the 1690s. At Heiligenstatt in Upper Bavaria, four wooden panels from the sixteenth century were renovated in 1650.³⁸⁵

The visual miracle tales built on late-medieval precursors, as we know from a surviving triptych dating from around 1480, which formerly stood in the Upper Austrian church at

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ See above, p. 80: figure 2.3 (enlarged).

³⁸⁴ Götz/Habel (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 4, p. 1303; Bezold/Riehl (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Oberbayern*, vol. 1, p. 91.

³⁸⁵ See chap. 1, pp. 53-54, 58.

Heiligenstatt.³⁸⁶ The triptych displays two miracle tales, of a consecrated host and a Passion relic, in three images with a separate inscription underneath (figure 2.23).³⁸⁷ On the left picture, we can see the host legend which was said to have been the reason why the original pilgrimage church was built in 1400. A consecrated host which was found by a woman beneath a bush is solemnly raised from the ground by the local clergy. The right picture draws our attention to the relic which was later brought by the knight Hans Kuchler from Jerusalem to be divided into two parts, with one part to be given to his newly founded collegiate chapter at Mattighofen, a town located in immediate vicinity, and the other to the church at Heiligenstatt.³⁸⁸ As the relic bled when they tried to divide it, it was placed on the local church's high altar where, as the picture in the centre shows, it was venerated by the collegiate church's founder and his wife as well as its clergymen. An additional, perhaps late-Gothic, image of the host's discovery by the woman, which was also augmented by an inscription, was refurbished during the Baroque at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth centuries and can still be recognised from a painted representation on the choir's outer wall (figure 2.24).³⁸⁹

Compared with textual accounts, the graphic narratives recorded the original host-miracles in simple images for everyone to understand. What would have been known about the sites was told and taught in the pictures, which, following a common story-line, were all quite similar in their iconography, centering on the individual's offence against the Blessed Sacrament, the Sacrament's miraculous performance at the sacred locus, and the clergy's subsequent acts of devotion at that site. That the host, visualised through a little, white, round wafer, displayed miraculous signs and that it did not allow itself to be elevated by profane hands made the eyewitness aware of its consecration and therefore miraculous nature. The function of these pictures was, thus, two-fold.

³⁸⁶ Prokisch, Bernhard, Schultes, Lothar (eds.), *Gotikschätze Oberösterreich: Katalog zu einem Ausstellungsprojekt des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums in Linz (Schlossmuseum), Freistadt, St. Florian, Kremsmünster, Mondsee, Steyr, Peuerbach, Braunau, Ried, Schlierbach, Linz (Landesgalerie)* (Weitra, 2002), pp. 212-213.

³⁸⁷ OÖLM, Inv.-Nr. 820-1-G 42.

³⁸⁸ The original date of the relic's transferral is lost, but baroque inscriptions within the church from 1731 trace it back to around 1434: Martin, Franz, Waltl, Artur (eds.), *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. 30: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des politischen Bezirkes Braunau* (Vienna et al., 1947), p. 216.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

Confronted with them, the spectator was encouraged not only to remember the sacred locus, but also to devote him- or herself to it with proper decorum. The veneration of the Sacrament at that place was to be observed in accordance with Catholic Eucharistic practice. The worshipper was to receive the Eucharistic wafer around Easter, but was not allowed to remove it from the church.

The Donors of Host-miracle Panels

Through their prominent positions in the church interiors, such images served to make people aware of the ‘great miracle and marvel with the consecrated host’ at the particular pilgrimage site, to quote Freiherr Johann Veit von Törring, the local lord of the Upper Bavarian church at Heiligenstatt.³⁹⁰ The production of copies of the original host-miracle depictions was an effective means of removing doubt and proving the host-miracle’s authenticity. Yet, in comparison to Upper Bavaria’s pilgrimage sites at Heiligenstatt, Erding, and Bettbrunn, and Lower Bavaria’s shrine at Deggendorf where the painting and printing of true copies was encouraged by leading promoters, no printed images survive from most of the duchy’s other host cults. Here, it was the local population that commissioned their own copies. The local production of images definitely played an important role as visual propaganda, in refreshing the public memory of the sites’ legends, tales, and miracles. What makes such images even more important, however, is their distinctly local character: a typical characteristic of pilgrimage sites that remained locally restricted to the *Nahwallfahrten*.

Local commissioners and donors were keen to locate the miracle within their immediate environment, and to make it an essential part of their everyday lives. This emerges from several commemorative paintings which the local populace commissioned or donated to the pilgrimage sites during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the host-miracle shrine at Hart, a hamlet of the former Bavarian *Innviertel* in today’s Upper Austria, for example, the northern side of the church choir was full of painted scenes of the story about a stolen ciborium, i.e. the container for keeping the consecrated hosts. The pictures were commissioned by a local official of the nearby town of Schärding in the

³⁹⁰ See chap. 1, p. 58.

sixteenth century, according to the inscription: ‘Hanns Tötenpeckh Fürstlicher Gerichtschreiber Sherzding hat dise Figür mallen lassen. 1568’ (‘Hanns Tötenpeckh, princely stenographer of Schärding, had these pictures painted in 1568’).³⁹¹ The mural paintings were later destroyed to make room for large windows in the choir, but the pilgrimage church’s origins were depicted again in around 1620 on eight new paintings which probably decorated an earlier high altar.³⁹²

Further donations of commemorative panels from the seventeenth century demonstrate that the local population took an active role in visually commemorating their pilgrimage sites’ miraculous origins. A seventeenth-century votive panel from the host-miracle shrine at the Lower Bavarian village of Haid presented the Blessed Sacrament’s solemn elevation by the local parish priest, surrounded by his parishioners kneeling before it and by dogs that were said to have found the consecrated host in 1470 (figure 2.25).³⁹³ Another panel painting depicting the host-miracle of the pilgrimage church at Einsbach dates from around 1600 and was renovated in 1696, on behalf of the local parish priest and his co-operator.³⁹⁴ The way the original host-miracles are recorded here is different from the way they are commemorated in texts. By visually commemorating the Eucharistic wafer at the place of its legendary discovery, the panels focused the onlooker’s attention on the holy host-miracle site – the sacred locus. This is evident from two additional panels donated by individuals.

We know, for instance, from a letter in the Bavarian State Library, probably dating from the seventeenth century and bound into a later, eighteenth-century document, that the former supreme chamber maid to Anna, Queen of Poland, Ursula Mayr, donated a panel painting in 1624 to commemorate a late-medieval host-crime of 1403, due to which a chapel was said to have been built in Munich, dedicated to ‘S: Salvatoris’ (‘St Saviour’) or ‘Unsern Lieben Herren’ (‘Our Lord’).³⁹⁵ According to the letter, Ursula spent her own money and money that was bequeathed to her by her mother, Anna Mayr, on a new

³⁹¹ The inscription is written on the southern choir wall.

³⁹² Schober, Friedrich and Hertha, *Kapelle, Kirche, Gnadenbild: Ein kunstgeschichtlicher und volkskundlicher Führer zu Wallfahrtsstätten in Oberösterreich* (Linz, 1972), p. 70.

³⁹³ Brix, Michael, Kobler, Friedrich (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 2: *Niederbayern* (2nd rev. edn., Munich et al., 2008), p. 188. The votive panel hangs in today’s church.

³⁹⁴ Bauer, ‘Eucharistische Wallfahrten’, p. 53.

³⁹⁵ BSB, Cgm 2085, fols. 1r-3v, 7, back page.

high altar, including the painting presented as a back panel and its inscription.³⁹⁶ The panel depicts, in the foreground, before Munich's former city gate, an old woman as the consecrated host's desecrator who was said to have dropped the stolen sacrament when apprehended by two local officials who had found it in her pocket. Two pictorial representations in the background show, on the one hand, how they prevented her from selling the consecrated host on to the crime's instigators, the Jews (featuring here alongside the woman as host-criminals) and how, on the other, the local clergy processed to the important locus to raise the host solemnly from the sacred ground and return it to the parish church (figure 2.26).³⁹⁷

The donor built upon the church's pre-Reformation imagery to visually renew the memory of the late-medieval host-crime. The original chapel of Our Lord was built at the sacred locus where the consecrated host was said to have been discovered and dropped, in front of the former, now defunct city gate, the Schwabinger Tor.³⁹⁸ During the Middle Ages, the church had to give way to a new city fortification, so that, in 1493, Duke Albrecht IV had it destroyed and rebuilt not far from its original place, where it still stands today.³⁹⁹ Afterwards, a *Martensäule* was put up at the place of the former chapel's high altar as a visual reminder, a commemoration of the sacred locus where the woman had supposedly dropped the host during her arrest (figure 2.27).⁴⁰⁰ Additionally, two wooden panel paintings on the doors leading to the cemetery of the original chapel, produced by a carver during the fifteenth century and transferred to the newly erected Salvator church like the high altar, drew the viewer's gaze to the sacred locus: the site of the host's finding during the woman's arrest and of its solemn elevation by the local parish clergy (figure 2.28).⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ Ibid., fol. 1r.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., fol. 3r (copy of the painting).

³⁹⁸ Ibid., fols. 1r, 3r.

³⁹⁹ Forster, Josef M., *Das gottselige München: D. i. Beschreibung und Geschichte der kath. Kirchen und Klöster Münchens in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit, sammt Mittheilungen über die an denselben wirkenden gottseligen Personen* (Munich, 1865), pp. 426-429; Kotsowilis, Konstantin, *Die griechische Kirche in München als Gotteshaus zum Erlöser, Gemeinde der Hellenen und Mittelpunkt des bayerischen Philhellenismus: Festschrift zum 170-jährigen Gemeinde-Jubiläum (1828-1998)* (4th rev. edn., Munich, 1998), pp. 82-83.

⁴⁰⁰ BSB, Cgm 2085, fols. 1r, 7r (copy of the pillar).

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., fols. 1r, 2r (copies of the paintings).

Another panel that the local landlady, Catharina Kröbinger, donated to the predecessor church of the Eucharistic pilgrimage site at the Lower Bavarian village of Binabiburg, in thanks for her recovery from severe illness in 1632, commemorates the shrine's history. Catharina's votive donation, a large oil painting on canvas, depicts, as a written tract below the image indicates, the 'Ursprung dises Wierdigen Gottshauß bey vnsern herr von Berg' ('origins of this dignified church of Our Lord of the mountain'). As both image and text indicate, a consecrated host was found within a bush on top of the local mountain by a wagoner who witnessed its sacredness through a Eucharistic wonder: his horse suddenly stopped and knelt before it. The wagoner who was unable to pick it up informed the parish about this miracle, so that the priest, including his parishioners, walked in a large procession to the sacred locus to elevate the host and return it to the local church. At the host-miracle site, a new church was eventually erected in honour of the 'heyl: Salvator' ('holy Saviour'). In her votive panel, Catharina honoured, in particular, the sacred locus of the host-miracle where the wagoner was believed to have found the holy host: the 'orth wo aniezt der Choraltar stehet vnd zum wahrzeichen vnder dem choraltar noch ein aufgebrochnes loch zu sehen', i.e. the 'place where the choir altar now stands and a broken-up hole is still seen as a sign beneath the choir altar' (figure 2.29).⁴⁰²

The visual evidence of Ursula's and Catharina's donations reveals the importance of the sacred locus which the donors associated with the host-miracle. This locus was part of their daily lives, a point of reference for local customs and place names. The local connections are clearly shown in the host-miracle panels which visually commemorate the locus amidst the landmarks of the donors' immediate surroundings. In this way, the sacred locus became, itself, a landmark of local identity and piety, the regional importance of which was stressed in relation to shrines of supra-regional significance. This emerges from my final example: a commemorative panel or oil painting that the painter Wolf Spägel from Mühldorf am Inn, an Upper Bavarian town, made for the local pilgrimage church at Ecksberg between 1671 and 1672. The picture not only commemorates the sacred locus of the local pilgrimage church, depicting the devotional acts (elevation and procession) at the place of the discovery of consecrated hosts which

⁴⁰² The votive panel hangs in today's church.

were said to have been stolen by thieves from the local church at Mößling, but also localises it within the surrounding countryside, featuring the churches at Mößling, Neuötting, and Altötting.⁴⁰³ The immediate vicinity of Bavaria's 'national' shrine at Altötting certainly hints at the pilgrimage sites' competitiveness. Yet, it seems rather that the painter captured the parish community's pride that their local pilgrimage church constituted a major part of the surrounding sacred landscape (figure 2.30).⁴⁰⁴

IV. The Power of Place

Physical Commemoration and Cure

The importance of the link between miracle and physical site emerges not only from such visual representations, but also from practices of naming and of physical commemoration, the protection of the site from desecration. A letter of indulgence from 1488 refers to the Latin title of Upper Bavaria's pilgrimage church at Heiligenstatt commemorating the site of a consecrated host's discovery as 'ecclesia sancti Salvatoris in loco sancto' ('church of St Saviour at the sacred site'), at a place commonly known as 'Heiligenstatt auf der Osterwiese' ('Heiligenstatt on the Easter Meadow').⁴⁰⁵ Further archival records prove the fact that the town, Heiligenstatt, literally meaning Sacred Site, was named after the pilgrimage church's local appellation. A bill of sale from 1501 refers to it as 'Zu vnserm Herrn Zu der heiligen Stat' ('Our Lord at the Sacred Site') on the Easter Meadow.⁴⁰⁶ In a 1625 document, the church is called 'das würdige Salvatoris Gottshaus, alias Zur h: Statt genant' ('the dignified church of the Saviour, alias at the Sacred Site').⁴⁰⁷ The sacred locus of the host's legendary 'find-spot', which Bauerreiss has labelled as the 'Fundort', was physically commemorated and protected from defilement by a 'Grube', an open grave behind the choir altar, accessible via some steps leading downward.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰³ Reindl, 'Die Wallfahrtskirche', p. 44.

⁴⁰⁴ The painting hangs in today's church.

⁴⁰⁵ SAM, Schlossarchiv Seefeld Urkunden, Nr. 107, Archiv Toerring-Seefeld, Lit. I. 1, Nr. 35.

⁴⁰⁶ SAM, Archiv Toerring-Seefeld, Lit. I. 1, Nr. 10.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., Nr. 29.

⁴⁰⁸ Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu*, p. 30.

Physical commemoration of the find-spot is a common theme of Bavaria's Eucharistic pilgrimage sites, and it was not only at *Holy Salvator* shrines like Bettbrunn, *Holy Blood* shrines like Erding, and *Holy Site* shrines like Heiligenstatt that the Eucharistic host-miracle site could be recognised from the crypts and pits under the high altar. The case of the rural host-miracle shrine at Ittling, in particular, shows the people's strong desire to make the *invisible* – the non-existence of consecrated hosts at the miraculous site – *visible* through the creation of an architectural framework as a means of physical contact with the divine. What was unique to this shrine was the fact that, because of the authorities' refusal to build a shelter for the sacred site, the devotees themselves donated bricks that commemorated and protected the place of an alleged host-sacrilege from further abuse. This was a common pilgrimage practice that numerous devotees from the surrounding countryside engaged in, testified to by the miracle manuscript listing more than 50 miracles between 1706 and 1707.⁴⁰⁹

Most people going on a pilgrimage to the sacred 'site of the four holy hosts' – the 'heiligen 4 hostien blaz' – came from the immediate vicinity, such as Hans Forster, a miller from Oberöbling, a rural community next to Ittling, who feared for his ill horse. After vowing 100 bricks to the sacred site, his horse got well again.⁴¹⁰ Moreover, the local peasant Michael Ingerl sent his seven-year-old son suffering from a heart disease on a pilgrimage to the nearby cult site to bring new bricks. The day after, his son had fully recovered.⁴¹¹ The landlady Maria Sebaldt from the local hamlet of Runding also devoted herself to the new site, because of sickness relating to her pregnancy. Her vow of 100 bricks finally helped her to convalesce.⁴¹² The 50-year-old brewer Michael Pändl from the local village of Chammünster in the Upper Palatinate, anxious about the quality of his beer, even donated 150 bricks to the 'heiligen 4 hostienblaz'.⁴¹³ The donation of bricks shows a strong sense of community among the rural folk living around the site, bound together by their wish to create a physical reminder of what they considered sacred and, thus, worthy of protection.

⁴⁰⁹ SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 5960.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., fol. 8.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., fols. 8-9.

⁴¹² Ibid., fols. 28-29.

⁴¹³ Ibid., fol. 23.

The sacred site's physical efficacy relied on an important aspect of Counter-Reformation devotion: good deeds. To achieve miraculous cure, people had to make offerings to the sacred site. The votive offerings given to the shrine at Ittling in 1706 and 1707 included not only bricks, but also a range of other material donations, such as rosaries, shrove money, scapulars, veils, tin candlesticks, and wooden spoons.⁴¹⁴ To be healed through the site's sacred power, people also had to approach it in an orderly fashion and show a sense of discipline. For instance, the mother of a crippled son aged four declared under oath that she had set new hope on his recovery when she had heard about the new cult at Ittling. She had, therefore, made the journey to Ittling in 1706, assisted by a day worker carrying her ill son. At the local site, they had placed the child on the earth where the consecrated hosts were said to have been discovered, hoping that it would be able to stand up and walk into the boarded-up shack beside it. However, no miracle happened. It was only when they carried the child indoors and devoted it to the Blessed Sacrament that it stood up 'miraculously' and was even able to circumvent the little pilgrimage chapel with their help. This miracle experience was affirmed by the day worker Maria Schink, who had accompanied the two to the shrine.⁴¹⁵ Counter-Reformation ideas of discipline and decorum, as suggested by this miracle story, warn against the 'popular superstition'. Such miracle stories were surely mediated by the priest who wanted the devotees to believe that it was only the sacrament, not the soil, which worked!

Material Piety

The sacred locus's efficacy was not restricted to the physical find-spot. Some of its sacred power could also be extended into the domestic sphere through 'healing reserves' dispersing from the legendary host as primary relic into additional secondary Eucharistic relics.⁴¹⁶ Their common focus was, as Merback has observed, the *Fundort*: that unconsecrated site which, through contact with the consecrated host, was said to have been charged with salvific potency and, like the host itself, transformed into holy

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., fols. 63-65.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., fols. 43-48.

⁴¹⁶ Merback, 'Channels of grace', p. 618.

matter – sacred soil and water.⁴¹⁷ The places of God’s wonder-working associated with the host legends were believed to be curative, and here again, the shrine at Erding is an interesting case, as it shows the material nature of popular devotion. People accessed the sacred locus by walking down into the earth pit below the high altar to take some of the soil, as the story of the two travelling journeymen from 1604 shows.

Their statements give us a clear picture of the local pilgrimage practice. As Nicolas testified, Adam had shown him the earth pit underneath the altar where the host was said to have sunk into the ground. They had walked down into the pit from behind the altar to pick up some of the ash-like soil with a silver spoon. They also declared that they had been joined by two peasants walking down into the pit.⁴¹⁸ This example points us to the people’s thaumaturgic use of the soil, which was deemed sanctified through the transformation of the host. The two journeymen’s belief in the sacred locus’s physical efficacy was even reinforced by a miracle experience to which they testified: the actual reason why both of them were interrogated by the local town authorities. As they affirmed, they had been surprised, at the sacred find-spot, by a blood drop ‘miraculously’ appearing on the hat of the Lutheran Nicolas: a ‘miracle’ that eventually caused him to convert to Catholicism in Munich a few months later.⁴¹⁹

Pilgrims could take sacred soil home from the earth pits of other host-miracle shrines as well, such as Heiligenstatt in Upper Bavaria.⁴²⁰ We also know that soil was collected from the crypt below the high altar at Bettbrunn. As the author Johannes Engerd described in his pilgrimage book from 1584, many pilgrims took sand away from the little pit into which the host was said to have sunk.⁴²¹ There was hardly any matter with which the holy earth collected from the sacred locus could not help. Pilgrims used it as a means to remove all kinds of vermin, as a protection against accidents and storms, and as a remedy against all sorts of suffering.⁴²² Due to the popularity of this all-round cure,

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 602-603, 607 and n. 64, and p. 618.

⁴¹⁸ StAE, B VI, 70 b.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Blümelhuber, Franz P., *Die Wallfahrtskirche Heiligenstatt bei Altötting: Zur Feier des 500jährigen Jubiläums vom 19.-27. April 1873* (Altötting, 1873), p. 12; Urzinger, Johann, *Die Wallfahrtskirche Heiligenstatt bei Tüßling* (rev. edn., Mühlendorf, 1930), p. 9.

⁴²¹ Engerd, *Sanct Saluator*, p. 110.

⁴²² Döring, ‘St. Salvator’, p. 158.

the sacred sand had to be refilled many times at Bettbrunn, whereas at Erding, the amount of the soil's dust was said to have, in spite of its recurrent withdrawal, never to have diminished since 1417.⁴²³ At Ittling, some people even went so far as to eat the grass from the soil that was said to have been touched and transformed by the miracle-hosts. In 1706, for example, the local peasant woman, Maria Paur, testified that she had recovered from a sore throat and headaches, 'indem sie von disem Plätzl, allwo die heiligen Hostien gelegen sind, nur bis zwei Gräsl gegessen hat' ('as she ate from this place, where the holy hosts lay, no more than two blades of grass').⁴²⁴

The collection of water was another attempt to extend the sacred power of the host-miracle spot into the rest of the world. The thaumaturgic use of water, taken from the sacred springs associated with the *Fundort*, was a common pilgrimage practice at the Upper Bavarian shrines of Erding and Einsbach. Erding's church accounts reveal regular expenses for the fountain's maintenance and usage. In 1630, the draw well was newly walled. Due to war destructions, its bailer was refurbished in 1636, a new iron chain was made in 1637, and further repairs were undertaken again during the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s. In 1701, the fountain was eventually renewed, because of the 'grossen Conkurs vom Walfarthern, vnd Bedienung des hochschätzbaren gesundten Wassers aldorthen' ('great concourse of the pilgrims, and the use of the highly appreciable healthy water right there'). The pilgrims' drinking of the water from the local well was furthermore facilitated through the acquisition of a scoop made of copper in 1711.⁴²⁵ Water used on site or taken home from the fountain in the middle of the church at Einsbach was also considered curative. Commemorating the site of the original host-miracle, the fountain had, according to a visitation report from 1621, 'miraculously arisen' at the local find-spot of a lost host.⁴²⁶ People also made use of the sacred water from the *Gnadenbrunnen*, or wonder-working fountain, at Bettbrunn, as they believed in its power to heal. According to Ambrosius Schnaderbeck, the author of a pilgrimage book printed in 1687, they drank it, used it for washing, and took it

⁴²³ Kißlinger, *Die Wallfahrt* (1933), p. 78.

⁴²⁴ SAL, Regierung Straubing, A 5960: miracle book, fols. 9-10.

⁴²⁵ StAE, A III, KR 1630, 1636, 1637, 1653, 1666, 1669, 1672, 1701, 1711.

⁴²⁶ Böck, *Wallfahrt*, p. 120.

home.⁴²⁷ A devotional picture from the mid-eighteenth century visualises this cult practice: people gathering around the local ‘St. Salvators-Brünnlein’ (‘St Saviour’s fountain’) to be cured by the Saviour’s sacred water (figure 2.31).⁴²⁸

Even though the taking away of the find-spots’ healing powers defied church control, they were made accessible and available by the local clergy. At Erding, the Bartholomäer priests strongly encouraged the collection of sacred soil through the erection of the vaulted crypt during the 1670s, ‘wegen stäter hinweckhnehmung der Erden’ (‘because of the constant taking away of the earth’).⁴²⁹ They also acquired special utensils for picking up the soil, with a new shovel being bought in 1650, twelve new silver spoons in 1681, and a new copper cup for carrying out the sacred earth to the pilgrims in 1708.⁴³⁰ At Bettbrunn, the local Augustinian Hermits supported the spring cult in reaction to the people’s desire for miracle-water. The church accounts of 1659 and 1666 reveal that they bought drinking vessels as well as scoops for the pilgrims to take water from the local well and bottle it for carrying home. In 1664, due to the pressure from people, they extended the fountain, surrounding it with the *Salvator mundi* image and a little chapel. In 1710, they recruited a person for drawing the water out of the fountain, and in 1713, they even erected a bell tower to celebrate Mass within the pilgrimage chapel.⁴³¹

The practice of removing sacred matter seems to contradict proper Eucharistic practice. Why could soil and water easily be taken away from the host-miracle sites, while the host itself, as explained through the commemorative panels, was not to be taken away from the churches? There was a significant difference between the Blessed Sacrament, on the one hand, and sacramentals blessed through the consecrated host’s miraculous transformation, on the other. While the former was bound to the official cult, the latter was an effective means for the laity to employ sacred power outside formal liturgy in

⁴²⁷ Schnaderbeck, Ambrosius, SS. *Salvator: Ein Gnadenreicher Bettbrunnen Zu Bettbrunn, Das ist: Herkommen vnd Auffnemmen, der alten Wallfahrt zu Bettbrunn, bey Ingolstatt, insonders aber grosse wunderliche Gnaden, vnd Gutthatten, so der H. Salvator Jesus Christus, als ein wahrer Lebens-Brunnen innerhalb 37 Jahr seinen Wallfahrteren, vnd Anrue(ei)ssenden erweisen* (Ingolstadt, 1687), p. 52.

⁴²⁸ BZAR, Sammlung Hartig, Wallfahrtsorte, Sign. 2, Bettbrunn, 6147.

⁴²⁹ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1993, 166.

⁴³⁰ StAE, A III, KR 1650, 1681, 1708.

⁴³¹ Döring, ‘St. Salvator’, p. 162.

their daily lives. This cult practice is strongly reminiscent of early Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land where pilgrims gathered water from the Jordan and earth from a holy tomb as ‘standard souvenirs – or ‘blessings’’.⁴³² It seems likely that, given the range of sepulchral symbols identifying the sacred locus, it was seen as a local surrogate for the *locus sanctus*: the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁴³³

The sepulchral symbols included, according to Merback, the terms used in the description of host-miracles and the resulting cultic environments, such as ‘crypt’ which commemorated the subterranean *Fundort*. They also included legend-motifs commemorating Christ’s burial and resurrection at the sacred site through metaphors of elevation. These recalled the liturgy of Holy Week from Good Friday to Easter: the sacrament’s downward movement to the ground (where it is often buried by the blasphemers) and its subsequent elevation by the clergy with great solemnity.⁴³⁴ The architecture of host-miracle churches moreover suggests that the subterranean crypt had formerly fulfilled sepulchral functions before it was adapted to the Eucharistic cult. Barbara Möckershoff has made clear that the host-miracle shrine at Mainburg previously had a cemetery which probably included a ‘Karner’ or ‘charnel house’ that may have been the source of inspiration for the creation of the host-miracle.⁴³⁵ The symbolic relationship with the Jerusalem archetype emerges also from liturgical ceremonies enacting Christ’s death and rebirth. Robert Böck has shown that the liturgy at several host-miracle churches focused, in particular, on devotion to Christ’s Passion during Holy Week, including Easter sepulchre presentations, and on special feast days, like the *Speerfest* that was devoted to the veneration of the Passion relics of Christ.⁴³⁶

⁴³² Coleman, Simon, Elsner, John, *Pilgrimage: past and present. Sacred travel and sacred space in the world religions* (London, 1995), p. 85.

⁴³³ Merback, ‘Channels of grace’, pp. 616-617.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 600, 603, 606-607.

⁴³⁵ Möckershoff, Barbara, ‘St. Salvator in Mainburg’, in Dieter Harmening and Erich Wimmer (eds.), *Volkskultur und Heimat: Festschrift für Josef Dünninger zum 80. Geburtstag* (Würzburg, 1986), pp. 377-388, esp. p. 379.

⁴³⁶ Böck, Robert, ‘Die Ursprungslegenden und Überlieferungen der Wallfahrten zum Hl. Blut in Einsbach und Maria Stern in Taxa (Lkr. Dachau): Quellenkritische Erläuterungen’, in Karl-Sigismund Kramer (ed.), *Volksfrömmigkeit und Brauch: Studien zum Volksleben in Altbayern* (Munich, 1990), pp. 106-143, esp. pp. 113-115.

Merback suggests that the transfer from the primary host-cult to the secondary relic-cult had already taken place in the Middle Ages.⁴³⁷ Yet, the late-medieval dating of this transfer often remains a matter of conjecture, as the sepulchral practices (and the host-miracle narratives promoting them) can, in most cases, only be verified for the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is, however, little doubt that this transfer played a major role in reviving a Catholic culture that stressed the importance of the immanence of the sacred which, sanctified through the authoritative Jerusalem tomb and its local surrogates, was applicable outside the scope of the official liturgical cult. Sacred power could even be applied to the everyday life through an extended range of sacramentals: objects specially made from the secondary relics and, like those, consecrated through contact with the primary host-miracle site. At Erding, for instance, casts of the cult image were manufactured: relief models made from the sacred soil from the *Fundort* could be taken away by the pilgrims as cult souvenirs.⁴³⁸

The large variety of sacramentals available at the pilgrimage sites also included objects that received their power from their spatial relationship with the *Fundort*. We know, for example, from Erding that people bought wires for tying around their throats to treat their necks against goitre diseases.⁴³⁹ The church accounts, surviving from 1629, record nearly every year expenses for brass wire, which was hung up in the church, as expenditure for nails and wire from 1649 suggests. In 1683, for instance, three pounds of wire were purchased from the ironmonger, Daniel Holzmayr, in Munich to be hung up in the church and acquired by the pilgrims. The wire was very popular, as its amount had increased to five pounds by 1685 and even six pounds by 1688.⁴⁴⁰ We do not know whether the wire was blessed. But it was put up near the miraculous find-spot to be sanctified through the emanation of its sacred power.

Further evidence reveals, however, that the clergy attempted to retain control over the extension of sacred power into the domestic sphere. A unique document in the local parish archive of Erding, probably dating from the eighteenth century, records that little

⁴³⁷ Merback, 'Channels of grace', p. 607.

⁴³⁸ Kolb, Karl, *Vom heiligen Blut: Eine Bilddokumentation der Wallfahrt und Verehrung* (Würzburg, 1980), pp. 176, 178; Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Bilder und Zeichen*, pp. 44, 121.

⁴³⁹ Kießlinger, *Die Wallfahrt* (1933), p. 79.

⁴⁴⁰ StAE, KR 1649, 1683, 1685, 1688.

crosses and pennies, mixed with the ‘heiligen Erden von Arding’ (‘holy earth from Erding’), were dedicated to St Benedict, hence the name ‘St. Benedicti Kreuzlein oder Ablasspfenning’ (‘crosses or indulgence-pennies of St Benedict’). The manual, which was printed on both sides of a sheet, served as a guideline for the laity, describing how to use the sacramental objects as a Counter-Reformation device, the efficacy of which relied on the clerical blessing by the episcopal authorities at Freising and the local Bartholmäer at Erding. Once they were blessed and users had confessed before appealing to their protective power, they would throw them into fire, keep them above the front door or bury them below it to ward off witchcraft and other evil spirits from their houses. By putting them into water and drinking from it, people hoped to cure bewitched people and cattle (figure 2.32).⁴⁴¹

V. Votive Panels

People saw the artistic and architectural display of *Fundort* plus image as a real attraction, a real locus of sacred power, and therefore responded to both the miracle-image and the sacred locus. Testimony from votive panels, which people donated in fulfilment of vows to give thanks for miraculous recoveries, demonstrates that local response was directed at the cult images as potent purveyors of miracles, the sanctity of which was understood through their central positions within the cultic environments at several host-miracle shrines. The donors addressed the cult image in terms that connected it with the sacred locus. At the host-miracle shrine of Mainburg, a *Salvator mundi* icon was venerated under the title of St Salvator on the holy mountain.⁴⁴² The church interior was completely refurbished from the beginning of the eighteenth century, but the original high altar was certainly placed above the particular place of a consecrated host’s wonder-working and crowned with the cult image: a triumphant *Salvator mundi* figure of Christ sitting enthroned in a clamshell niche, his right hand giving a sign of blessing and his left hand holding an orb (figure 2.33).⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ PfAE, Abteilung II, Fach IX, Akt 1.

⁴⁴² BZAR, PfA Mainburg, Sign. 1030.

⁴⁴³ Brix/Kobler (eds.), *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Bayern*, vol. 2, p. 366.

A votive painting of 1694 is an exact copy of this pilgrimage image, as it must have been presented on the former high altar above the host-miracle site. It shows, at the bottom on the right, a woman kneeling before Christ as the *Salvator mundi* sitting on a throne of clouds, with an orb in his left hand and his right fingers presenting a sign of blessing. Above, two angels are holding a white banner with the inscription 'SALVATOR MVNDI'. At the bottom on the left of the panel, an inscription tells us that, on 6 July 1687, Maria Straßer had broken her foot, so that she devoted herself to St Salvator on the holy mountain with some money in the offertory box and a votive painting. As her foot recovered gradually over the years after her vow, she eventually offered him this copy as an *ex voto* (figure 2.34).⁴⁴⁴

The donors' response to both image *and* site, as presented through church display and printed images, emerges, in particular, from two votive panels left at the host-miracle shrine at Erding. In an *ex voto* donated in 1700, for instance, a monk from the Benedictine monastery at Benediktbeuern in Upper Bavaria consecrated himself to the pilgrimage image, referring to it as the miraculous Holy Blood at Erding. This image is an almost true copy of the printed devotional pictures distributed during the eighteenth century, albeit without the inscription and little shrine containing the holy earth (figure 2.35).⁴⁴⁵ The original inscription appears, however, in another votive painting that a woman donated in 1705. Here, we see the devotee kneeling in prayer before the arrangement linking locus and image: the subterranean crypt below the choir altar with the sacred soil and the sunken host shining on top, and above, the cult image of Christ standing on a cloud, whose blood is pouring out of his five wounds into a clamshell underneath (figure 2.36).⁴⁴⁶

Even if the votive panels were later left at the shrine, they were offered as a result of very personal, human-divine relationships. Two votive images which people donated to the host-miracle shrine at the Upper Austrian hamlet of Hart, part of the former *Innviertel*, make this clear. Here, the donors also recognised the spatial relationship between the host-miracle site and a *Salvator mundi* cult image which they referred to as

⁴⁴⁴ The votive panel hangs in today's church.

⁴⁴⁵ The votive panel hangs in today's church. See also above, p. 86: figure 2.7.

⁴⁴⁶ BNM, Kr V 345. See also Kriss-Rettenbeck, Lenz, *Das Votivbild* (Munich, 1961), p. 173.

Our Lord at Hart, as we know from 59 miracle experiences which the local prebendary, Quirin Königsperger, recorded in a manuscript miracle book between 1620 and 1690.⁴⁴⁷ In their *ex votos*, the donors not only responded to the cultic environment of the church, but also adapted it to their own domestic space or visual environment.

In the first votive image, dating from the seventeenth century, the *Salvator mundi* appears above an open window inside a room, shown half-length within a cloud gloriolate, wearing a red coat, holding an orb in his left hand, and stretching out his right hand to bless a little child who is surrounded by its mother and maids (figure 2.37).⁴⁴⁸ According to the inscription underneath, the child's father and the panel's donor, Sigmundt Vitzdum, a councilman and merchant from the Upper Bavarian town of Burghausen, left this painting as an *ex voto* to 'Sandt Salluator am Hart' ('St Saviour at Hart'), in thanks for the recovery of his ill son. The second image, which, according to its inscription, a man donated to 'S: Salvator in Hardt' as an *ex voto* in 1740, depicts Christ in a similar position, i.e. half-length within clouds, with an orb in his left hand and his right fingers folded as a benedictory gesture. Yet, this time, he is shown above the local pilgrimage church in a green setting, directing his divine mercy from outside through an open window towards an ill man lying on his sickbed inside his house (figure 2.38).⁴⁴⁹

In their copies, people responded to the Eucharistic imagery of the interior church decoration which helped them visualise Christ's miraculous presence at the find-spot. This emerges from another votive painting donated to Hart in 1745. Here, the donor imagined Christ not as the *Salvator mundi*, but as a large wafer in a monstrance presented by two angels who kneel on clouds. Below, we can see the donor, Theresia Goltbacher, a local landlady, kneeling with folded hands and a rosary, who, according to the inscription at the bottom, gave her *ex voto* to 'Jesus auff den Hart' ('Jesus at

⁴⁴⁷ Schachinger, Kajetan, *Geschichte der Kirche und Wallfahrt zum allerheiligsten Erlöser in Hart: Vom Ursprunge (1490) bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit* (Innsbruck, 1933), pp. 10-12.

⁴⁴⁸ The votive panel hangs in today's church. See also Martin/Waltl (eds.), *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. 30, p. 304.

⁴⁴⁹ The votive panel hangs in today's church.

Hart'), in thanks for protecting her cattle (figure 2.39).⁴⁵⁰ In her choice of image, she was undoubtedly influenced by the baroque decoration. Its Eucharistic iconography, involving two angels displaying the consecrated host within a monstrance to present it to the viewer for veneration, appears in the former high altar painting dating from 1626 as well as, in a more baroque fashion, in the new high altar painting dating from 1716.⁴⁵¹

VI. Conclusion

What does all of this tell us about continuity and change in Catholic pilgrimage piety? The site of the Eucharistic host-miracle had already been significant before the caesura of the Reformation. What was new was the exuberance with which the Baroque marked out this site, through architecture and artistic imagery. Visual spectacles and visual commemoration provided an exceptional cultic environment, both inside and outside the church, drawing in the Catholic faithful with the promise of miraculous intervention. Church planners proved incredibly creative in singling out the relationship between place and power for the establishment of proper places of worship. At the Eucharistic shrines of Bettbrunn and Erding, secular, ecclesiastical, and local authorities, bound together by their common belief in the pilgrimage sites' efficacy, turned their energies to the centralisation of sanctity at the legendary host-miracle find-spots that were said to have been touched and transformed into sacred matter by the miracle-hosts.

The belief in the miracle-hosts' transformation at particular places points us to an important aspect of Eucharistic pilgrimage piety: the transfer of immanence from the primary host-relics to visual and material matter as secondary relics. Except for traditional shrines linked to dynastic patrons (Heiligenstatt near Altötting to the Törrings, Deggendorf and Andechs to the Wittelsbachs), which claimed the continued existence of the original host-relics, host-miracle shrines shifted devotion to cult images. These images, following either the Bettbrunn icon of the resurrected Christ or

⁴⁵⁰ Seipel, Wilfried (ed.), *Volksfrömmigkeit in Oberösterreich: Sonderausstellung des Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseums im Linzer Schloss, 6. September 1985 bis 6. Jänner 1986* (Linz, 1985), p. 134.

⁴⁵¹ Hainisch/Woisetschläger (eds.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs*, vol. 3, pp. 108-109; Martin/Waltl (eds.), *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. 30, pp. 303-304.

the Erding type of the suffering Christ, appeared to the devotees as substitutes for the absent miraculous host. Through the acquisition and production of further Christ-relics, resulting in a constellation of cult objects, Eucharistic and Passion piety merged with the Gregorian *Man of Sorrows*. Authorised, furthermore, through the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the hosts' immanent power could even be transferred to thaumaturgic materials, highly valued for their apotropaic use.

Combined with the cult images, the sacred locales were presented as visible and verifiable pilgrimage centres, the origins of which were traced back to their founding miracles. Their efficacy did not remain, however, at the original find-spots of the miracle-hosts. A portion of the sacred power could be removed from its original context and adapted to one's own environments. Visual and material rituals focusing on the act of *seeing* and *sensing* the transformed host played a significant role in the successful renewal of Eucharistic pilgrimage piety in early modern Bavaria, and this success was a two-way process, drawing on both elite and popular piety. Recognizing the relationship between place and the power of pilgrimage, as manifested in the architectural and artistic unity of miracle-site and miracle-image, plus the cult relics associated with them, the local populace and elites shared in enhancing the shrines' sacred aura. They visualised the find-spots of the abused hosts on commemorative panels to locate them within their immediate surroundings and protected them from further abuse, to be revered with proper devotion and referred to by special place names. Through visual and material piety, both played an active role in multiplying and reproducing not only the host-miracle, but also the cult objects associated with it. Copies of them were produced by clerical and lay people alike: by the clergy, through visual media, including printed devotional images, and through blessed material from the sacred host-miracle sites; by the populace, by responding to the visual unity of locus plus image and juxtaposed cult objects, through the donation of votive panels.

Corpus Christi and Other Sacramental Processions

I. Corpus Christi: The Primary Eucharistic Feast Day

Fronleichnam, or Corpus Christi, became the major feast for the celebration of the Eucharist during the later Middle Ages. The feast of Corpus Christi was originally inspired by the Eucharistic vision of a beguine in Liège, Juliana of Cornillon (ca. 1193-1258), within the milieu of an intense theological interest in sacramental piety. Seeing a blemish on the full moon in her dreams, Juliana interpreted this vision as a sign for a new feast to be celebrated in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. Promoted by the Dominican Hugh of St Cher beyond Liège in the early 1250s, Corpus Christi was promulgated as a universal feast through the papal bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo* in 1264. But Pope Urban IV's death in the same year hindered the feast's wider spread until 1317, when it was again introduced by Pope John XXII in Avignon and published through the new canon law collection of the *Clementines*, spreading the feast and its liturgy throughout western Christendom. As an answer to the challenges of the doctrine of transubstantiation which had increased by the early fourteenth century, Pope John's effective institution of the liturgical feast of the Eucharist became crucially important for the removal of doubts about the nature of the Eucharist.⁴⁵²

Re-established in the early fourteenth century, Corpus Christi became a regular feast during the liturgical year throughout the Christian world by the mid-fourteenth century. Celebrated through the eight days of the Corpus Christi octave beginning with the main festive day on the third Thursday after Pentecost, it was a moveable feast that fell between 21 May and 24 June.⁴⁵³ Even though the official Corpus Christi liturgy only prescribed a Mass and an office for the feast and its octave, it soon came to be celebrated with a public Corpus Christi procession which merged with other forms of 'theophoric processions', i.e. procession-like ways of carrying the Blessed Sacrament

⁴⁵² On the expansion of the feast: Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, chap. 3; Browe, Peter, 'Die Ausbreitung des Fronleichnamfestes', *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8 (1928), pp. 107-143.

⁴⁵³ Rubin, Miri, 'Symbolwert und Bedeutung von Fronleichnamprozessionen', in Klaus Schreiner and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter: Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge* (Munich, 1992), pp. 309-318, esp. pp. 311-312.

within special vessels inside or outside of the churches.⁴⁵⁴ During the *Versehgang*, the priest brought the Eucharistic host to the sick and dying to provide them with the sacraments of confession and communion. This taking of the sacrament to a sick person's death-bed as one's provisions for the last journey (the *viaticum*), became ritualised in the form of a small procession, during which the priest carrying the consecrated host was accompanied by several people singing songs, ringing bells, and holding candles, drawn in to gather the indulgences granted for participation since the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁵⁵ Further theophoric processions developed in the fourteenth century, resulting in the growing custom of carrying along the Blessed Sacrament on regular and irregular occasions. Weekly or monthly processions every Thursday, as the day of Christ's institution of the Eucharist, took place within the church before and after the celebration of Mass in front of the exposed sacrament. Sacramental processions were also undertaken annually, on the Church's solemn feast days as well as in times of crisis or bad weather. The host was carried around towns and villages, and the procession halted at four stations along the route to sing the gospels and to give a blessing with the host in the cardinal directions in order to protect urban and rural spaces from harm.⁴⁵⁶

The Corpus Christi procession, as a re-enactment of these forms, came to be seen as more than just a liturgical feast by the later Middle Ages. It was a public event which made it possible to display local hierarchies in the secular spaces of towns and villages through a processional order, the constituent parts of which were quite similar throughout Europe. Charles Zika and Miri Rubin, in particular, have drawn attention to the feast's extraordinary transition from its celebration in the early fourteenth century into an exceptional civic event of artistic and social significance by the later fourteenth

⁴⁵⁴ Weiß, Dieter J., 'La dévotion eucharistique dans l'Eglise après le Concile de Trente', in Centre International d'Etudes Liturgiques (ed.), *La liturgie trésor de l'Eglise: actes du premier colloque d'études historiques, théologiques et canoniques sur le rite catholique romain, Notre-Dame-du-Laus, 4, 5 et 6 octobre 1995* (Paris, 1995), pp. 141-162, esp. p. 148.

⁴⁵⁵ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 77-80; Markmiller, Fritz, 'Versehgang und feierliche Provisur am Beispiel Dingolfings', *Der Storchenturm* 15 (1980), pp. 36-67, esp. pp. 36-40.

⁴⁵⁶ On the variety of theophoric processions: Browe, Peter, 'Die Entstehung der Sakramentsprozessionen', *Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge* 8 (1931), pp. 97-117, esp. pp. 116-117; idem, *Die Verehrung*, pp. 121-135, 141-154; Franz, Adolph, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (repr. edn., Graz, 1960), pp. 71-74, 105-123; Zika, 'Hosts, processions and pilgrimages', pp. 38-40.

and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁵⁷ The arrival of the Eucharist was preceded by people carrying flowers, bells, and incense, who were then followed by clerical and craft groups carrying banners and candles in their hierarchical order. Then followed the ceremony's central focus: the Blessed Sacrament visually displayed within a monstrance or another vessel, held by a priest under a canopy which was usually carried by lay dignitaries. Immediately after the Eucharist walked the highest-ranking officials, both clerical and lay, followed by rather minor lay people.⁴⁵⁸

This processional order, as Rubin states, reflected 'the ubiquity of processional ceremonial in the feast's celebration' and became 'an important image in the eucharistic symbolism'.⁴⁵⁹ Merback has also drawn attention to the ritual's importance as an intensely *visual* spectacle: 'a *sight*, an event or performance which is set up and enacted mainly to be seen'.⁴⁶⁰ The processional mode became increasingly splendid and sumptuous on the one hand, and, on the other, increasingly civic through the growing participation of lay people who used the procession to construct a public expression of power, position, and privilege. Local meaning was conferred on the procession by more corporations, crafts, and councilmen as the major representatives of the urban milieu involved in specially preparing or arranging a display around the supernatural power of the Eucharist on a large scale.⁴⁶¹ On the German side, Andrea Löther, in particular, has called attention to the initiative and increasing influence of lay people, both individuals and civic groups, as a novelty in the fourteenth century.⁴⁶² The merging of clerical and lay groups and the increased visual spectacle as the two essential components of the Corpus Christi procession can, thus, be seen as the most crucial change during the later Middle Ages.

⁴⁵⁷ Rubin, 'Symbolwert und Bedeutung', pp. 310-311; Zika, 'Hosts, processions and pilgrimages', pp. 37-45.

⁴⁵⁸ Rubin, 'Symbolwert und Bedeutung', pp. 312-313.

⁴⁵⁹ Idem, *Corpus Christi*, p. 207.

⁴⁶⁰ Merback, Mitchell B., *The thief, the cross and the wheel: pain and the spectacle of punishment in medieval and Renaissance Europe* (London, 1999), p. 18.

⁴⁶¹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 247-261.

⁴⁶² Löther, Andrea, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten: Politische Partizipation, obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, städtische Einheit* (Cologne et al., 1999), pp. 85-96.

But what local meanings were inserted into the Corpus Christi procession as the major theophoric procession in the Duchy of Bavaria? The question of meaning is closely related with that of reception, and to understand what the Corpus Christi procession *meant* to the local populace and how this meaning changed from about the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, we need to examine the ways in which the Eucharistic feast's ubiquitous processional ceremonial was extended and differentiated through the centuries. I will therefore approach the Corpus Christi procession in terms of its imagery, the symbolic meaning and value of which unfolded in increasingly complex ways, through its iconography, its promotion and performances, and liturgical rituals. What images were chosen for display? Who was driving the visual performances? Who organised and shaped the processions, and how closely were they linked to the ducal household? What can we say about the performers and their arrangements? And how did liturgical rituals and practices contribute to the Eucharistic feast's local meaning and function?

II. Wittelsbach Promotion: The Corpus Christi Procession in Munich

The Corpus Christi procession in Munich became a hallmark of Counter-Reformation Catholicism in the Duchy of Bavaria from about the mid-sixteenth century onwards. For the Bavarian dukes, the Corpus Christi spectacle served as 'a primary medium for re-establishing the primacy of the Catholic cult' through an appeal to the visual sense.⁴⁶³ It became a spectacular feast for the eyes through an increasingly elaborate display which was intended to create 'an imposing portrait of Bavaria and its duke' as a public declaration of Catholic ritual and practice.⁴⁶⁴ The importance of Munich's Corpus Christi procession had increased enormously by the end of the sixteenth century. A contemporary even compared it with the triumphal processions of ancient times in 1594, when he spoke highly of its visual representations.⁴⁶⁵ This record documented a significant change since the later Middle Ages, and to explain this transition I will give a brief account of the procession's late-medieval origins.

⁴⁶³ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 91.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴⁶⁵ Scherer, Kurt, 'Die Anfänge der theatralischen Festzüge in München: Ein Beitrag' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Munich, 1943), p. 1.

Late-medieval Origins

The Corpus Christi procession in Munich arose within a climate which was shaped by an increase of theophoric processions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, furthered by the issue of indulgences granted for the participation in the *Versehgänge* as well as in regular sacramental processions on Thursdays and Fridays within the local parish church of St Peter.⁴⁶⁶ Expenses ‘in circuitu civitatis’ (‘for a civic procession’) on the feast of Corpus Christi appear in town council records in 1360.⁴⁶⁷ But annual expenses for a procession do not seem to have been recorded until the later fifteenth century, when it was transformed into a regular public civic event which was organised by members of the town council as ‘Spielleiter’, i.e. as specially appointed directors, and presented by the local craftsmen according to their hierarchical order.⁴⁶⁸ A processional order of 1484 mentions 43 guilds, the most prominent of which were the bakers whose privilege was reflected through their closest proximity to the sacrament carried under a canopy.⁴⁶⁹ This order of procession does not, however, give us any information as to whether it already included ‘figurn’ (‘figures’): figurative or staged representations of scenes from the Bible and the legends of the saints.⁴⁷⁰

Yet, since the 1490s, the growing lay participation in the religious procession can be seen in the local craftsmen’s role as performers of biblical and non-biblical or legendary scenes which, because of their dramatic character, certainly were the reason why the Corpus Christi procession was described using the term ‘play’. This designation appeared for the first time in 1492 in Munich’s ‘Ratsprotokollen’ (‘town council records’) mentioning a ‘Spiel’ presented by the ‘Gesellen’ (‘journeymen’) in the market place.⁴⁷¹ This has led the theatre scholar Kurt Scherer to argue that this year marked the

⁴⁶⁶ Sammer, Marianne, ‘Engel über München: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Fronleichnamfestes’, *Literatur in Bayern* 44 (Jun., 1996), pp. 20-28, 44-48, and 45 (Sep. 1996), pp. 40-53, esp. p. 22.

⁴⁶⁷ Gebhard, Torsten, Mitterwieser, Alois, *Geschichte der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern* (2nd edn., Munich, 1949), p. 25.

⁴⁶⁸ Scherer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p. 95.

⁴⁶⁹ Gebhard/Mitterwieser, *Geschichte*, p. 32.

⁴⁷⁰ Dietl, Cora, *Die Dramen Jacob Lochers und die frühe Humanistenbühne im süddeutschen Raum* (Berlin et al., 2005), p. 222 and n. 41.

⁴⁷¹ Scherer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p. 95.

beginning of the local ‘Schauprozeession’, a spectacular pageant within the Corpus Christi procession, involving the local guilds staging the images as costumed groups. Drawing a comparison between the artistic pageant and other forms of theatrical productions, Scherer makes clear, however, that the Munich procession can neither be regarded as a processional play nor as a dramatisation of processional character, but rather as a costumed procession with silent *tableaux vivants* representing scenes from the Bible and hagiography without spoken words.⁴⁷²

It is interesting to ask from whence people might have known the images on display during the procession. Neil Brooks made a remarkable find in this regard. Investigating the figures on the example of an order of procession held in Ingolstadt in 1507, he found out that they were largely based upon the *Biblia pauperum*, a Bible with pictures which showed events of the Old Testament alongside events of the New Testament, the former in a prefigurative relationship with the latter. This typology played an important role in late-medieval theology, art, and literature, and due to the popularity of the *Biblia pauperum* and similar works in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the spectators possibly recognised the processional figures from the biblical scenes in their picture bibles.⁴⁷³ Based on the picture bible’s theological typology, this order of procession clearly points to the ceremony’s pastoral and pedagogical purpose of instructing its viewers about biblical history.

Yet the visual displays were intended to be shown not only as religious scenes, but also as dramatic acts. A major visual theme was the display of the legendary, but non-biblical, scene of *St George and the Dragon*. Although most scenes were firmly held in the hands of the local guilds, this image was not presented by craftsmen, but by members of the ducal court in Munich. The dragon was possibly the first image specially created for the Munich procession two years after the introduction of its figurative pageant, in 1494, when the *Ratsprotokolle* recorded expenses for a ‘Lindtwurm’ (‘dragon’) to be painted.⁴⁷⁴ Hans Moser, who has done much valuable

⁴⁷² Ibid., pp. 16-18.

⁴⁷³ Brooks, Neil C., ‘An Ingolstadt Corpus Christi Procession and the “Biblia Pauperum”’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 35 (Jan. 1936), pp. 1-16.

⁴⁷⁴ Scherer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p. 95.

research on the dragon figure in Bavaria's archives, has emphasised the role of the reputable 'St. Georgsbruderschaft' ('St George brotherhood') at court in performing the hagiographic scene from the end of the fifteenth century onwards.⁴⁷⁵ During the Counter-Reformation, the display of St George was to play a key part in the dukes' drive to perform the Corpus Christi procession in Munich as one of the most important rites of the state.⁴⁷⁶

The Counter-Reformation Spectacle

The mid-sixteenth century marked a decisive turning point, due to a significant change in the Munich procession's meaning. Whereas it had been a local civic event in the hands of the town council who designated the people in charge of its organisation until about the 1550s, thereafter, the drive for its increasing elaboration came from the Bavarian dukes. They came to the fore by appointing special commissioners responsible for the procession's order and arrangement in order to transform it into a supra-regional event with an unrivalled reputation. This drive was certainly an expression of the desire for representation by Renaissance rulers.⁴⁷⁷ But it was also a sign of the dukes' loyalty to the Council of Trent's decree on the sacrament of the Eucharist. Concerning the 'worship and reverence to be shown to this most holy sacrament', Trent stated that 'every year, on a special fixed day of festival, this sublime and venerable sacrament should be hailed with particular veneration and solemnity, and carried with reverence and honour in processions through streets and public places' to 'celebrate a triumph over falsehood and heresy so that, confronted with so much splendour and such great joy of the universal church, her enemies weakened and broken may fall into decline or, touched by shame and confounded, may in time come to repentance'.⁴⁷⁸

In the year 1563, which marked the final year of the Council of Trent, the Corpus Christi procession in Munich was staged during the reign of Duke Albrecht V as a

⁴⁷⁵ Moser, Hans, 'Der Drachenkampf in Umzügen und Spielen', *Bayerischer Heimatschutz* 30 (1934), pp. 45-59, esp. p. 53; idem, *Volksbräuche im geschichtlichen Wandel: Ergebnisse aus 50 Jahren volkskundlicher Quellenforschung* (Munich, 1985), p. 224.

⁴⁷⁶ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 80.

⁴⁷⁷ Appl, Tobias, *Die Kirchenpolitik Herzog Wilhelms V. von Bayern: Der Ausbau der bayerischen Hauptstädte zu geistlichen Zentren* (Munich, 2011), p. 39.

⁴⁷⁸ Tanner (ed.), *Decrees*, vol. 2, pp. 695-696.

public demonstration and defence of Bavaria's support for the Roman cause. Marianne Sammer has referred to this procession as a 'prototype' in the sense that it signified the beginning of an increase in its elaboration. The number of its visual scenes or *tableaux vivants* rose from 53 in 1563, to 55 in 1574 with 1,439 people participating in the entire procession, to 56 figures in 1579 involving 1,915 participants, 1,162 people of whom were necessary to perform the scenes.⁴⁷⁹ The Corpus Christi procession in Munich came to be one of the foremost rites of the state-sponsored *Pietas Bavarica*, the outward orientation of which was expressed through its processional route. Leading through the city's major streets and public places and even around its walls, with the four gospels delivered at the four main city gates, the processional itinerary linked the capital's interior and exterior spheres.⁴⁸⁰

The image of *St George and the Dragon*, in particular, became increasingly elaborate thanks to the initiative of the Wittelsbach dukes. Under Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, the display of St George triumphing over the dragon became a crucial Counter-Reformation symbol which played an increasingly important part in the Munich procession as a dramatic embellishment. According to a handwritten account of the 1574 Corpus Christi procession, which the Augsburg poet and mastersinger Daniel Holzmann composed in rhyme, the image of St George took the lead amongst the costumed groups and was performed by 27 people. It had a representative of the local knighthood at its head, followed by eight members of the St George brotherhood and a 'grausamer ungeheurer gemachter lindtwurmb' ('cruel, more monstrously made dragon'), a costume which was moved from inside by two men. The monster was walked on a silk ribbon by the daughter of the Duke's personal physician, Anna Euenea Damiller. As she was dressed in the most precious and delicate way, she was accompanied by four guards. Immediately behind her, the noble and strong Georg Sigmundt von Armensperg as St

⁴⁷⁹ Sammer, 'Engel über München' (Jun. 1996), p. 45. On the number of figures and performers in 1579: Fraedrich-Nowag, Stefanie, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession 1579 in München* (Münster, 2009), pp. 47-111, 129-134.

⁴⁸⁰ Appl, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, p. 40; Hartmann, Peter C., *Münchens Weg in die Gegenwart: Von Heinrich dem Löwen zur Weltstadt* (Regensburg, 2008), pp. 60-61.

George came on horseback, in full cuirass and with an adamant chaplet on his head. The scene was finished by St George's servant and six armed men.⁴⁸¹

We are not exaggerating if we see this presentation of St George as a symbol of the triumphant Catholic Church against Protestant heresy, visualised by the dragon monster which was given a particularly atrocious appearance. In his explanation of the dragon scene, the poet draws our attention to its Counter-Reformation significance as a battle between good and evil: the 'grausam lindwurmb giefftig starck' ('ferocious, poisonous, and vigorous dragon') as the embodiment of the 'theuffell m[w]uettig arck' ('raging and bad devil'), contrary to the 'jungfrau adelig und recht' ('virtuous and noble virgin') and the 'ritter khon und guet' ('keen and good knight') as the embodiments of the good. According to the poet, the noblewoman represented mankind and St George personified Jesus Christ. Just as, in the poet's words, 'S. Georg der ritter khon' ('the bold knight St George') released the 'jungfrau scho[e]n' ('beautiful virgin') from the 'trachen' ('dragon'), Jesus Christ delivered 'von dem theuffel unrein all die an ihn glauben fein' ('from the impure devil all those who believe in him').⁴⁸²

Albrecht's successor, Duke Wilhelm V, made his mark as a particular promoter of the cult of St George. In the 1580s, he made himself known as a great patron and collector of art by commissioning a statuette of St George: an amazing jewelled piece of goldsmith's work which was specially made to house a relic of the saint and to be displayed on the altar of the chapel in the Munich Residenz (residence) on important feast days (figure 3.1).⁴⁸³ Due to Wilhelm's initiative, the display of *St George and the Dragon* became the most elaborate scene on stage after 1579. Its Counter-Reformation meaning was expressed in a large number of processional descriptions and directives produced at his command, such as the handwritten versions in verse by the Munich schoolmaster Wolfgang Liginger, copies of which survive from 1579, 1581, 1582,

⁴⁸¹ Prantl, Carl von, 'Ueber Daniel Holzman's Fronleichnams-Spiel v. J. 1574', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Philologischen und Historischen Klasse der K. B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 18 (1873), pp. 843-888, esp. pp. 853-854.

⁴⁸² Ibid, p. 854.

⁴⁸³ The statuette is located in the SRM: <<http://www.residenz-muenchen.de/englisch/treasury/pic08.htm>> (2 May 2013).

1584, and 1586.⁴⁸⁴ In his 1579 description, for instance, Liginger exactly follows the wording of Holzmann's comment on the dragon display, when he talks about the triumph of 'Sannt Jörg der riitter könn' ('the keen knight St George') over the 'drachen' ('dragon') by saving the 'jungkfrau schön' ('beautiful virgin') from its clutches.⁴⁸⁵

Liginger's detailed description of the 1579 procession also informs us about the increasing richness and splendour of the dragon image which now involved 50 people, nearly twice as many as in the procession of 1574.⁴⁸⁶ This number rose again after 1579, as we know from a processional order of 1581 which tells us that the figure involved nearly 70 performers from the ducal court, including 39 equestrians with spears riding three at a time before St George. The display also involved the virgin who was now characterised as St Margaret.⁴⁸⁷ The dragon, in particular, was very showily embellished. Red, blue, white, and green dander was painted on its costume and long white tufts of horsehair as well as spurs fixed to it. He also got a long tail which was carried by a person in a devil dress.⁴⁸⁸ The dragon scene's importance was magnified not only through its presentation, but also through its change of order. While it had traditionally been the first group at the head of the visual scenes, its arrangement was altered after the 1579 procession, for it appeared, according to the 1581 order, as the 59th figure, a position of special prominence in closer proximity to the sacrament.⁴⁸⁹

To spread the procession's fame, Wilhelm interfered in the town council's affairs by placing his trusted official and close advisor, the judicial licentiate (*Rechtslizenziat*) Ludwig Müller, as the general director above them. He also asked Müller to compose a written account of his instructions as to the processional alterations undertaken since the beginning of his reign.⁴⁹⁰ According to Wilhelm's orders and commands, he seems to

⁴⁸⁴ On the edition of Liginger's account of the 1579 Munich Corpus Christi procession: Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession*, pp. 45-121.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁸⁷ Muffat, Karl A., *Beschreibung der prachtvollen Fronleichnams-Prozession, wie selbige auf Anordnung Herzog Wilhelm's des Frommen vom Jahre 1581 angefangen 2 Jahrhunderte lang in der Haupt- und Residenzstadt München begangen worden* (Munich, 1839), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁸⁸ Moser, 'Der Drachenkampf', p. 50.

⁴⁸⁹ Muffat, *Beschreibung*, p. 28.

⁴⁹⁰ Wilhelm's orders regarding the Munich Corpus Christi procession were partly edited: *Beyträge zur vaterländischen Historie, Geographie, Staatistik, und Landwirthschaft, samt einer Übersicht der schönen*

have taken the Tridentine standards literally, and was even keen to outdo them, for his intention was to arrange an ‘ansechlichen fürtrefflichen weitberümbten Umbgang oder procession Gott dem Allmechtigen vnd dem hochwürdigsten Sacrament’ (‘impressive, splendid procession of wide-spread fame in honour of God the Almighty and the Blessed Sacrament’) which was to be improved every year and ‘von vilen ausländischen gesehen’ (‘seen by a great number of foreigners’) in order that ‘dieselben in Religione et devotione dadurch edificirt werden’ (‘they be edified in their religion and devotion thereby’).⁴⁹¹ The ceremony’s outward orientation in the 1580s and 1590s was furthermore reflected in its guest list, which included distinguished personalities not only from inside, but also from outside the duchy, both secular and ecclesiastical.⁴⁹²

Wilhelm’s Corpus Christi procession in Munich was to *set* – or at least *show* – an example for the whole of Christendom, and this is why he put much emphasis on the physical and moral aspects of his actors and actresses. Ulrike Strasser has advocated the idea of gender as key to establishing a Counter-Reformation state. Female purity, in physical as well as psychological terms, was, according to her, recognised as a Catholic ideal of Munich’s ‘immunity against social, sexual, and spiritual pollution’. Serving as an effective Counter-Reformation instrument for the ducal court, it was to engender ‘a new public order or “state of virginity” in the Bavarian capital’.⁴⁹³ The importance of virgins emerges from the distribution of the female roles which could only be allocated to appropriate women. Many efforts were undertaken to find them.

One of the most challenging tasks assigned to the general director was the search for ‘schene taugliche vnd zichtige medlen’ (‘beautiful, suitable, and chaste maiden young women’) for the roles of virgins. The search for virgins usually started, according to Müller’s descriptions, several months before the Corpus Christi feast and was, for the most part, carried out at Bavaria’s church doors. On Sundays or holidays, officials were placed at the doors of churches and monasteries to gather around 200 suitable virgins

Literatur, vol. 5, ed. by Lorenz von Westenrieder (Munich, 1794), chap. 5: *Befehle, und Anordnungen Wilhelms Vten, Herzogs aus Baiern, die hohe Fronleichnams Procession betreffend 1580*, pp. 76-181.

⁴⁹¹ *Beyträge*, ed. by Westenrieder, chap. 5, pp. 84, 88.

⁴⁹² Appl, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁹³ Strasser, Ulrike, *State of virginity. Gender, religion, and politics in an early modern Catholic state* (Ann Arbor, 2004), p. 57.

leaving the service after the sermon.⁴⁹⁴ The females' physical appearance and moral conduct played a crucial role in their selection, and once their height, weight, hair length and colour, as well as their conduct had been recorded in great detail, the beauties were gathered on a feast day (they were not to neglect their normal duties during the rest of the week) to be inducted into their future roles.⁴⁹⁵ Squabbling about these roles was not unusual, and to avoid resentment, their participation in the Corpus Christi procession was referred to as a 'grosse ehr' ('great honour') and a 'testimonium honestatis': a proof of their chastity and honesty which increased their chances of subsequently getting married.⁴⁹⁶

The case of the virgins therefore illustrates that, as participants who embodied examples of their processional characters, they were in a good position to attract an appropriate man. Their visual appearance as young, unmarried women in the Corpus Christi procession probably explains why the most prominent female roles, such as those of St Margaret, St Ursula, and St Veronica were so highly competitive and fiercely contested.⁴⁹⁷ While marriage was to be furthered, adultery, by contrast, was to be condemned. The display of scenes from the Bible was intended to inculcate the spectators with social norms. This certainly was one of Wilhelm's major concerns, since he had the biblical scene of *David's Adultery* removed from the 1579 procession and changed into the image of *Elijah Fed by an Angel*. Furthermore, *Jesus and the Adulterous Woman*, who might have been the character Wilhelm referred to as 'die lausig' Metz' ('the lousy strumpet'), was, at his instigation, exchanged for the Old Testament scene of the *Prophet Jonah and the Whale* which also appeared from 1581 onwards.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁴ *Beyträge*, ed. by Westenrieder, chap. 5, p. 96.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴⁹⁷ Scherer, 'Die Anfänge', p. 43.

⁴⁹⁸ I doubt Scherer's suggestion that Wilhelm's note refers to the adulterous woman of *David's Adultery* which devalues David rather than the adulterous Bathsheba: cf. Scherer, 'Die Anfänge', p. 41. On a comparison table of the processions of 1544, 1563, 1574, 1582, 1587, 1593, and 1612: *ibid.*, pp. 94-95; on a comparison table of the processions of 1574, 1579, 1581, and 1597: Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession*, pp. 129-134, esp. pp. 131-132.

The procedure of choosing the participants according to appropriate standards held true for male as well as female roles. The role of the figure of Job, for instance, was to be given to a great man looking meagre, pale, and ill (and this means that he actually had to be ill), and wearing a long, grey beard. This appearance was to show the character as convincingly as possible, for he was to make the impression of a faithful devotee by changing his gesture between looking devoutly up towards the sky, with folded hands and in tears, and hanging his head, while sighing miserably.⁴⁹⁹ Physical and moral aspects were, however, not the only selection criteria. An important criterion was also a person's social status, for the most significant roles could only be played by people of high social rank. The ducal display of *St George and the Dragon* boosted the best-ranking and best-looking people. Accordingly, the role of St Margaret was given to a woman from the aristocracy, or one of the town's most respectable families, personally chosen by the Bavarian duchess herself.⁵⁰⁰

Yet, the 'ansechlichste' ('best-looking') and, thus, main 'person aller figur' ('person of all figures') was the knight St George.⁵⁰¹ This person was among the highest and most distinguished noblemen, and the most precious adorned figure of the entire procession. The helmet decoration, lent to him for the special occasion of the Corpus Christi procession from the treasury, was worth more than 80,000 Taler.⁵⁰² This embellishment was meant to direct the people's gaze towards the ducal scene's primary role from the 1580s onwards and it was, as Müller set out in his directives, to amaze the 'frembden und außlender' ('strangers and foreigners'), in particular.⁵⁰³ In his attempt to enhance the reputation of the Munich procession, Wilhelm did not spare any costs or efforts, especially in terms of the displays which increased in number from the beginning of his reign. While they had been 56 in number in the 1579 Corpus Christi procession, their number rose to 61 visualisations in 1581, which remained the same throughout his reign.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁹ *Beyträge*, ed. by Westenrieder, chap. 5, pp. 116-117.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁵⁰⁴ Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession*, pp. 129-134.

Compared with the last procession under Albrecht's rule in 1579, new *tableaux vivants*, and more participants as a whole, were added to the Corpus Christi procession under the reign of Wilhelm, although the processional order stayed largely the same. Preceded by lay representatives of the city council, musicians and heralds, a great giant sitting on a mountain functioned as an announcer of the procession's magnificence and splendour. After him, the guilds came according to their traditional order, carrying their staffs, candles, and figures. They were followed by the religious groups, among them the confraternities, the clergy of the two parishes of St Peter and Our Lady, and the monastic orders of the Augustinians and Franciscans, including their banners and crosses. Further clerics, musicians, and angels with the weapons of Christ signified the arrival of the Blessed Sacrament which was carried under a canopy by a priest who was accompanied by lay and clerical dignitaries on both sides, and by angels with cymbals. The Sacrament was immediately followed by the Duke himself, together with his family and further representatives of the ducal court. The last section eventually involved the councilmen, followed by 100 equestrians.⁵⁰⁵

From 1581 onwards, the figures, such as that of *St George and the Dragon*, involved more performers as well as more elaborate costumes and requisites than ever before. There was, moreover, a change in a figure's transportation along the processional route, for it was no longer presented on a small platform carried by one to four men, but on a much larger stage: the 'ferculum' or 'Schaubühne' ('theatre platform') which was carried by more men or wheeled.⁵⁰⁶ Even though religious and moral values featured prominently in Wilhelm's procession, they seemed to take a back seat to the duke's major concern about the cultivation of his self-image. In order to emphasise his procession's role in promoting power, Duke Wilhelm had new and spectacular scenes integrated in the *Schauprozeession* in accordance with biblical chronology. The Old Testament figure of *Joseph in Egypt*, which appeared first in 1581, attracted the viewers' attention through glamorous characters featuring two pharaohs in elaborate ducal dresses, holding sceptres in their hands and riding on chariots.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ Muffat, *Beschreibung*, pp. 152-169.

⁵⁰⁶ Scherer, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 19, 25, 42.

⁵⁰⁷ *Beyträge*, ed. by Westenrieder, chap. 5, p. 117; Scherer, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 32-33.

Among the new presentations were also those introduced as a replacement for other scenes from 1581, and their exchange was probably due to their potential for spectacular display. For instance, the guild of the glovemakers had to abandon their previous New Testament scene of the *Lost Son* to present the Old Testament figure of *Job*, involving fire-spitting men in black devil dresses, with beards stuck on their faces.⁵⁰⁸ Through this swap, the glovemakers suffered a serious setback, for they had to move further back from the sacrament, in exchange for a spectacular event which served, primarily, the duke's desire for grandeur! A similar setback happened to the sifters who, in exchange for the New Testament scene of *Jesus and the Adulterous Woman*, were assigned the less prominent, but more spectacular Old Testament group of *Prophet Jonah and the Whale* which dramatically displayed a large, wheeled stage ship with mariners throwing a small boy as the prophet into the throat of a giant whale. The coppersmiths, on the contrary, were to move neither backward nor forward, but remain in their traditional place, for their new figure of *Elijah Fed by an Angel* could easily replace *David's Adultery* in the same position within the processional arrangement, according to the sequence of the Old Testament events.⁵⁰⁹

Interestingly, most of the new figures involved royal or imperial roles as visual expressions of Wilhelm's claim for majesty. Besides *Joseph in Egypt* featuring pharaohs as Egyptian rulers, the Old Testament figure of *Elijah Fed by an Angel*, which replaced the former biblical scene of *David's Adultery*, showed the King of Israel Ahab and his wife Jezebel. Furthermore, the new Old Testament scene of *Prophet Jonah and the Whale* displayed the King of Nineveh accompanied by 26 of his people in mourning clothes.⁵¹⁰ The most imposing image of a strong ruler was that of the Roman Emperor Augustus which was, like the other new figures, first shown in 1581. Leading the New Testament scenes, the new representation of the triumphant *Emperor Oktavian* lacked any reference to saintly figures and the Bible, except that Christ was born under the reign of this Roman ruler. But it was a particularly spectacular display of Wilhelm's drive for majesty and magnificence. The figure involved more than 50 performers, including the Roman emperor on a triumphal chariot, and was augmented through a

⁵⁰⁸ Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamspozession*, pp. 130, 132.

⁵⁰⁹ Scherer, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 41-42; Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamspozession*, pp. 131-132.

⁵¹⁰ Muffat, *Beschreibung*, pp. 18-19.

number of exotic features, like three ‘Mohren’ (‘moors’), one of whom rode an elephant and played the tympanum.⁵¹¹ Special requisites also included two embellished eagles. With their wings decorated with ostrich feathers and their beaks with brass, they clung to a golden orb at the top of a supporting rod.⁵¹²

Through the introduction of exotic elements, Wilhelm paraded his claim for power and prestige in a very showy and extravagant way. Representations of the exotic also enriched other figures, for instance, the display of *Noah's Ark* which involved an extraordinary variety of wild animals from the ducal court, such as bears, monkeys, and peacocks.⁵¹³ Christine Johnson has recently demonstrated that the Renaissance and the European expansion were not separate historical events, but that the two were vitally connected.⁵¹⁴ Mercantile connections linked powerful merchant families, like the Fugger family from Augsburg, to the Bavarian court where the duke shared an ‘enjoyment of the exotic’ for his political gain.⁵¹⁵ There were thus no limits to the curiosities which Wilhelm could acquire from abroad. In the duke’s choice of an animate elephant for the Augustus figure, he was probably inspired by the Corpus Christi procession in the Tyrolean town of Bozen where an elephant was brought from the East via Venice in order to be shown during the Eucharistic pageant.⁵¹⁶ Kurt Scherer has suggested that the Munich elephant continued to be carried along the procession even after its death as a stuffed animal, due to expenses recorded for the elephant’s repair.⁵¹⁷ Like the elephant, most of the other requisites and costumes could have been transported via Italy, and Tobias Appl has pointed to the correspondence between Wilhelm and Hans Fugger during the 1580s, centring on the regular shipment of ‘allerlaj Haar und Bärt’ (‘all kinds of hairs and bears’), which were most likely used for the decoration of the performers, and even ‘Mohren’ as actors.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹¹ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁵¹² Scherer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p. 43.

⁵¹³ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵¹⁴ Johnson, Christine R., *The German discovery of the world: Renaissance encounters with the strange and marvelous* (Charlottesville et al., 2008).

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

⁵¹⁶ Scherer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p. 44.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Appl, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, p. 43 and n. 36.

Several barns at the Bavarian duke's residence in Munich were necessary to store all the decorative objects, and Wilhelm had them effectively re-used after being already employed in religious plays arranged by the Society of Jesus. For instance, new requisites for the Old Testament scene of *The Creation of the World*, including the Roman character of Neptune riding on a whale made of tin plate, with a wreath of bulrushes on his head and a trident in his hand, and wearing a finned costume decorated with fish scales, had already been used in the Jesuit *Esther* drama of 1577 before they were displayed during the Corpus Christi procession during the 1580s. The live elephant of the Augustus scene had also been part of the Jesuit play before its processional restaging under Wilhelm's rule.⁵¹⁹ Besides the exotic features, musical instruments, such as timpani, trombones, and trumpets, were also used as 'special effects' in most images, as with the display of the *Creation of the World*, including four people playing trombones to imitate the four winds.⁵²⁰ Moreover, the staging of the *Emperor Octavian* was accompanied by music from the elephant-riding *Mohr* who played the tympanum.⁵²¹

The figures which became increasingly elaborate at the behest of Wilhelm during the 1580s and 1590s played an important role in the powerful image the duke projected of his state. This was further expressed through an enormous number of military personnel which featured both in the procession and at each of the four gospel stations in front of the city gates where 100 'Hakenschützen' ('hackbut shooters') were put in place to shoot after every gospel.⁵²² These dramatic displays served, therefore, an important state function which transformed a former civic event into an 'apotheosis of the ducal state', distinguished by its incredible splendour and widespread reputation.⁵²³ This transformation, from an event in the hands of the city council into a mainly ducal spectacle, also changed the meaning of Corpus Christi's 'symbolic power centre', the Eucharist, which was carried beneath the canopy.⁵²⁴ From a symbol of urban power and privilege, it changed into a symbol of supra-regional majesty under the Wittelsbach

⁵¹⁹ Scherer, 'Die Anfänge', pp. 24, 44.

⁵²⁰ Muffat, *Beschreibung*, p. 9.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵²² *Beyträge*, ed. by Westenrieder, chap. 5, p. 163.

⁵²³ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 80.

⁵²⁴ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 261.

dukes, reaching its apogee under Wilhelm. Still in the 1579 procession under Albrecht, a beautiful, well-adorned ‘himel’ (‘canopy’) was carried by four lay representatives from the city council.⁵²⁵ But, from the 1581 procession under Wilhelm, six city and princely dignitaries alternated in carrying a much larger ‘Himmel’.⁵²⁶

The spectators certainly perceived the Munich pageant not merely as a religious procession, but also as a spectacular event, or carnival, thanks to its ‘carnavalesque elements’.⁵²⁷ The Bohemian author and traveller Friedrich von Dohna was thrilled by the Munich procession of 1592 which had, as he recorded, involved 7,640 participants, out of a population of 18,000 inhabitants, as well as 1,800 armed men to secure the processional route from the masses. Stating that all taverns of the city had been completely crowded, because many foreign guests had come especially for this occasion, he concluded that there had certainly been no better procession throughout the world.⁵²⁸ The visual representations also attracted a large number of spectators. Regarding the procession of 1593, we are informed by the licentiate Müller that three days before the Corpus Christi spectacle, almost 20,000 non-resident visitors were counted.⁵²⁹ Through the costly and magnificent décor, one of the most spectacular and popular displays during the Corpus Christi procession was definitely *St George and the Dragon* which was, according to Müller’s account of contemporaries’ reactions, ‘doll’ (‘great’).⁵³⁰

As a result of its attractiveness, the ducal procession in Munich became the focus of popular excitements which contradicted the dukes’ desire to maintain decorum. Although Wilhelm and his officials tried to impose order, disorder emerged in various ways. Spectators broke through the security line to interfere with the processional arrangement. It seems that people tried, quite a few times, to snatch the dragon from St Margaret during the procession.⁵³¹ The participants, too, behaved mischievously, while

⁵²⁵ Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession*, p. 117.

⁵²⁶ Muffat, *Beschreibung*, p. 37.

⁵²⁷ Burke, Peter, *Popular culture in early modern Europe* (rev. edn., Aldershot, 1994), p. 194.

⁵²⁸ Müller, Rainer A., ‘Friedrich von Dohnas Reise durch Bayern in den Jahren 1592/93’, *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte* 101 (1976), pp. 301-313, esp. pp. 303, 307-311.

⁵²⁹ Gehard/Mitterwieser, *Geschichte*, p. 68.

⁵³⁰ Scherer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p. 56.

⁵³¹ *Beyträge*, ed. by Westenrieder, chap. 5, p. 143.

dancing and singing in their group presenting the *Israelites dancing about the Golden Calf*. Dancing and singing had already been abolished under Wilhelm's predecessor in 1578, because of the performers' cockiness. But the players seemed to have complied with the regulations only in part, since in 1580 Wilhelm still complained about their shameful singing, commanding complete silence if they did not chant Latin instead.⁵³²

Wilhelm's drive for richness and splendour also caused conflict. Due to the lavish expenditure from the 1580s onwards, money, in particular, was a serious issue which divided the duke and the city council. Although Wilhelm bore the greater part of the ever-rising costs for the Corpus Christi procession, including costumes, requisites, armaments, chariots, and the personnel responsible for their handling, the city council had to defray the duke's additional expenses.⁵³³ Because of pressure from Munich's city council regarding the mounting costs – from 187 Gulden in 1579 to almost 236 Gulden in 1580 to over 726 Gulden in 1581 – Wilhelm could, according to the council minutes, only hold a 'clain umbgannng oder spil' in 1583, i.e. a 'small procession' which was much less exuberant than in the previous years.⁵³⁴ This 'clain oder halb umbgang' ('small or half procession'), which was staged without the displays to save costs, became increasingly frequent during the 1590s: it was held in 1590 and 1591, from 1594 to 1596, and in 1598.⁵³⁵

Conflicts also arose between the processional groups about matters of precedence, and this probably explains the noticeable fact that the Jesuits did *not* take part in the Munich procession. In spite of the use of the scenery and costumes of their previous plays, their non-attendance surprised even Wilhelm himself who expressed his amazement in a letter to the Jesuits in Munich from 10 December 1586. Urging them to set an example, he called on them to participate in the annual Munich (and Ingolstadt) Corpus Christi procession which had attracted a lot of internal as well as external visitors.⁵³⁶ Only the lay members of the Jesuit form of confraternity, the Marian Congregation for students

⁵³² Scherer, 'Die Anfänge', p. 38.

⁵³³ Gebhard/Mitterwieser, *Geschichte*, pp. 57-58.

⁵³⁴ Stahleder, Helmuth, *Chronik der Stadt München*, vol. 2: *Belastungen und Bedrückungen: Die Jahre 1506-1705* (Munich, 2005), pp. 185, 189.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 206, 213, 215, 218, 231.

⁵³⁶ Appl, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, p. 46 and n. 52.

of the Jesuit college, which spread in numerous towns across Europe under the title of the Annunciation and which had been founded in Munich in 1578, took part.⁵³⁷ The students' association first appeared in the 1581 Munich procession as part of the other confraternities in black dresses.⁵³⁸ Yet, the Jesuits themselves did not appear.

The Jesuits did not even appear under Maximilian's rule, unlike the Capuchins who formed a new religious group in the processional setting among the 'Clerisey' ('clergymen') from the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁵³⁹ We lack any evidence suggesting disputes between the Jesuits and other groups of the Munich procession. It is, however, likely that the Jesuits would only participate on condition that another group gave up its traditional position. The bakers may have feared for their customary privilege of going close to the sacrament, as was the case in the residential town of Straubing. Here, the bakers and the students of the Jesuit college were at each other's throats because of the question of prominence in the Corpus Christi procession, and their differences could not be smoothed down until the eighteenth century, when a special state commission decided in favour of the Jesuits, mainly on account of the fact that their students were deemed more high-ranking than the rather unworthy 'Beckhenknechten' ('journeymen bakers').⁵⁴⁰

There were conflicts not only between lay and religious groups, but also among the clerical bodies themselves, and alternating primacies in the processional order seemed an appropriate way of settling the differences among the monastic orders, on the one hand, and the two local parish churches, on the other. Their precedence and hierarchy were of such a great importance that their alternate arrangement was specially mentioned in later sixteenth-century, printed orders of procession. While the

⁵³⁷ O'Malley, John W., *The first Jesuits* (Cambridge et al., 1993), p. 270; Oswald, Julius, Schwarz, Andrea, Wild, Joachim, *Die Jesuiten in Bayern: 1549-1773. Ausstellung des Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchivs und der Oberdeutschen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Weißenhorn, 1991), pp. 143-144.

⁵³⁸ Muffat, *Beschreibung*, pp. 32-33.

⁵³⁹ *Ordnung der gantzen Procession deß Allerheiligisten vnd Hochwürdigisten Sacraments, wie dieselb in der Fürstlichen Hauptstatt München in Obern Bayrn, etc. Auff das Fest Corporis Christi diß 1603 jahrs, mit vil statlichern, herrlichern, schönern vnd zierlichern Figuren, denn zuvor jemaln gehalten wirdet. Auß dem Alten vnd Newen Testament genommen, vnd in Zünfften eingetheilt* (Munich, 1603), sect. LXII.

⁵⁴⁰ Huber, Alfons (ed.), *Historia Collegii Straubingani: Aufzeichnungen des Straubinger Jesuitenkollegs; aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt und erläutert*, vol. 6: 1757-1762 (Straubing, 1995), pp. 15-17.

Franciscans and Augustinians alternated annually in leading the clergy, the local parishes of St Peter and Our Lady were bound to a similar agreement, according to which their priests used to alternate yearly in marching under the canopy with the Blessed Sacrament.⁵⁴¹ Concerning the latter, agreement had already been achieved in 1428.⁵⁴² But the two parishes' claim for primacy was still strong in the sixteenth century. They do not seem to have come to terms before the Corpus Christi procession in 1579, in which neither of the parishes preceded the other. Instead, they formed two lines on either side, with both the parish of Our Lady and St Peter carrying along the processional route their own sacraments under two canopies.⁵⁴³ Since the 1580s, under the reign of Wilhelm, by contrast, the clergymen of the parish churches were required to accept their subordinate role to the Duke whose power was visually expressed through the one and only Sacrament under a majestic, six-armed canopy.⁵⁴⁴

III. The Interaction of Ducal and Local Forces

III.1 Munich-Landshut

Duke Wilhelm had developed a very special relationship with the Lower Bavarian town of Landshut where the Burg Trausnitz (Trausnitz Castle) served as a residential seat for him and his wife, Renata of Lorraine, between his marriage in 1568 and his accession to the throne in 1579.⁵⁴⁵ During the eleven years of Wilhelm's residence as a crown prince, Landshut became a centre of courtly pomp and pageantry, and it is, therefore, not astonishing that the later duke drew, quite a few times, on his former residential town as a place for special festivities and ducal representation. The Corpus Christi procession gave, in this regard, an excellent opportunity to showcase the duke as a powerful and

⁵⁴¹ Muffat, *Beschreibung*, pp. 35-37. On the last Corpus Christi procession during Wilhelm's reign in 1597: *Bibliothek zum Gebrauch der baierischen Staats-, Kirchen- und Gelehrten-Geschichte*, vol. 2, ed. by Peter P. Finauer (Munich, 1772), chap. 5: *Ordnung der Fronleichnams-Proceßion, wie selbe zu Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts in der Churfürstl. Haupt- und Residenzstadt München ist gehalten worden. Aus einem bey Adam Berg in München gedruckten Exemplar in Quart von 1597*, pp. 205-228, esp. pp. 226-227.

⁵⁴² Schwaiger, Georg, 'München - eine geistliche Stadt', in Georg Schwaiger (ed.), *Monachium Sacrum: Festschrift zur 500-Jahr-Feier der Metropolitankirche Zu Unserer Lieben Frau in München*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1994), pp. 1-289, esp. p. 30.

⁵⁴³ Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession*, pp. 113-119.

⁵⁴⁴ See above, p. 133.

⁵⁴⁵ Ebermeier, Werner, Tausche, Gerhard, *Geschichte Landshuts* (Munich, 2003), pp. 61-65.

pious ruler. Hence, it was not a coincidence that Wilhelm was conferred with the Order of the Golden Fleece during the Corpus Christi procession in Landshut in 1585, and that, for this purpose, the celebration was deferred to the octave day, i.e. the eighth day after the main Eucharistic feast day, so that both the Bavarian duke and his conferrer, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, could also attend the Munich spectacle.⁵⁴⁶ Ferdinand had already been authorised in 1583 by King Philipp II of Spain to award the Golden Fleece, one of the most prestigious orders of chivalry, which was traditionally presented by the Spanish branch of the House of Habsburg and given to the Bavarian ruler for his role as an illustrious defender of the Catholic faith.⁵⁴⁷ In front of the magnificent backdrop of the duke's investiture in Landshut, the local Corpus Christi celebration was turned into a feast of ducal glamour which, due to the presence of a considerable number of nobles and officials from within and outside the duchy, could even stand comparison with that in Bavaria's capital.⁵⁴⁸

An exceptional Corpus Christi procession for Duke Wilhelm was also arranged in Landshut in 1593. This procession was, like that of 1585, presented on the *Oktavtag* (octave day), because of the duke's personal visit to the town.⁵⁴⁹ The initiative for an increasing elaboration of the local Corpus Christi procession came from Wilhelm himself, whose visit in 1593 was certainly intended to enable him to get an idea of its progress in person. Acting on the duke's behalf, the Landshut authorities followed his instructions closely. The dean of the local parish church of St Martin, Balthasar König, played a leading role in organising and improving the Landshut procession, as he was to adorn it 'mit mehrern (...) Figuren als bisher gesehen worden' ('with more (...) figures than previously seen before'), with the help of the town's magistrate.⁵⁵⁰ The dean's endeavour was also supported by the *Regierung*, the ducal officials at Landshut, and even by Duke Wilhelm himself who, for a better decoration of the procession's participants, sent various costumes from Munich and specially commissioned an official in charge of the 'Reutterey' ('cavalry') required at Landshut.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁶ Appl, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, p. 44.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 327.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 328-329.

⁵⁴⁹ BHSA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4276: Wilhelm's orders, fol. 105.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., fol. 102.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., fols. 103, 105-106.

We lack any evidence as to which figures were shown by the local guilds. The knight St George, however, must have been an integral part of the procession as the most powerful symbol of ducal representation, even if his costume or armour could not be lent for the Landshut display, for it was needed in the Munich pageant itself.⁵⁵² Although the other images are not known to us, we can definitely say that the 1593 procession in Landshut stood out as an incredibly impressive show in honour of the duke. This emerges from processional orders pointing us, in particular, to its massive military array, including a plethora of elaborately dressed armed men. These comprised 48 halberds accompanying the sacrament, with 24 walking on each side; a cavalry regiment of 50 equestrians in suits of armour at the end of the parade, led by their riding captain in a precious velvet garment; and 100 well-equipped halberds on foot, forming a guard of honour at the main entrance of St Martin's church for the procession to march through. Additionally, 150 hackbut shooters were placed at the court of the Landshut residence in the inner town, shooting before and after each gospel.⁵⁵³

The drive for an enlargement of the Landshut procession was achieved not only through an increase in military weapons and equipment, but also through the involvement of more secular and ecclesiastical authorities. In order to raise the number of the clerics from the parish of St Martin, they were joined by twelve boys in long black skirts and berets.⁵⁵⁴ The number of clerical participants was, moreover, augmented by the prelates, i.e. the abbots and provosts of Bavaria's monastic institutions, who were personally invited 'von mehrern ansehens willen' ('in order to enhance the prestige') of the local Corpus Christi feast.⁵⁵⁵ Their role in making the procession more solemn was particularly visual, for they could clearly be recognised from their habits and 'Pontificalia', their pontifical accoutrements which made them stand out as clerical dignitaries.⁵⁵⁶ Their outstanding role was, furthermore, reflected in their processional

⁵⁵² Ibid., fol. 105.

⁵⁵³ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593; StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁵⁴ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁵⁵ SAL, Regierung Landshut, A 21348: letter by Duke Wilhelm to the *Regierung* Landshut (3 Jun. 1593).

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*: letter by the administrator of the monastery at Osterhofen to the *Regierung* Landshut (13 Jun. 1593).

position, behind the parish clergy in closer proximity to the sacrament, which marked them out as the most important clerical body.⁵⁵⁷

The procession's splendour was also enhanced through an increasing number of lay dignitaries, among them five high-ranking, noble officials, the 'Generosi Viri' ('noblemen'), who led the way to the parish priest of St Martin carrying the sacrament.⁵⁵⁸ The Sacrament's – or rather the Duke's – majesty was, additionally, expressed visually through a goldsmith preceding the priest in a decent civic costume.⁵⁵⁹ The procession's centre of power – the consecrated host which was carried in a monstrance under the 'Sanctuarium', the canopy, of the parish of St Martin – was, moreover, improved by an increased quantity of musicians, boys, and further children dressed as angels. Children dressed as angels, both boys and girls, had been a characteristic element of the Corpus Christi procession since the Middle Ages, symbolizing, as the 'purest of the pure', innocence and incorruptibility within the town community.⁵⁶⁰ Announcing the sacrament, angel children carried cymbals, candlesticks, and the 'Arma Christi' ('weapons of Christ'), and some further boys held lanterns, candelabra, and little baskets for scattering flowers. The canopy itself must have been very elaborate, with four small angels who had to sit on its four bottom corners. The sacrament was eventually followed by the duke's officials and the town's magistrate, as well as the 'Geschlechter', the members of Landshut's most distinguished families, walking three at a time, with burning candles 'in zimlich anzal' ('in a sizeable number').⁵⁶¹

The Corpus Christi procession of 1593 in Landshut was, undeniably, a result of Wilhelm's preferences who was, after all, full of praise for the local dean's successful arrangement.⁵⁶² The residential town continued to play a key role in representing state authority and ducal majesty under the rule of Duke Maximilian. On the occasion of his visit to Landshut in 1598, the celebration involved, like that of 1593, not only four

⁵⁵⁷ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁵⁸ StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁵⁹ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁶⁰ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 250-251; Löther, *Prozessionen*, pp. 115-119.

⁵⁶¹ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁶² Gebhard/Mitterwieser, *Geschichte*, p. 71.

representatives of the local town council as ‘Himmeltrager’, i.e. those carrying the canopy, but also several distinguished authorities as ‘Führer’ or ‘Weiser’, i.e. those immediately preceding the priest and the sacrament, among them the ducal licentiate and advisor, Dr Wilhelm Khrimel, who was also Duke Wilhelm’s godfather’s child.⁵⁶³ Due to Maximilian’s personal presence at the 1598 procession, instructions were also given to increase the ‘Kriegsvolckh’ (‘armed men’).⁵⁶⁴ The number of hackbut shooters was doubled, for each shooter was supported by a shield bearer. These had to be men, not young boys, to greet the duke with neither derision nor dishonour.⁵⁶⁵ With their increased quantity of military personnel and ducal officials, the Landshut processions of the later sixteenth century were probably perceived as military parades as well as religious ceremonies.

The Corpus Christi processions at the two residential towns of Munich and Landshut seemed to conform more to ideas about courtly stateliness than to local pride. We should, however, not fall into a trap by labelling the local authorities as simple agents acting on the dukes’ behalf. The lay dignitaries do not appear to have been very keen on performing their duty as *Himmeltrager* or *Weiser*. Although the position as a *Weiser* or *Himmeltrager* was a prerogative of specially chosen laymen, it does not seem to have been taken very seriously. The processional orders of Landshut’s municipal archive reveal that replacements for them had to be found almost every year to provide against their absences.⁵⁶⁶ Further evidence suggests that the custom of carrying or accompanying the canopy, whether during the Corpus Christi procession or the weekly processions on Thursdays, degenerated from an exclusive privilege into a formal obligation to show loyalty to the ducal state. During the 1580s, for instance, the local authorities in Munich and other towns had to be prompted by Duke Wilhelm to attend and escort the weekly sacramental processions with burning candles.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶³ StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1598. On Khrimel: Ferchl, Georg, *Bayerische Behörden und Beamte: 1550-1804* (Munich, 1908), p. 556.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1595.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.: processional order, 1598.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.: esp. processional orders, 1575-1606.

⁵⁶⁷ BHSA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4276: Wilhelm’s orders concerning the weekly Thursday processions, fols. 7-8; SAL, Regierung Landshut, A 1409.

The growing tendency to stay away from the annual Corpus Christi and regular Thursday processions also continued through the seventeenth century, under Maximilian's rule. Between 1636 and 1641, for example, the dean of St Martin at Landshut had to admonish the local magistrates to fulfil their weekly duty as *Weiser* and *Himmeltrager*.⁵⁶⁸ At Straubing, the town councillors repeatedly referred to the vintners as the ones who had been in charge of the ancient custom of carrying the canopy during the Corpus Christi and Thursday processions in order to shuffle themselves out of their responsibility in the 1620s and 1640s.⁵⁶⁹ Seen as a moral duty, refusal to accompany the sacrament was made a punishable offense, on pain of a fine. In Munich, 'die vom Rat' ('those from the city council') had to be repeatedly rebuked for their non-performance at the 'Pfinztäg-Prozessionen' ('Thursday processions').⁵⁷⁰ The magistrates' absences was, in fact, a common theme which continued well into the eighteenth century, for the Landshut authorities were still told off by the priests of the two parish churches in the years between 1701 and 1703, in 1716, and in 1749.⁵⁷¹

Competition between Ecclesiastical Institutions

Landshut's processions reveal an important discrepancy between ducal and local representation. Whereas secular officials – as representatives of the ducal state – do not seem to have been very keen to carry the *Himmel*, churches and religious orders – as representatives of the local town – competed very keenly to participate. Landshut's processional orders, in spite of their ducal elements, reveal the *active* role of local ecclesiastical institutions competing with each other as well as the extent to which competition between these institutions shaped the processions. Like Munich, Landshut housed an extensive network of ecclesiastical institutions. In the 1593 Landshut procession, for instance, banner-bearers carried the 'Kreuzfahne', the flag of the Heilig Kreuz convent church, which was founded at the end of the fifteenth century. Landshut's three more monastic institutions, dating from the thirteenth century, were represented by the Franciscans and Dominicans 'in Geiselkleidern' ('dressed in

⁵⁶⁸ SAL, Regierung Landshut, A 2914.

⁵⁶⁹ Idem, Regierung Straubing, A 5233.

⁵⁷⁰ Hufnagel, Max J., 'Zeugen eucharistischer Frömmigkeit in St. Peter, Münchens ältester Pfarrei', in Ziegler (ed.), *Eucharistische Frömmigkeit*, pp. 9-36, esp. p. 28.

⁵⁷¹ SAL, Regierung Landshut, A 9179, 10094.

flagellants' robes') and twelve boys from the Seligenthal convent of Cistercian nuns, which was the oldest abbey of the town. Young children also represented the two parish churches of St Martin and of St Jodok, and the collegiate foundation of the Heiliggeistspital. To differentiate between the separate bodies, their representatives appeared in a variety of colours, with the Seligenthal boys wearing red costumes, red berets, and white shoes, contrasting with the boys of St Martin who were dressed in black costumes, and those of the Heiliggeistspital in blue clothes.⁵⁷²

Among the ecclesiastical institutions in both residential towns, the two parishes, in particular, competed: St Peter and Our Lady in Munich; St Martin and St Jodok in Landshut. In Landshut, the parish churches as well as the Seligenthal abbey had important functions, for they played decisive roles in leading the sacrament during the annual Corpus Christi procession. As Landshut's orders of procession from the years between 1575 and 1587 show, they occupied the three main stations along the route. At each station during the procession, two *Weiser*, mostly ducal or state officials, and four members of the local town council as *Himmeltrager* halted and alternated before proceeding to the next station. The parish priests also certainly alternated, carrying the Eucharist from one station to the other.⁵⁷³ Primacy was of the utmost importance, and this emerges from the fact that there was not only a hierarchical order among the *Weiser* and *Himmeltrager* of who took up what position on which side of the sacrament, but also among the religious bodies for which church occupied the first position in the procession.

St Martin held the principal position among the clerical groups, for it was the starting and terminal point of the procession, and the parish priest might also have been the privileged person carrying the sacrament from St Martin to St Jodok and from the Seligenthal abbey back to St Martin.⁵⁷⁴ The local parish faced, however, fierce competition with the other parish of St Jodok, and this explains why the processional

⁵⁷² BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593. On the monastic institutions: Mitschke, Markus, *Gott zur Ehre - der Stadt zum Wohl: Die Klöster der Stadt Landshut von der Gründung bis zur Säkularisation* (Landshut, 2011), pp. 2-4; Appl, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, p. 323; Ebermeier/Tausche, *Geschichte Landshuts*, pp. 101-115.

⁵⁷³ StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional orders, 1575-1587.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

order was changed after 1588. The rearrangement resulted in two separate parish processions, one on the Eucharistic feast itself, the other on the following Thursday during the Corpus Christi octave, each of which was organised alternately by the parishes every year. The two annual, Eucharistic processions must have followed much shorter routes, due to the fact that they no longer walked from parish to parish, and to the rather remote Cistercian convent.⁵⁷⁵ Yet, on the initiative of Duke Wilhelm who wanted to see the Corpus Christi procession in Landshut enlarged and enhanced, both parishes joined forces, and the processional orders following Wilhelms's visit in 1593 make us aware of a reorganisation of the annual feast. Although St Martin and St Jodok still alternated in organising the annual Corpus Christi procession, they walked along the path connecting the stations belonging to both parishes where the *Weiser* and *Himmeltrager* alternated. A parish's prerogative every other year was demonstrated by the fact that the higher-ranking *Weiser* and *Himmeltrager* accompanied the priest in charge of the procession.⁵⁷⁶

In spite of their co-operation, St Martin benefitted more from the processional arrangement which was meant to be a visual expression of the parish's prestige. The 1593 order included an increased number of parish representatives, expressing visually St Martin's reputation which was certainly increased through Wilhelm's personal support for the local dean.⁵⁷⁷ The dean advanced his parish's reputation not only through an elaborate Corpus Christi procession, but also through special devotions surrounding the Eucharistic feast. This included the 'Wacht beym Grab', or *Grabwache*, during which, in 1595, the local craftsmen were divided into groups in order to keep guard at the sepulchre of Christ between Thursday morning and Saturday night.⁵⁷⁸ This custom of re-enacting Christ's burial at a specifically set up Easter sepulchre with tomb-guards has its origin in late-medieval Holy Week ceremonies which, as Brooks has demonstrated, were most commonly in use in Southern Germany and Austria.⁵⁷⁹ In

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.: processional orders, 1588-1591.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.: processional orders, 1593-1614.

⁵⁷⁷ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593; StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁷⁸ StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1595.

⁵⁷⁹ Brooks, Neil C., 'The "Sepulchrum Christi" and its ceremonies in late-medieval and modern times', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 27 (Apr. 1928), pp. 147-161; idem, *The Sepulchre of*

Munich, the Easter sepulchre ceremonies developed under the influence of the Jesuits who began exposing the sacrament in the latter half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁸⁰

The parish's prestige was given a further boost in 1598, when it was officially conferred the status of a *Kollegiatstift* (collegiate chapter). The transfer of the collegiate chapter of St Kastulus from the Lower Bavarian town of Moosburg, now situated in Upper Bavaria, to Landshut was mainly the result of a ducal commission and therefore demonstrates the interplay of local prestige and ducal interference. It was initially planned by Duke Wilhelm and finally carried out by Duke Maximilian.⁵⁸¹ As a result of its privileged status achieved by the dukes, the collegiate chapter of saints Martin and Kastulus in Landshut, as it was now known, increased its local forces which made the Corpus Christi procession increasingly long and splendid at the behest of the dean during the early seventeenth century. Through combining military and religious forces, the town procession appeared more representative, on the one hand, and more ecclesiastical, on the other.

The representative aspect emerges from the fact that, in the 1605 order, for instance, we find the procession enlarged through 'Muskatirer vnd Hackhenschützen' ('musketeers and hackbut shooters').⁵⁸² The processional order of 1607 even includes a list of costumes, delivered to the local dean by one of his canons. In his attempt to make the Eucharistic feast an especially solemn celebration, the dean worked closely with the local magistrate who entrusted him with further costumes, such as red trousers and a grey hat for one of the trumpeters. The ecclesiastical aspect can be seen clearly from the integration of additional clerical and lay bodies, including not only more churches, like 'Heilig Blut', 'St. Salvator', 'St. Nikola', and 'St. Margaret', but also more religious confraternities.⁵⁸³ Three of them, 'St. Katharina' ('St Catharine'), 'Unser Frauen Rosenkranz' ('Rosary'), and 'Corporis Christi' ('Corpus Christi'), had already been included in the 1593 procession and might have principally consisted of lay people,

Christ in art and liturgy: with special reference to the liturgical drama (repr. edn., New York et al., 1970).

⁵⁸⁰ Niedermeier, Hans, 'Über die Sakramentsprozessionen im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Umgänge', *Sacris Erudiri* 22 (1974/75), pp. 401-436, esp. p. 17.

⁵⁸¹ Appl, *Die Kirchenpolitik*, p. 346.

⁵⁸² StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671, processional order, 1605.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., processional order, 1607.

according to a marginal note classifying the Corpus Christi confraternity as ‘Adel’ (‘nobility’).⁵⁸⁴ In 1607, they were also joined by the new ‘Hl. Grab’ (‘Holy Sepulchre’) confraternity which had been founded by the nobleman and ducal official Wolfgang Sigmund von Haunsperg in the previous year. The confraternities’ importance had grown significantly by the start of the seventeenth century. Their superior position vis-à-vis the guilds was highlighted in the Corpus Christi procession, as several craftsmen did not walk as independent groups but instead accompanied the confraternity members.⁵⁸⁵

Although St Martin was centrally located between the old and new town, the outlying parish church of St Jodok made successful efforts to catch up with its opponent mother. Especially after 1616, St Jodok’s orders of procession become lengthy, following a much longer route, past the gospel station at the church of St Sebastian, which certainly led again to the Seligenthal abbey.⁵⁸⁶ Only one year later, St Martin pursued a similar path, also passing ‘St: Sebastian zwischen den Prueckhen’ (‘St Sebastian between the bridges’) outside the town’s main roads.⁵⁸⁷ By comparing the extended orders, we get, in fact, the impression of a race between the two religious institutions which, unlike during the late 1580s and early 1590s, when they followed shorter routes within the confines of their parishes, now went to the far-off Seligenthal convent in order to outdo each other.

Embellished through colourfully dressed boys and angels, musicians, and religious orders, including the Capuchins, St Jodok’s orders became nearly as long as those of St Martin.⁵⁸⁸ Even though the two annual processions still functioned as visual representations of the whole town, with both parishes taking part, they increasingly showed distinguishing marks. From 1616 onwards, an alternation of the *Weiser* and *Himmeltrager* at either St Martin or St Jodok does not seem to have taken place anymore. The parishes rather went along their processional routes separately from each

⁵⁸⁴ BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1593.

⁵⁸⁵ StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1607. On the Holy Sepulchre confraternity and its founder: Staudenraus, Alois, *Chronik der Stadt Landshut in Bayern*, vol. 2 (Landshut, 1832, repr. edn., Passau, 1981), p. 174.

⁵⁸⁶ StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671: processional order, 1616.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.: processional order, 1617.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.: processional orders, 1616-1619.

other, displaying different markers. While St Jodok presented its parish flags, St Martin showed off its silver *Stiftslabrum* (canon standard) and golden *Stiftskreuz* (canon cross), and, immediately following the Blessed Sacrament, a priest carrying the *Inful* (mitre): an obvious sign of the collegiate chapter's superior status which it had obtained from the Bavarian dukes.⁵⁸⁹

The Influence of the Confraternities

The seventeenth century brought about an important shift away from the influence of the duke towards the influence of the confraternities. This shift was a consequence of the intention of the duke himself. Unlike his predecessor, in whose eyes the Corpus Christi procession had to be staged as an entertaining show, Duke Maximilian intended to celebrate a Eucharistic feast that demonstrated absolute devotion to the sacrament. This aspect emerges clearly from rhyming verses meticulously composed by the contemporary poet Johann Mayer to describe the Munich Corpus Christi processions of 1603 and 1604, printed in Munich in 1604.⁵⁹⁰ In his portrayal of the Munich procession's trimmed, or small, version of 1604, which was presented without the *tableaux vivants*, Mayer tells the story of meeting a pilgrim on the way of St James during a walk in the woods around Munich, whom he accompanied to the famous Corpus Christi 'Umbgang' ('procession').⁵⁹¹ When they arrived in Munich, they positioned themselves among the crowd standing there and waited a long time for the procession to start at St Peter's church. While watching the scene, both of them were amazed at the people's devotional acts before the Blessed Sacrament along the processional path. Standing at the altars which had been specially erected in front of all houses, with burning candles placed above them, the local populace – 'Frawen vnd Mannen, Bedes Reich, Arm, Alt vnd Jung' ('women and men, both rich and poor, old and young') – went delirious with joy at the sight of the Eucharist, falling down on their

⁵⁸⁹ StAL, B 1, Nr. 1671, processional order, 1617; BHSA, Landshuter Abgabe 1982, Landshut St. Martin A 234: processional order, 1621.

⁵⁹⁰ Mayer, Johann, *Gewisse vnd vormals in Truck nie außgangne Beschreibung, Deß gantzen vnd halben Vmbgangs, oder Procession, Welcher Järlich in der Fürstlichen Hauptstatt München auff das Hohe Fest Corporis Christi, solenniter vnd stattlich gehalten wirdt* (Munich, 1604).

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., sect. 1: *Eingang deß Umbgangs*.

knees before it and reaching for it.⁵⁹² This made a lasting impression on the pilgrim, even though he was not able to see the *tableaux vivants* of the entire, or large, procession of the previous year. Once the procession was over, he told Mayer that he had been to the Corpus Christi celebrations in Rome, but that he had never seen any comparable town or city before where the sacrament had been offered such tribute.⁵⁹³

The role of the religious confraternities is an important aspect of the new devotional climate promoted during the reign of Maximilian in the seventeenth century. The Corpus Christi confraternity in Munich, founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century, evolved as the main driving force behind the choice of the processional images. Maximilian entrusted the Capuchin-sponsored confraternity with all costumes and images, and hence the complete charge of the Corpus Christi procession during the early seventeenth century.⁵⁹⁴ According to a printed order of the 1612 Munich procession, the Corpus Christi confraternity staged nine 'Figuren' (the representations of which are, unfortunately, not more specifically detailed), followed by cavalry and the 'Consilium', the presiding confraternity members walking after a precious 'Bruderschafts-Fahn' ('confraternity banner') made of red velvet and carried with five rods. Further processional orders point us to the confraternity's continued influence and extravagance in the eighteenth century, during which it staged several chariots and images on large *fercula* platforms.⁵⁹⁵

Eighteenth-century Splendour

The splendour of Munich's and Landshut's Corpus Christi processions continued well into the eighteenth century. This emerges from one of the most elaborate processions that Bavaria had ever seen: the Corpus Christi procession in Landshut from 1733, which, following the Munich example, had imposing dimensions, merging an astonishing number of ducal representatives and local confraternities and craftsmen. Because of the unprecedented number of groups involved, the processional order was

⁵⁹² Ibid., sect. 4: *Andeutung in S. Peters Pfarrkirchen*.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., sect. 5: *Anfang der Procession*.

⁵⁹⁴ Haidn, Johannes A., *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft bei St. Peter in München: 1609-2009. 400 Jahre Geschichte, Glaube und Tradition* (Munich, 2010), p. 67.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 166, n. 167.

not only printed, but also recorded through four copper engravings in 1733 to serve as a visual manual.⁵⁹⁶ The 1733 procession is valuable because it *shows* us in its engravings what the other accounts only *tell* us. In the eighteenth century, the town, which was also the seat of the Lower Bavarian *Rentamt* (government) of Landshut, no longer served or saw itself as a residential town, but as main governmental seat after Munich, after having functioned as the administrative seat during the War of the Spanish Succession.⁵⁹⁷ To demonstrate its municipal pride, Landshut intended to promote a glaring Catholic example of the Electorate of Bavaria's heartland. The procession therefore performed a chief representative function, which was expressed visually through the image on the frontispiece. This image shows Landshut, before the background of its two local parish churches, on equal terms with Munich on an orb, which appears between the Electorate's coat of arms and a suit of armour presented by angels (figure 3.2).⁵⁹⁸

The first of the four engravings portrays the procession's beginning, involving an array of armour-clad equestrians, three of them carrying the town's coat of arms, and further military men presenting Eucharistic symbols (figure 3.3).⁵⁹⁹ The second illustration draws our attention to the largest processional part, presenting forty guilds displaying biblical and non-biblical images with Eucharistic meaning (figure 3.4).⁶⁰⁰ The metalworkers, for instance, staged the Holy Sacrament of Deggendorf on a chariot to remind their spectators of the most famous host pilgrimage site near Landshut.⁶⁰¹ Christ's blood was also visualised, especially through the image of Christ holding a chalice in his hands and that of a slaughtered lamb, the blood of which was pouring

⁵⁹⁶ *Angeordneter Grosser Umbgang, Und Procession, auf das Hohe Fest des Zarten Fronleichnambs Jesu Christi In der Chur-Bayrischen Haupt- und Regierungs-Stadt Landshut, Mit denen Handwerchs-Zunfften, Fähnen, Stangen, und Kertzen sambt Figuren und Persohnen auch mit Bruderschafften und Clerisey* (Landshut, 1733), ed. by Alfons Beckenbauer and Hans Bleibrunner (Landshut, 1979). On the manuscript of the processional order (1732): BSB, Cgm 2996; on the illustrations of the order: Niehoff, Franz (ed.), *Landshut ins Bild gesetzt: Karten und Ansichten vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Ausstellung der Museen der Stadt Landshut im Museum im Kreuzgang vom 12. Mai bis 28. Oktober 2001* (Landshut, 2001), pp. 134-140.

⁵⁹⁷ Ebermeier/Tausche, *Geschichte Landshuts*, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁹⁸ *Angeordneter Grosser Umbgang*, ed. by Beckenbauer and Bleibrunner, frontispiece.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-29.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

down into the holy chalice as the divine stream of grace.⁶⁰² Old and New Testament scenes were often arranged in pairs, as in the vintners' image, depicting both the great grape from the Holy Land and Christ as a grape pressed by God.⁶⁰³

The most important part of the procession is presented in the third copper engraving, for it visualises those seven groups immediately preceding the sacrament: the confraternities and the clergy, both secular and monastic (figure 3.5).⁶⁰⁴ Interestingly, this section did not include the figure of St George, but rather that of St Michael as a representation of the electoral arch-confraternity of the Holy Archangel. This figure had now taken on the prominent role of the devil's vanquisher, for St Michael could be seen on a chariot, expelling Lucifer from heaven, while nine choirs of angels adored the Blessed Sacrament.⁶⁰⁵ A very similar image was staged during the eighteenth century in Munich. Here, the same confraternity presented St Michael's triumph over the seven-headed dragon figure of Lucifer. Compared to St Michael, St George had lost its importance of defeating the dragon and now appeared merely as an image of ducal or electoral representation as part of the court arch-brotherhood.⁶⁰⁶

Except for the St George court arch-brotherhood, the Landshut procession featured the same confraternities, including the Marian and Corpus Christi confraternities as well as the Jesuit Marian congregations. The members of the electoral arch-confraternity of the Holy Archangel were all dressed in white, to be clearly distinguishable from the members of the Marian Rosary arch-confraternity in blue habits and the members of the Eucharistic Corpus Christi confraternity, who walked in red habits.⁶⁰⁷ The latter, in particular, upheld, as in Munich, a claim against the others as the most significant ecclesiastical group. Characterised as the 'ur-alte und welt-berühmte Confraternität, oder Bruderschaft des zarten Fronleibnambs Jesu Christi' ('ancient and world-renowned confraternity of Jesus Christ's body'), the Corpus Christi confraternity

⁶⁰² Ibid., pp. 14, 22.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 29-35.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

⁶⁰⁶ *Festum Theophoriae Oder Ausführliche Beschreibung Der Herrlichen Procession Welche in der Chur-Bayrischen Residentz-Stadt München An dem Glorreichen Fest-Tag Corporis Christi auf das prächtigste gehalten wird* (Munich, ca. 1750).

⁶⁰⁷ *Angeordneter Grosser Umbgang*, ed. by Beckenbauer and Bleibrunner, pp. 29, 31-32.

comprised a cross-section of Landshut's local population, encompassing both rich and poor, religious and lay, male and female people adoring the sacrament.⁶⁰⁸ The lay confraternities also involved the Marian congregations of the Jesuits, consisting of the students of their Jesuit college: the small congregation of the Immaculate Conception, followed by the large congregation of the Annunciation.⁶⁰⁹ Although the Jesuits excelled in lavish displays, they obviously separated themselves from all the other clerical bodies, from the religious orders of the Capuchins, Franciscans, and Dominicans, on the one hand, and the parish clergy and canons of the collegiate chapter of saints Martin and Kastulus, on the other.⁶¹⁰ This was a visible sign, indicating that they did not want to be identified with either of them, neither with the monastic orders nor the secular priests.

The town's purity was visualised in particular in the last print, which shows the sacrament followed by the electoral representatives (figure 3.6).⁶¹¹ The sacrament was accompanied by two ducal officials as *Weiser*, 12 *Edelknaben* ('Edl-Paggi') or shield bearers, and 24 'Trabanten' ('bodyguards'), who were followed by ducal and civic authorities.⁶¹² After that, representatives of Landshut's population displayed images to present their virtuous lives according to Catholic doctrine. On a great chariot, drawn by six horses, the local aristocracy displayed many signs showing the sacrament's triumph over heresy. The next group involved the virgins staging the *Wise and Foolish Virgins*, augmented by further virgins, and a groom and a bride to represent marriage. After marriage, 17 people performed matrimony. Then, the pious widows visualised St Victoria as a symbol of their Catholic faith's victory, followed by a chariot displaying the Catholic Church and the three theological virtues, with four chained heretics being led alongside by armed men. The town's poor and a well-armed cavalry brought the pageant to a close.⁶¹³ Consequently, the Landshut procession of 1733 was a glorious baroque spectacle, celebrating the triumph of Catholicism.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 31-32.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 29-31.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., pp. 33-38.

⁶¹² Ibid., p. 33.

⁶¹³ Ibid., pp. 33-38.

III.2 Munich-Wasserburg

Landshut's trend towards a distinction between ducal representation and local interests is confirmed by the Corpus Christi procession in the smaller town of Wasserburg am Inn in Upper Bavaria. Situated on the River Inn near Munich and serving as an important port for the salt trade, it had grown into a centre of state power as the seat of a ducal castle, a ducal tollhouse, and the ducal *Pfleger*, the duke's representative presiding over the local district court (*Landgericht*).⁶¹⁴ Wasserburg's procession clearly reveals the nature of the Corpus Christi spectacle and the piety it was intended to promote. The drive for Wasserburg's procession mainly came from the parish church's Corpus Christi confraternity which, as in Munich, became increasingly in charge of the processional arrangement and changed the visual imagery to focus less on a spectacular, but on a more devotional ceremony. While at Landshut, two local parishes alternated in arranging two annual processions, only one parish was in charge of the celebration of the Corpus Christi feast at Wasserburg. Back in 1588, the local authorities in Wasserburg had, as in Landshut in 1585 and 1593, postponed their Corpus Christi procession until the octave day to impress Duke Wilhelm on the occasion of his visit.⁶¹⁵ Its processional order, which was arranged by the local parish priest as well as men chosen from the town council and the parish, was modelled on the Munich example. But it was only a small-scale reproduction: in terms of its military equipment and visual representations, it could hardly bear comparison with its role model.⁶¹⁶

The 1588 procession was, however, exceptional and involved, for representative reasons, a considerable number of ducal officials. Although the majority of the 44 *tableaux vivants* were staged by the local craftsmen, the two most important displays were presented by ducal representatives. First, the display of *Candlemas* included the Virgin Mary at the Temple, along with twelve additional virgins and their maidservants, all of whom belonged to the ducal tollhouse. Second, representatives from the ducal castle staged the courtly image of *St George and the Dragon*, with the knight and his

⁶¹⁴ On the history of the town of Wasserburg: Geiger, Martin, *Wasserburg am Inn: Ein geschichtlicher Abriss* (Wasserburg, 1980), pp. 16-36; Tertulina, Burkard (ed.), *Historischer Atlas von Bayern: Teil Altbayern*, vol. 15: *Landgerichte Wasserburg und Kling* (Munich, 1965), pp. 165-182.

⁶¹⁵ BHSA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4276: Wilhelm's order, fols. 71-72.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*: processional order, 1588, fols. 74-99.

entourage being performed by the local aristocrats who had been personally chosen by the *Pfleger*. The number of performers was tiny compared to that in Munich, but strong efforts were made to show the scene with the utmost décor. Following the Munich example, the ‘Lindtwurmb’ was carried by two men with ‘angethanen oder gemachten’ (‘worn or made’) dragon feet, while its tail was held behind it by a boy. The court display also included a virgin who, clothed in the most delicate fashion, led the dragon on a silk ribbon. St Margaret herself appeared in another group of four crowned virgins, carrying a small dragon in her hand in the display of the *Annunciation*.⁶¹⁷

The procession was also improved over time, and evidence suggests that this was mainly driven by the local confraternity at the parish church of St Jakob. Its predominant position could already be seen in the procession of 1588, for the display of the *Last Judgement*, the most privileged *tableau vivant* because of its closest proximity to the sacrament, was presented by thirteen confraternity members themselves.⁶¹⁸ Back then its local meaning was rather played down in favour of ducal representation, but it emerged all the more clearly when the duke interfered less during the seventeenth century. A processional order of 1603, changed and enhanced by the local Corpus Christi confraternity, features a number of its, characteristically red, emblems. The procession was introduced by a flag-bearer of its large Corpus Christi banner, enriched through other carriers of its red crucifix, banners, and lanterns, and eventually brought to a close by the red confraternity flag of its female lay members.⁶¹⁹

The confraternity organised Eucharistic processions during the whole ‘Corpus Christi octave’, for its red banner was carried throughout the ‘Octava Corporis Christi’, and its claim for authority could be recognised from the flag’s enormous size. According to the confraternity’s expenses for the ‘Antlas oder vmbgang in Festo Corporis Christi’, three men were necessary to move the massive flag, two of them for carrying the large rods and the third to help them lifting and lowering it.⁶²⁰ The figurative displays, on the contrary, were only presented during the major and longer *Umgang* on the Eucharistic

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

⁶¹⁹ StAW, I2b209: processional order, 1603.

⁶²⁰ Idem, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1624.

feast day itself and featured, compared with the procession of 1588, merely a tiny number of images in the 1603 procession, which were mostly carried by the local craftsmen on so-called ‘Standaren’, or ‘bearer frames’.⁶²¹

The confraternity did, however, spend a lot of money on its images to make them more elaborate, even during the Thirty Years War. In 1642, for instance, the display of *David and Goliath* became increasingly elaborate, as Goliath’s costumes were decorated with gold and silver, and King David’s crook was gilded. Further embellishments included the requisites for the staging of the Old Testament scene of the *Binding of Isaac*, with a new ‘Engl Röckhl’ (‘angel’s costume’) being made, Isaac’s ‘Röckhl vnd heybl’ (‘costume and cap’) adorned, and Abraham’s big sword gilded with silver.⁶²² Several other biblical images were improved one year later, such as ‘Hollopfernus Haupt’ (‘Holofernus’ head’) for the presentation of *Judith Beheading Holofernus*, as well as a huge bunch of 400 ‘khugeln’ (‘grapes’) and two ‘griene Röckhl’ (‘green costumes’) for those carrying the grapes in the illustration of *Joshua and Caleb with the Grapes*.⁶²³

Particular emphasis was laid on saintly figures, especially on the virgins who appeared to exemplify chief virtues. They had already been assigned a pivotal role in the displays of 1588, and this emerges not only from their abundance in the presentations of *Candlemas* and *Annunciation*, including St Margaret, St Ursula, St Catharine, and St Barbara with their emblems, but also from the fact that long-established images of the Munich pageant, such as the *Raising of Lazarus*, were abandoned in favour of local variations, like Jesus’ parable of the *Wise and Foolish Virgins*.⁶²⁴ In later, seventeenth-century processions, young women depicted the seven virtues with the symbols associated with them, both the four cardinal virtues *Justice, Temperance, Prudence*, and *Fortitude* as well as the three theological virtues *Faith, Hope*, and *Love*. For instance, for the display of *Hope* an ‘anchor with three chalices’ (‘Anckher darauf 3 Kelch’) was gilded in 1642.⁶²⁵ Swords, which were covered with silver and gold in 1643, might have

⁶²¹ Idem, I2b209: processional order, 1603.

⁶²² Idem, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungsverifikationen, 1642.

⁶²³ Ibid., 1643.

⁶²⁴ BHSA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4276: processional order, 1588, fols. 74-99.

⁶²⁵ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungsverifikationen, 1642.

been used as attributes of the cardinal virtues *Justice* and *Fortitude*.⁶²⁶ In 1650, ‘the heart with the gilded flames’ (‘das Herz mit den verguldeten flamen’) was refurbished and unquestionably used for depicting the theological virtue *Love*.⁶²⁷ Depicting the four cardinal and the three theological virtues, the virgins served as visual embodiments, whose virtuous life and purity can, in Strasser’s terms, be regarded as the emblems of the town’s ‘intactness and incorruptibility as well as its Catholic faith’.⁶²⁸

Participating in the Corpus Christi procession as a virgin was undoubtedly perceived as an exclusive privilege, and this is surely why the specially chosen actresses were separately listed in the *Rechnungsverifikationen*, or receipts of the confraternity’s expenses for the decoration of the virgins’ costumes. In 1643, a tailor was paid for making red dresses for fourteen virgins, among them the baker’s daughter, Barbara, the mayor’s daughter, the daughters of a brewer, a goldsmith, and ‘des wagmaisters Tochter’ (‘the daughter of the wagon master’). White and golden dresses were tailored for another five virgins, including the daughters of the local *Gerichtsschreiber* (stenographer) and the *Lebzelter* (gingerbread baker), Adam Mayr, and green ‘wames’ (‘vests’) and ‘Röckhl’ (‘skirts’) for four more virgins, such as a journeyman’s daughter.⁶²⁹ But, in spite of the strong emphasis on saints’ figures, St George and St Margaret, including the dragon, did not appear, although they had been presented in the Corpus Christi procession of 1588.

Wasserburg’s Dragon

In Munich, St George was, due to its key role in representing the ducal court, still displayed in the seventeenth century.⁶³⁰ But why was the dragon figure omitted in Wasserburg after 1588? The excessive costs of the image might explain why it was not

⁶²⁶ Ibid., 1643.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., 1650.

⁶²⁸ Strasser, *State of virginity*, p. 106.

⁶²⁹ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, *Rechnungsverifikationen*, 1643.

⁶³⁰ Cf. *Ordnung der gantzen Procession deß Allerheiligisten vnd Hochwürdigisten Sacrament, wie dieselb in der Fürstlichen Hauptstatt München, in Obern Bayrn, etc. Auff das Fest Corporis Christi, diß 1612. Jahrs, mit mehrern stattlichen, ansehlichen vnd zierlichen Figuren, dann zuvor jemahlen, gehalten wirdet. Auß dem Alten vnd Newen Testament genommen, vnd in Zünfften eingetheilt* (Munich, 1612), sect. LIX.

exhibited during the local Corpus Christi procession. At Munich, the visual representations placed an intolerable strain on the ducal household, especially during the Thirty Years War, so that Maximilian had to cancel the Eucharistic pageant in 1637 and 1638, and again in 1643 and 1644.⁶³¹ Yet, it seems much more likely that the confraternity in Wasserburg deliberately omitted the dragon display. Although the Corpus Christi procession became increasingly embellished by the Corpus Christi confraternity, it was certainly meant to be less spectacular, and more devotional.

Instead of featuring spectacular displays like *St George and the Dragon*, the procession was rather enriched with symbols of Eucharistic meaning and importance, and it seems that the parish priest, as the one presiding over the confraternity, was the driving force behind this. Bread of heaven, or manna, visualizing Christ's flesh, had already been carried by angels and extolled by prophets in their books and by pupils in their songs during the procession of 1588, replacing other biblical scenes which were usually staged during the Munich pageant.⁶³² The Eucharistic images became, however, increasingly elaborate during the later processions. In 1642, for instance, the dress of the angel holding the host of heaven was decorated. Furthermore, two big chalices were, 'sambt den zwey hostien so darinen gestöckh ganz verguldt' ('like the two hosts stuck into them completely gilded') and probably used as symbolic items of the theological value *Faith*.⁶³³ The dragon was also omitted at other towns where local Corpus Christi confraternities arranged the Corpus Christi processions. The Corpus Christi procession at the nearby Upper Bavarian town of Rosenheim, for instance, which was organised and paid for by the local Corpus Christi confraternity in 1637 shows a striking similarity of the Eucharistic emblems on display, and it is likely that the Capuchins, who walked

⁶³¹ *Von Gottes Gnaden, Wir Maximilian Pfaltzgrave bey Rheyn, Hertzog in Obern und Nidern Bayrn, deß H. Röm: Reichs Ertztrugseß und Churfürst. Entbieten allen und jeden vnsern HofRathsPraesidenten, Vitzdomben, Hauptleuten (...) vnsern Grueß vnnd Gnad zuvor, vnd geben ihnen hiemit zuvernehmen. Ob wolen Wir zwar mit einer gemainen Stewr Anlag, so wol der Ständt, als Underthonen, bevorab bey disen schweren Zeiten, gern noch länger schonen wolten, daß Wir jedoch auß mehrerley antringenden vrsachen vnnd obligenden schweren deß Landts hohe notturfft betreffenden außgaben (...) nit umgang nemmen künden (...) Geben (...) Im 1637. Jar; Von Gottes Gnaden (...) im 1638. Jahr, Von Gottes Genaden (...) im 1643.; Von Gottes Genaden (...) im 1644. Jahr* (no places of publication, 1637-1644).

⁶³² BHSA, Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv 4276: processional order, 1588, fols 74-99. Cf. Fraedrich-Nowag, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession*, pp. 130, 133.

⁶³³ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungsverifikationen, 1642.

between the red-coloured confraternity brothers and the parish clergy, made significant contributions to the choice of the images.⁶³⁴

The display of *St George and the Dragon* serves as *the* example par excellence, illustrating that the same image conveyed different meanings. At Bavaria's capital, St George was a court figure, functioning primarily as a glamorous image of ducal pomp and circumstance, which was imitated at the local level, especially at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. It, however, lost its Counter-Reformation importance during the course of the seventeenth century, to be still used as a court figure, but now transformed into a rather unspectacular, 'secular' display. Especially from the later seventeenth century, we can see a development which points us to the rising tensions between representation (ducal or local), entertainment, and piety. These tensions mounted in local towns like Wasserburg where the Corpus Christi confraternity tried to shift the emphasis away from ducal representation and entertainment towards piety.

The accounts from the local confraternity in Wasserburg indicate that the local population had to wait for almost a century until the dragon was again put on the move in 1680, after it had been last shown in 1588! The confraternity accounts tell us that because an old dragon had existed from 1588, they had received permission to refurbish it and to carry it around during the Corpus Christi procession, which they had duly done.⁶³⁵ We do not exactly know who initiated the dragon's redecoration, the costs of which were shared between the town, the parish church, and the confraternity. The latter was not, it seems, overly delighted to be invited to contribute. However, being in charge of the procession's direction and arrangement, it had, as the accounts state, 'nit weniger thuen khinden als auch ainen Thail zubezallen' ('not been able to do less than to also pay a part').⁶³⁶ The staging of the dragon must have, therefore, caused tensions between the town's and the confraternity's authorities, which reflected in its irregular display.

⁶³⁴ On the 1637 Corpus Christi procession in Rosenheim: Will, Frido, 'Prozessionsspiele der Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft Rosenheim: 1609-1784', *Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde* 11 (1984), pp. 3-22, esp. pp. 13-17; Sauer, Josef, 'Der Kranztag: Aus der Geschichte des Fronleichnamfestes in Rosenheim, Aibling, Mühldorf und Wasserburg', *Heimat am Inn* 5 (1952), pp. 36-37.

⁶³⁵ SAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1680, fol. 30r.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

Thus, there was a gap between 1680 and 1684, when the image was again put on show, including the 'Trakhen' which was carried by two men 'alß ain figur' ('as a *tableau vivant*') and accompanied by 'pferdt' ('horses') and *Edelknaben*, the 'Edlknabens Claider' ('shield bearers' dresses') of whom were also paid for by the confraternity.⁶³⁷

The dragon costume was embellished during the following years. In 1688, money was spent '[a]m andtlas Tag den Trakhen herumb zufieren (...) vnd auszebessern' ('to carry the dragon around on Corpus Christi (...) and to renovate it').⁶³⁸ The popular desire for seeing the dragon was growing and, '[w]eillen nunmehr 3 iahr verflossen vnd man verlangt die figur der hl. Margreth mit dem Trakhen sehen zelassen' ('since three years had now gone by and one was eager for the display of St Margaret with the dragon to be seen'), its costume was refurbished and decorated with a 'Kalbfell zum schwaif' ('calfskin for its tail') in 1691.⁶³⁹ In spite of the local populace's great desire for the dragon, the confraternity appears to have tried to suppress it, for the staging of the image became less and less frequent from the later 1690s. After its last presentation in 1691, people had to wait for more than five years, until 1697, to see it once more being carried by two men and accompanied by four *Edelknaben*.⁶⁴⁰ The next gap was even longer, lasting nearly 20 years, from 1697 to 1716, when people saw the dragon again being carried around by two men.⁶⁴¹

Where the confraternity was incapable of omitting the dragon display, it reduced its role in contrast to other, less spectacular and more devotional, images. A processional order of 1726, which the confraternity had modified and multiplied, comprises 19 chassis, or *fercula*.⁶⁴² As a rather sensational image, the mounted knight, St George, and St Margaret with the dragon, were shown. Their importance was, however, minimised through symbols which made them seem more decent and devotional, for *St George and the Dragon* were accompanied by an image of St Ursula and a precious, damask church flag. The display of 'Mohren geschmidt an einer Ketten' ('chained moors') also seems

⁶³⁷ Ibid., 1684, fol. 26v.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 1688, fol. 25v.

⁶³⁹ Ibid., 1691.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 1697, fol. 23.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 1716, fol. 19r.

⁶⁴² SAW, I2b209: processional order, 1726.

to be, at first sight, a purely sensational feature. But the chained moors had become integrated into a procession which was meant to be a triumph of the virtuous Catholic Church over heresy. This is why the black men, as embodiments of the Church's enemies, were preceded by 'pure' angel children with flowers and the large, red confraternity banner, and followed by the parish church's standard and patron saint, St Jacob, on horseback.⁶⁴³

Through specially selected images and emblems, the Eucharist's value was, moreover, enhanced as the most sacred sacrament which was necessary for leading a virtuous life. This was again visualised not only through angel children, but also through the virgins, abounding in the visual representations as the allegorical figures of the seven virtues and the Virgin Mary's companions. The Eucharistic significance of the images emerges, in particular, from the fact that their symbolic value was much more important than their chronological order according to the sequence of biblical events. For instance, the representations of the great grape and Judith with Holofernus' head appeared after the Old and New Testament scenes.⁶⁴⁴ Symbolizing Christ's blood, the two displays were augmented by symbols of Christ's body, including the bread of Christ's presence and two boys carrying a large, golden candlestick and a gilded 'monstranzen lantern' ('monstrance lantern').⁶⁴⁵ Furthermore, between the *Last Supper* and Christ's evening meal at *Emmaus*, there appeared the new figure of *St Victor*, whose name elucidated Christ's triumph after his resurrection.⁶⁴⁶ The figure of St George slaying the dragon had completely lost its traditional role in personifying Christ's victory over the devil. From the confraternity's viewpoint, it was now St Victor who embodied the triumphant Christ and Church, while St George's importance declined, with its role reduced to a merely 'popular' image which only satisfied the people's desire for an exciting experience.

Although the local craftsmen still staged most of the visual representations, the Corpus Christi confraternity clearly took the lead as the most representative ecclesiastical

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ SAW, I2b209: processional order, 1726; cf. idem, *Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen*, 1682, fol. 28r, 1693, fol. 27r; *Rechnungsverifikationen*, 1661, 1693.

⁶⁴⁶ SAW, I2b209: processional order, 1726.

group. During the procession, it was preceded by the local Marian Rosary confraternity, which was called the blue confraternity, because of their members' blue-coloured dresses and emblems, including their blue banner and blue crucifix. The members of the red Corpus Christi confraternity had, by contrast, red habits and symbols, including their red confraternity crucifix. They were followed by the Capuchins and the parish clergy. As the confraternity claimed responsibility for the entire Corpus Christi procession, the sacrament was under their auspices: escorted by four confraternity lanterns before and after the canopy, followed by lay dignitaries, and eventually brought to a close by the rest of the confraternity, probably its lowest-ranking members.⁶⁴⁷

IV. Conclusion

The mid-sixteenth century marked a decisive turning point, as the Bavarian dukes attached a specific Counter-Reformation meaning to their annual Corpus Christi procession in Munich. The dukes' visual spectacle demonstrated Bavaria's support for the Roman cause in front of the public, adopting colourful features and lavish displays as medial tools to channel divine power 'through the gateway of the eye'.⁶⁴⁸ The image of *St George and the Dragon*, in particular, shows an interesting development and a significant change in its meaning. During the reign of Duke Albrecht, the display of St George triumphing over the dragon-devil marked the beginning of an increase in the procession's elaboration. It even emerged as the most magnificent image on stage under Duke Wilhelm. He not only enhanced the dragon display as a dramatic embellishment, but also tried to instil Catholic morals in his people, especially through the selection of specially chosen virgins, whose purity and social standing 'promised and symbolized the intactness' of the city's and the towns' Catholic communities.⁶⁴⁹

The representation of *St George and the Dragon* lost, however, its Counter-Reformation role with the rise of the Corpus Christi confraternities during the seventeenth century. They now carefully chose the images on display in the Corpus Christi procession, and deliberately omitted the dragon figure. This image was, in their eyes, secular and

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁸ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, pp. 84, 90.

⁶⁴⁹ Strasser, *State of virginity*, p. 57.

profane. This is why they downplayed its importance in favour of other images, like St Victor or the new court arch-confraternity figure of St Michael, who came to embody Christ's victory over the devil. While the duke satisfied the people's desire for a spectacular and showy display, the Corpus Christi confraternities tried to suppress it, causing a transformation of the dragon display from a glamorous image of ducal pomp and circumstance into a locally discarded image.

The Eucharistic processions became increasingly diverse and devotional under the influence of the Corpus Christi confraternities. Contrary to the duke who wanted to be seen as the guardian of biblical history, the Corpus Christi confraternities carefully chose specific Eucharistic images, the symbolic value of which was considered more important than their chronological order. They used similar emblems, like children and the virgins. But even when they included traditional Munich images, they changed their meaning and enhanced them through new additions. Moors, who had been on exhibition in a carnival-like Renaissance procession in favour of the Bavarian duke's grandeur, as the embodiments of 'the sensational, the exotic, and the hazardous', were now live representations of the Catholic Church's enemies, whose inferiority could be seen from their chain shackles.⁶⁵⁰ Counter-Reformation religious orders played a rather contradictory role. Whereas the Capuchins participated in the processions as active supporters of the Corpus Christi confraternities, the Jesuits' role has been exaggerated in scholarly literature. They clearly distanced themselves from the local guilds, secular clergy, and monastic orders, and were represented only through the participation of their lay religious confraternities. What, therefore, continued throughout the centuries as the major theme of the Corpus Christi procession, was its function as a display of political and social privilege, symbolizing the hierarchies of local parish churches and confraternities.

⁶⁵⁰ Johnson, *The German discovery*, p. 31.

Corpus Christi Confraternities

This chapter will finally explore in more detail the Eucharistic confraternities, i.e. lay religious confraternities dedicated to Corpus Christi, at the importance of which has already been indicated in the previous chapter. How were the Corpus Christi confraternities renewed, reorganised, and restructured as explicitly Catholic institutions from the mid-sixteenth century onwards? Who were the main driving forces behind their institutionalisation, and which new forms of piety did they promote? The new reform order of the Capuchins, in particular, promoted Eucharistic piety through a new kind of Corpus Christi confraternity. Implementing their own strategy of Catholic renewal, the Capuchins exercised considerable influence upon the population in the Duchy of Bavaria. But why did they become so prominent? And what was the relationship between the Capuchins, as representatives of the Counter-Reformation, on the one hand, and local people, on the other? Before entering into the discussion of their prominence and reception, we need to briefly consider the pre-Reformation history of the Eucharistic confraternities which they popularised during the seventeenth century. This approach will allow us to explore the ways in which the Corpus Christi confraternities promoted and, more crucially, transformed religious life in early modern Bavaria, and to investigate the influence they exerted on the local population after the Reformation.

I. Pre-Reformation History

Religious brotherhoods which were dedicated to the veneration of the Eucharist had been established during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and had spread throughout western Christendom before the Reformation. In Italy, their primary duty was to set up and maintain sanctuary lights in the churches; in England, sacramental guilds had been created to play a part in the Eucharistic feast day and its procession; in France, their main purpose was to provide social care for their members; in the German-speaking territories, they had evolved into popular communities which endowed Thursday Masses, including processions with and prayers before the exposed sacrament, and offered opportunities to obtain indulgences. In spite of the regional

disparity in their Eucharistic practices, their members shared a spiritual focus. The members were also linked to each other by their communal care and commemoration of living and deceased members, in the form of prayers, burials, and Masses.⁶⁵¹

Originally, Eucharistic confraternities came into existence as clerical brotherhoods which were founded by priests as *Priesterbruderschaften*.⁶⁵² Yet during the fifteenth century, laymen joined to an increasing extent. As Ludwig Remling has shown through the example of towns in late-medieval Franconia, local councillors were often instrumental in constituting the *Engelmess-Bruderschaften* (Corpus Christi confraternities). Through their financial endowments, they installed local clergymen as prebendaries to hold the weekly Thursday processions within the parish churches on the days of the celebration of the *Engelmesse* (Corpus Christi Mass) and communal commemorations for the living and deceased members on yearly confraternity feast days and the *Quatember* days, i.e. on four days within a year.⁶⁵³ Integration, exclusivity, and representation are maybe the best terms for describing these late-medieval Eucharistic institutions. In Franconia, social integration was, according to Remling, one of the most important functions of these associations, for *all* of their members were obliged to be present at the collective commemorative services which no-one from outside could attend. Exclusivity was enhanced through the introduction of membership fees which were only affordable for a town's richer and higher-ranking inhabitants, while the poor and lower-ranking people were excluded from becoming members. This exclusivity served as a means of representation for the members, especially for local noblemen and influential citizens who held important positions within these organisations.⁶⁵⁴

Late-medieval Corpus Christi confraternities were never, of course, the only lay associations which fulfilled integrative, exclusive, and representative functions. Rebekka von Mallinckrodt has examined a variety of lay corporations in Cologne

⁶⁵¹ Browe, *Die Verehrung*, pp. 9-10, 141, 143-153, 159.

⁶⁵² Schubert, Franz, 'Corpus-Christi-Bruderschaften', in Buchberger and Kasper (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 2, c. 1318.

⁶⁵³ Remling, Ludwig, *Bruderschaften in Franken: Kirchen- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Bruderschaftswesen* (Würzburg, 1986), chap. 3.2.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

during the later Middle Ages and highlighted these functions as expressions of a specific, *late-medieval* religiosity.⁶⁵⁵ The Reformation, however, resulted in a confraternity crisis in the sixteenth century, and both Remling and Mallinckrodt state that, with the exception of only a few examples, the majority of confraternities disappeared from the scene.⁶⁵⁶ The situation in the Duchy of Bavaria was similar. Thomas Finkenstaedt and Josef Krettner could find evidence of only nine Corpus Christi confraternities that were founded before the Reformation in today's Bavaria, only two of which, situated in the local towns of Pfarrkirchen and Wasserburg, belonged to the former duchy.⁶⁵⁷ Although the Corpus Christi confraternities appear to have been extinguished after the Reformation, their pre-Reformation number must have been much higher. Only very detailed studies of local history and fortunate coincidences during archival research can give us a glimpse of their previous popularity and prevalence.⁶⁵⁸

Wasserburg and Pfarrkirchen

It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the late-medieval Corpus Christi confraternities enjoyed a revival. Wasserburg and Pfarrkirchen stand out as examples of confraternities that had and advertised their pre-Reformation history. We do not know if they persisted during the Reformation caesura. Archival records suggest that they did not find themselves performing duties again until after 1600. The Wasserburg confraternity had originally been instituted as a *Priesterbruderschaft* in the fifteenth century. Founded in 1430 by the priesthood at the local St Jakob parish church to hold commemorative services for its members, it received its episcopal approval from Bishop Sixtus of Freising in 1484.⁶⁵⁹ However, in 1511, local lay authorities re-founded the clerical brotherhood and changed its statutes in order to open it for laypeople, both

⁶⁵⁵ Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von, *Struktur und kollektiver Eigensinn: Kölner Laienbruderschaften im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung* (Göttingen, 2005), pp. 58-62.

⁶⁵⁶ Remling, *Bruderschaften*, p. 235; Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, p. 61.

⁶⁵⁷ Finkenstaedt, Thomas, Krettner, Josef, *Erster Katalog von Bruderschaften in Bayern* (Munich, 1980), p. 55.

⁶⁵⁸ On the foundation of a Corpus Christi confraternity in Vilshofen in 1455: ABP, PfA Vilshofen, Urkunden, U5 (1455). On another late-medieval Corpus Christi confraternity, founded in Vilsbiburg in 1469: Käser, Peter, *Stadtpfarrkirche Mariä Himmelfahrt Vilsbiburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsfindung der Stadtpfarrkirche Vilsbiburg* (Straubing, 2006), pp. 78, 84.

⁶⁵⁹ StAW, I2b228.

men and women.⁶⁶⁰ They also put it under the new title of Corpus Christi, to benefit from the indulgence which Pope Innozenz VIII had already conferred in 1492 to those attending the weekly Thursday service, which included a procession with the Blessed Sacrament within the church.⁶⁶¹ Confirmed by both the lay and ecclesiastical authorities (the local magistrate, on the one hand, and, on the other, the parish church's legal authorities at the Benedictine monastery of Attel), the new clerical Corpus Christi confraternity merged the town's clergy together with laymen and laywomen.⁶⁶²

The Reformation seems to have resulted in the Wasserburg confraternity's decline, for it was not until 1607 that its pre-Reformation statutes were again confirmed by Bishop Ernst of Freising, responding to a request from local authorities two years earlier, in a letter dated 15 August 1605.⁶⁶³ As the reconfirmed statutes of the early seventeenth century were identical to those of the early sixteenth century, the confraternity at Wasserburg continued to perform liturgical duties in a very traditional way. Both the pre- and post-Reformation statutes focused on Eucharistic devotion and the collective commemoration of deceased members. Linked by the precept of integration, every member was obliged to attend all the Thursday processions and memorial services with burning candles.⁶⁶⁴ The precepts of exclusivity and representation also played a key role, for the statutes explicitly state that, for the benefit of the local parish church and town council, the confraternity meetings' negotiations were not to be divulged, but to be kept secret.⁶⁶⁵ The importance of lay people must certainly have grown, due to their increasing initiative which had resulted in the confraternity's opening for both sexes in the later Middle Ages. But in the absence of comprehensive membership lists, we can hardly determine the confraternity's social or gender composition. Nor are we able to tell the total number of its members. But it probably was relatively small, because of the confraternity's focus on the parish church's and, in particular, the town magistrate's affairs! We may infer from this that the members consisted, for the most part, of local

⁶⁶⁰ Idem, I2a536, I2a537.

⁶⁶¹ Idem, I2b161, I2b171.

⁶⁶² Idem, I2a538, I2a539, I2b161.

⁶⁶³ Idem, I2b104, I2b161.

⁶⁶⁴ Idem, I2b161.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

clergymen and councillors, two representatives of whom, one lay and one clerical, were elected annually to preside over the confraternity.⁶⁶⁶

The second example of a confraternity claiming a pre-Reformation history was the Corpus Christi confraternity in the Lower Bavarian town of Pfarrkirchen. Its original statutes do not exist anymore, but a record in the confraternity accounts, dating from the early seventeenth century, refers to its ‘fundatores’ (‘founders’) who had donated a weekly Mass, albeit on a Friday instead of a Thursday, on the St John’s altar in the parish church of ‘S: S: Simonis et Judae’ (‘saints Simon and Judah’).⁶⁶⁷ Regular Thursday celebrations seem to have taken place, however, from 1393 in the local church, due to the endowment of a Corpus Christi benefice on 14 May of the same year.⁶⁶⁸ The holding of the customary Thursday Masses and further memorial services on the *Quatember* days as well as on the annual feast day during the Corpus Christi octave continued, according to the accounts of 1628, into the seventeenth century.⁶⁶⁹ These still very traditional practices were certainly meant to serve a purpose which was similar to that of the Corpus Christi confraternity at Wasserburg: to establish a religious community of both clerical and lay people to commemorate and pray for its living and dead members in front of the Eucharist.

II. Counter-Reformation Renewal

The new reform orders played a key part in the founding and re-founding of religious lay confraternities during the seventeenth century which led to what Mallinckrodt has called a ‘confraternity boom’ in the city and archbishopric of Cologne.⁶⁷⁰ What made the seventeenth-century foundations stand out from traditional confraternities as ‘new’ institutions of the Catholic Church was not only that they enjoyed a general revival after the Reformation, but also that they were integrated into a scheme which was intended to construct a system of centrally-organised associations. This, distinctively post-

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ ABP, PfA Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1628, fol. 193.

⁶⁶⁸ Hochholzer, Adolf, *Pfarrkirchen - Kreisstadt in Niederbayern: 1100 Jahre Siedlung an der mittleren Rott* (Pfarrkirchen, 2002), p. 281.

⁶⁶⁹ ABP, PfA Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1628, fols. 193-194.

⁶⁷⁰ Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, p. 210.

Tridentine, development resulted, according to Trevor Johnson, in two important novelties. Firstly, the confraternities were affiliated as branches or satellites to larger arch-confraternities which promoted, in particular, the new Counter-Reformation cults of Mary and the Eucharist. Secondly, their ascription into this system as clerical foundations under the auspices of the Universal Church brought them under permanent religious control.⁶⁷¹

At the head of the Eucharistic confraternity network was the Corpus Christi arch-confraternity in Rome which was initiated by the Dominican Thomas Stella at the Dominican church of St Maria sopra Minerva and was solemnly ratified and blessed with a number of indulgences by Pope Paul III (r. 1534-1549) in 1539.⁶⁷² Several canonical regulations of the early seventeenth century enhanced, furthermore, the role of the bishops in founding or re-founding Corpus Christi confraternities in their parishes. New confraternities given the same title and purpose as the Roman organisation benefitted from the central arch-confraternity's indulgences.⁶⁷³ In order to promote the Marian cult, late-medieval Rosary confraternities, the first of which was founded by the Dominican Joseph Sprenger at Cologne's Dominican monastery in 1475, were also linked to the main arch-confraternity affiliated with the Dominicans in Rome.⁶⁷⁴ To spread devotion to Mary, another new religious lay association was established by the Jesuits in the later sixteenth century. Their first Marian congregation was founded by the Belgian Jesuit Jean Leunis in 1563, bringing together a group of students at the Roman College which became, like the Eucharistic arch-confraternity at the church of St Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, the Marian mother congregation and the *Primaria* of all its affiliates.⁶⁷⁵ Linked to this new system as affiliates to their main mother arch-confraternity or congregation, the daughter associations were, strangely

⁶⁷¹ Johnson, *Magistrates, madonnas, and miracles*, pp. 170-171.

⁶⁷² Weinzierl, Karl, 'Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft bei St. Peter in München: Ihre Entstehung, ihre Ablässe und ihre Satzungen', in Theologische Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (ed.), *Pro mundi vita*, pp. 114-127, esp. p. 115.

⁶⁷³ Weiß, Wolfgang, 'Die Corporis-Christi-Bruderschaft am Dom zu Würzburg', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 50 (1988), pp. 703-728, esp. p. 704.

⁶⁷⁴ Schneider, Bernhard, *Bruderschaften im Trierer Land: Ihre Geschichte und ihr Gottesdienst zwischen Tridentinum und Säkularisation* (Trier, 1989), pp. 94, 95 and n. 236, and p. 107; Theil, Bernhard, 'Bruderschaften in Vorderösterreich: Zu Mentalität und Frömmigkeit barocker Bruderschaften', *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 20 (2001), pp. 195-210, esp. pp. 204-205.

⁶⁷⁵ Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, pp. 139, 144.

enough, ‘at once smaller and larger than the town and village communities in which their members lived’.⁶⁷⁶

While the Jesuits and Dominicans took the lead in spreading devotional communities under the protection of Mary, the Capuchins initiated a campaign that was aimed at the implementation of religious associations devoted to the veneration of the Eucharist. A large number of Corpus Christi confraternities were founded between 1600 and 1700, but their exact number is hard to calculate. According to Finkenstaedt’s and Krettner’s catalogue, more than 60 Corpus Christi confraternities, and at least twice as many Marian confraternities dedicated to the Rosary, were established during the seventeenth century in today’s Bavaria, most of which were situated in the former duchy.⁶⁷⁷ Yet the catalogue is incomplete and the number of new foundations must have been much higher. This contrasts with Mallinckrodt’s findings for Cologne, where among the new seventeenth-century foundations she identified only one sacramental confraternity which was confirmed in 1611, after being established by the Franciscan Observants at their monastery.⁶⁷⁸

The comparison with Cologne highlights a distinct Bavarian feature: the prominence of the Capuchins. The dukes and later electors of Bavaria certainly were very keen supporters of the Jesuits who founded colleges and Marian congregations in the university town of Ingolstadt and in Bavaria’s larger towns of governmental importance: Munich, Landshut, Straubing, and Burghausen.⁶⁷⁹ But the Wittelsbachs also helped the Capuchins spread through the Bavarian lands from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. Maximilian, who was a good friend of the Capuchin friar Laurentius of Brindisi (1559-1619), called several members of their order to Munich in 1600, while his already resigned father, Wilhelm, laid the foundation stone of the Capuchin monastery only one year later. Further monasteries were erected in Landshut in 1610, Straubing in 1614, and Burghausen in 1654. Monasteries for the Capuchins

⁶⁷⁶ Johnson, *Magistrates, madonnas, and miracles*, p. 170.

⁶⁷⁷ Finkenstaedt/Krettner, *Erster Katalog*, pp. 55-57, 134-137.

⁶⁷⁸ Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, p. 219.

⁶⁷⁹ On the Jesuit colleges: Müller, Michael, ‘Die Jesuiten (SJ)’, in Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina E. Schwerdtfeger (eds.), *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und Katholischer Reform: 1500-1700*, vol. 2 (Münster, 2006), pp. 193-214, esp. pp. 196-197.

were also built in smaller towns, including Rosenheim in 1606, Wasserburg in 1624, and Vilshofen in 1642.⁶⁸⁰ The Capuchins acquired a growing influence as permanent preachers at the parish churches of St Peter in Munich and of St Jodok in Landshut.⁶⁸¹ From their local monasteries, they undertook temporary preaching missions during the Lenten period through which they spread their influence in the surrounding countryside. From their monastery at Rosenheim, for instance, the Capuchins acted regularly as Lenten preachers at nearby Upper Bavarian localities: at Traunstein between 1631 and 1670 and Bad Aibling from the later 1660s.⁶⁸²

By kick-starting the institution of new Corpus Christi confraternities during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Capuchins contributed to a Counter-Reformation renewal in the Duchy of Bavaria. As temporary and permanent preachers, the Capuchins played a key part in promoting the new kind of Corpus Christi confraternity in the cities and towns where they had monasteries and in the surrounding localities. The nature of their engagement with Eucharistic devotion was two-fold. Although the new Counter-Reformation confraternities were instituted at the local, parish level, they also came to be linked to the universal system of post-Tridentine renewal. The Tridentine project seems, indeed, to have borne fruit in the Duchy of Bavaria, for the Wittelsbach dukes acted quickly on a local Capuchin's suggestion for the foundation of a new Corpus Christi confraternity in Munich.

Capuchin Promotion in Munich

As one of those Capuchins preaching in the pulpit at Munich's parish church of St Peter from 1605, Augustinus von Augsburg was the main driving force behind Duke

⁶⁸⁰ On the Capuchin monasteries: Sprinkart, Alfons 'Kapuziner', in Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 795-806.

⁶⁸¹ Eberl, Angelikus, *Geschichte der bayrischen Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz: 1593-1902* (Freiburg im Breisgau et al., 1902), pp. 36-37; Bengl, Max, Kolb, Joseph, 'Die Geschichte der Pfarrei St. Jodok und ihrer Pfarrer', in Alfred Rössler (ed.), *Die Freyung mit St. Jodok in Landshut: Aus der Geschichte Landshuts zum 650-jährigen Jubiläum eines Stadtteils. 1338-1988* (Landshut, 1988), pp. 39-84, esp. p. 46.

⁶⁸² Graf, Matthias, *Willing (Bezirksamt Bad Aibling) in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Kaufbeuren, 1907), p. 62; Haselbeck, Franz, *Leben, Wirken und Vermächtnis der Traunsteiner Kapuziner: Publikation zur Ausstellung "Mein Gott und mein Alles: Geschichte der Kapuziner in Traunstein", veranstaltet vom Stadtarchiv Traunstein, 8.-27. Februar 1994, Städtische Galerie, Ludwigstraße 12* (Traunstein, 1994), p. 23.

Wilhelm's appeal to Pope Paul V (r. 1605-1621) seeking his approval of the new foundation. The confraternity's papal as well as episcopal approvals followed soon afterwards, thanks to ducal intervention. Only four months after the pope's confirmation on 21 February 1609, the bishop of Freising approved the new confraternity on 23 June of the same year, this time at Duke Maximilian's request. With these approvals, the Corpus Christi confraternity at St Peter's in Munich became the first of its kind in the duchy which obtained the status of an arch-confraternity with the right to extend its privileges and indulgences from the Roman mother to other affiliates of the bishopric of Freising. Members of the Munich confraternity and its associates were therefore blessed with the indulgences already in existence and those which would be offered to them by the Church in the future.⁶⁸³

The practice of indulgences enjoyed a revival after the Reformation, and there was an extensive range of opportunities for acquiring them, which 'democratised the post-Reformation Catholic pardon system'.⁶⁸⁴ Confraternities provided these opportunities, and the confraternity at Munich could draw upon a rich treasury of indulgence opportunities for its members, who, as I will discuss later, included men and women, rich and poor alike. Plenary indulgences could be achieved on the day of enrolment after sacramental communion and confession; on the annual octave day of the Corpus Christi feast, when participating in the sacramental procession and praying for peace among Christian (Catholic) princes, the extinction of heresies, and the enhancement of the (Catholic) Church (even if one was not able to attend the procession, but said the aforementioned prayers); in danger of one's life (*in articulo mortis*), when praising the name of Jesus vocally or mentally (even if one was not able anymore to receive communion before death); and on the eve of Good Friday, when participating in the confraternity procession.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ On the foundation of the Munich confraternity: Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 23; Weiß, Dieter J., *Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft bei St. Peter: Ein Beitrag zur altbayerischen Kirchen- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte* (Munich, 1989), p. 10; Weinzierl, 'Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft', pp. 116-117.

⁶⁸⁴ Johnson, *Magistrates, madonnas, and miracles*, p. 192.

⁶⁸⁵ Weinzierl, 'Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft', p. 118.

Minor indulgences could be won when receiving communion after sacramental confession and praying in the aforementioned manner during the feast of Corpus Christi and the regular Thursday processions; when participating in the Thursday procession after confession; when accompanying the priest during his *Versehgang*, or *viaticum*-procession to the sick and dying, or praying one *Paternoster* and one *Ave Maria* for the ill member if this was not possible.⁶⁸⁶ A ‘democratisation’ of the Catholic Church’s indulgence practice was particularly furthered by extending its privileges to any church or altar at which a confraternity was instituted. Members gained an indulgence of 100 days, when attending any confraternity church on a Friday and praying in the aforesaid way, or praying before the sacrament on Holy Thursday.⁶⁸⁷ The possibility of gaining access to indulgences at privileged altars also included priests. Those celebrating Mass at any confraternity altar and praying for the conversion of heretics before or after the church service to themselves in silence qualified for a 40-day remission of punishment for their sins. The merit system even embraced non-members who could earn some of the indulgences granted to members, albeit shorter remissions, for example a ten-year remission for attending the Good Friday procession and a 200-day remission for taking part in the Thursday procession. Female non-members were excluded, however, from attending the annual Good Friday procession. Nonetheless, they were eligible for the same indulgence as their male counterparts when saying the aforementioned prayers on that day in private, either at home or in the church.⁶⁸⁸

By offering an immense variety of indulgences, the Church’s great generosity concentrated its efforts on attracting as many people as possible, regardless of their gender or fortune. The framework provided by the institutional Church was adapted in the local statutes by the Counter-Reformation order. The Capuchins, who certainly took a lead in drawing the statutes of the Munich confraternity, made it easily accessible, for both men and women were allowed to join, no matter whether they already belonged to one or more confraternities. In addition, it was left to one’s own discretion whether or not to put money into the collecting box. The principle of voluntariness was, however, linked to that of commitment. According to the statutes, each member was obliged to

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 118-119.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

receive the sacraments of confession and communion before being inscribed in the arch-confraternity on special days of enrolment.⁶⁸⁹

The statutes demanded, furthermore, that every day each member prayed five *Paternosters*, five *Aves*, and one *Credo* in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, the Five Wounds, and the daily enhancement of Christianity.⁶⁹⁰ All brothers and sisters were, moreover, obliged to take part in the usual prayers and processions, and further practices commemorating both the living and the dead members of the confraternity: the weekly Thursday Mass and procession; the *viaticum*-processions in order to ‘provide’ the sick and dying with the Blessed Sacrament; the annual feast day or *Jahrtag*; monthly Thursday memorial services, including two Masses, a sermon, and a sacramental procession for living members; funerals as well as collective commemorations for the deceased brethren and sisters every month and on the *Quatember* days four times a year; and a special festivity on the confraternity’s anniversary day to celebrate its foundation on 21 February 1609 and to remember its benefactors.⁶⁹¹

The characteristically Counter-Reformation ritual of a more frequent communion, which included sacramental confession as the obligatory preparation for the reception of the Eucharistic wafer, was of particular importance. All members were encouraged to receive communion not only at Easter and the day of enrolment, but also at least four other times a year: at Christmas, in the first week of the Lenten period, at Pentecost, and on the day of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁶⁹² In spite of these obligations, the statutes made several concessions. Unlike its late-medieval precursors which required their members to participate and pray in the collective commemorations within their community at a particular place and time, the seventeenth-century confraternity gave its members a degree of individual freedom, for they could choose where and when, and even who was to say their prayers. If, as permitted by the regulations, a confraternity member was unable to attend the aforementioned services in person for any reason

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 120.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁹¹ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 45.

⁶⁹² Weinzierl, ‘Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft’, p. 120.

whatsoever, he or she was allowed to send another person in his or her place, or pray, instead, one *Paternoster*, one *Ave Maria*, and one *Credo* in private.⁶⁹³

The statutes granted the confraternity members some freedom. But they placed a heavy burden on the parish priest and his co-operators who had to cope with the demanding task of accomplishing the many rituals which the confraternity organised. Faced with this task, the parish clergy seem to have considered it rather unrewarding, even though their new role had been made more attractive by the issue of an indulgence for their Mass celebrations at the privileged confraternity altar. The heavy duty might have been the reason why the dean of St Peter's was at the centre of a conflict with the arch-confraternity's authorities which led to an alteration of the statutes regulating the responsibilities of the office-holders in the mid-seventeenth century.⁶⁹⁴ The revised statutes, which the bishop of Freising reconfirmed in 1645 after his coadjutor Albert Sigmund of Bavaria had drafted them in 1638, illustrate the whole range of the local dean's and parish priest's commitments, including the customary Thursday processions, the monthly memorial services, the annual feast days and processions, and the sacramental expositions during the official promulgations and enrolments.⁶⁹⁵ What was, however, now added to the statutes as a compromise was a yearly amount of 60 Gulden as a compensation so that the dean would not raise further trouble because of his tasks. A present was, moreover, to be given to other parochial clerics, musicians, acolytes, and sacristans in return for their role in assisting the local dean in carrying out the various confraternity processions and services.⁶⁹⁶

Given the extensive range of prayers and processions, an effective confraternity structure was needed for their organisation. Yet written records describing the office-holders and their functions were not produced until after the bishop coadjutor had outlined them in the particular statutes of 1638, listing them in accordance with those at Rome and other places.⁶⁹⁷ According to the 1645 statutes, great responsibility was placed on the local dean and parish priest as the *Präses*, while either a clergyman or a

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 29.

⁶⁹⁵ Weinzierl, 'Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft', pp. 121, 123-124.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 124.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 121.

layman was appointed to the leading position of the *Präfekt*, supported by a council of two assistants, a secretary, and further *Consultoren*, or counsellors.⁶⁹⁸ Presiding over the confraternity as a prefect served representative functions, since it was regarded as a great honour which brought social prestige. Hence, we often find high-ranking lay representatives as its office-holders from 1612 (their duties were, however, not recorded until after 1638): the ‘newcomer’ Franz Füll der Ältere zu Eresing und Windach from Landshut who, as a purveyor to the ducal court and its army, had made a huge fortune and entered into the city of Munich’s aristocracy; further ducal officials and members of the state’s and the city’s noble families; even prominent military leaders, like the general of the Catholic League, Johann Tserclaes Graf von Tilly, or ducal family members themselves, such as the future Bavarian elector, Ferdinand Maria, and his cousin, Maximilian Philipp; as well as representatives of Munich’s city council who were assigned the traditional role as the *Weiser* and *Himmelträger* during the Corpus Christi and regular Thursday processions.⁶⁹⁹

The Munich confraternity’s status as an episcopal institution found its foremost expression in the statutes, for it was put under the protection of the bishop of Freising as its *Supremus Präses*.⁷⁰⁰ Under the auspices of the bishop, the Capuchins exercised close supervision. Besides their role as advisors and supervisors, they functioned as ‘ideas provider’ and communicators to engage as many members as possible. This emerges from one of the particular statutes of 1645 which underlined the importance of the Capuchin ‘father preacher’ (‘Pater Prediger’). His advisory and supervisory activities consisted in monitoring and improving the confraternity’s actors and their activities. As an initiator, on the other hand, he was obliged to be personally present at most council sessions to put forward his ideas.⁷⁰¹

What the statute specified, however, as the most essential of his qualifications for promoting the confraternity and conveying its ideas was his exceptional ability to preach. He delivered his speeches during the monthly Mass celebrations, the enrolment

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 121-126.

⁶⁹⁹ Weiß, *Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft*, pp. 14-15; Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 41.

⁷⁰⁰ Weinzierl, ‘Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft’, p. 121.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., p. 124.

of brothers and sisters, and the introduction of a new prefect, addressed the audience before their start of the Good Friday procession, and aimed to encourage people to join the confraternity for the benefit of its continuous increase.⁷⁰² This statute would not have been drafted if the Capuchins had not been famous for their outstanding preaching abilities. Their ‘down-to-earth’ preaching and pulpit eloquence enhanced their popular appeal, spreading their influence among the lower and higher social classes.⁷⁰³ The popular response to their pulpit persuasiveness was strong, and the institution of the Corpus Christi confraternity served as an effective tool for increasing it. The number of their sermons throughout the church year had risen rapidly since their 1605 appointment as parish preachers at Munich’s St Peter’s church, but it grew conspicuously through their role as confraternity communicators.⁷⁰⁴

Through a note in its minute book we can get a glimpse of the Munich confraternity’s membership in the seventeenth century: it had 66 (male) confraternity members in 1630, although its total number might have been much higher if we take the proportion of female members into account.⁷⁰⁵ Not until the eighteenth century do detailed records provide a more comprehensive picture. For example, during its 100th anniversary in 1709, 390 men entered the confraternity, while, according to a record listing 1,500 new entrants altogether, more than 1,000 women must have become members!⁷⁰⁶ Hence, the confraternity attracted more people, and more women, on such special occasions as jubilees, who were possibly drawn in by the Capuchin preachers’ powerful pulpit rhetoric. Yet, the exact share of women is hard to determine.

These records give a rough indication of the proportions of male and female members, but if the confraternity already had a strong attraction for women in the previous century, we can, without doubt, evaluate its membership figure at at least several hundred or perhaps even a thousand or more people. The confraternity seemed, indeed, to have attracted them in the seventeenth century because of its voluntary character,

⁷⁰² Ibid., pp. 124-125.

⁷⁰³ Hubensteiner, *Vom Geist des Barock*, p. 83.

⁷⁰⁴ Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 37.

⁷⁰⁵ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 46.

⁷⁰⁶ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 46; Hufnagel, ‘Zeugen eucharistischer Frömmigkeit’, p. 26.

which enabled their initiative and provided them with a platform for building up their prestige. This probably explains why we find, first and foremost, women, especially noblewomen, who made their participation visible through their donation of splendid items, such as precious regalia, canopies, and flags, which were to be seen within the church and during public performances. One of the most magnificent gifts to the confraternity was a diamond monstrance which was donated by the duchess Maria Adelheid Theresia von Rivera in 1697 and embellished with her own bride's jewels.⁷⁰⁷

In terms of the confraternity's attractiveness to the local elite, we can see an obvious parallel to the Marian congregation of the Jesuits in Munich. As Louis Châtellier has pointed out, the Munich congregation, which had been founded in 1578, attracted a growing proportion of the urban elite, albeit only male members. In 1584, 26 laymen, among them representatives of the court and the aristocracy, with the duke and his family at the head of the laity, had registered. In 1673, the lay membership had risen to 171 men and to 275 in 1727, including an increasing percentage of the ruling class attached to the electoral household.⁷⁰⁸ In terms of structure, we can, furthermore, see another similarity between the Capuchin confraternity and the Jesuit congregation. Although the Roman Corpus Christi confraternity was founded before its Marian counterpart, the Jesuit affiliates are the earliest institutions that had a more complex organisation, involving a hierarchy of clerical and lay members. Whereas a Jesuit, being the superior as the *Präses*, exerted clerical control, laymen held the prestigious position of the *Präfekt* as well as those of his assistants and counsellors.⁷⁰⁹

Capuchin Promotion in the Localities

Châtellier, in particular, has drawn attention to the great impact of the Marian congregations, whose importance in the mid-seventeenth century could be seen in their mounting membership rolls at urban centres and smaller towns where the Jesuits wielded a strong influence, with 2,000 members at Cologne, and even 3,000 at

⁷⁰⁷ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 125.

⁷⁰⁸ Châtellier, Louis, *The Europe of the devout: the Catholic reformation and the formation of a new society*, pp. 9, 15, 91-92.

⁷⁰⁹ Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, pp. 154-155; Châtellier, *The Europe of the devout*, pp. 10-11.

Ingolstadt.⁷¹⁰ Their membership also represented a high proportion of the population at the residential town of Straubing where the Marian congregation of the Annunciation at the Jesuit college church had 3,000 members in 1721.⁷¹¹ In the localities, on the other hand, the scope of the Jesuits' influence was much more limited. Four examples highlight the importance of the Capuchins not only for the promotion of the Eucharistic cult, but also for the extent of their influence on the population in localities: the Upper Bavarian towns of Rosenheim, Wasserburg, and Kraiburg, as well as Pfarrkirchen in Lower Bavaria. The Capuchins asserted a dominant influence from their local monastery at Rosenheim, and as itinerant preachers to the nearby town of Wasserburg. During the Thirty Years War, the Capuchins played a key role in providing pastoral care for the local population in towns surrounding their monasteries, such as Kraiburg. In all of these towns, the Capuchin confraternities were, unlike the Jesuit congregations, not instituted at a church dependent on their order, but at the local parish church. In addition to the Eucharistic confraternities, Rosary confraternities were installed as Marian counterparts in the localities where, as the case of Pfarrkirchen illustrates, they often collaborated.

In Rosenheim, the Capuchins helped to institutionalise the 'Confraternitet und Bruerderschafft des zarten fronleichnambs Christi Jesu' ('Corpus Christi confraternity') under the protectorate of the bishop of Freising as its 'höchstes haubt' ('supreme head') at the local parish church of St Nikolaus in the early seventeenth century, introducing a set of rules and a system of properly elected office-holders, with 'Praefectis, Assistentibus, Consiliarijs, und andern Officialibus' ('prefects, assistants, counsellors, and other officials').⁷¹² The case of Rosenheim demonstrates that the local populace were willing to co-operate with the new religious order. The Capuchin promotion of the new confraternity encouraged important lay officials, among them the ducal *Pfleger*, Adolf Wilhelm Hundt zu Falkenstein, and the town councillors Virgil Erb and Johann Müller, to found the confraternity only two years after the Capuchin monastery had

⁷¹⁰ Châtellier, *The Europe of the devout*, p. 51.

⁷¹¹ Schmucker, Alfred, 'Die Marianische Männerkongregation (MMC) Straubing im Wandel der Zeit seit 1646', in Alfons Huber (ed.), *St. Jakob zu Straubing - Erhebung zur Basilika: Kirche und Pfarrei St. Jakob in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Festschrift anlässlich der Erhebung der Stadtpfarrkirche St. Jakobus und Tiburtius zur päpstlichen Basilika am 23. Juli 1989* (Straubing, 1989), pp. 239-276, esp. p. 246.

⁷¹² AEM, Pfa Rosenheim, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Bruderschaften).

been built in 1606: it was officially instituted on 14 March 1608 and confirmed by the bishop of Freising on 20 October 1609.⁷¹³

The role of the Capuchins as itinerant preachers emerges from the example of the nearby Wasserburg, where their new Corpus Christi confraternity replaced the old one. During earlier preaching missions to the town, before the foundation stone of their monastery was laid in the 1620s, they had probably played a decisive part in changing the statutes of the local Corpus Christi confraternity which had been confirmed by the bishop of Freising in 1484 as a clerical brotherhood and been reconfirmed as a ‘Priester & Venerabilis Sacramenti’ (‘priestly and [lay] Corpus Christi confraternity’) in 1607.⁷¹⁴ Only five years later, the statutes were transformed and integrated into the new system of arch-confraternities. This is confirmed by a booklet listing the statutes, indulgences, and prayers, printed in 1612 in a handy duodecimo format, which the members received on joining. The new statutes were still based on its traditional practices of holding the regular Thursday Eucharistic processions and providing memorial and funeral services for its dead members, but the brothers and sisters were now encouraged to win the indulgences granted by the Roman mother confraternity.⁷¹⁵

New Corpus Christi confraternities were also established in localities where the populace’s desire for effective preaching was particularly strong as a result of the trauma caused by the Thirty Years War. In Kraiburg, for instance, situated on the Inn and belonging to the archdiocese of Salzburg, the Capuchins were able to fulfil this duty as itinerant preachers from their nearby monastery at Wasserburg. According to the introduction of a large confraternity book, covered in red velvet with silver ornaments, the former guardian and preacher at the Capuchin monastery at Augsburg, Johann Chrysostomus, played a key part in founding the Kraiburg confraternity and drafting its statutes as ‘Instructor’ or ‘Underweiser’ (‘instructor’), after the population had signalled an urgent desire for a Lenten preacher. The Capuchin’s powerful preaching must have

⁷¹³ Mittl, Hans, ‘Das Volksschauspiel in Rosenheim’, in Albert J. Aschl (ed.), *600 Jahre Rosenheim: Festschrift zur Feier der 600jährigen Marktfreiheit. 1328-1928* (Rosenheim, 1928), pp. 61-74, esp. p. 62.

⁷¹⁴ AEM, Pfa Wasserburg, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft).

⁷¹⁵ Ibid.: *Statuta Vnd Indulgentiae, der andächtigen Bruderschaft deß allerheiligsten Fronleichnam Christi Jesu zu Wasserburg (welche sonst der Priester Bruderschaft genannt wirdt) so der Erzbruderschaft vnser lieben Frawen zu Rom einverleibt* (1612).

created a lasting impression on Kraiburg's inhabitants, as they produced a handwritten account in meticulous detail, setting out their local confraternity's history and origins, along with copies of its most important letters, covering nearly 30 pages.⁷¹⁶

As recorded in the confraternity book, the local magistrate and parish priest, Georg Präntl, addressed Remigius von Botzen, the superior of the Capuchin provinces of Tyrol and Bavaria, then present at the Wasserburg monastery, to ask him for a Lenten preacher in 1632. The Capuchin response was prompt, and the preacher Johann Chrysostomus arrived in February of the following year from Wasserburg in order to provide pastoral care during the disruption caused by Swedish troops. His pulpit speeches, in particular, in which the Capuchin priest promoted the new Corpus Christi confraternity, gave him a strong popular appeal. This encouraged the parish community to repeatedly urge the ecclesiastical authorities at Salzburg in March, and again in April of the same year to give their approval for its introduction. Among the town authorities, the ducal official and local *Pfleger*, Wolff Wilhelm Rösch, showed a particularly keen interest in establishing the confraternity: he corresponded with the Capuchin vice-superior in Wasserburg (the superior himself was in Rome) to ask for Chrysostomus' assistance in producing the statutes and popularising them through his preaching to the public; he also corresponded with the Salzburg authorities to push them for their final confirmation in early May. The Corpus Christi confraternity was finally incorporated into the diocesan arch-confraternity and solemnly established on Trinity Sunday on 22 May 1633.⁷¹⁷

In Pfarrkirchen, the Capuchin-promoted Corpus Christi confraternity replaced, as in Wasserburg, the older one. The case of Pfarrkirchen furthermore indicates that, besides the Corpus Christi confraternity, the Rosary confraternity was often installed as a Marian equivalent to its Eucharistic counterpart at the local level where the two confraternities co-operated. During wartime, the Capuchins here again responded to the repeated requests from the local population. Between 1641 and 1648, the local Eucharistic Corpus Christi confraternity and Marian Rosary confraternity, as well as the

⁷¹⁶ Idem, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fols. 2r-16r.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.

parish church shared expenses for pastoral services during the Lenten period by members of the Capuchin order who undertook missions from their nearby monastery at Braunau am Inn, a town in the *Innviertel* region of today's Upper Austria.⁷¹⁸ The confraternity accounts convey the impression that the local populace depended crucially on Capuchin support, which is most apparent from the account of 1641. During that year, they sent envoys to the Capuchin monastery at Braunau on several occasions, begging for a preacher in Lent, on special feast days such as the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in Advent.⁷¹⁹

In terms of their membership, the Capuchin confraternities were more easily accessible to people from all strata of society. Their social inclusiveness provides an interesting contrast to the Marian congregations of the Jesuits whose adherents were split by age, sex, and social status.⁷²⁰ Unlike the Jesuits who intentionally excluded poor members, the Capuchins focused on the integration of the lowest and weakest in society, in particular.⁷²¹ The statutes of the Kraiburg confraternity explicitly stated that those dying and condemned to death, who still wanted to become members before their deaths, should be included.⁷²² Moreover, only the rich were expected to pay an enrolment fee, while entry for the poor was free.⁷²³ Only young boys and girls who were not yet allowed to receive either confession or communion were excluded from joining the confraternity.⁷²⁴

Hence, compared with the Jesuits who distinguished between groups of pupils, students, celibates, and citizens, the Capuchins aimed at building large-scale organisations without any distinction.⁷²⁵ This is why they removed social and territorial barriers to include poorer people as well as outsiders. The absence of surviving membership lists makes it difficult to give a precise account of the social distribution and number of

⁷¹⁸ ABP, Pfa Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1641, fol. 7, 1642, fol. 9, 1647, fol. 9, 1648, fol. 11.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., 1641, fols. 7, 9, 11.

⁷²⁰ Johnson, *Magistrates, madonnas, and miracles*, p. 138.

⁷²¹ Cf. Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, pp. 154, 200.

⁷²² AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fol. 33.

⁷²³ Ibid., fols. 22r-23r, 33.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., fol. 33.

⁷²⁵ Cf. Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, p. 197.

members. Nevertheless, records of burials from the confraternity accounts reveal approximate details about the composition of their members. Between 1649 and 1656, more than 150 men and women were buried by the Wasserburg confraternity.⁷²⁶ A list of the deceased from 1649 records the funerals of 59 members, the majority of whom belonged to a local guild, including cloth-makers, painters, day labourers, and cooks.⁷²⁷ Another list of 22 people who died in 1653 included only one representative of the local elite, the wife of the electoral *Kammerrat*, Stephan Höckhens. Most of the deceased were, however, poorer local craftsmen, such as carpenters and cord-makers.⁷²⁸

Their significant proportion can be explained by the confraternity's charitable foundation which provided not only medical and spiritual care for the sick and dying, but also financial aid to the children of particularly poor people.⁷²⁹ In 1613, confraternity members had donated charity for the care of the neediest and poorest in their society, especially orphans, apprentice boys and girls, and domestic workers.⁷³⁰ The new endowment also had the backing of Duke Maximilian who had given his consent on 14 January 1614.⁷³¹ In 1653, for instance, the son of a rope-maker was assisted financially in learning the trade of his mother.⁷³² Those who were buried at Wasserburg in 1656 also included people from outside the local parish community, coming not only from towns in the region, like Isen, Prien, and Rosenheim, but also from the non-Bavarian cities of Salzburg and Freising which lay further afield.⁷³³ In spite of the high death rate following the Thirty Years War, the number of members grew incredibly. From 1656, when the number of enrolments was first recorded in the accounts, until the early 1670s, the membership rose to more than 1,200 members (not including the deceased).⁷³⁴

⁷²⁶ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1649 (59 dead), 1650, fol. 28v (32), 1651 (22), 1653, fol. 30 (22), 1656, fol. 31 (24).

⁷²⁷ Ibid., 1649.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 1653, fol. 30.

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 1653, fols. 32r-43r.

⁷³⁰ Idem, I2b170, I2b228.

⁷³¹ Idem, I2b101.

⁷³² Idem, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1653, fol. 34r.

⁷³³ Ibid., 1656, fol. 31.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., 1656, fol. 17r (33 enrolments), 1657, fol. 15v (30), 1659 (54), 1660, fol. 22r (232), 1661, fol. 16r (106), 1662, fol. 15v (78), 1664 (46), 1665, fol. 13v (67), 1666, fol. 12v (107), 1667, fol. 14v (52), 1668, fol. 15v (33), 1669, fol. 14r (47), 1670, fol. 15r (70), 1671, fol. 16v (68), 1672, fol. 16v (68), 1674, fol. 15r (89).

Promotion by the Secular Clergy

Compared with the Jesuits who, thanks to an exemption by the pope in 1621, did not rely on the bishop's approval for the foundation of further congregations, the confraternities were under episcopal control.⁷³⁵ The integration of the confraternities into the episcopal system, with the parish priest, and not a member of the Capuchin order, as their religious head, allowed for their establishment at local churches even without the Capuchins. The Eucharistic organisations served as an example for additional foundations or refoundations by the secular clergy. The general picture with regard to the confraternities which were renewed or reactivated by the secular clergy is, however, one of delay. While the Capuchins kick-started the renewal of Corpus Christi confraternities from the early seventeenth century onwards, by either pushing for the foundation of new confraternities or reviving moribund ones, the secular clergy, above all parish priests and ecclesiastical reformers, did not, for the most part, become active in this field until the second half of the seventeenth century.

Several local clergymen engaged in the reactivation of previously neglected confraternities from the 1660s onwards. At the Upper Bavarian village of Massenhausen, for instance, there had been a local Corpus Christi confraternity, confirmed and endowed with indulgences by Pope Urban XIII in 1631, but then allowed to decline. It was, however, revived in the 1660s, after the local chaplain had asked the episcopal authorities at Freising for the reconfirmation of its statutes and indulgences in a letter dated 12 July 1664.⁷³⁶ Eminent ecclesiastical reformers were particularly eager for the renewal of the Corpus Christi confraternities. Due to their initiative, the Corpus Christi confraternities enjoyed another boom during the later seventeenth century. By far the most influential and illustrious among the ecclesiastical reformers who championed the Corpus Christi confraternities was the clerical official in the bishopric of Regensburg, Gedeon Forster (1616-1675). At the diocesan synod of 1650, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, Bishop of Regensburg from 1649 until 1661, elected Forster

⁷³⁵ Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, p. 79 and n. 22.

⁷³⁶ AEM, Pfa Massenhausen, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Bruderschaften).

to the post of commissioner in charge of confraternities throughout the diocese. In 1669, Bishop Albert Sigmund (r. 1668-1685) appointed him, furthermore, visitor general of the diocese of Regensburg.⁷³⁷

During his visitations as special confraternity commissioner in the 1660s and 1670s Forster spearheaded a vigorous campaign, preaching the establishment of Corpus Christi confraternities at almost every parish of the diocese.⁷³⁸ Between 1667 and 1673, Forster founded 136 ‘Congregationes seu Confraternitates sub titulo Sacramentissimi Sacramenti’ (‘congregations or confraternities under the title of the holiest sacrament’) under the protection of the bishop of Regensburg at both parish churches and chapels, in cities, towns, and villages throughout the Electorate of Bavaria.⁷³⁹ The refoundations of the later seventeenth century also included the central arch-confraternity of the Regensburg diocese, to which all the other new confraternities were linked as branches. The arch-confraternity, originally founded by the bishop of Regensburg in 1614, had ‘nearly been extinguished as a result of unjust times’ (‘iniuria temporum fere extincta’), but was ‘restored most solemnly’ (‘solemnissime restituta’) at St Peter’s Cathedral, probably in 1667.⁷⁴⁰

Forster was keen to make a fresh start. His confraternity campaign was aimed at ushering in a new era of Counter-Reformation Eucharistic piety, after the ‘unjust times’ of the Thirty Years War which had brought about the downfall of the confraternities. With this intention in mind, he not only revived the Corpus Christi confraternities at those places where they had been extinguished, but also instituted new ones at key Marian and Eucharistic pilgrimage shrines within the diocese: at the Marian shrine of Bogenberg in 1669 and at the host-miracle shrines of Deggendorf in 1669, and of Bettbrunn and Donaustauf in 1670.⁷⁴¹ The Eucharistic confraternities were mostly established alongside Marian Rosary confraternities. At the local parish and pilgrimage church of Bettbrunn, for instance, two confraternities, one dedicated to the Blessed

⁷³⁷ On Gedeon Forster: Gruber, Johann ‘Gedeon Forster (1616-1675): Erzdekan von Pondorf’, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg*, 23/24 (1989), pp. 294-302, esp. pp. 295, 298.

⁷³⁸ Mai, Paul, ‘Das Bruderschaftswesen in der Oberpfalz’, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 45 (2011), pp. 45-64, esp. pp. 50-51.

⁷³⁹ BZAR, OA-Generalia, Sign. 3266, Teil I.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

Sacrament, the other to the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, promoted both Marian and Eucharistic devotion from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards.⁷⁴²

Forster was not only a clerical official, but also a zealous reformer who promoted his new foundations and refoundations through the composition of devotional works. In a confraternity booklet, printed in Amberg in 1669, in which he set out the origins, statutes, indulgences, and prayers of his newly established ‘Bruderschafft deß Allerheiligsten Sacraments Vnd der incorporirten Löbl. Bruderschafft Jesu Christi deß Gecreutzigten vnd seiner HH. Fünff Wunden’ (‘Corpus Christi and incorporated praiseworthy confraternity of Jesus Christ Crucified and his Most Holy Five Wounds’) at the collegiate and convent church of St Zeno in the Upper Bavarian town of Geisenfeld, he listed most of those Eucharistic confraternities which he had set up as ‘Visitor generalis’ (‘visitor general’) under the protection of the Bishop of Regensburg, Albert Sigmund, in cities, market towns, and villages during the later 1660s and 1670s.⁷⁴³ In the major part of his book, however, he presented traditional defences for the veneration of the Eucharist through the Corpus Christi confraternities which had already been instituted in the thirteenth century in various kingdoms, principalities, provinces, and countries of the Roman Catholic Church, like Italy, Spain, and France.⁷⁴⁴

In his attempt to recall the long-forgotten era of Corpus Christi confraternities, Forster provided evidence from the Church Fathers and medieval theologians, notably Thomas Aquinas who had revived the confraternities around 1300.⁷⁴⁵ Forster also drew on famous, late-medieval host-miracles from across Europe to advertise the Eucharistic cult, recounting the stories of two Bavarian host-miracle shrines: the host-desecration

⁷⁴² BZAR, Pfa Bettbrunn, Sign. 28 (Bruderschaften und kirchliche Vereine).

⁷⁴³ Forster, Gedeon, *Ursprung, Institut, Regul, Satzungen, vnd Ablaß, auch Gottseelige Vbungen Der Hochlöbl: Ertz-Bruderschafft deß Allerheiligsten Sacraments Vnd der incorporirten Löbl. Bruderschafft Jesu Christi deß Gecreutzigten vnd seiner HH. Fünff Wunden. Welche in der Löbl. Stifft- und Closter-Kirchen S. Zenonis zu Geisenfeld Anno 1669 canonice instituirt vnd eingesetzt: Ordinaria autoritate confirmirt, Auch der Hochlöblichen Ertz-Bruderschafft deß Allerheiligsten Fronleihnams Christi in der hohen Stifft- vnnnd Thum-Kirchen S. Petri in Regenspurg aggregirt, einverleibt, vn[d] in sonderbare gnädigste Protection an- vnd auffgenom[m]en worden* (Amberg, 1669), p. 35.

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-39.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-53.

libel of Deggendorf of 1337 and the Eucharistic miracle tale of Bettbrunn of 1125.⁷⁴⁶ Forster's reference to ecclesiastical tradition and Eucharistic miracles of the later Middle Ages served as a powerful means of highlighting the continuity of Eucharistic piety. Even though he lamented the fact that the late-medieval confraternities had fallen into decline during the sad times of the Reformation, caused by the secessions from the Church by the Lutherans and Calvinists, he emphasised their sixteenth-century renewal after their heretical past.⁷⁴⁷ He stressed, in particular, the role of the Roman arch-confraternity in marking a new era, repeatedly referring to it as the 'uralte' ('ancient') mother and originator of all those confraternities established under the same title.⁷⁴⁸

As an administrator of the Regensburg diocese Forster presented himself in alignment with the episcopal and papal authorities who were essential for operating the new arch-confraternal system. But Forster also followed in the footsteps of the Counter-Reformation orders who had established themselves as the leading figures of this devotional development. Forster drew, first of all, inspiration from the Jesuit organisations. As a graduate of the Jesuit college at Dillingen he had certainly become acquainted with the Marian congregations.⁷⁴⁹ Forster's familiarity with them also emerges from his terminology in his long list of confraternities, in which he used the specifically Jesuit term 'congregations' ('Congregationes') to label his new institutions.⁷⁵⁰ Yet Forster also followed the example of the Capuchin confraternities. Like the Capuchins, he made his confraternities accessible to all strata of society, including craftsmen, peasants, and particularly poor people who were illiterate.⁷⁵¹ According to the statutes of the Geisenfeld confraternity, they were encouraged to make a donation, but were, if they could not afford it, nonetheless to be incorporated with confraternal affection.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 39-53, 337-372.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 1-39, 48-49.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 101.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Gruber, 'Gedeon Forster', p. 294.

⁷⁵⁰ BZAR, OA-Generalia, Sign. 3266, Teil I.

⁷⁵¹ Forster, *Ursprung*, pp. 1-39.

⁷⁵² Ibid., pp. 53-77.

III. The Experience of Confraternal Life

The first half of this chapter focused on the socio-historical side of the confraternal movement itself: it investigated the structure, promotion, and organisation of the Corpus Christi confraternities. The focus on the confraternities' structural development does not, however, allow us to explore the role they played in constituting Catholic identity, or the extent to which this Catholic identity was transformed by the Counter-Reformation. To address the question of what it meant, in practice, to be a Bavarian Catholic during the Counter-Reformation, the second half of the chapter will discuss the experience of confraternal life. The final section of the PhD will look, therefore, at Baroque Catholicism as a way of life.⁷⁵³ Focusing on the confraternities, it will also draw on the pilgrimage and procession material discussed in the previous chapters in order to understand how and why the confraternities appealed to the laity.

Joining the Confraternity

A member's engagement with the confraternity began with his or her joining, which required conforming to standards set by the Counter-Reformation Church. As both the Marian congregations and the Eucharistic confraternities aimed at ensuring the orthodoxy of their members, their postulants were, upon their enrolment, obliged to make a 'profession of faith as laid down by the Council of Trent'.⁷⁵⁴ The emphasis of the 'Bekantnuß deß wahren Catholischen Glaubens' ('profession of the true Catholic faith'), as prescribed by the statutes of the Wasserburg confraternity, was on the affirmation of the Apostolic and Ecclesiastical traditions, and the Scriptural interpretation of the Catholic Church, followed by the approval of the seven sacraments and the acceptance of those decrees which had been defined according to the Tridentine formula: original sin and justification, the Mass, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the saints, images, indulgences, and obedience to the Pope as the Bishop of Rome,

⁷⁵³ Götz, Thomas, 'Barockkatholizismus als Lebensform: Eine frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Skizze zu den Landshuter Bruderschaften zwischen spätem 17. und spätem 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von St. Jodok', in Franz Niefhoff (ed.), *Mit Kalkül und Leidenschaft: Inszenierungen des Heiligen in der bayerischen Barockmalerei. Katalog in zwei Bänden zur Ausstellung der Museen der Stadt Landshut in der Spitalkirche Heiliggeist vom 22. November 2003 bis zum 23. Mai 2004*, vol. 1 (Landshut, 2003), pp. 221-244.

⁷⁵⁴ Châtellier, *The Europe of the devout*, p. 6.

successor to St Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Christ. At the end of the formula, the new member was required to abjure all heresies and to promise to further the Catholic faith of those 'Untertanen' ('subjects') over whom he or she had charge.⁷⁵⁵

Public demonstrations of loyalty to the Catholic faith had an important political dimension, for they offered lay representatives of the local elite, who established themselves as the major office-holders, the opportunity to show their alignment with the Bavarian regime. This emerges from example of the inauguration ceremony of the Kraiburg confraternity in May 1633 which was a spectacular event, watched by more than 300 spectators from the town and the surrounding area who all became members.⁷⁵⁶ The opening ceremony of the confraternity was a public performance, during which the main official acts, the enrolment of entrants and the promulgation of the office-holders, could be seen. Each entrant's profession of faith was an act of performance before the community, as was the installation of the parish priest and the local *Pfleger*, Wolff Wilhelm Rösch, in their offices of *Präses* and *Präfekt*. In order to promote the Catholic faith of his subjects, Rösch harnessed the confraternity's displays of community, to which he voluntarily contributed. According to the written account in Kraiburg's confraternity book, he donated red confraternity flags, habits, and sticks which were put on display during the sacramental procession of the first confraternity feast. This must have created a strong impression, and resulted in more than 300 confessions heard by the Capuchin (which had not occurred before the introduction of the confraternity) and over 100 people following the *Versehgänge* in the following years.⁷⁵⁷

Devotional Rituals

The profession of faith was an exceptional, public event, through which the new entrant entered the life cycle of the Corpus Christi confraternity. This life cycle involved participation in regular devotional practices. As a member of the new confraternities

⁷⁵⁵ AEM, Pfa Wasserburg, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft): *Statuta*, pp. 16-26.

⁷⁵⁶ Idem, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fols. 2r-16r.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

fostering the Counter-Reformation cults of Mary and the Eucharist, one was obliged to take part in a variety of processions performed on a regular basis. In Munich, several processions became the highlights of the confraternity's liturgical calendar. Its high season began on the Sunday of Shrovetide (*Herrenfastnacht*) with a procession to the Jesuit church of St Michael where the Jesuits issued the blessing with the sacrament.⁷⁵⁸ Further climaxes of the year included the increasingly elaborate Good Friday procession as well as the Corpus Christi procession, for the performance of which the confraternity was given full responsibility by Duke Maximilian in the early seventeenth century.⁷⁵⁹

The processions by both the Marian and Eucharistic confraternities can be interpreted in terms of a characteristically Counter-Reformation 'demonstratio catholica' ('Catholic demonstration').⁷⁶⁰ Scholarly literature points to the particularly demonstrative importance of regular and irregular processions to local and distant shrines which took the form of large and lengthy communal processions in the public sphere: the *Wallfahrtsprozessionen* (pilgrimage processions).⁷⁶¹ With the confraternities, the communal pilgrimage processions became the most elaborate and most visible outward displays of religiosity. Mobilizing masses of people, the collective pilgrimage processions gave the confraternities a powerful tool for making a show of their loyalty to Catholic Bavaria. In the seventeenth century, the Munich confraternity organised several pilgrimage processions to famous host-miracle shrines. From 1612, regular processions with crosses, candles, flags, and music travelled annually to the Holy Mountain at Andechs.⁷⁶² For the arrangement of the two-day journeys the organisers spared neither trouble nor expense, as the rising costs from 15 Gulden in 1620 to 55 in 1645, 59 in 1650, and even 74 in 1700 suggest.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁸ Weiß, *Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft*, p. 16.

⁷⁵⁹ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, pp. 57-61, 73-75.

⁷⁶⁰ Schneider, Bernhard, 'Kirchenpolitik und Volksfrömmigkeit: Die wechselhafte Entwicklung der Bruderschaften in Deutschland vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Saeculum* 47 (1996), pp. 89-119, esp. p. 116.

⁷⁶¹ Forster, *Catholic revival*, p. 118; idem, *Catholic Germany*, p. 167; Schneider, 'Kirchenpolitik und Volksfrömmigkeit', p. 115.

⁷⁶² Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, pp. 61-62.

⁷⁶³ Ibid., p. 121.

Special pilgrimages took place on extraordinary occasions, especially during the Thirty Years War. In 1620, and again in 1630, the Munich confraternity went to the host-miracle shrine at Erding.⁷⁶⁴ The same destination was chosen by other Corpus Christi confraternities of the surrounding area. Landshut's Corpus Christi confraternity, for instance, had 30 confraternity staffs, with crucifixes on top of them, specially made for its community procession to Erding in 1629.⁷⁶⁵ In 1615, and again in 1642, the Munich confraternity travelled to the miracle-host, the *Wunderbarliche Gut*, at the Eucharistic shrine in Augsburg.⁷⁶⁶ While 1,200 people of Munich's population had travelled to Augsburg in 1615, more than 2,700 pilgrims joined the 1642 procession, for which the confraternity paid over 630 Gulden.⁷⁶⁷ Dieter Weiß stressed the latter event's importance as an act of state for the preservation of the Catholic Electorate of Bavaria and its rulers.⁷⁶⁸ During the five-day journey, from 2 until 6 July, the almost 3,000 pilgrims were led by soldiers with halberds to the pilgrimage church, where they received the blessing with the 'wunderbarlich und wunderthättigen Sacrament' ('miraculous and miracle-working sacrament'). In thanks for the received help the confraternity donated a gilded silver chalice as a votive offering.⁷⁶⁹

In the localities, as well, more and more members were linked together in response to the crisis of the Thirty Years War. The accounts of the Pfarrkirchen confraternity are evidence of the relationship between the growing number of participants and an increased production of visible items for the fashioning and identifying of the new associates in public during the 1640s. For the pilgrimage processions to proximate Marian cults, which were organised in co-operation with the local Rosary confraternity, the new affiliates were adorned with the outward signs of their belonging to the Corpus Christi confraternity: 82 staffs for men and women, 20 red habits, a red canopy, and new confraternity flags were made in 1641; another 40 red pilgrims' staffs were produced in 1642; 20 newly red-coloured habits were paid for in 1645; and 40 red

⁷⁶⁴ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 75. The 1630 pilgrimage processions resulted in an additional 183 Gulden in the offertory box: StAE, A III, KR 1630.

⁷⁶⁵ AEM, PfA St. Jodok/Landshut, Sign. 810.

⁷⁶⁶ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 75.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁸ Weiß, Dieter J. 'Prozessionsforschung und Geschichtswissenschaft', *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 27 (2004), pp. 63-79, esp. p. 63.

⁷⁶⁹ Weiß, 'Prozessionsforschung', p. 63; Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 75 and n. 177.

confraternity staffs were acquired in 1646.⁷⁷⁰ However, the increasingly elaborate pilgrimage procession was not just a *demonstratio catholica*, but also an act of piety which played a key part in supporting its participants spiritually. Both members and non-members were linked to each other by a shared commitment to the Catholic Church. They might include a large proportion of the local population, as in the 1642 Munich procession to Augsburg, coming together to pray against crime, hunger, and death.

Like ostentatious processions, long-hour prayer-vigils in front of the exposed host within the churches not only had a demonstrative value, but also served to provide spiritual comfort in times of emergency. Long-prayer vigils, with the host statically displayed on the altar, had been officially established in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century, with the prayer of the Forty Hours or, in Italian, Quarantore being instituted by Pope Clemens VIII in Rome in 1592. The Forty Hours Devotion was popularised by the Jesuits who, through their Marian congregations, concentrated their efforts on staging very elaborate Quarantore performances during Lent.⁷⁷¹ In the duchy, ten-hour and forty-hour prayer-vigils had also become common from the late sixteenth-century onwards, especially in times of distress. To avert the danger of the Turks, at Munich's Frauenkirche in 1596, a forty-hour prayer was held, during which the local guilds were divided into prayer groups for each hour.⁷⁷²

Ten-hour or forty-hour prayers on special feast days became, alongside weekly processions with the Blessed Sacrament within the churches, increasingly frequent during the 1630s when each parish had, at the behest of Elector Maximilian, to pray 'for an aversion from God's wrath turned on us Catholics' ('zur Abwendung des wider uns

⁷⁷⁰ ABP, PfA Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1641, fols. 8-9, 1642, fol. 10, 1645, fol. 9, 1646, fol. 11.

⁷⁷¹ On the Jesuit stage settings in Italy: Imorde, Joseph, *Präsenz und Repräsentanz oder: Die Kunst, den Leib Christi auszustellen. Das Vierzigstündige Gebet von den Anfängen bis in das Pontifikat Innozenz X.* (Emsdetten et al., 1997); idem, 'Visualising the Eucharist', in Kristina Müller-Bongard, Elisabeth Oy-Marra, and Volker R. Remmert (eds.), *Le monde est une peinture: jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 109-125; Noehles, Karl, 'Visualisierte Eucharistietheologie: Ein Beitrag zur Sakralikonologie im Seicento Romano', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 29 (1978), pp. 92-116.

⁷⁷² Stahleder, *Chronik*, p. 220.

Katholische gefassten Zorns Gottes') until war's end.⁷⁷³ The practice of exposing the host for ten or forty hours was increasingly adopted by the Corpus Christi confraternities during the seventeenth century. In Munich, the Capuchin Sylverius von Egg set up the forty-hour exposition in the presence of Maximilian in 1630 to avert further calamities during the Thirty Years War.⁷⁷⁴ In the localities, too, the confraternities regularly organised long-hour expositions. The Corpus Christi confraternity in Wasserburg, for instance, bore half of the expenses for the candles burning during a ten-hour vigil, during which the sacrament was put on display in the local parish church on the occasion of the Turkish War in 1663.⁷⁷⁵

During the later seventeenth century, however, the ritual of exposing the Eucharist was transformed by the Counter-Reformation Church's attempts to intensify the piety of the earlier confraternities through an increasing 'internalisation and spiritualisation' of their members.⁷⁷⁶ During the 1670s, the Capuchins promoted a new form of sacramental prayer in front of the exposed host which deepened and disciplined devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. For the dissemination of this spirituality, the Capuchins promoted a new Confraternity of the Perpetual Adoration, which won enthusiastic support from the Wittelsbach dukes, above all Ferdinand Maria. Following the example of his father, Maximilian, who was referred to as the 'primus motor' ('prime sponsor') of the Corpus Christi confraternities by the vicar general of the bishopric of Augsburg, Franziskus Ziegler, in 1676, Ferdinand Maria established himself as the leader of the Perpetual Adoration.⁷⁷⁷ But it was, as Angelikus Eberl has pointed out, the Capuchin preacher and Maximilian's former father confessor, Ludwig von Deggendorf (1628-1686), who drew up the statutes and encouraged Ferdinand to obtain an approval from Pope Clemens X. The first confraternity was solemnly set up in Munich and affiliated to the arch-confraternity at St Peter's on 27 December 1674. It seems to have been popular from the

⁷⁷³ SAL, Regierung Landshut, A 2970.

⁷⁷⁴ Weiß, *Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft*, p. 18.

⁷⁷⁵ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1663.

⁷⁷⁶ Hörger, Hermann, 'Organisational forms of popular piety in rural Old Bavaria (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries)', in Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and society*, pp. 212-222, esp. p. 215.

⁷⁷⁷ Epple, Alois, *Die Bruderschaften in Türkheim* (Türkheim, 2002), chap. 1.1.2.

outset, with the Capuchin drawing in 700 members of both sexes during the opening ceremony.⁷⁷⁸

As set out in the statutes of a confraternity letter, printed in Munich in 1675, the new devotion aimed for nothing less than the adoration of the holy sacrament of the altar ‘zu allen Zeiten vnd Stunden deß Tags, vnd der Nacht’ (‘at all times and hours of the day and night’). The focus was laid on individual prayer, but compared with the earlier confraternities which allowed each member to pray at *any time* of the day, the devotee was now expected to pray a *specific hour* once a year, which was assigned to him or her by lot. This hour was to be prayed ‘in der Kirchen vor dem allerheiligisten Sacrament’ (‘in the church in front of the Blessed Sacrament’), but could also take place ‘aller Orthen, ja so gar vnder wehrendem raisen auff dem Weeg, vnd offentlicher Strassen’ (‘in all places, indeed, while on a journey on one’s way, and on public streets’). To pray the hour, every member obtained not only the confraternity letter, but also a ‘Stundzettel’ (‘time sheet’), in which each individual was registered with the name, along with the time and date of the prayer.⁷⁷⁹

Like the Corpus Christi confraternities, the Perpetual Adoration promoted a more frequent communion and collective commemorations. According to the statutes, the members were encouraged to receive sacramental communion and confession on the day or during the week of their prayer as well as during the annual confraternity feast on the Sunday of the Corpus Christi octave. The members were also required to hold two monthly Masses, one for the dead, and the other for the living brothers and sisters.⁷⁸⁰ As new affiliates to the system of arch-confraternities, the confraternities dedicated to the Perpetual Adoration also enjoyed the same papal indulgences which had been granted to the Corpus Christi confraternities and to similar institutions in France in 1667 and 1670.⁷⁸¹ Two papal bulls dated 7 July and 7 September 1674 by Clemens X confirmed the indulgences of the new associates.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁸ Eberl, *Geschichte*, p. 227.

⁷⁷⁹ AEM, Sammlung Bruderschaftsbriege, München III, St. Peter, Bruderschaft der immerwährenden Anbetung, 1675.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁸¹ BZAR, OA-Generalia, Sign. 3266, Teil I.

⁷⁸² ABP, OA, Kirchliche Vereinigungen I, 3a/I.

Evidence from the vast correspondence between the state and church authorities testifies to an intensive campaign from 1674 onwards which was designed to introduce the new devotion at each parish where the Corpus Christi confraternity had already been instituted, and, moreover, at the churches of every city, town, and village.⁷⁸³ In Wasserburg, for instance, 495 people joined the new ‘Stundt Bruederschafft vom hochheil: Sacrament’ (‘hours confraternity of the most holy sacrament’), which was set up in February 1675.⁷⁸⁴ As recorded in the confraternity accounts, the number of enrolments rose to more than 800 members by 1690, necessitating the printing of 1,000 new confraternity books, which included the Perpetual Adoration’s statutes and indulgences, in that year.⁷⁸⁵ The Perpetual Adoration was also established in the cities, towns, and villages where Forster had once set up the Corpus Christi confraternities.⁷⁸⁶

As it could be integrated into parish life, the new confraternity allowed for an easy dissemination and an active role on the part of the parish priest and his parishioners. The priests, in their role as *Präses* of the new confraternity, often took a lead in establishing the Perpetual Adoration in rural areas during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Extracts from the confraternity accounts of the *Stundenbruderschaft* at the parish church of St John the Baptist in the Upper Bavarian village of Bergkirchen, for instance, refer to the local priest, Johann Lechner, as its ‘founder’ (‘Fundator’), due to his donation of 300 Gulden for its institution in 1675.⁷⁸⁷ Thanks to further contributions of Lechner and other donors, among them the electoral official and brewer from Munich, Philipp Paul, and several local peasants, the confraternity’s fortune increased to 600 Gulden in 1698, 835 in 1702, and to even 1,435 in 1715.⁷⁸⁸

Lechner put great energy into furthering Eucharistic piety at his parish and instituted a system of daily one-hour prayers continuing from one day to the next among his

⁷⁸³ AEM, VarA 49, IV 511: Ewige Anbetung, I. Abteilung, 1. Aktenlage.

⁷⁸⁴ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1675, fol. 17r.

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1676, fol. 17v (67 new enrolments), 1677 (19), 1678, fol. 14v (24), 1679, fol. 17r (50), 1680, fol. 16v (71), 1681, fol. 14v (33), 1684, fol. 14v (43), 1685 (16), 1689 (11), 1690 (27).

⁷⁸⁶ AEM, VarA 48, IV 511: Ewige Anbetung, I. Abteilung, 2. Aktenlage.

⁷⁸⁷ *Idem*, Pfa Bergkirchen, Sign. 138600101 (a-c).

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Sign. 138600101 (a-c), 138600105, 138600106.

parishioners, whose prayer-hours were listed in a separately-bound book from 1675 onwards.⁷⁸⁹ The male and female devotees came mostly from the proximity, for example the local journeyman Jacob Thoma, who prayed from three to four o'clock in the afternoon on 1 January 1675 and was followed by Susanna Kolngrueber, an unmarried woman from the nearby village of Deutenhausen, praying between four and five on the subsequent day.⁷⁹⁰ Besides arranging the daily prayers, Lechner organised the two monthly services for the living and deceased and the annual feast including a sacramental procession on 'Dominica infra octavam Corporis Christi', i.e. on the 'Sunday during the Corpus Christi octave'.⁷⁹¹ In order to make them more elaborate, he sponsored not only the construction and decoration of a new confraternity altar in the parish church, but also acquired a new canopy, as well as new flags, habits, and vestments.⁷⁹²

Lechner was not, by any means, the only parish priest encouraging the new devotion in the bishopric of Freising. Thanks to the bequest of 400 Gulden by Kaspar Kaindl, the confraternity of the Perpetual Adoration was established at the rural church of St John the Baptist at Irschenberg in Upper Bavaria in 1693.⁷⁹³ In 1695, the priest of the Upper Bavarian village commune in Aying, Balthasar Dreyer, gave 1,000 Gulden in his will to institute the confraternity in the local parish church of St Andreas.⁷⁹⁴ Many people were drawn in by the opportunity to earn the indulgences offered by the confraternity. In 1708, the successor of the parish priest at the Upper Bavarian village of Pellheim, who had introduced the Perpetual Adoration in 1675, sought the confirmation of the confraternity, referring to the large crowd coming to win the plenary indulgence on Epiphany (400 to 500 communicants).⁷⁹⁵ Through such endowments, the parish priests financed most confraternity activities with their own resources, but the laity also sponsored a number of church services. According to his will dated 15 November 1681, the peasant Mathias Hörl from the village of Westerholzhausen in Upper Bavaria left 200 Gulden to fund the two monthly Masses for his living and dead brothers and sisters

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., Sign. 138600102.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., Sign. 138600103.

⁷⁹² Ibid., Sign. 138600101 (a-c), 138600105.

⁷⁹³ Idem, Pfa Irschenberg, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Bruderschaften).

⁷⁹⁴ Idem, Pfa Aying, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft).

⁷⁹⁵ Idem, Pfa Pellheim, Pastoral- und Kultus-Gegenstände (Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft).

of the confraternity at the local parish church of Our Lady.⁷⁹⁶ During his lifetime, Mathias had also donated an altarpiece for a new confraternity altar which was to be built and financed by the priest and parishioners for holding the Masses of the month at a place chosen by its donor.⁷⁹⁷

Just as the Perpetual Adoration of the sacrament was instituted as an additional, more intense, prayer form of the Corpus Christi confraternities, the Perpetual Rosary was added to the local Rosary confraternities as its Marian counterpart.⁷⁹⁸ Their proliferation in the countryside during the later seventeenth century often resulted in clashes concerning confraternity feasts, since many people were enrolled in both of them. In the bishopric of Passau, for instance, closely located Rosary and Corpus Christi confraternities competed for time and space for their local ceremonies, as both of them held their monthly commemorations on the first Sunday of each month. This brought the parish priest of Braunau to ask the bishop of Passau for a deferral of his Corpus Christi confraternity's first-Sunday-of-the-month ceremony to the third Sunday of each month in a letter dated 23 September 1681, in order to avoid clashes with the Rosary confraternity in the adjacent town of Ranshofen, in which many of Braunau's inhabitants were also enrolled.⁷⁹⁹

Charitable Activities

Good works played a key role in a virtuous, decent, and peace-loving life, both as an individual and as part of one's confraternal community. Great emphasis was therefore laid on each member's engagement in charitable activities. The statutes of the Kraiburg confraternity, for example, demanded that each member, besides alms-giving, visited and consoled the sick, poor, and imprisoned. The statutes also required a member to stop disagreement and discords, strife, and hostility.⁸⁰⁰ Dishonourable and troublesome people were rejected.⁸⁰¹ The care of the sick and poor was also among the basic norms

⁷⁹⁶ Idem, Pfa Westerholzhausen, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft).

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. Finkenstaedt/Krettner, *Erster Katalog*, p. 141.

⁷⁹⁹ ABP, OA, Kirchliche Vereinigungen, I, 3a/I.

⁸⁰⁰ AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fols. 22r-23r.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., fol. 33.

established by the Corpus Christi confraternity in Straubing. According to its statutes, each member should set a good example through alms-giving, sick-bed visits, and the ministry of reconciliation, besides restraining his- or herself from swearing, blaspheming, and getting drunk.⁸⁰² The role of good works was also furthered through indulgences, as can be seen in the extensive range of merits offered to the members of the Massenhausen confraternity. An indulgence of 60 days could be won by those housing a poor person, helping maintain peace and unity, and doing a good deed, among other things which were to be repeated 60 times.⁸⁰³

Charitable activities were usually public displays of piety. The care for the poor, the sick, and the dying became an essential task of the Corpus Christi confraternities which adopted the late-medieval custom of carrying the sacrament to people in need during the *Versehgang*. Much support was given by the Wittelsbach dukes themselves: Maximilian granted an annual subsidy of 200 Gulden, intended for ‘merer auferpauung des Negsten und zu trost der armen’ (‘the moral uplift of one’s neighbour and the consolation of the poor’) from 1616, and his son, Ferdinand Maria, together with his wife, spent the considerable sum of 6,000 Gulden, receiving episcopal approval in 1676.⁸⁰⁴ Enhanced through a set of rituals to discipline mind and body, the regular *Versehgang* represented a charitable activity which was performed by the entire local town or village commune in public. According to the statutes of the Kraiburg confraternity, the members as well as non-members (whose participation was also encouraged by the local confraternity’s indulgences) were called together in the church by a peal of bells announcing the procession to a sick or a dying person, who would be provisioned with the *viaticum* even if not enrolled in the confraternity.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰² *Geistliche Kunstammer, In Welcher zu sondern Ehren Gottes, vnd Nutz der Hochloblichen deß zarten Fronleichnams Jesu Christi Bruederschafft in S. Veith-Kirchen zu Straubing sonderbare geistliche Kunstuck zufinden vnd zugebrauchen. Sonderlich aber von den Einverleibten, vnd gegen diser Ertz Bruederschafft liebtragenden Seelen, derentwegen dise Geistliche Kunstkam[m]er beforderist ist beschriben, vnd in gewünschter kürze zusam[m]en gefügt worden* (Straubing, 1656), pp. 27-37.

⁸⁰³ AEM, Pfa Massenhausen, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Bruderschaften).

⁸⁰⁴ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, pp. 33, 114.

⁸⁰⁵ On the indulgences: AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositor Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fols. 24r-26r; on the statutes: *ibid.*, fols. 22r-23r, 40r-41v.

Particular emphasis was put on decoration to create a colourful ceremony, both inside the sick person's house and out on the streets of the local market town. According to the Kraiburg confraternity's statutes, in the domestic sphere, a table at the sick-bed was covered with a red cloth and decked with two candlesticks and a crucifix standing between them. A gilded chalice was placed on a white table-cloth, to be handed to the sick person for swallowing the received sacrament. The whole room interior was, furthermore, perfumed with incense.⁸⁰⁶ Despite taking place in the domestic sphere of the home, the main act of administering Holy Communion culminated in a public sick-bed or death-bed scene. It was witnessed by the confraternity members who accompanied the sacrament to the sick person's room in a dramatic procession.

At the heart of this procession, the Eucharist was carried by two confraternity members in red habits under a red canopy. Preceded by the sacristan, the canopy was followed by the bearer of a red flag, further members carrying lanterns, lamps, and flambeaus, and musicians, all of them in red habits.⁸⁰⁷ Surrounding the canopy, the members walked in twos, led by the brethren in their red habits and with burning lights, with the sisters following behind them.⁸⁰⁸ Burning candles and red-coloured embellishments, such as cloths, flags, and habits, emerged as a characteristic style of the Corpus Christi confraternities. The colour *red*, in particular, reminded each member of Christ's purifying sacrifice through his body and blood, and thus served as a symbol of purity and purification. The regulations of the Kraiburg confraternity prescribed a red habit, along with a cap and belt, for each brother and sister who could afford it at his or her own expense. For a uniform appearance, the confraternity even lent red habits to the poor for free.⁸⁰⁹

During and especially after the Thirty Years War, the local Corpus Christi confraternities developed in ways which strengthened their role in providing poor relief as charitable institutions. In Wasserburg, the confraternity concentrated its efforts on helping the poor through alms-giving during journeys to popular pilgrimage sites. The

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., fols. 40r-41v.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid., fol. 37.

confraternity put poor people on the move during pilgrimage processions to the Marian shrines at Altötting and Tuntenhausen, and to the pilgrimage site at Ebersberg, which was famed for its plague saint, St Sebastian.⁸¹⁰ The processions attracted a steadily mounting number of poor pilgrims during the 1650s and 1660s: their number grew from 13 participants in 1653, to 25 in 1658, to 37 in 1659, 40 in 1661, 55 in 1663, to 68 in 1667.⁸¹¹

Among the sponsors of the public rituals, the names of women often predominate. In contrast to men who could act as office-holders, it seems that the sponsorship of major public processions created an opportunity for woman to make a visible mark as exemplary Catholics. The Corpus Christi procession of 1637 in Rosenheim, which I discussed briefly in the previous chapter, could be performed thanks to the local mayor's wife, 'the highly honourable and virtuous Sabine Perr' ('die hochehrentugendsame Sabine Perrin').⁸¹² Through her donation of 100 Gulden, half of which was used for displaying a 'große, genugsambliche und vollkommene' ('large, sufficient, and ideal') procession, at least 400 inhabitants, about one third of the local population of between 1,200 and 1,400 people, were mobilised to celebrate the Eucharistic feast.⁸¹³ While Sabine Perr tried to strengthen the morale of Rosenheim's inhabitants during the 1630s, at the time of the plague, other female members of the Rosenheim confraternity fostered a sense of responsibility for the neediest of their community during the 1690s. In 1693, for instance, the townswoman and widow of a merchant Elisabeth Six gave the substantial sum of 800 Gulden for the *Versehgänge*. According to her will, the money should be spent on carrying the *viaticum* not only to her brothers and sisters, but also to any poor, sick, or dying person free of charge.⁸¹⁴

⁸¹⁰ The Ebersberg shrine was also the pilgrimage destination of other Corpus Christi confraternities. On a pilgrimage procession to the plague saint arranged by the Kraiburg confraternity in 1651: AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Bruderschaften): accounts' excerpt.

⁸¹¹ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1653, fol. 29v, 1658, fol. 30r, 1659, 1661, fol. 30r, 1663, 1667, fol. 27r.

⁸¹² Mittl, 'Das Volksschauspiel', p. 64. See also chap. 3, pp. 155-156.

⁸¹³ Mittl, 'Das Volksschauspiel', pp. 64-65.

⁸¹⁴ AEM, Pfa Rosenheim, Pastoral- und Kultusgegenstände (Bruderschaften): will (17 Jul. 1693).

The Imitation of Christ and Devotion to Saints

The new devotional organisations aimed at a spiritual renewal of their members, and society as a whole. The advocacy of social virtues therefore played a significant role in encouraging each member to become a better Catholic. The imitation of saints' lives and the life of Christ, in particular, served as a primary means of developing one's own exemplary life as a Catholic, through both an outward and an inward religiosity. Philip Soergel has stressed the role of the Jesuit congregations in helping the new devout to accomplish both a personal purification and a communal catharsis which could be achieved only with the purity of mind, body, and soul of each member.⁸¹⁵ The Capuchin-promoted Corpus Christi confraternities, however, which were, unlike the Jesuit associations, linked to the local parishes and Rosary confraternities, worked towards a spiritual renewal in the localities.

The imitation of Christ's life played an important role in presenting oneself as a virtuous Catholic. In commemoration of Christ's age, 33 red habits for lending to the poor were always kept safe in Kraiburg.⁸¹⁶ To imitate Christ's Passion, public penitential practices and flagellation became essential rituals within the Counter-Reformation Church. Hans Moser and Walter Hartinger have drawn attention to the role of the religious orders, particularly the Capuchins, Franciscans, and Jesuits, in staging not only the Corpus Christi processions, but also the Good Friday processions and passion plays via the local lay confraternities.⁸¹⁷ Under the special guidance of the Capuchins, the annual Good Friday processions turned into dramatic night spectacles, during which their participants gave physically demanding performances. In Munich, the Good Friday processions occurred between seven and eight o'clock at night and often involved more than hundred members who were given medical treatment after their display of the Passion of Christ.⁸¹⁸ For the ritual flagellation, the confraternities produced new costumes which the flagellants wore during the annual night event. In

⁸¹⁵ Soergel, *Wondrous in his saints*, p. 165.

⁸¹⁶ AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fol. 37.

⁸¹⁷ Moser, Hans, 'Das altbayerische Volksschauspiel des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', in Edgar Harvolk and Hans Schuhladen (eds.), *Volksschauspiel im Spiegel von Archivalien: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Altbayerns* (Munich, 1991), pp. 25-63, esp. pp. 27-28; Hartinger, Walter, 'Geistliches Schauspiel im Bistum Passau', *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 31 (1989), pp. 110-140, esp. pp. 126-128.

⁸¹⁸ Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, pp. 59-60.

Wasserburg, the performers wore sackcloth or special ‘flagellants’ robes’, according to the confraternity’s expenses: in 1661, the confraternity paid for 16 white and 9 red new ‘Gaisl khutten’, and another 10 newly made in 1662.⁸¹⁹

The penitential style was also established in Pfarrkirchen. Here, however, the Capuchins, an offshoot of the Franciscans, faced competition from another new Franciscan branch. Added to the Franciscan family as Reformed Franciscans, the new religious order of the Reformati belonged, like the Jesuits and Capuchins, to the most powerful forces behind the renewal of Catholicism in early modern Bavaria.⁸²⁰ With the personal sponsorship of Duke Maximilian, the Reformati set up a territory-wide network of institutions in a new Franciscan province, the contours of which were identical with the former duchy’s political borders.⁸²¹ The accounts of the Pfarrkirchen confraternity attest to the Reformati’s success in attracting the attention of the local populace during the later 1660s. According to an entry from 1668, they urged two ‘herren reformaten’ to exercise parochial duties within their parish.⁸²² The activities of the Reformati seem to have grown in appeal to the inhabitants who bought them their own housing in 1674 and extended it during the 1690s in order to accommodate a third padre.⁸²³

What the Reformati shared with their Capuchin counterparts was their emphasis on penitent and flagellant practices.⁸²⁴ These rituals should be performed less as purely physical acts of mortification, but more as acts of contrition in order to induce an interior change of mind of their adherents.⁸²⁵ Unlike the Capuchins, however, the Reformati put their energy less into the flagellation on Good Friday, but more into passion plays which were staged by members of the confraternity during the later 1660s and 1670s. New flagellant garbs and ‘hergots kuhkten’ (‘Lord’s dresses’) were produced

⁸¹⁹ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1661, fol. 29r, 1662, fol. 27r.

⁸²⁰ Strasser, *State of virginity*, p. 122.

⁸²¹ Ibid.

⁸²² ABP, PfA Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1668, fol. 16r.

⁸²³ Ibid., 1674, fols. 18-19, 1697, fols. 18-20.

⁸²⁴ Hubensteiner, *Vom Geist des Barock*, p. 92.

⁸²⁵ Barnes, Andrew E., *The social dimension of piety: associate life and devotional change in the penitent confraternities of Marseille (1499-1792)* (New York et al., 1994), p. 25.

for their first ‘Comedi’ (‘play’) in 1668.⁸²⁶ Greater efforts were put into another ‘Comedi’ in 1675, for the performance of which the confraternity paid for the manufacturing of numerous costumes and set-pieces: ‘für die zur Comedi gemahlne Schlang, Perspectiv, Herz, Aadern, Khrotten, Toden und Teifelsklaidt, Hochen Priesters Hauben, Ennglfligl, Latern, Marckhtwappen, Tottenpfeil und anndres’ (‘for the serpents, telescopes, hearts, vipers, toads, devil and death dresses, pontiff’s hat, angel wings, lanterns, town coat of arms, death arrows, and other items which were painted for the play’).⁸²⁷

The spiritual focus on Christ’s suffering was promoted not only through communal practices, like the Good Friday and Corpus Christi processions, but also through new devotions with an emphasis on individual prayer. This adopted a harsh Counter-Reformation tone. According to the statutes of the Kraiburg confraternity, the members committed themselves to pray daily five *Paternosters*, five *Aves*, and a *Credo*, including the anti-Protestant prayer in honour of the body and five wounds of Christ: for the ‘enhancement’ (‘Aufnehmung’) of Christianity, the preservation of the Roman Catholic Church, unity among Christian (Catholic) potentates, and the extinction of all heresies and schisms.⁸²⁸ Those who could not attend any service or procession should additionally pray five *Paternosters*, five *Aves*, and one *Credo*.⁸²⁹

While red-coloured clothing served as a distinguishing mark of corporate identity in public to commemorate Christ’s bloodletting, particular devotional aids helped each individual to focus on Christ’s body and wounds in their private prayer. A special certificate or enrolment letter which each new member received on entering, with the name and date of his or her joining, was handed out for personal use. The ‘Information- und Einschreibbrief’ (‘information and enrolment letter’) informed not only about the statutes and indulgences of the confraternity, but also showed pictures which could be used, either at home or at any other place, as aids to prayer. The images of the letter of the Munich confraternity displayed two monstrances held and presented to the viewer

⁸²⁶ ABP, Pfa Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1668, fol. 15.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., 1675, fols. 16v-17v.

⁸²⁸ AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fols. 22r-23r.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

by angels (figure 4.1).⁸³⁰ The certificates were even credited with miraculous power, and two instances testify to their thaumaturgical use. According to the Munich arch-confraternity's minute book of 1657, a Bavarian soldier in Italy was protected from the plague, and another member was saved from temptations by the devil, because both of them had used their confraternity letters to offer up their (Counter-Reformation) prayer.⁸³¹

Devotion to Christ's body and blood and his wounds to promote a spiritual focus on his suffering and dying was also encouraged through prayer books. These contained, like the printed one-page letters, the statutes, privileges, and prayers of the confraternities. For the confraternity in Pfarrkirchen, for instance, 500 new confraternity booklets were bound and delivered from Passau in 1641.⁸³² From Wasserburg, an envoy was specially sent to the Capuchins in Munich in 1644 to collect 24 new confraternity books for the local confraternity.⁸³³ The little booklets also included devotional images, which were advertised as devotional aids by the Capuchins and ecclesiastical reformers like Forster. Both of them drew on the devotional depiction of Christ's streams of blood pouring out of his five wounds and filling a fountain or vessels: an image also promoted as the main pilgrimage icon at most of Bavaria's host-miracle shrines.⁸³⁴

In the confraternity booklets distributed by the Capuchins in Wasserburg, each member catches the 'divine water of grace' ('Göttlicher Gnaden-Wasser') from Christ's 'blood-flowing wounds' ('Blutfliessenden Wunden') in a vessel. Christ's merciful blood pouring down from his five wounds, with angels acting as its transmitters, symbolises the 'fountain of life' ('Brunn dess Lebens') watering the grain which signifies the Eucharistic bread (figures 4.2 and 4.3).⁸³⁵ A similar picture is shown in the frontispiece

⁸³⁰ On a confraternity letter from 1757: AEM, Sammlung Bruderschaftsbrieffe, München III, St. Peter Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, 1757.

⁸³¹ Weiß, *Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft*, p. 13.

⁸³² ABP, PfA Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1641, fol. 8.

⁸³³ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1644.

⁸³⁴ See chap. 2, pp. 87-88.

⁸³⁵ Custodi, Jacob, *Brunn des Lebens, Göttlicher Gnaden-Wasser: Auss den Blutfliessenden Wunden Jesu, des Heylands der Welt, der hochlöblichen, andächtigen Bruderschaftt dess Allerheiligist: Zartisten Fronleichnambs Jesu Christi, vnd der Ehrw: Priesterschaftt Churfr: Statt Wasserburg, sambt dero Statuten, Indulgentzen, vnd andern andächtigen Gebettlein Zu sondern Ehrn vnd Geistlichen Trost, auff's New in disen form Zusammen getragen* (Munich, 1690), frontispiece and title page.

to Forster's work which he composed for the Corpus Christi confraternity in Geisenfeld. In his 'paradise of the arch-confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament' ('Paradeijs der Ertz-Bruederschafft des HH. Sacraments'), he promoted the sacrament as a 'fountain of comfort and grace' ('Trost: und Gnadenbronn') which waters the garden to create the Eucharistic species, providing spiritual comfort and grace in all fears and difficulties, such as war, dearth, and death (figure 4.4).⁸³⁶

Further devotional works were directed to the sick and dying during the regular *Versehgänge*. As set out by the regulations of the Kraiburg confraternity, they received special prayer books which helped them find solace by emotionally identifying with Christ's suffering and dying in their homes.⁸³⁷ This is why three books were always kept in a large cabinet, including a book of consolation, a book on the life of Christ, and an additional one on saints' lives.⁸³⁸ A list of the devotional books printed for the arch-confraternity in Munich in 1657 gives an indication of what works were used. These included works similar to those of the Kraiburg confraternity, as well as the *Nachfolge Christi*, a religious manual on the imitation of Christ.⁸³⁹ Maximilian von Habsburg has recently pointed to the popularity of the *Imitatio Christi*, or the *Imitation of Christ*, a fifteenth-century classic that was attributed to Thomas à Kempis (1379/80-1471) and that advocated an inward-looking spirituality with a strong Christocentric focus.⁸⁴⁰

We do not know how many editions were published, but the number of printed copies might have been fairly low. Written texts, like Kempis' work, were probably only in the hands of the clergy. As Mallinckrodt has shown with the example of the Marian congregation in Cologne, it seems that such works were intended less for personal use, but more for the Jesuits presiding over the confraternity to explain them through an oral communication, not least because of the still widespread illiteracy among their members.⁸⁴¹ An examination of the accounts of the Corpus Christi confraternities in the localities suggests, furthermore, that devotional works like the confraternity books,

⁸³⁶ Forster, *Ursprung*, frontispiece.

⁸³⁷ AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fols. 40r-41v.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 37.

⁸³⁹ Geiß, Ernest, *Geschichte der Stadtpfarrei St. Peter in München* (Munich, 1868), p. 312, n. 6.

⁸⁴⁰ Habsburg, Maximilian von, *Catholic and Protestant translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650: from late medieval classic to early modern bestseller* (Farnham, 2011), esp. pp. 1-2, 13.

⁸⁴¹ Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, pp. 179-180.

which were mainly text-based, merely reached a limited readership. This was possibly due not only to illiteracy, but also to their price. In Wasserburg, for instance, the confraternity booklets were sold and could, therefore, not be afforded by all members: 38 books were sold in 1650, 17 in 1651, only 2 in 1652, and 27 in 1657.⁸⁴²

Visual representations, however, were in a much wider circulation through images of ‘saints of the month’ which were distributed monthly through the Corpus Christi confraternities and the Marian congregations.⁸⁴³ By adopting a particular patron saint of the month, each member was to contemplate and imitate the exemplary life and specific virtues of the person shown in the pictures.⁸⁴⁴ The images were given out to each individual for free during the Sunday get-togethers once a month. Evidence from the accounts of the confraternity in Wasserburg testifies to their circulation from 1643 onwards.⁸⁴⁵ 20 books with ‘Monatszettel’, probably dozens of printed sheets of paper, were allocated to all members in 1644 and 1645.⁸⁴⁶ In Pfarrkirchen, the sheets were not introduced until more than ten years later: 10 books, including the ‘Figuren’ (‘images’), were acquired from Munich in 1658.⁸⁴⁷ From then on, the ‘Monatsbetrachtungen’ (‘meditations of the month’) with the saints’ images, which might have also been single pieces of paper, were handed out to all brethren and sisters during the regular meetings on the first Sunday of each month.⁸⁴⁸ Intended for mass use through their free distribution, the pictures were also made comprehensible to all non-readers through oral communication by the Capuchin father preachers who used special devotional works about the *Monatsgedächtnisse* in order to explain them to the illiterate during their monthly sermons.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴² StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1650, fol. 16v, 1651, 1652, fol. 10v, 1659.

⁸⁴³ Geiß, *Geschichte*, p. 313.

⁸⁴⁴ Mallinckrodt, *Struktur*, pp. 175-176; Johnson, *Magistrates, madonnas, and miracles*, p. 172.

⁸⁴⁵ StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1644.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1644, 1645.

⁸⁴⁷ ABP, PfA Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1658, fol. 12.

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1659, fol. 8, 1660, fol. 7, 1666, fol. 11, 1668, fol. 16r.

⁸⁴⁹ In Wasserburg, the Capuchins received an annual fee for their monthly sermons: StAW, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1672, fol. 48v. On the devotional literature specially printed for the Capuchin father preachers: Brünn, Theodor von, *Königliches Seelen-Panget, Das ist: Dreyhundert vnd Fünff- vnd sechtzig anmüthige Monath-Gedächtnussen von dem hochwürdigisten Sacrament deß Altars, Genommen auß Göttlicher H. Schrifft deß Alten Testaments, bestätigt mit Sententzen vnd Sprüchen der H. Vätter, Gezieret mit schönen Kupffern vnd Bildern, versehen mit wolbewehrten Historien, zugericht auff alle Tag deß gantzen Jahrs. Zu Dienst und Nutzen allen Brüdern und Schwestern der Ertzbruderschaft deß zarten Fronleichnambs Jesu Christi, Ja allen Christglaubigen, sonderbar dem*

With the rise of the local Corpus Christi and Rosary confraternities and their perpetual prayer forms, the religious life of the population was deepened significantly. As devotional aids to their private prayers, confraternity letters and monthly meditations were given out to all of the members for free, as were the ‘Stundzettl’, one of which, probably from the eighteenth century, survives. This also shows a picture of the host displayed by angels within a monstrance (figure 4.5).⁸⁵⁰ Additional aids for meditation included the ‘Cron’ or *Korone*, a garland of 33 *Paternosters* and 5 *Aves*, for praying the ‘Dreißger vnsers Lieben herrn’, or ‘Dreißiger of Our Lord’. Devotees counted the string of pearls during each prayer-hour to recall the 33 years of Christ’s life and his five wounds.⁸⁵¹ The *Dreißiger* devotion by means of the *Korone* was popularised as a Eucharistic equivalent to the Rosary which was used by the brothers and sisters of the Marian confraternities during their prayer hours.⁸⁵²

The *Dreißiger* served both as a collective prayer and an individual meditation. During the monthly commemorations of each dead member’s soul, the *Dreißiger* was prayed together in front of the exposed host.⁸⁵³ However, an increasingly individual devotion was sponsored through prayer hours. In a confraternity booklet printed for the Landshut confraternity in 1668, the handwritten-notes which a ‘Confrater’ (‘confrère’) probably took several years later indicate that he said his prayer individually on 19 March between seven and eight in the morning. For his prayer, he adhered closely to the statutes of the Perpetual Adoration, saying the *Dreißiger* three times, attaching the doxology ‘Gelobt sey das allerheiligste Sacrament’ (‘Praised be the Blessed Sacrament’) to each *Paternoster*, and saying at each *Ave* the prayer ‘O giettigister Herr Jesu, dein hailligiste Muetter, sambt allen deinen lieben Heilligen, benedeyen dich fir alle die Vnehr vnd Belaidigung, so wider dich alß das hegste guett von dennen

hochheiligen Predig-Ampt zu Trost zusammen gelesen, und in Truck gegeben. Erster Teil (Munich, 1666).

⁸⁵⁰ AEM, Sammlung Bruderschaftsbriefe, Salzburg, Sakramentsbruderschaft.

⁸⁵¹ AEM, Sammlung Bruderschaftsbriefe, München III, St. Peter, Bruderschaft der immerwährenden Anbetung, 1675. On the *Korone* and the *Dreißiger* prayer: Haidn, *Die Corporis Christi Erzbruderschaft*, p. 86; Wimmer, Erich, ‘Dreißiger’, in Walter Kasper (ed.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 3: *Dämon bis Fragmentenstreit* (3rd rev. edn., Freiburg im Breisgau et al., 1995), c. 369.

⁸⁵² AEM, Sammlung Bruderschaftsbriefe, München III, St. Peter, Bruderschaft der immerwährenden Anbetung, 1675.

⁸⁵³ ABP, OA, Kirchliche Vereinigungen, I, 3a/I.

Vndanckhbaristen Creaturen jemals begangen worden, oder zu einiger Zeit begangen werden. Gelobt sey das allerheiligste Sacrament') ('O kindest Lord Jesus, your holiest mother, along with all your dear saints, bless you for all the dishonour and offence, which had once been and will one day be committed against you as the most venerable sacrament by those most ungrateful creatures. Praised be the Blessed Sacrament').⁸⁵⁴

Dying and Death

As part of the confraternal life cycle, each member finally performed rituals surrounding dying and death. These rituals were, first and foremost, performed as public acts of faith. Processions in the case of a member's death were designed in the same dramatic vein as the *Versehgänge*, during which the sacrament was carried to the sick and dying. After the death of a member had been announced, fellow members paid tribute by accompanying the body from the dead person's house to the funeral. The brethren of the Kraiburg confraternity, for instance, walked in twos, escorting the bier which was covered with a red cloth, holding burning lights, and wearing their red habits, with their cowls drawn down. After them marched non-member male mourners, who were followed by the sisters and further female grievers.⁸⁵⁵

After the tremendous losses of the Thirty Years War, the confraternities provided vehicles for the consolation and commemoration of the deceased within their local communities. The Corpus Christi confraternity in Pfarrkirchen, for example, linked its traditional memorial services for the dead to a new local shrine which had emerged in 1659 on a plateau above the town, the Gartlberg.⁸⁵⁶ Communal processions to the new chapel-shrine were performed on the occasion of extraordinary events, as in 1662 to celebrate the new-born electoral prince.⁸⁵⁷ Yet more importantly, processions became an integral part of a customary cult of collective commemoration of the departed, particularly the poor, brothers and sisters. From 1660 onwards, the confraternity

⁸⁵⁴ *Satzungen der löblichen Ertzbruderschaft deß Allerheiligisten Fronleichnambs Jesu Christi. Bey S. Jobst zu Landtshut auffgericht, sambt dero Bestätigung* (Munich, 1668), introductory pages.

⁸⁵⁵ AEM, Pfa Taufkirchen-Lafering Expositur Kraiburg, Sign. PB 177: confraternity book, fols. 42v-43r.

⁸⁵⁶ Kramer, Karl-Sigismund, 'Typologie und Entwicklungsbedingungen nachmittelalterlicher Nahwallfahrten', *Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 11 (1966), pp. 195-211, esp. pp. 200, 208.

⁸⁵⁷ ABP, Pfa Pfarrkirchen, Corporis Christi-Bruderschaft, Rechnungen, 1662, fol. 10.

organised weekly Friday processions to the ‘Gärtlperg’ to bury the poor and to sing and pray for the salvation of their souls.⁸⁵⁸

In addition to the Corpus Christi confraternities which focused on collective commemoration of their deceased members, the Perpetual Adoration intensified individual prayer for the dead and dying. With the Perpetual Adoration, increasing emphasis was laid on preparing each individual for a good death and on praying for the salvation of one’s own soul and of those ‘Seelen, welche Täglich, vnd alle stund auff dem gantzen Vmbkraiß deß Erdbodens in der tieffen Finsternuß deß Vnglaubens, Abgötterey, verdamblichen Irrthumben, Ketzereyen, anderer Sünd, vnd Lastern vnbußfertig sterben’ (‘souls which die every day and at all hours all over the earth in the thick darkness of disbelief, idolatry, damnable falsities, heresies, and other sins and vices impenitently’). The Perpetual Adoration aimed primarily ‘for the attainment of a blessed hour of death’ (‘Zu erlangung eines seligen Sterbstündleins’), inculcating a piety of mortality into each individual’s mind. The focus on the afterlife also emerges from a further bull dated 23 August 1675, in which Pope Clemens X extended his concessions to the poor souls in Purgatory.⁸⁵⁹ Hence, with the new devotion, the dying and dead took on an increasingly active role within their community, as advertised through the images on the confraternity letters printed in Munich in 1675 and 1708. Both show a dying person lying on his or her death-bed, with ecclesiastical and secular representatives standing on either side. With folded hands, holding rosaries, they are devoutly looking up to the consecrated wafer in a monstrance which is surrounded by a host of angels within clouds (figures 4.6 and 4.7).⁸⁶⁰

IV. Conclusion

During the later Middle Ages, Corpus Christi confraternities had been ubiquitous. Lay people had taken on a leading role in founding socially exclusive, integrative, and representative organisations which joined them with the clergy of their parishes for

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid., 1660, fol. 7, 1666, fol. 8v, 1667, fol. 7, 1670, fol. 12r.

⁸⁵⁹ BZAR, OA-Generalia, Sign. 3266, Teil I.

⁸⁶⁰ AEM, Sammlung Bruderschaftsbrieft, München III, St. Peter, Bruderschaft der immerwährenden Anbetung, 1675; Bayern, Bruderschaft der ewigen Anbetung, 1708.

Eucharistic devotion in regular Thursday Masses and processions. Besides this Eucharistic focus, collective commemorations and care of the dead were the basic components of the late-medieval institutions. The general picture of the Corpus Christi confraternities after the Reformation was, however, one of decline. Only a few confraternities in the Duchy of Bavaria remained after the Reformation caesura, and even these did not have a continuous history but were revived at the start of the seventeenth century. Their decline drew active forces of Catholic reform from outside the duchy in order to initiate a Counter-Reformation renewal of the late-medieval Corpus Christi confraternities.

From the start of the seventeenth century onwards, the Capuchins initiated, under ducal patronage, a campaign of promoting a new form of Corpus Christi confraternity which belonged to a universal system of centrally led arch-confraternities. Unlike their late-medieval precursors, the Capuchin-sponsored confraternities crossed territorial borders and destroyed boundaries of exclusivity concerning their membership. The Capuchins' reputation as pulpit-preachers was certainly one reason for the popularity of their confraternities. But the chief reason for the Capuchins' importance in the renewal of the Counter-Reformation cult of the Eucharist was their role in the localities. This highlights an important contrast to the Marian congregations of the Jesuits. Whereas the Jesuits settled their congregations at their colleges largely based at urban centres, the Capuchins located their confraternities at parish churches, primarily in rural areas. Both Counter-Reformation religious orders exerted increasing control over their new devotional organisations. Yet, while the Jesuits organised the devotional life of the Marian congregations, local parish priests assumed main responsibility as leaders and founders of the Eucharistic confraternities. And where the Jesuits contributed to a Marian culture in Bavaria's key cities and towns, the Capuchins engaged as shapers of Catholicism in the localities where they promoted the Corpus Christi confraternities as Eucharistic counterparts to Marian Rosary confraternities.

There was, however, a further, fundamental reason for the confraternities' appeal to the laity. As members of the Corpus Christi confraternities, they were, in fact, subject to certain standards set by the Counter-Reformation Church, including the Tridentine

profession of faith, more frequent communion, and the advocacy of social virtues. These were promoted through a number of literary and artistic representations intended for the confraternal movement's consumption, like enrolment letters, prayer books, and monthly meditations. For their consumption, the confraternities provided effective organisational vehicles. Yet, they also provided a means of routinizing a member's everyday life in terms of a life cycle: from his or her joining via regular devotions, like processions and prayer, and the engagement in charitable activity, to the rituals surrounding the dying and death. Being a Bavarian Catholic during the Counter-Reformation was a public, communal and a private, individual experience. On the one hand, one was meant to show one's loyalty to the Catholic state and its rulers in pilgrimage processions and prayer performances during elaborate Eucharistic expositions. On the other, one's personal life was shaped by an interiorised piety, with an emphasis on meditation and the spiritual focus on a virtuous way of living and dying.

Conclusion

During the era of Catholic renewal, devotion to the Eucharist was expressed in a variety of ways. The body of Christ was staged at host-miracle shrines, displayed during the Corpus Christi and other sacramental processions, and offered for prayer via the Corpus Christi confraternities. The cult of Corpus Christi in early modern Bavaria, as practised through pilgrimages, processions, and confraternities, was renewed between 1550 and 1750. The renewal of these Eucharistic devotions was, in part, a reactivation of late-medieval practices that had been challenged by the Reformation, but their importance and meaning changed during the Counter-Reformation. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, such activities were actively promoted by Bavaria's Wittelsbach dukes to emphasise the Eucharist's significance as a focal point for confessional identity amongst their subjects, providing, like devotion to the Virgin Mary, a public statement of allegiance to Roman Catholicism.

Participation in the Counter-Reformation cult of the Eucharist, which was furthered alongside the Marian cult, became a way for Bavarian Catholics to demonstrate their loyalty to the Catholic state in a number of confessional displays. During the regular Thursday processions, local and state officials were expected to show their Catholic credentials as they preceded the priest and carried the host's canopy as *Weiser* and *Himmeltrager*. During the Corpus Christi procession, ducal representatives staged the Counter-Reformation spectacle of *St George and the Dragon* to present the triumph of Catholicism against Protestant heresy. Bavaria's subjects were, furthermore, obliged to take part in devotional practices that were promoted by the Corpus Christi confraternities. The institutional histories of these confraternities show that traditional, late-medieval institutions were integrated into a new devotional development directed by the post-Tridentine Church, and were eventually established as Eucharistic counterparts to Marian Rosary confraternities. As a result of the renewal of the confraternities, new forms of piety were implemented and had to be performed by their female and male members: they were required to swear the Tridentine profession of faith and to make prayers that adopted a sharp Counter-Reformation tone. To demonstrate their Catholic faith, they were also required to pray during lengthy prayer-

vigils and to participate in pilgrimage processions to confessional border shrines, the most important of which, Bettbrunn, was promoted as a Eucharistic equivalent to Bavaria's key Marian pilgrimage cult at Altötting.

However, the reluctance of secular officials to comply with ducal orders to be present at the Eucharistic processions on Thursdays shows that Bavarian Catholics were not passive subjects of the confessional state. Rather, they were active participants in an interactive process: the renewal of Catholicism involved negotiation between ducal and / or clerical forces, on the one hand, and local forces, on the other. Religious change was therefore not entirely the result of a top-down policy dictated by Bavaria's state church, but was driven by promoters or shapers of local Catholicism who played a leading role in constituting Catholic identity in interaction with elite standards.

Local authorities or elites were the main driving forces behind the revival of the practice of pilgrimage: town representatives, individual secular and monastic patrons, and officials of regional district courts encouraged pilgrimage to nearby shrines and recruited new religious orders, including the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Franciscan Reformati, who helped to promote their shrines even further. Local ecclesiastical institutions, like parish churches, and religious lay confraternities took on increasingly important roles in shaping the images on display during the Corpus Christi processions. Due to their growing importance and desire for local representation, their processions became splendid displays of Baroque Catholicism by the mid-eighteenth century, particularly in towns that were important centres of government, such as Munich and Landshut, where ducal and local forces made strong efforts to display themselves.

The role of the new Counter-Reformation orders emerged, in particular, from their reactivation of the Corpus Christi confraternities. In the localities, it was the Capuchins whose presence was most strongly felt, and not, as we might expect, the Jesuits. Here, from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, the Capuchins established the Corpus Christi confraternities in line with the directives of the Tridentine Church. The Capuchins not only helped incorporate them into a system of centrally- and clerically-controlled arch-confraternities, but also promoted new

devotions in order to regulate and improve the spiritual lives of the local population. These focused on proper devotion and decorum, on the advocacy of social virtues, and on more frequent confession and communion. But the Capuchins acted not just as Counter-Reformation agents on behalf of the Tridentine Church, but also as intermediaries who responded to local needs and desires. As pioneers of confraternities that were instituted at local parish churches the Capuchins gave the populace, particularly priests and important laymen, a free hand in leading them and founding new groups. The local Corpus Christi confraternities therefore provided opportunities for local inhabitants, above all nobles and high-ranking officials, to play a key part in mediating Counter-Reformation innovations. These included the confraternities' public displays of piety, like the Tridentine confession and the promulgation of new office-holders. Especially during the Thirty Years War, members and non-members of a local town joined the communal acts of piety, primarily pilgrimages and processions, to provide spiritual comfort and poor relief as charitable organisations.

There is no doubt that the devotional activities promoted through the confraternities – most notably pilgrimages and processions – had a demonstrative value as confessional displays. But they were, at the same time, expressions of a quotidian piety which people practiced both personally during their private lives and collectively in public. What made the confraternities particularly important was the fact that people, under their umbrella, experienced pilgrimages and processions as essential components of their lives. For that reason, Counter-Reformation piety needs to be considered from two sides. On one side, pilgrimages and processions were renewed as Counter-Reformation practices in response to the Reformation during the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the new confraternities provided effective organisational vehicles through which Tridentine goals could be achieved. On the other side, however, these Counter-Reformation practices enabled, through the reformed confraternities, people from all strata of society to structure their daily devotional lives. During the later seventeenth century, the church official Gedeon Forster still legitimised the confraternities that he founded as, in theory, explicitly Catholic institutions in reaction to Protestant criticism, just as earlier Counter-Reformation apologists had done in order to revive the practice of pilgrimage. But, in practice, he established the confraternities less as a result of the

Reformation, and more as a response to the trauma caused by the Thirty Years War. The new institutions were thus intended to uplift a demoralised society: Forster took a personal interest in opening the confraternities to individuals from all levels of society and in offering them social welfare and spiritual well-being.

Throughout all of this renewal and reshaping of devotional life, the visual played a crucial role, helping to make the holy a part of the local population's daily lives. Local Catholicism was manifested in the many close or short-distance pilgrimages, the *Nahwallfahrten*. Journeys to the nearby holy places evolved into regular devotional rituals that people undertook not only individually, but also as part of communal processions organised by the confraternities. At the pilgrimage places themselves, elaborate baroque altar tabernacles, which were increasingly introduced during the second half of the seventeenth century, directed the devotee's gaze to the centre of the high altar in order to remind him or her to receive the consecrated host more frequently. Alongside the state- and church-sponsored innovation of the high altar tabernacle, other visual media made the devotees aware of the transubstantiated host as the most venerable object of devotion. To intensify the visual experience, both at sacred places and at home, ecclesiastical and / or state authorities and the local populace co-operated.

Their co-operation resulted in the creation of visual cultic environments that provided direct access to sacred power within the local population's immediate environment. Architectural settings physically commemorated the sacred locales as particularly powerful pilgrimage places. Images of the stories about miraculous consecrated hosts visually commemorated the wafers' thaumaturgy and, through their popular style, disseminated them among the peasant population. The transubstantiated hosts could also be seen at sumptuously decorated baroque stagings that combined the sacred locale with miracle-working cult images. These featured, at the majority of Bavaria's host-miracle shrines, an image of Christ based on the late-medieval *Man of Sorrows* icon. As the major visual theme which the devotees received as a visual substitute for the real consecrated host, this icon represented Christ's presence and permanence in the holy sacrament of the altar. Streams of blood pouring out from the five wounds of Christ and angels acting as its transmitters dramatically displayed the miracle of transubstantiation,

i.e. the host's (invisible) transformation into the body and blood of Christ during the celebration of Mass. Multiple copies of this iconography – the fountain of grace – increased the power of the main pilgrimage centres through additional visual representations of the cult images in and around the shrines and through the donation of votive pictures.

The shrines' sacred power was also transferable to the domestic sphere, and the local secular and religious clergy who were in charge of ministering to the pilgrims took a middle position between representing official religiosity and popular culture in order to make that sacred power available to the laity. Pilgrims could take holy pictures away with them for veneration in their private lives. They could also take holy material matter, such as earth and water, which absorbed the sacred power of the locale of the Eucharistic hosts' miracle-working, home and employ it for apotropaic purposes. Blessed material from the sacred locales was also used to produce further sacramentals, for example crosses or indulgence-pennies, special objects which shared in the physical efficacy of the powerful places of pilgrimage. Hence, through an immanence of the sacred, sacred objects and images provided a common ground between the everyday and the holy and created a link between the cultic sites and the devotees' places of origin.

The connection between the sacred and the profane was strengthened even more through the confraternities. Here again, the visual helped each Bavarian Catholic to live an exemplary life in the public sphere as well as in his or her private surroundings. Printed devotional pictures offered aids to meditation and prayer for all the laity. The visual imagery put on display in front of the public during the Corpus Christi and Good Friday processions was intended to present a devotional society. While virgins and angel children were living embodiments of a holy community, and Eucharistic emblems commemorated Christ's Passion, spectacular displays, like *St George and the Dragon*, were dismissed as profane images that caused popular excitement. An increasingly important devotional ritual was the *Versehgang* which combined the public and the private, the everyday and the holy: during their procession to the sick and dying in public the participants showed red signs of their belonging to a community that

commemorated Christ's purifying sacrifice through his blood; these signs enhanced the sick or dying person's experience in his or her private home where he or she was offered the Blessed Sacrament within an elaborate visual environment.

During the process of Catholic renewal, Christ's body became an object of devotion which communicated different meanings. The baroque fresco from the monastery at Oberalteich (figure Intro.2), featuring a cleric raising the consecrated host within a monstrance, shows that the transubstantiated host was a symbol of the Catholic Church. Consecrated by the priest during Mass and elevated for veneration outside it, the Blessed Sacrament served as a symbol of religious truth, countering criticism by the Protestant reformers. However, the Eucharist was not just a Counter-Reformation symbol of ducal demonstration and state sanctification, but also a symbol with great local meaning and importance. Local mediators were instrumental in shaping Bavaria's distinct devotional landscape and in encouraging Bavarian Catholics to experience the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of the Baroque as a way of life: through the participation in pilgrimages, processions, and prayers devoted to Corpus Christi.

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Forster, Gedeon, *Ursprung, Institut, Regul, Satzungen, vnd Ablaß, auch Gottseelige Vbungen Der Hochlöbl: Ertz-Bruderschaft deß Allerheiligsten Sacraments Vnd der incorporirten Löbl. Bruderschaft Jesu Christi deß Gecreutzigten vnd seiner HH. Fünff Wunden. Welche in der Löbl. Stifft- und Closter-Kirchen S. Zenonis zu Geisenfeld Anno 1669 canonice instituirt vnd eingesetzt: Ordinaria autoritate confirmirt, Auch der Hochlöblichen Ertz-Bruderschaft deß Allerheiligsten Fronleichnams Christi in der hohen Stifft- vnnnd Thum-Kirchen S. Petri in Regenspurg aggregirt, einverleibt, vn[d] in sonderbare gnädigste Protection an- vnd auffgenom[m]en worden* (Amberg, 1669).

Geistliche Kunstkammer, in Welcher zu sondern Ehren Gottes, vnd Nutz der Hochloblichen deß zarten Fronleichnams Jesu Christi Bruederschaft in S. Veith-Kirchen zu Straubing sonderbare geistliche Kunstuck zufinden vnd zugebrauchen. Sonderlich aber von den Einverleibten, vnd gegen diser Ertz Bruederschaft liebtragenden Seelen, derentwegen dise Geistliche Kunstkam[m]er beforderist ist beschriben, vnd in gewünschter kürze zusam[m]en gefügt worden (Straubing, 1656).

Gesang vnd Psalmenbuch: Auff die fürnembste Fest durchs gantze Jar, inn der Kirchen, auch bey Processionen, Creutzgäng, Kirch vnd Walfarten nuetzlich zugebrauchen. Auß den alten approbirten Authorn der Christlichen Kirchen zu gutem in dise Ordnung gebracht. Jedem Lobgesang vnnnd Psalmen ist sein gewoenliche Melodey mit vleiß zugeordnet worden (Munich, 1586).

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---*Catholischer Beweyß vnd Anzeyg, daß Gott nit durchauß vnd zugleich, an einem Orth wie am andern, seine Göttliche Wunder, Gnaden vnnnd Gutthaten wircke vnd erzeyge, sonder hierzu einen für den andern ehre vnnnd außewöhle. Wider alle Wallfahrtsfeind, im Gottshauß S. Saluators zu Bettbrunn, Regenspurger Bisthumbs: geprediget vnnnd auffgeopffert* (Ingolstadt, 1596).

- Mayer, Johann, *Gewisse vnd vormals in Truck nie außgangne Beschreibung, Deß gantzen vnd halben Umbgangs, oder Procession, Welcher Järlich in der Fürstlichen Hauptstatt München auff das Hohe Fest Corporis Christi, solenniter vnd stattlich gehalten wirdt*, (Munich, 1604).
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- Ordnung der gantzen Procession deß Allerheiligisten vnd Hochwürdigisten Sacraments, wie dieselb in der Fürstlichen Hauptstatt München in Obern Bayrn, etc. Auff das Fest Corporis Christi diß 1603 jahrs, mit vil statlichern, herrlichern, schönern und zierlichern Figuren, denn zuvor jemaln gehalten wirdet. Auß dem Alten vnd Newen Testament genommen, vnd in Zünfften eingetheilt* (Munich, 1603).
- Ordnung der gantzen Procession deß Allerheiligisten vnd Hochwürdigisten Sacraments, wie dieselb in der Fürstlichen Hauptstatt München, in Obern Bayrn, etc. Auff Das Fest Corporis Christi , diß 1612. Jahrs, mit mehrern stattlichen, ansehlichen vnd zierlichen Figuren, dann zuvor jemahlen, gehalten wirdet. Auß dem Alten vnd Newen Testament genommen, vnd in Zünfften eingetheilt* (Munich, 1612).
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mit dem allerheiligsten Sacrament deß Altars warhafftig geschehen ist, vnnnd demnach ein Vrsach gewest, daß an ermeltes heilige Ort, das herrlich vnd gnadenreiche Gottshauß Sanct Saluators erbawet worden (...) (Ingolstadt, 1585).

Von Gottes Gnaden, Wir Maximilian Pfaltzgrave bey Rheyn, Hertzog in Obern und Nidern Bayrn, deß H. Röm: Reichs Ertztrugseß und Churfürst. Entbieten allen und jeden vnsern HofRathsPraesidenten, Vitzdomben, Hauptleuten (...) vnsern Grueß vnnnd Gnad zuvor, vnd geben ihnen hiemit zuvernemmen. Ob wolen Wir zwar mit einer gemainen Stewr Anlag, so wol der Ständt, als Underthonen, bevorab bey disen schweren Zeiten, gern noch länger schonen wolten, daß Wir jedoch auß mehrerley antringenden vrsachen vnnnd obligenden schweren deß Landts hohe notturfft betreffenden außgaben (...) nit umbgang nemmen künden (...) Geben (...) Im 1637. Jar; Von Gottes Gnaden (...) im 1638. Jahr; Von Gottes Genaden (...) im 1643.; Von Gottes Genaden (...) im 1644. Jahr (no places of publication, 1637-1644).

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Volume 2: Illustrations

The Cult of Corpus Christi in Early Modern Bavaria: Pilgrimages,
Processions, and Confraternities between 1550 and 1750

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University of
St Andrews

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

19th June 2014 (Corpus Christi)

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Introduction

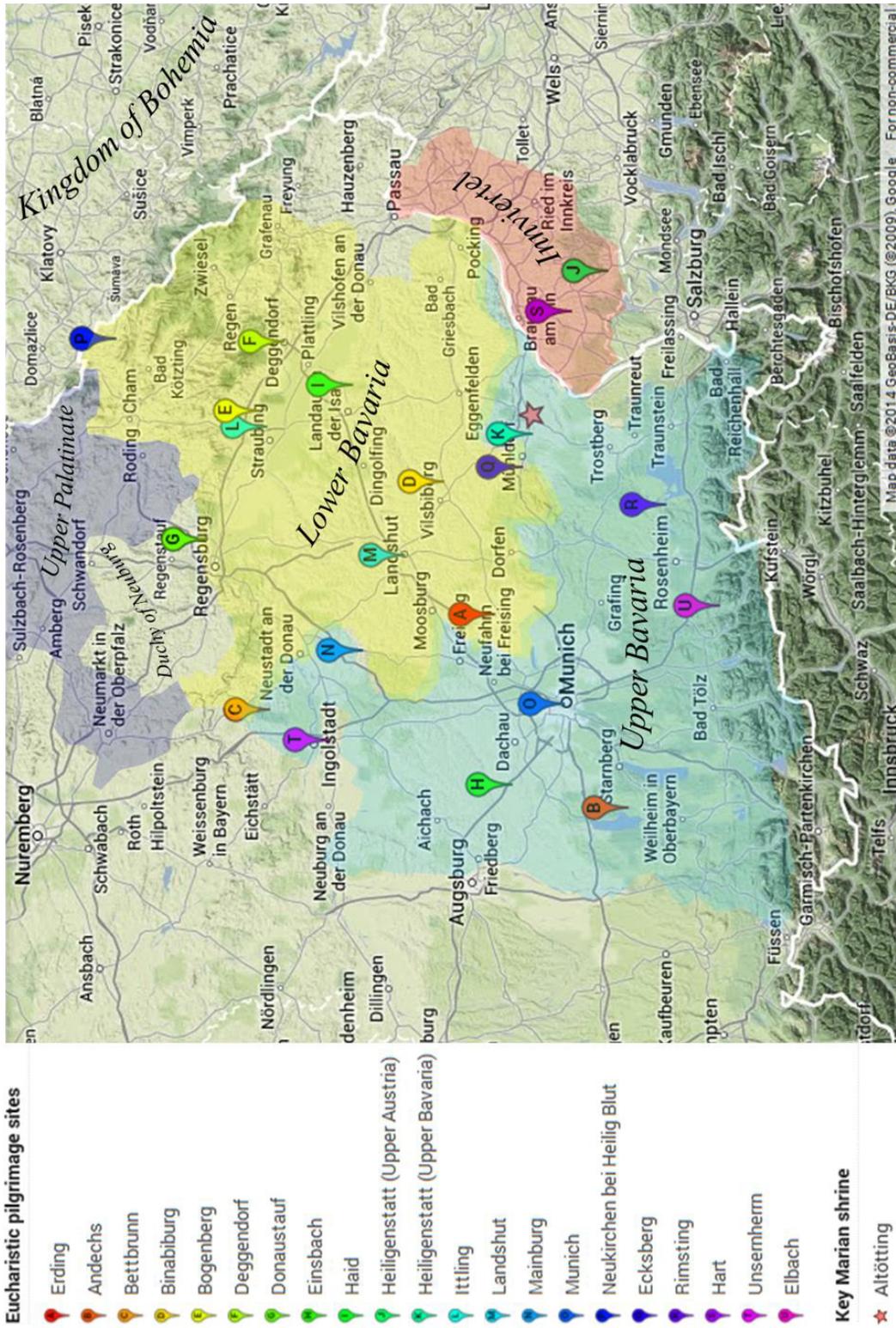


Intro.1: Luther on a wild boar (Oberalteich), fresco, 1727-30 (Neueder, p. 96).



Intro.2: Protestant reformers as dogs (Oberalteich), fresco, 1727-30 (Neueder, p. 89).

Chapter One



1.1: The former Duchy and later Electorate of Bavaria (Author).

~~Sanct Saluator~~
Sanct Saluator
Zu Bettbrunn in Bayrn:

Das ist/

Von der Alten H. Capellen
vnd würdigem hochberühmten Got-
teshausß vnfers lieben Herrn Sanct Salua-
tors zu Bettbrunn in Fürstenthumb Bayern/
Regenspurger Bisthumbs:

Auch

Von den vielen Wunderseychen /
Heylthumb / Gelübden / Walfärten
vnd anderer Christlichen Andacht
desselben Orts / ꝛc.

Durch Joannem Engerdum / bey der Hohens-
schul zu Ingolstatt ordinari Professorn / ꝛc.

I S



8 4.

Mit Römischer Kayf. Mayest. Freyheit.
Getruckt zu Ingolstatt.

1.2: Salvator mundi image (Bettbrunn), title page of pilgrimage book, 1584 (BSB).



1.3: *Salvator mundi* image (Bettbrunn), devotional picture, late c. 17 (GNM).

**Gebeth zum wundervollen heiligen Salvator zu Bettbrunn
in was immer für Anliegen.**

Gebeth.

D heiliger Salvator. Christe
 Jesu! du erster und für-
 nehmlister Fürbitter bey deinem
 himmlischen Vater! du wunder-
 bartscher Heil- und Lebensbrunn!
 dir für allen befehle ich die An-
 gelegen meines Herzens: dir ist bewusst,
 was zu meinem zeitlich und ewi-
 gen Heil beförderlich: in meinen
 Bedürfnissen erhöre mich also, daß
 ich dir allein gefalle, und deinen
 allerheiligsten Willen auf das voll-
 kommenste vollziehe. Du allein
 bist mein Salvator in allen Anseh-
 ungen der Seelen; in allen Ge-
 fahren des Leibs: mein einziger
 Salvator in Kreuz und Widers-
 tändigkeit: im Haus und auf dem
 Feld: auf allen Wegen und Ste-
 gen, bis in den Tod. Nur auf
 dich hefte ich mein Aug, und
 schliesse mit dir diesen Bund, daß
 ich dich um alles dieses demüthigst
 bitten wolle, so oft ich dich ansiehe,
 bis du mir verleihest ohne End
 dich anzuschauen, und dankbar-
 lichst zu preisen sammt dem Vater
 und heiligen Geist zu ewigen
 Zeiten, Amen.

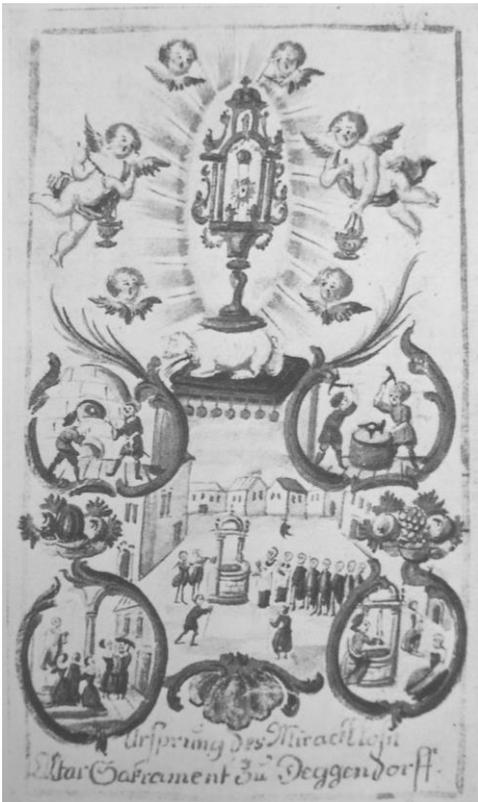
S. SALVATOR.

Zu finden bey Georg Grünenber-
 ger, Organisten, auch gnädigst privile-
 girten Verleger der Salvator-
 bildnissen allda.

1.4: *Salvator mundi* image (Bettbrunn), devotional picture, mid-c. 18 (GNM).



1.6: *Salvator mundi* image (Bettbrunn), devotional picture, c. 18 (BZAR).



1.7: Miracle-hosts (Deggen Dorf), devotional picture, c. 18 (Spamer, Tafel CLXXI).



1.8: Miracle-host (Heiligenstatt, OB), devotional picture, c. 18 (BZAR).



1.9: Christ Crucified image (Heiligenstatt, OB), devotional picture, c. 18 (StAM).



2.2: *Salvator mundi* (Bettbrunn), choir altarpiece, late c. 17 (Author).



2.3: Host-miracle tale (Erding), plaque, late c. 16 (Author).



2.4: Holy Blood image (Erding), cult image, late c. 16 (Hösch, p. 28).



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2.6: Host-miracle tale (Erding), copper engraving, 1787 (ME).



2.7: Holy Blood image (Erding), devotional picture, c. 18 (AEM).

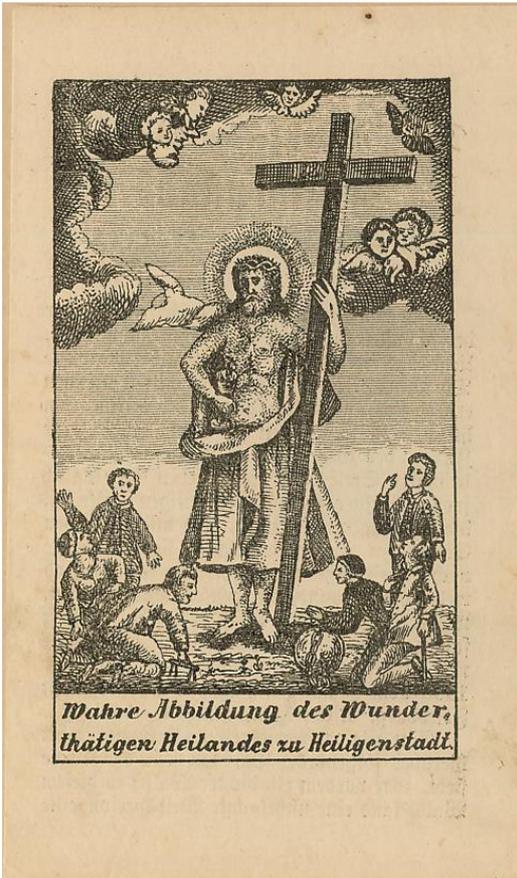


2.8: Holy Blood image (Erding), cult image, c. 16/17 (Author).



2.9: Holy Blood image (Heiligenstatt, OÖ), cult image, late c. 15 (Author).

2.10: Holy Blood image (Heiligenstatt, OÖ),
devotional picture, c. 18 (BZAR).



2.11: *Salvator mundi* image (Unsernherrn), cult
image, ca. 1690 (PFAU).





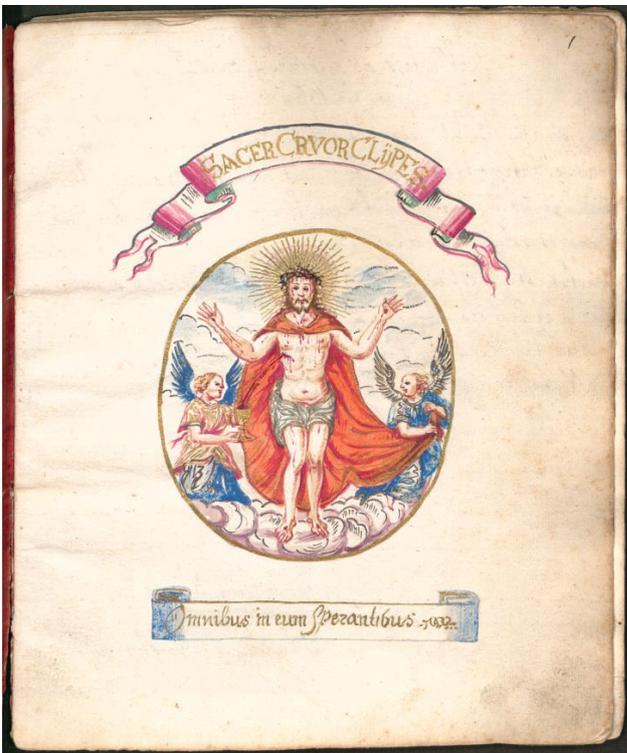
2.12: Baroque monstrance (Unsernherrn), church furnishing, 1655 (PFAU).



2.13: Holy Blood image (Ecksberg), cult image, 1511-1520 (Author).



2.14: Holy Blood image (Erding), votive panel, 1672 (ME).



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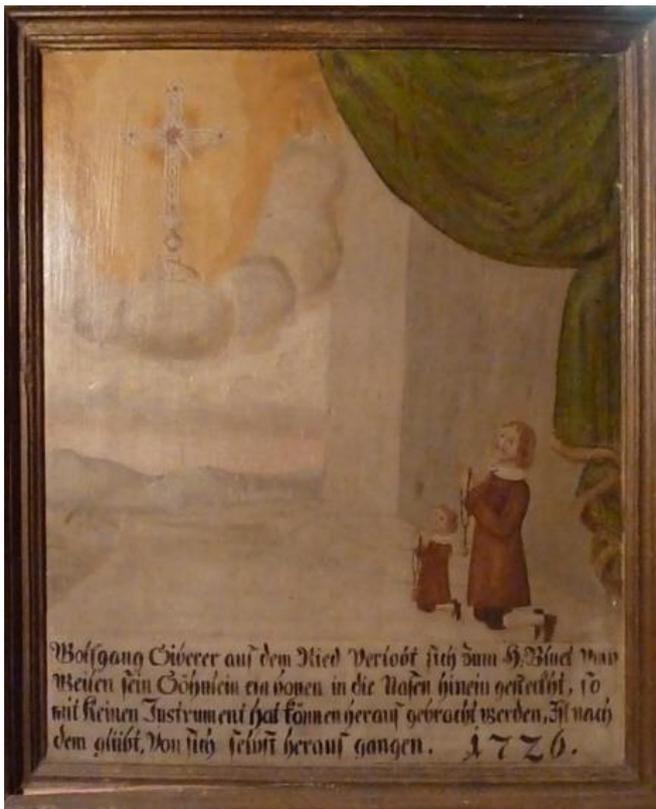
2.18: True Cross reliquary (Heiligenstatt, OÖ), devotional picture, c. 18 (BZAR).



2.19: Holy Blood image (Elbach), cult image, c. 17 (Author).



2.20: Holy Blood image and Passion instruments (Elbach), high reliefs, c. 17 (Author).



2.21: Holy Blood reliquary (Elbach),
 votive panel, 1726 (Author).



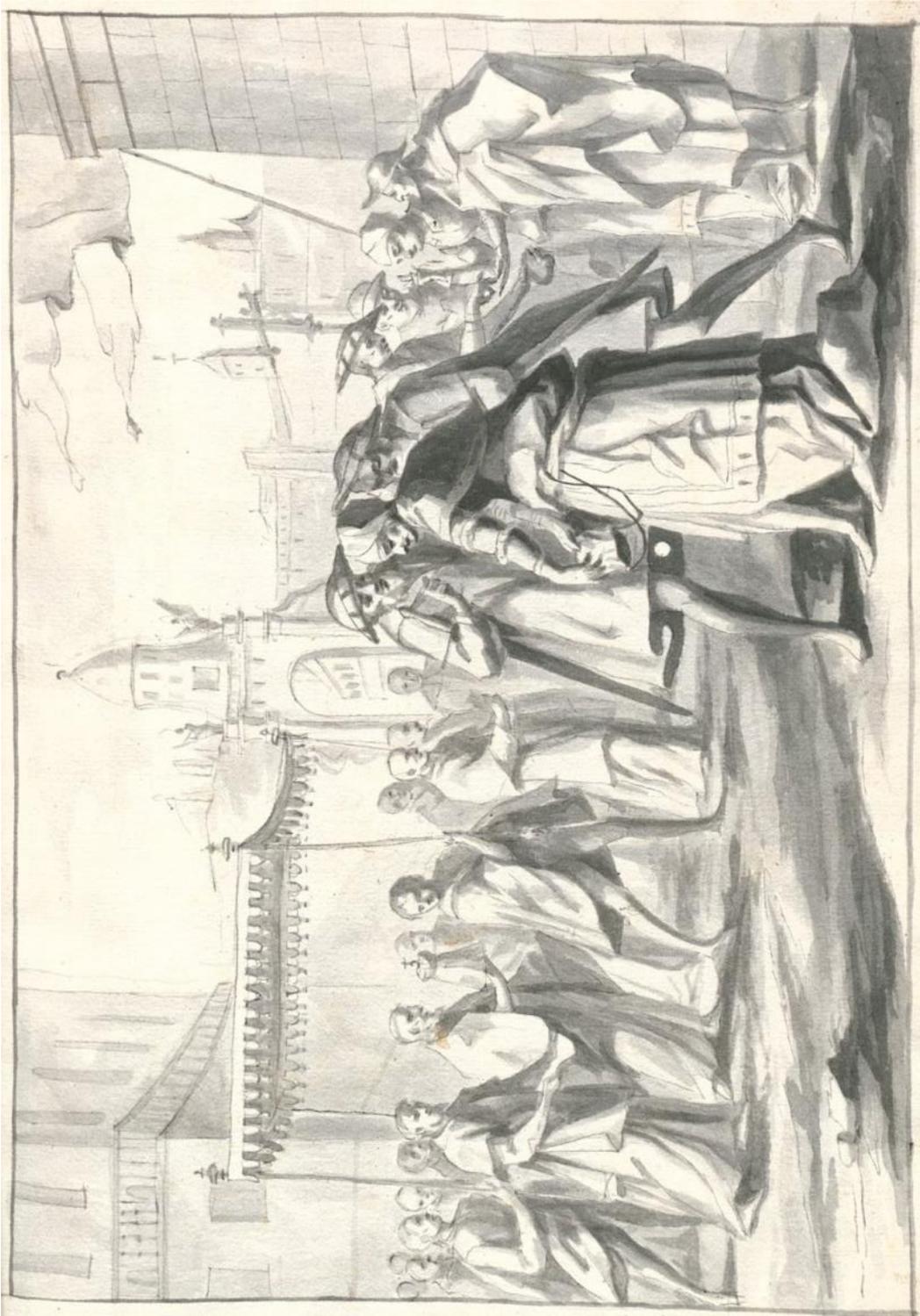
2.22: Host-miracle tale (Erding),
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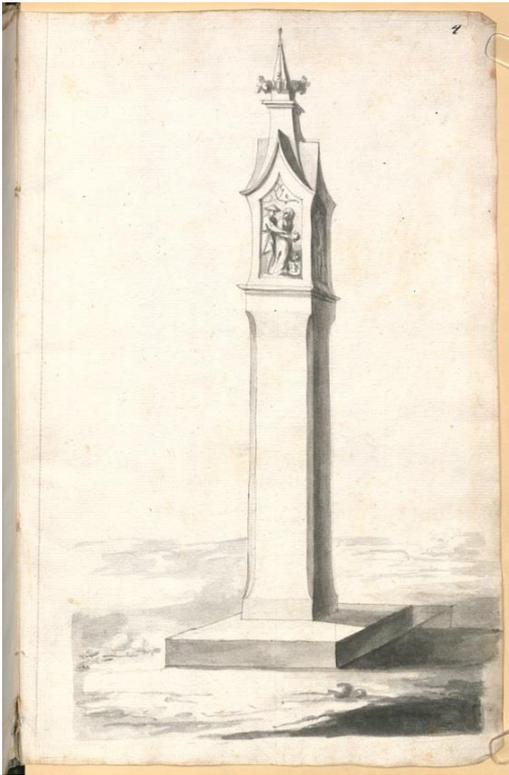
2.24: Host-miracle tale (Heiligenstatt, OÖ), choir wall, c. 17/18 (Author).



2.25: Host-miracle tale (Haid), commemorative panel, c. 17 (Author).



2.26: Host-miracle tale (Munich), commemorative panel (drawing), 1624 (BSB).



2.27: Host-miracle tale (Munich), commemorative pillar (drawing), late c. 15 (BSB).



2.28: Host-miracle tale (Munich), commemorative panel (drawing), c. 15 (BSB).



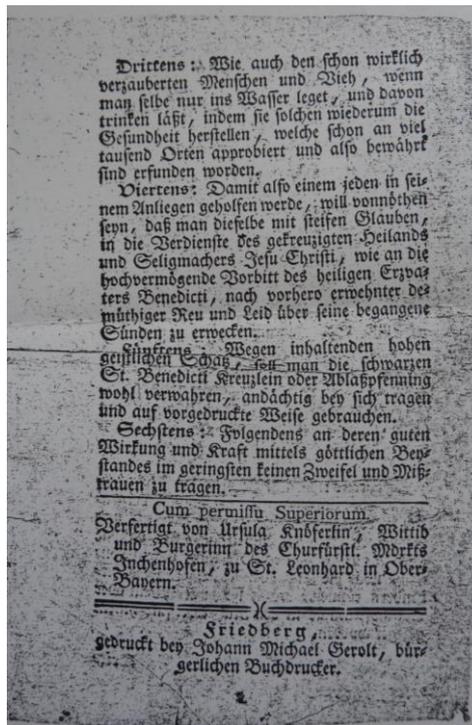
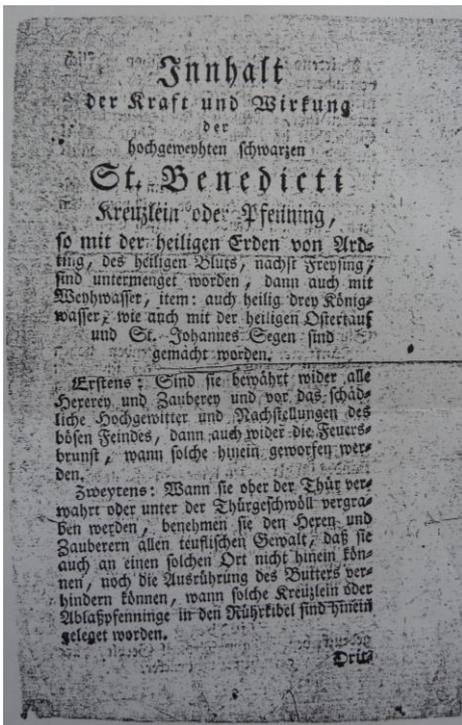
2.29: Host-miracle tale (Binabiburg), commemorative panel, 1632 (Author).



2.30: Host-miracle tale (Ecksberg), commemorative panel, 1671-1672 (Author).



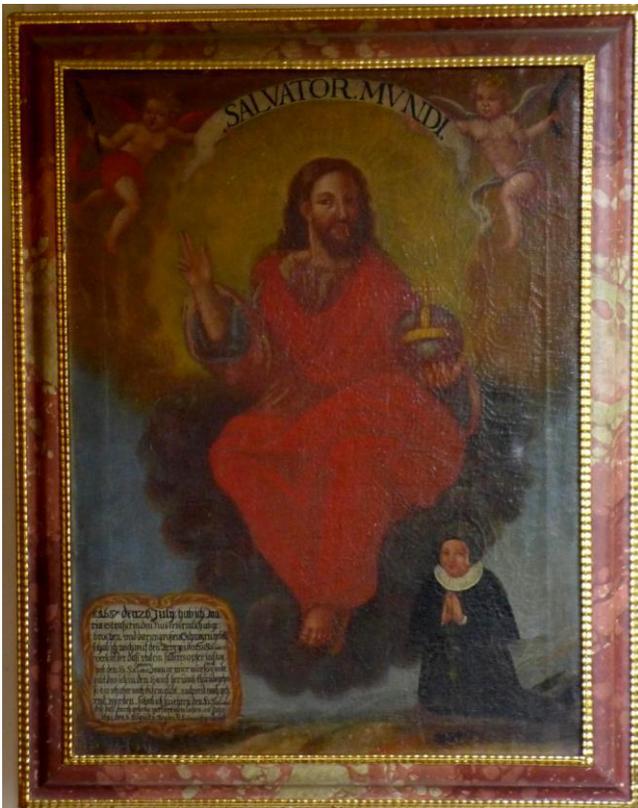
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2.32: Holy earth sacramental (Erding), printed manual, c. 18 (PFAE).



2.33: *Salvator mundi* image
(Mainburg), cult image, ca. 1520
(Author).



2.34: *Salvator mundi* image
(Mainburg), votive panel, 1694
(Author).



2.35: Holy Blood image (Erding), votive panel, 1700 (Author).



2.36: Holy Blood image (Erding), votive panel, 1705 (BNM).



2.37: *Salvator mundi* image (Hart), votive panel, c. 17 (Author).



2.38: *Salvator mundi* image (Hart), votive panel, 1740 (Author).



2.39: Image of host in monstrance (Hart), votive panel, 1745 (Seipel, p. 134).

Chapter Three



3.1: Statuette of St George (Munich), reliquary, ca. 1580 (SRM)



3.2: Corpus Christi procession (Landshut), copper engraving, 1733 (BSB)



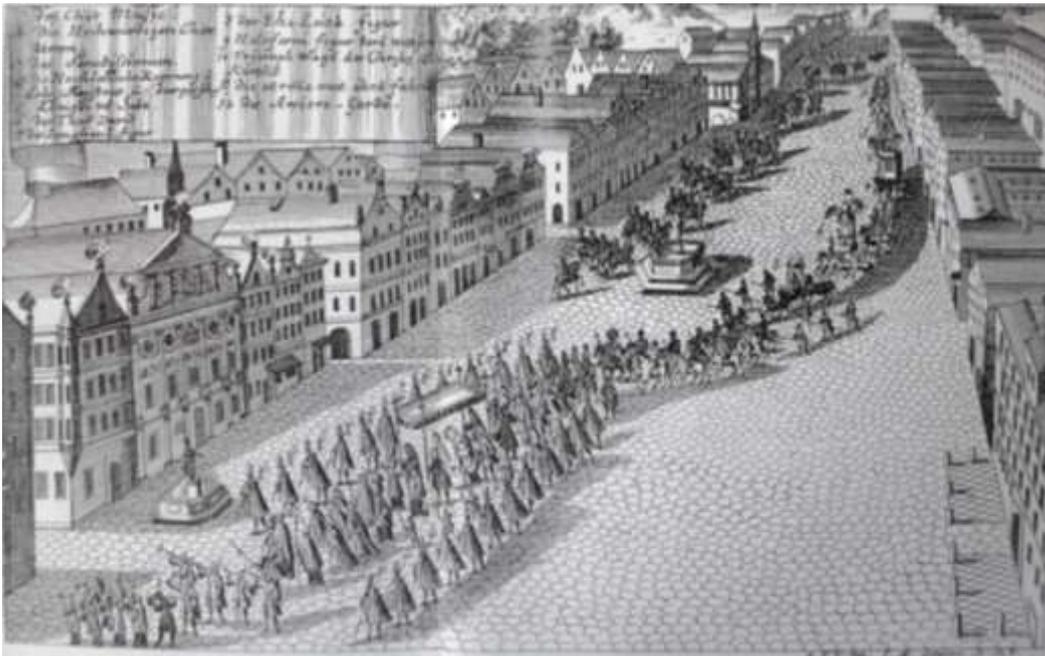
3.3: Corpus Christi procession (Landshut), copper engraving, 1733 (BSB)



3.4: Corpus Christi procession (Landshut), copper engraving (composition), 1733 (BSB)



3.5: Corpus Christi procession (Landshut), copper engraving, 1733 (BSB)



3.6: Corpus Christi procession (Landshut), copper engraving, 1733 (BSB)



4.2: Fountain of life (Wasserburg/Inn), frontispiece of confraternity book, 1690 (DBF)



4.3: Fountain of life (Wasserburg/Inn), title page of confraternity book, 1690 (DBF)

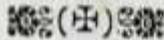


4.4: Fountain of life (Geisenfeld), frontispiece of confraternity book, 1669 (UBM)

Der stets immerwährenden Anbetung des Allerheiligsten Sacraments/ Bruderschaft: vnd Stundzettl zu Salzburg.

Verrichtungen.

1. **S**olle man am Tag der Wetzstund/ oder in selbiger Wochen: wie auch alle Jahr am Sonntag in der Octav des jarten Fronleichnamts Jesu Christi beichten vnd communiciren. 2. Die Stund hindurch eintwebers das Leiben Christi / oder Einsetzung dieses H. Sacraments betrachten: oder aber mündlich drey mal die Cron oder Dreysfiger unser Herr Jesu Christi beten: vnd zwar bergesalt / damit den sel dem kleinen Dingel zu Ende des Watters unser Herr lobspruch Gelobet seye allzeit das Allerheiligste Sacrament zugesezt werde / bey denen größern Dinglein aber solle man zu Ehren der H. fünf Wunden Christi ein Watter unser vnd Ave Maria sambt gesachtem lobspruch vnd selgendem Gebettlein sprechen: O gütigster Jesu / dein heiligste Mutter / sambt allen deinen lieben Heiligen / bescheden dich für alle Unehr vnd Beleidigungen / so wider dich als das höchste Guet von denen vndanckbaristen Creaturen jemals begangen worden: oder zu einiger Zeit bezugan werden.



LAUDETUR S. SACRAMENTUM



Gebete sey das Allerheiligste Sacrament.

Ziel vnd Meynung.

1. **S**omit das Allerheiligste Sacrament in allen Zeiten vnd Stunden: bey Tag vnd Nacht angebetet vnd verehret / auch Dank gesagt. 2. Der Ederlichen Wajeslat wegen allerhand beschickenden Vortslasterung vnd Verunehrung dieses H. Sacraments gleich wol etwelcher Abtrag ersattret. 3. Vor dem zeitlichen Hinscheiden dieser Götlichen Wezehrung Genesung vnd selg lich ein seliges Eterbsündlein erlangt werde. **Merckpunctlein.**

1. **D**auch die jenige / so amoch nicht in der Erbbruderschaft des jarten Fronleichnamts eingeschrieben / aufgenommern werden. 2. Niß vil die Zeit vnd Gelegenheit zulassen / solle einichdes Stund Gebett vor dem höchsten Guet in der Kirchen verhey gehen. 3. Im Fall erheblicher Verhinderung / sau man solches Stund Gebett in etwas antzicipiren, oder verschicken / oder auch durch einen andern verrichten lassen. 4. Die Stund ist nicht nach Willen / sondern nach dem Loß zu empfangen. 5. Kan seiner sein Stund für allzeit verändern. 6. Der sein Stundzettl vertobren / soll ein andere begehren. 7. Nach Abschieden die Zettl zurück geben. 8. Welche das vorgeschriebne Gebettlein mit lesen können / sollen nach jedem Dreyfiger fünfmal den obangezeigten lobspruch / oder zu Ende der Wetzstund 9. Watter unser vnd Ave Maria beten.

Efferiges Vornehmen seine Stund fleißigst zu verrichten.

Och armer sündlar Mensch / deines heiligsten Lebens so viel außgesanden / insonderheit die letzte drey Stund am Heil. Creuz hangend so vnaußsprechliche Schmerzen gelitten: Wer Antretung aber seines letzten bitter n Lebens vnd Hinscheidens / auß vnendlicher Lieb gegen vnd Menschen / dieses Allerheiligste Sacrament als ein Gedenszeichen seines schmerzlichen Todes eingesezt / vnd in selbigem biss zu Ende der Welt garh Eradenrich zu verbleiben sich gewürdiget / nimme mir festiglich vor / diejenige einigze Stund im Jahr / so mir durch das Loß zu Theil worden / als den . . . von . . . bis . . . Uhr . . . nach obbeschriebner Intention vnd Meynung / das Allerhochwürdigste Sacrament mit lebhaftem Glauben demütigst anzubetten / vnd solle mich fürwar von diesem so kräftig gestellten Vorhaben zur Lieb vnd Ehr meines am H. Creuz gehestten vnd seinem Hülfflichen Watter sich für mich aufopferenden Heiland / weder Geschäft noch andere Beschweruß (obichon der Hölliche Geist vnd Feind alles Gutes zur Verhinderung dieses festgesetzten Vornehmens allerhand List vnd Einstreungen erdencken wüeret) abhalten: Allein mein lieblichster Gott / weilen mein Vorhaben / ohne deine Götliche Hülff ganz vnkräftig / als bitte ich vmb dein Ederliche Gnad vnd Beystand / in welchem mein Vertrauen setzet / daß mittels selbiger diß mein Vorhaben ins Werck gesetzt solle werden.

für bene mein Heiland durch die 33. Jahr

4.5: Statutes, Perpetual Adoration (Salzburg), time sheet, probably c. 18 (AEM)

