Keeping the Faith

Devotional images and text in the service of Catholic confessionalization and piety in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Münster

A Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Interdisciplinary Graduate Studies
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By
Sandra Herron

PERMISSION TO USE

DISCLAIMER

Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between image and text in four devotional books printed in Münster Germany between 1589 and 1660, and shows how this relationship supported the Catholic confessionalization programs of the three prince-bishops of those years. These confessionalization strategies, though varied, all emphasized the reinforcement of religious conformity leading to the consolidation of the authority of the ecclesiastical and secular leadership of the prince-bishop. The success of the confessionalization strategies of the three prince-bishops through this medium were the result of three contributing factors. The first of these was the printer of the works, the Raesfeldt printing house, which held a printing monopoly from all three of the prince-bishops. The second factor was the Jesuits who were responsible for education and indoctrination in Münster and shaped a significant portion of this literature. The last contributing factor was the readers, a group with a relatively wide spectrum of abilities in literacy who bought, read, and exchanged the books. Among the readers were a significant number of women readers who took up the confessional message of these books, wound it into their devotional lives, and strove to perpetuate Catholic piety within their homes.

Although conventional wisdom suggests that images played a minor role in such programs, images were crucial elements in the communication of Catholic orthodoxy. This thesis shows how images were an equal partner in the conveyance of a nuanced Catholic confessional message in which the text directed a specific Catholic viewing and reading experience. The majority of the images do not carry an intrinsic Catholic message but rather present a traditional visual vocabulary that established an unbroken lineage between the Catholic Church and the pre-Reformation Church. These images provided the standard recurring theme around which the confessionalization message of the text was fashioned. As a distinctly regional literature, these devotional works reveal a localized Catholic response to Protestant polemic. They give valuable insight into the influence of confessionalization programs on regional devotional practices. The lasting effects of these confessionalization programs are still visible in Münster's Catholic character today.

Acknowledgements

As with all projects of this scale and duration, there are many debts to acknowledge. First and foremost are the institutions that assisted with supervisory and financial support, namely the University of Saskatchewan Interdisciplinary Graduate Studies for the program and their graduate fellowship, the University of Saskatchewan College Of Graduate Studies for their teaching fellowship, and the U of S Graduate Students Association for their scholarship. The Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz doctoral writing fellowship offering academic, research and administrative assistance was instrumental in the writing process of this thesis. The IEG provided perhaps the most amazing support a doctoral student could wish for, and I am so grateful for all of my colleagues and friends there that made Mainz such a remarkable experience.

The vast majority of the primary sources for this project were located in the lovely city of Münster, mostly in the special collections at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. I am truly grateful for the access, assistance and encouragement from the director Reinhard Feldmann, and the ever helpful Jürgen Lenzing. Their efforts at making the material accessible to both myself and future scholars in this area resulted in the digitization of most of the main sources used in this thesis. They also graciously gave me digital copies of the images and permission to use them. Through the ULB I was introduced to a number of historians that pointed me in the right direction and saved me a great deal of time, most importantly Dr. Bertram Haller, thank you for all of the help and sources on the Raesfeldt press, and Dr. Gerd Dethlefs I really appreciate your generosity with both time and expertise. I would like to express thanks to the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe Museum für Kunst und Kultur in Münster for the use of their images. Religio Westfälisches Museum für Religiöse Kultur also graciously gave me permission to use their images, a few of which exist only there. I am grateful too to Religio museum director Dr. Thomas Ostendorf for encouragement, conversation and generous access to materials and records. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr. Dirk Paßmann for generously granting access to the private archives at the Aschendorff press. A hearty thanks to Andreas Grundmann, who generously shared his time, expertise on andachtsbilder and reassurance for this project. I must also thank Irmgard Pelster at the Stadtarchive Münster for helping me with access to sources. Finally Horst Wende, your hospitality is unbeatable, offering great company along with a place to eat and lay my head whenever I am in town.

To my committee who supported me even when this thesis continued longer than anticipated. Dr. Frank Klaassen who went the extra mile for me, your critique improved my writing tremendously, I am sincerely grateful for it. Dr. Michael Hayden, thank you for jumping in at the last minute thus saving this project from falling through the cracks. Dr. Mona Holmlund, Dr. Tom Deutscher thank you for covering my areas of weakness, and Dr. Silke Falkner who stuck it out even when her plate was overloaded. To my colleagues who listened to me and provided great feedback, input, transcription and translations, Dr. Mihai-Dumitru Grigore, Keith Bell, David Luginbühl, Khrystyna Fostyak, Michael Auwers, Dr. Christopher Geissler and Dr. Leonard Horowski. I must also express my sincere appreciation to the unfailing support, moral, emotional, and financial of my parents, Douglas and Regina Herron, without which this project would have never come to fruition. To my beloved friends who encouraged me and kept me going when my energy lagged and kept my life sane I thank you all, specifically Deserée Wiebe, Kim Assailly, Jason Underhill, Joshua Poetker, Lydia Holden and Gauri Parasher. Last, but certainly not least, it is with deeply felt gratitude that I acknowledge the favour along the path cleared for me, and all my moments of true enlightenment, perseverance, and persistence I owe to my Heavenly Father.

In Loving Memory
Darlene M. Herron
Gertie Jackson

Table of Contents

List of Images

Chapter One

Introduction

Mention of Münster in the province of Nordrhein-Westfalen today provokes two images: *schwarz* and "the cages." What is fascinating is that both points relate to the religious heritage of the city. The former is a current, though dying cliché and the latter a physical reminder of a historical event from the earlier part of the sixteenth century. Though they are quite disparate, they are intrinsically linked by the theme of religion.

The word *schwarz* (i.e., black) is a negative colloquial expression for referring to Catholic clergy, deeply committed Catholics or Catholicism in general.[1] It is a cliché that Münster is overwhelmingly Catholic. As Dietmar Klenke pointed out in his exploration of the subject, clichés are only viable when anchored in at least "half-truth" yet they become more offensive the further they are from the truth.[2] To say that Münster is Catholic is not technically true; statistics show that Catholics make up only 51.0% of the population, and this decreases every year.[3] So why is this assumption of an authoritarian, tradition oriented, anti-progress Catholicity applied to Münster and where does it come from?

The answer to this question lies in the historical development and the entrenchment of Catholicism in the city related directly to the "the cages." The "cages", which still hang from the tower of St. Lamberti church, were used to display the rotting remains of the three Anabaptist leaders who subjugated the city.[4] After expelling all of the inhabitants who would not convert, they turned Münster into their notion of a *Heavenly Zion* in 1534-35, until the Prince-Bishop Franz von Waldeck besieged and re-entered the city. The ringleaders were captured, questioned and tortured in a public display, then after their execution were placed in the cages and hung on the tower of the church where the Anabaptist kingdom began. The public display of the remains in the

---

[1] It is also used to refer to conservative political views such as those of the Christian Democratic Party, which holds the local majority of political seats and is the largest member party of the area.
[2] Dietmar Klenke, *Schwarz – Münster - Paderborn Ein antikatholisches Klischeebild*, (Münster: Waxmann, 2008), 10.
[3] Taken from city statistics from the Amt für Stadtentwicklung, Stadtplanung,Verkehrsplanung, the statistics for 2012, accessed August 13, 2013, http://www.muenster.de/stadt/stadtplanung/pdf/Jahres-Statistik_2012_Bevoelkerung.pdf.
[4] Replicas of the cages can be found in the City Museum, two of the three original cages are located on the church tower.

cages was a clear statement that subversion would not be tolerated. This episode was pivotal for the city of Münster as it revealed the confessional divide in a most violent way. After Franz von Waldeck re-entered the city, all Protestants were tainted by the odour of rebellion, and all forms of Protestantism were outlawed for twenty years.

This event led to a strengthening of the Catholic identity in part because identity as a Catholic was better than the alternative, which was hanging from the church tower. But it was also reinforced and nurtured through various confessionalization programs through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. So effective were these programs that the Catholic character became thoroughly ingrained within the city. More importantly, this was not a superficial and reactionary conversion, but reflected deeply held beliefs that resulted in a passive resistance to the *Kulturkampf* against the Catholic Church of the Bismarck era.[5] Later during the religious repression of the Nazi period, Münster's Bishop Clemens August von Galen, supported by the Catholic laity, was one of the most outspoken detractors of the regime.[6]

This study is framed by the question of how this deep-rooted Catholicism was retained through the Reformation and confessional conflict when much of the surrounding area turned towards Protestantism. What kind of program or programs could speak to the populace in such an effective way to then also survive the turmoil of the Thirty Years War and finally, become so deeply embedded within the local culture that it persists into the twenty-first century? I examine these questions through the visual medium of reproducible graphic prints. My assumption about a Catholic graphic response to Protestant graphic polemic of the sixteenth century formed the initial impulse of this project. I had expected that with the traditional emphasis on visual imagery within the Catholic Church, there would prove an equal graphic visual response to widely distributed Protestant anti-Catholic polemic broadsides. The reality proved that with few exceptions, Catholic response did not employ a retaliatory single sheet broadside form but rather graphic images in devotional books. Directing these questions

[5] Anne Roerkohl, "Der Kulturkampf in Westfalen", Münster: 1992, http://www.lwl.org/westfaelische-geschichte/portal/Internet/input_felder/seite1_westf_bild.php?urlID=348, accessed August 13, 2013.
[6] His biography mentions his speeches against the National Socialist regime: http://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/ns_lit_doc_20051009_von-galen_en.html, the sermons in translation: http://kirchensite.de/fileadmin/red/pdf_downloads/aktuelles/Predigt_Galen_Englisch.pdf, both accessed April 11, 2013. His popularity protected him from arrest, though he was forced to change residence a number of times.

to illustrated vernacular books printed in Münster prompted further questions. What did these works say and how did they present Catholic confessionalization that would eventually become so entrenched? How did these books utilize imagery to reinforce the text? Conversely, how does the text influence the interpretation of the image? Finally, what role did the Münster printing house and its monopoly play in the material printed?

I argue that the Prince-Bishops Ernst and Ferdinand von Bayern, and Christoph Bernhard von Galen all implemented programs of Catholic confessionalization to varying degrees and with differing strategies. I focus on vernacular devotional books, demonstrating how these works delivered the varying confessionalization strategies to influence the lay populace. In particular, I consider how the interplay between the images and text served to carry forward the confessional messages. The images utilized in these texts represent an established visual vocabulary that was continually reinforced, both linking the Catholic Church with the pre-Reformation Church, and negating the need to reinvent a distinct Catholic iconography. Thus the particular “reading” of these familiar images was accomplished through the accompanying text. Further, I argue that these books were aimed at a wider reading audience and that women were a distinct part of their target audience. I propose that the inclusion of women in the focus audience was a means of perpetuating the confessional message within the home, as mothers were perfectly positioned to teach piety to the children, forming a generational Catholic culture.

In the remainder of this chapter I will introduce the paradigm of confessionalization through which I view my material and the historiographical setting of this inquiry and place this thesis into the current landscape of study. Chapter two focusses on the historical background, the effect of the Reformation and the Anabaptist take-over of Catholicism in Münster, and the role of the prince-bishops and the programs they implemented to maintain religious orthodoxy. Chapter three examines the printing house responsible for printing these works, and how its monopoly assured control over printed information in Münster, disseminating the singular Catholic confessional message of the prince-bishops. I also consider the reading public, arguing that women were indeed a target audience. Chapter four establishes the use of devotional images, and introduces the role and importance of the image-text relationship followed by an introduction to works influential on both the content and image-text relationships of the

sources examined in this project. Chapters five through eight examine the sources separately outlining how each represents the changes of the confessionalization programs in Münster. These chapters each establish how the Catholic confessional message conveyed through the text-image relationship was altered according to changing religious and political climates, from a focus on aggressive doctrinal responses to Protestantism, to a more contemplative character, followed by a practical guide, and finally to the personal experiential and outward communal expression of pilgrimage.

The Lens of confessionalization

I examine this material through the lens of confessionalization. The term confessionalization was coined in the 1980s as a means for discussing and illuminating the religious, political and cultural developments that resulted from the religious upheavals in early-modern Europe.[7] It has a number of German and foreign adherents, including namely Heinz Schilling, Wolfgang Reinhard and R. Po-Chia Hsia.

It is a matter of little debate among historians that religion had a profound impact on the political and cultural upheavals of first half of the sixteenth century and on the wars of religion, but less attention had been paid to its role after settlements had been achieved. Confessionalization was initially proposed as an alternative to established political historical paradigms developed to understand and evaluate the early modern period, such as the “Sonderweg”, the “General Crisis”, and the “Absolutist State” theses.

Political historical approaches

The “Sonderweg*”* paradigm proposed that the relatively fragmented nature of Germany developed differently than surrounding nations in part because of the historical social cultural groundwork. However it was primarily a political theory which proposed that Germany did not have the bourgeoisie revolution that had been seen in other European nations.[8]

The “General Crisis” paradigm was first presented by Eric J. Hobsbawm as a primarily economic driven theory through a pair of articles in the journal *Past and*

---

[7] Susan Boettcher et al. H-german Forum: http://www.h-net.org/~german/discuss/Confessionalization/Confess_index.htm#intro, accessed April 12, 2013.
[8] David Blackbourn, Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Present.[9] Hobsbawm proposed that the capitalist economy was the inevitable result of a general European economic crisis. In the first article Hobsbawm articulated the theory and the evidence for it whereas the second presented the results of the crisis and how it was overcome. The "General Crisis" thesis as redirected and expanded by Hugh Trevor-Roper and others involved in the ensuing debate proposed that the "crisis" which would lead to revolution was anticipated because the conditions that created the economic vulnerability was ripe for what he referred to as the "epidemic of revolution."[10] Though these initial articles looked at Europe in general with a focus on England and France, later scholars working with this paradigm expanded it and proposed that the events were inevitable and caused by much larger widespread phenomena such as climate, economy, health and conflict.[11] Additionally, others have created a focus on Germany.[12]

The "Absolutist State" paradigm takes the point of view that leadership of individual states was moving towards greater absolutism within established or establishing boundaries ultimately creating the modern nation states by centralizing and consolidating power. The most influential early theorist of the "Absolutist State" was Jean Bodin (1530-96). It was his assertion that in every state there must be an individual or defined group that has all the powers necessary to govern the community. Bodin held that the sovereign, with the power to uphold and make law, must adhere to natural moral law (religious and moral rules).[13] One of the difficulties with this theory is that there is no single definition of Absolutism, rather several. All theories agree on the sovereign as the supreme interpreter of human laws but they do not agree with how the ruler obtained

---

[9] Eric J. Hobsbawm, "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century: I", *Past and Present*, 5, (1954), 33-53; "The Crisis of the 17th Century: II", *Past and Present*, 6, (1954), 44-65.

[10] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The General Crisis of the 17th Century", *Past and Present,* 16, (1959), 32-33; Ernst H. Kossmann, Eric J. Hobsbawm, Jack H. Hexter, Roland Mousnier, John H. Elliott, Lawrence Stone, Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Symposium: Trevor-Roper's 'General Crisis'", *Past and Present*, 18, (1960), 8-42.

[11] Theodore Rabb mentions the role of religion as contributing to the 17th century "crisis" but then marginalises its contribution by referring to the decay of religious fervour, and its decline as a contributor to political decisions and policies. Theodore Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 80-82.

[12] Sheilagh Ogilvie, "Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis", *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed. eds. Geoffrey Parker and Lesley Smith, (London: Routledge, 1997), 57-86.

[13] "[W]hen they are inaugurated in the rites of coronation they swear a mighty oath in a form prescribed by the priests and by the notables of the kingdom by which the kings obligate themselves to govern the commonwealth according to the fundamental laws and equity (*ex ligibus imperii et aequo bono)....*the prince, in the presence of the priests, swears by the immortal God that he will render due law and justice (*debitam legem et justitiam)* to every order of society, and will judge with religion and integrity so far as in him lies.*"* Jean Bodin, *Methodus:* excerpt from Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory*, (London: Cambridge at the University press, 1973), 37-38.

that power nor on the relationship between the ruler and the Church.[14] The use of the term "Absolutism" for the German empire is problematic, primarily because the German Empire was not united as the title implies, but rather intensely fractured and this system of government was not aspired to in all German states and for those that aspired to it, absolutism was only partially achieved.[15] Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that as pointed out by Hagen Schulze, the German national state was not the same thing as the German cultural nation, giving rise to the "German question", a proposed answer to which was the "Sonderweg", raising the question of the differences between cultural nationhood and political nationhood.[16] Finally, in his work *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, Rudolf Vierhaus indicates that although Germany was involved in the confessional struggle prior to 1648, with the end of the Thirty Years War the religious struggle was replaced by a political one, after which point religion was no longer a strong contender in the greater scheme of state development.[17]

The return of religion, social discipline and confessionalization as paradigms

The role of religion was readdressed in the latter half of the twentieth century through two paradigms, "Social Discipline" and "Confessionalization." The "Social Discipline" paradigm holds that social pressure drives change in society to establish a cohesive state. While useful, its generalizing nature makes it difficult to apply to specific historical circumstances. The concept of social discipline is commonly associated with the work of Michel Foucault, though it had been extensively used both before and after by others namely Max Weber and Gerhard Oestreich.[18] Although both Weber and Oestreich employed the concept of social discipline, they approached it in quite different ways. Weber focussed on the discipline associated with Protestantism which he considered a contributing factor in the development of Western capitalism.[19] Oestreich

[14] Johann P. Sommerville, "Absolutism and royalism", *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450–1700*, eds. James H. Burns, Mark Goldie, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Cambridge Histories Online. Cambridge University Press, accessed December 6, 2010.
[15] Rudolf Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), trans. Jonathan Knudsen, viii.
[16] Hagen Schulze, "Foreword", *Nation-Building in Central Europe*, ed. Hagen Schulze, (Leamington Spa: Berg,1987), 2.
[17] Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, viii.
[18] Robert van Krieken, "Social Discipline and State Formation: Weber and Oestreich on the historical sociology of subjectivity", *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 17, (1990), 3-28.
[19] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, (New York: Scribner, 1930).

discussed the regulation of society through neo-Stoicism and its contribution to the discipline of newly reformed armies as well as in other areas of Western European society.[20] Oestreich locates the origin of social discipline in the police ordinances of early modern town councils which were motivated by the failure of the Church to regulate morality and maintain social order.[21] The flexibility of this paradigm provides a means of studying culture based on a broad scale to encompass various fields such as politics, economics, social change and religion.

David Myers in "*Poor, Sinning Folk"* demonstrated the use of organized religion as a moral and emotional control. Myers argues that the Catholic Church not only influenced the religious lives of the believing populace through the rite of confession, but also created social pressure that was supported in part by secular authorities. Myers proposes that the direction of the influence is from the sacred to the secular realm, a proposal that is questionable as its success does not rely on a unified goal of principle between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, but rather on the outcome of accepted social norm.[22] He explains that because the rites were performed publicly "private reflections operated within a larger framework of public liturgical acts" such as preaching, sermons, devotions, so that most individual acts of self-examination and reflection were done in a communal environment.[23] This resulted in an atmosphere of social pressure for those who did not participate within the accepted social norms. Myers' perspective reflects the much earlier established view of Pope Pius V who in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, first published in 1566, explicitly lauded the use of confession for social discipline:

> Another advantage of confession, which should not be overlooked, is that it contributes powerfully to the preservation of social order. Abolish sacramental confession, and that moment you deluge society with all sorts of secret and heinous crimes – crimes too, and others of still greater enormity, which men, once that they have been depraved by vicious habits, will not dread to commit in open day. The salutary shame that attends confession restrains licentiousness, bridles

[20] Krieken, "Social Discipline and State Formation", 3. Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) shows the practical application of the theory of social discipline as "regulation of society."
[21] Krieken, 'Social Discipline and State Formation", 11
[22] David Myers, *"Poor, Sinning Folk" Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).
[23] Myers, *"Poor, Sinning Folk"*, 43.

desire and checks wickedness.[24]

Two key questions remain unanswered: Was this attempt to control society actually effective and did secular authorities use religious means for their own distinct purposes?[25] It has been shown that the desired outcome of conformity and social order can be achieved, but this does not necessarily stem from the principle behind the act of confession.

Wietse de Boer also investigated religion as a form of social control, examining the social discipline of Cardinal Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan from 1564-84.[26] De Boer suggested the Borromean program relied on the sacrament of confession as a central disciplinary element and means of establishing social controls utilizing the combined tools of persuasion and force. De Boer also outlines how Borromeo believed that confession could involve a kind of conversion experience and through the profound experience of true repentance a sinner's behaviour could be significantly improved ultimately resulting in the improvement of society.

Borromeo's goal of societal reform through the individual conversion experience has been explored through a collection of articles edited by John Tomaro, *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*. This collection of essays investigates the goals and achievements of Borromeo in Milan exposing the man and the programs behind the myth, examining his reforms through his desired goals, the results, and their impact.[27] In a similar direction, Danilo Zardin looked at social discipline through confraternities rather than confession, something that Myers referred to, though not in comparable detail.[28] Zardin argued that reform of the confraternities was a fundamental guiding principle of Borromeo.[29] Much

---

[24] *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests,* trans. John a McHugh and Charles J. Callan (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1947), 283.

[25] It was the use of religion as a social control, or as Myers states; "coercive policy of state-enforced orthodoxy" that caused the Bavarian Dukes to be used as a model of counter-reforming activity; for those that refused confession, force was used, and "ducal or imperial troops were fundamental to re-establishing and re-enforcing Catholic power." Myers, *"Poor, Sinning Folk"*, 118-121.

[26] Witse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan,* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

[27] John M. Headly, John B. Tomaro, eds, *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, (Washington: Folger Books, 1988).

[28] Danilo Zardin, "Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era: Shaping Consciences and Christianizing Society in Milan and Lombardy", *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy,* ed. Nicholas Terpstra, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[29] Zardin, "Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era", 193.

like the argument of de Boer, Zardin insists that confraternities had a significant impact upon individual behaviour and these lay associations served as an effective self-policing form of social control.[30] Although social discipline as a theory can be molded to explain the events in Münster, it relies on the premise of social control for the sake of conformity, whereas confessionalization seeks religious orthodoxy.

The confessionalization thesis considers the role of religious belief as defined by the confessions on cultural, intellectual, social and political life within the early modern social order. The greatest contribution of the confessionalization thesis was the rehabilitation of organized religious belief as one of the formative and guiding aspects of the development of Early Modern Europe, as opposed to its subordination to the larger secular system.

A confession is defined as an explicit statement of doctrine. In the period under consideration for this thesis, there were three confessions legally authorised in one or more of the territories of the Holy Roman Empire: the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg (1530), the Calvinist/Reformed Helvetic Confessions (1536, 1566), and Catholic doctrinal statements of the Council of Trent, particularly *Professio fidei tridentinae* (1564). These confessions gave shape to coherent communities with distinct beliefs and institutions. Confessionalization is understood as the process by which one of these three confessions were politically and ideologically consolidated with the political policies of a territorial state to create a distinct culture and identity.

The word confessionalization is a direct translation of the German *Konfessionalisierung*, which was first presented as a historical paradigm by the German historian Ernst Zeeden in his work *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen*.[31] Confessionalization provides a means of viewing Early Modern Europe focussing on the religious confessions as a driving force in political and social developments. Although the period between the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 to the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 is often defined as a “confession-building” time, confessionalization is not restricted to a period. Zeeden established that confession building was not simply the period directly after the Reformation, or even restricted to the sixteenth century. Rather, he

[30] Myers agrees that it was not only a matter of social control but of self-control, considering that confraternities - the Marian congregation for example - encouraged more frequent confession. Frequent confession was central to the confraternities’ function. Myers, *“Poor, Sinning Folk”*,176.
[31] Ernst W. Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen: Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, (München/Wien: R. Oldenbourg, 1964)

argued that confessionalization was one of the main *processes* of the sixteenth *and* seventeenth centuries.[32] This process led to the development of a confessional culture or a confessional identity. Zeeden stressed it was the intrinsic relationship between secular powers and the Church that guided this process, which had been already established in the Middle Ages and continued past the Reformation.[33] Although he admitted that the impetus and energy of the confessionalization movement continued until about the middle of the seventeenth century, and in some areas up until 1700, he did not define it as a period of time or as an age, but rather as a process that took place over generations.[34] Thus the understanding of confessionalization as a *process* of defining and establishing a distinct confessional identity rather than a specific "age" is central to this thesis.

The confessionalization paradigm was further developed during the 1980s by two historians, Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard.[35] They explained that it was a social process whereby the alliance of church and state, as mediated through the confessional statement, facilitated political centralization.[36] Schilling insisted on the inseparable relationship between the secular and the sacred powers, maintaining that the Church remained integrated, deeply influencing the secular system from an organizational to a personal level, regardless of confession. This process, they concluded, ultimately led to the origins of the absolutist territorial state.

Although both Schilling and Reinhard propounded confessionalization as the key element in the larger political shifts, they came about it from different confessional directions, those of Lutheran-Reformed and Catholic respectively. Schilling focussed on religion as a key factor in understanding social change, or as in this case of the Lutheran

---

[32] Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen,* 7.

[33] Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen*, 10. Schilling agreed with this position, "Frühmoderner Staat und Konfessionskirche wirkten in einer Art Symbiose zusammen, indem sie geistige und institutionelle Kapazitäten gemeinsam ausbildeten und sich wechselseitig zur Verfügung stellten." Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe***,** (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1981), 36.

[34] Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen,* 11.

[35] Wolfgang Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung,* 10, (1983), 257-277: "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung ? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 68, (1977), 226-252, Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620", *Historische Zeitschrift* 246, (1988), 1-45.

[36] Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen*,162. Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung,* 288.

population resisting their Calvinist converted prince, social resistance. Reinhard on the other hand stressed the modernizing influence of Tridentine reform. Both scholars developed steps or "mechanisms" essential for confessionalization. Although they have different emphases, overlap of these mechanisms can be seen for example in the dissemination of doctrine in the form of confessional statements and the increase of social discipline through an educated pastorate and social pressure.[37] The work of Schilling and Reinhard shows that both political goals and activities to achieve confessional conformity were shared across confessional boundaries. These steps encouraged the stabilization of the state and led to the development of absolutist states by allowing territorial rulers to extend social and political control at the local level.

Another proponent of this theory, and one who has worked directly on the city of Münster, is Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia. Hsia's study of a selection of northern German cities was influenced by Bernd Moeller's work on the Reformation in the imperial cities.[38] Hsia presented three alternative models for looking at the Reformation in the urban setting: "the Hansa Reformation", "Cities and Class Struggles", and "the Communal Reformation." All three consider the urban centres in the North of Germany, as opposed to Moeller who looked at cities in the South of Germany and Austria. Hsia emphasises the importance of the societal structure within cities, pointing out the role of the guild and the commune of the citizens as an often overlooked but powerful force in the success or failure of reform, or by implication, an imposed confessional program. An additional work by Hsia is his assessment of social discipline in the Reformation achieved through confessionalization.[39] He devotes chapters to each of the three main confessions (Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic), examining parallels in goals and processes among them. As is evident in the title of this book, there is an emphasis on social discipline as an inevitable by-product of a "successful" confessionalization program. Hsia does point out incidents of resistance from the populace in response to the insistence of the prince-bishops to enforce their personal confession on the people. This resistance suggests, as shown earlier, the spirit of independence found within the social structure like that identified by Schiller. Finally, a more specific study by Hsia that strongly influenced this

[37] In this manner, social discipline strongly supports the confessional agenda.
[38] Bernd Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation*, (Gütersloh:Gütersloher Verlagshaus, G. Mohn, 1962), Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, "The Myth of the Commune", *Central European History,* 20, (1987), 205.
[39] Ronnie Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation; Central Europe 1550-1750*, (London: Routledge, 1992).

thesis, *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618,* analyzes the political, religious and cultural developments after the millenarian regime of 1534-35 which ultimately saw the reversion of Münster back to Catholicism.[40] Hsia examines the gradual implementation, struggles and the results of Catholic confessionalization in Münster.

As with all overarching paradigms, criticism began not long after the proposition of confessionalization. The major critique of confessionalization was a perceived exaggeration of the role of religion, and some critics rejected the thesis outright. Heinrich Schmidt stressed the need for the inclusion of more popular action, a greater emphasis on the general populace and less on the state and the elite.[41] Schmidt called the confessionalization thesis inadequate, stating that it overlooks the majority of the populace (those whom confessionalization would ultimately affect) by focusing on the elite, who would determine it.[42] Schmidt's critique is well-founded, but it is important to recognize that the "voice" of the populace is simply lost, leaving the historian to determine it by what remains. Hsia also addresses this issue by describing the complexity of the social interaction in response to a confessionalization program in his work on Münster.

Marc Forster's work on the Bishopric of Speyer presents another such case of conflict with the confessionalization theory. What Forster noted was that Speyer developed a confessional culture without being confessionalized, which is the creation of a religious unity by princes and bureaucrats closely tied to the emerging territorial state.[43] Thus Forster challenges the confessionalization thesis by looking at a smaller territory over a longer span of time, concluding that Catholic reform was not imposed exclusively from above, but could also be imposed by popular reaction or choice.[44] His work provides an excellent model of the impact of religion on society highlighting the choice of the society to accept or reject imposed religious views. In another article Forster discusses the dynamism of the post-1650 Catholic Church, looking at both the relationship between Church and state, as well as the "Baroque religiosity" which

---

[40] R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).
[41] Heinrich R. Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 265, (1997), 680-1.
[42] Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung", 680.
[43] Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720*, (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 1992), 3.
[44] Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages,* 5.

heralded a new stage of confessionalism that he argues is confessionalization from below.[45]

Michael Driedger on the other hand, insists that the societal discipline was already there and was exploited by the confessions. He also raised the question of how to fit in confessions other than the main three, such as the Anabaptists, Christian nonconformists, and Jews.[46] Driedger does clarify that although confessionalization does not conventionally include the religious other, this is a problem greater than the paradigm itself as often these groups that are difficult to fit into a "model of institutional and dogmatic consolidation" are defined as the historiographical other as well.[47]

A more recent criticism comes from Mary Laven. She questioned if there was still a valid place for the confessionalization thesis, stating that though it presents the view that the confessions provided the religious glue creating unified states and "disciplinary mechanisms to enhance authority," the spiritual function of the confessions, the devotional aspects, were not explored.[48] Laven does admit however that there has been a re-appraisal reflecting an evolving understanding of confessionalization or as she states *confessionalism,* which breaks from teleological narratives.[49] She continues asserting "This re-appraisal acknowledges the manifold ways in which men and women of all social backgrounds participated in the reinvention of Roman Catholicism; and represents a new fascination with the material culture of Catholicism."[50] It is vital to recognize the nature of theory formation as mentioned by Laven. It is not static, but rather it is constantly being refined responding to the unique circumstances of different communities.

---

[45] Marc Forster, "Catholic Confessionalism in Germany after 1650", *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700 Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, John Headley, Hans Hillerbrand and Anthony Papalas eds., (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004).
[46] Michael Driedger, "The Intensification of Religious commitment: Jews, Anabaptists, Radical Reform, and Confessionalization", *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in 16th Century Germany*, Dean P Bell, Stephen Burnett, eds., (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
[47] Driedger, "The Intensification of Religious Commitment", 257-6. He does go on to comment that Schilling has attempted this, not entirely successfully, by proposing to analyze the position of the Anabaptists and the Jews in his work, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft", *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, eds. Wolfgang Reinhard, Heinz Schilling, (Aschendorff: Münster, 1995).
[48] Mary Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation: Recent Trends in the Study of Christianity in Sixteenth-Century Europe", *Renaissance Quarterly,* 59, (2006).
[49] Mary Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation", 709.
[50] Mary Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation", 709.

Theda Skocpol, a historical sociologist, points out the necessity of constantly expanding, modifying or reconsidering the assumptions of theoretical approaches.[51] She underscores the point that when looking at the complex web of social circumstances, it is best to adopt an open-minded approach rather than being dogmatic. Likewise historian Andreas Holzem cautions against the misunderstanding and simplification of the confessionalization theory, stating that it has much broader application for exploring the role and influence of the Church on society, and in turn how that influence affects personal confessional choice and directs self-discipline within the societal construct.[52] Holzem also asserts the importance of the historical context for the development and direction of confessionalization, as this context determines its direction.

As with all paradigms meant for broad application, confessionalization does have problematic aspects. However, it provides a lens through which to view and order the many factors that create the constellation of conditions, structures and events that contribute to the larger picture of this society stressing the role of religion. This theory reveals the religious impulses that worked hand in hand with political and social initiatives.[53] In the case of Münster, the secular and the ecclesiastical authority were united in the prince-bishop, creating a dynamic that resulted in the direct secular imposition of the ecclesiastical goals. This thesis shows how the prince-bishops utilized the varying confessionalization strategies to establish Catholic orthodoxy that resulted in a strengthening of their own authority. Confessionalization influenced the publication of the printed material. The interplay between image and text in books supported that process, encouraging a form of social discipline that carried forward the confessionalization agenda. Confessionalization in Münster, although instigated by the Church and implemented by both Church and State, resulted in a type of social discipline that eventually confessionalized from below, thus reflecting both a top-down model as proposed by both Schiller and Reinhard, with the grassroots support as described by Foster. It is because of this interplay of top-down impetus being taken up

[51] Although this may seem to be a rather cavalier attitude to historical theories, the validity is that very often a theory is not capable of the flexibility needed to explain individual historical circumstances. This reading of the historical sociology of Theda Skocpol, was taken from Donald Macraild, AvramTaylor S*ocial Theory and Social History*,(Palgrave Macmillan,Hampshire, 2004), 48.
[52] Alois Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802*, Bd, 4 Geschichte des Bistums Münster, (Münster: Dialog Verlag, 1998).
[53] Schilling, “Reformation in Hanseatic Cities”, 446.

and amplified by the populace that this confessional message became so entrenched, leading to the cliché of a Catholic identity that still exists in the twenty-first century.

Devotional literature as a confessional tool

Wolfgang Reinhard, as mentioned above, identified seven steps or "mechanisms" essential for confessionalization. One was the dissemination of doctrine in the form of confessional statements. Included among these confessional statements are the spread of "propaganda" which reinforced both the confessional message and the censorship of heretical materials. Historians have assumed that like its role in Reformation polemic, literature played a part in confessionalization as a means of disseminating the message, yet there has been very little inquiry to prove this. Ute Lotz-Heumann and Matthias Pohlig address this in their article "Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555-1700."[54] By raising more questions than they answer, they reveal the lack of comprehension of the role of literature in confessionalization. They define two forms of confessionalization literature, one used "as a weapon in confessional polemics and conflicts or to ensure the confessional conformity of church members", the other a "literature that was deeply embedded in a confessionally defined cultural context," meaning care of souls, encouragement of piety or strengthening a confessional culture.[55] Further, they describe five genres of confessional literature: the sermon, devotional writings, Jesuit theatre, Protestant school theatre and religious poetry.[56] They described devotional literature as a tool for religious discipline that aspired to instil fervent piety in the individual and because of this universal goal the repertoire of motifs was supra-confessional.[57] Because of this, Catholic and Protestant motifs were shared, and shared interests were more important than confessional differences.[58] They refer to the work of Franz Eybl on devotional literature who considered sermons and devotional books specifically, admitting the potential for devotional literature to impart and spread the confessional message.[59] He states however that that there were no great changes in

[54] Ute Lotz-Heumann and Matthias Pohlig "Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555-1700", *Central European History* 40 (2007),
[55] Lotz-Heumann, Pohlig "Confessionalization and Literature", 44-45.
[56] Lotz-Heumann, Pohlig "Confessionalization and Literature", 53.
[57] Lotz-Heumann, Pohlig "Confessionalization and Literature", 41.
[58] Lotz-Heumann, Pohlig "Confessionalization and Literature", 54.
[59] Franz Eybl, "Predigt/Erbauungsliteratur", ed. Albert Meier, *Die Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts*, (München:Carl Hanser Verlag, 1999), 406.

the material to reflect confessionalization, but rather these works focussed on establishing a link to earlier devotional works such as the *Devotio Moderna.*[60]

A point made by these authors is that although devotional literature was important for seventeenth-century piety, even accounting for approximately one-quarter of book production, it was generally ambivalent to the confessionalization process.[61] This is clearly not a general statement that can be made. As will be shown in this thesis, devotional texts were distinctly used to perpetuate the confessionalization programs of the prince-bishops in Münster. Written largely by Jesuits who had been initially invited by Ernst von Bayern for the purpose of supporting Catholic confessionalization in Münster, the devotional texts explored here reflect not only the confessionalization programs of the three prince-bishops, but also the differences in their confessionalization approaches and strategies. The role of the printing house as a major contributing partner to the confessionalization program is also examined. The Raesfeldt press was also brought to Münster by Ernst von Bayern specifically to print Catholic books. Among the numerous privileges Lambert Raesfeldt received to protect his monopoly was the right to censor and confiscate any "heretical" printed material entering Münster.

This study also asserts a more generous understanding of the reading public, positing that these works were meant not only for laymen, but lay women as well, and were intended to be used as religious and social instructional manuals within the home. Women played a vital role as models of piety and devotional instruction within the domestic sphere. Women were expected to perpetuate piety, resulting in numerous devotional works, including those presented here, written for this purpose. The primary focus of this thesis however is the relationship and interplay between image and text in these devotional works to reinforce and present the confessionalization programs.

A greater focus from various disciplines towards the broad subject area of image-text analysis is a relatively recent development in scholarship. The examination of the image-text relationship intersects with a number of fields of research not normally brought together. The relationship between these two elements has traditionally been overlooked by librarians and historians as the images are not often considered suitable historical documents and are viewed more often as mere illustrations. Likewise graphic

[60] Franz Eybl, "Predigt/Erbauungsliteratur", 406.
[61] Lotz-Heumann, Pohlig "Confessionalization and Literature", 54. Eybl, "Predigt/Erbauungsliteratur", 409.

illustrations are overlooked by art historians, as they are most often considered as mere reproductive images.[62] Thus images in books as a source of investigation has historically fallen between the cracks of academic scholarship, being considered less valuable than the text they accompany, and conversely not regarded as original printmaking.[63]

Although there has been some consideration of literature and its use as a confessionalization tool, the same cannot be said about images in books. Graphic historians have long considered the role of woodcuts and intaglio prints for influencing the populace, for the most part these have been single sheet images, often having monetary or cultural value. An example of this is the work on *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts* by Wolfgang Harms. However in this extensive work he only catalogued the images, and does not specifically assess or contextualize them.[64] David Landau and Peter Parshall's work *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550* is a formative work that considers the initial growth of prints and the success and reception of prints, considering the creation, market and reception of the new medium.[65] Although it is a broad study of the area, the focus is on single sheet images, with concentration on known masters, rather than anonymous more "common" images. The field of the growth of early woodcuts and their audience was particularly addressed by Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch in their work *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*.[66] Through a series of articles by themselves and others, it explores the beginnings of this medium in Europe, its use and popularity through often anonymous artists and devotional prints. Like the work of Harms and *The Renaissance Print,* the focus is on single sheet prints, rather than images found in books.

The use of woodcuts in books was brought to the fore with the collection of Lessing Rosenwald in the catalogue titled *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early*

---

[62] Reproductive in this sense refers to an undetermined number of multiples created from a single matrix.
[63] The argument associated here between original and reproductive printmaking is basically twofold: That reproductive prints are not viewed as an original creation by a specific artist but rather part of a collection of multiples though pulled by hand, and, that reproductive prints are based on a previously existing design such as a painting, as opposed to a design specifically created for the print matrix.
[64] Wolfgang Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts,* 5 volumes, (Tübingen, Niemeyer,1983-1997).
[65] David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).
[66] Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Printed Books.[67] This catalogue, assembled for the exhibition on the History of the Illustrated Book from the Rosenwald collection at the Library of Congress explores the use of woodcut images in books covering a wide ranging selection of subjects. The chapter on the development of German book illustration is particularly helpful for understanding the growth of the early generations of illustrated book production up to 1511.[68] Another recent study of the use of prints in books and single sheet images, both woodcuts and engravings, is the exhibition catalogue *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* from the exhibition of the same title at the Art Institute of Chicago.[69] This catalogue focusses on how prints with both secular and sacred subjects, were used, collected and protected in the Renaissance. There are two particularly useful sections, one titled "Prints and Books", and another that looks at the use of prints as devotional objects, "Religious Prints as Substitute Objects."

Much study has been directed towards the popular print imagery from the Reformation period specifically from the Protestant viewpoint yet there is comparatively little in comparison directed at the Catholic viewpoint. A foundational work on Reformation prints is Robert Scribner's *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* which is a study of printed images as popular propaganda in the German Reformation. This work represents an interdisciplinary approach to the historical circumstances in which these images became popular and the role that they played in society. Scribner argues that "through a study of visual propaganda we may gain a wider understanding of how the Reformation appealed to common folk."[70] His approach to analysis opened the door for further work with a traditionally overlooked medium. As Keith Moxey observes in his study of woodcuts of Reformation Germany, the subjects of these works have been largely neglected due in part to the low status ascribed to the medium.[71]

A common assumption about graphic images and polemic prints is that the message of these types of images could be "read" by the viewer with ease, or in the

---

[67] Daniel De Simone, ed., *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books, Illustrated books purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald at the sale of the Library of C.W. Dyson Perrins,* (New York: George Braziller, Inc, 2004).
[68] Daniela Laube, "The Stylistic development of German Book Illustration, 1460-1511", *A Heavenly Craft.*
[69] Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Kimberly Nichols, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).
[70] Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk, Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1981).
[71] Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives, Popular Imagery in the Reformation*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 1.

absence of this understanding, the message could be conveyed to the illiterate, visual and otherwise, by informed "readers."[72] However, this is "more often assumed than critically examined and still less often demonstrated."[73] Andrew Pettegree, in his work *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* analyses the various media through which the Reformation message was conveyed, with notable chapters on the visual image and book publishing. Finally, the use of images and text in a broadsheet context are chapters in *Print and Culture in the Renaissance,* particularly Christiane Andersson's "Popular Imagery in German Reformation Broadsheets."[74] In line with the work of Scribner, Andersson confirms the crucial role that broadside woodcuts played in spreading the message of Luther.

The study of emblems provides important analysis of the relationship between image and text. Emblems have a tripartite structure of image, Latin motto and vernacular text, commonly with a moralizing or rhetorical message. Indicative of their reception and function, studies on emblems are most often catalogued with literature frequently found near works on Rebus script and other riddles. Although the identification of emblems as such can be traced to the sixteenth century, they often applied an established visual symbol relying heavily on a recognizable and understood visual tradition. Emblems can be classified into two types, the moralizing emblem based on classical and humanist themes often literary and rhetorical, and the spiritual, devotional or meditative emblems.[75] This second type of emblems as meditational devices identified by Michael Bath is frequently difficult to classify, as they often fall short of the traditional tripartite model, rely heavily on Biblical allegorical tropes and are often presented as illustrations within text. Scholarly study of emblems burgeoned in the latter part of the twentieth century with catalogues of emblem books as well as critical studies of emblem theory. The *Index Emblematicus* is a series of volumes aimed at providing a single comprehensive source of primary documentation of emblems edited by Peter Daly and Virginia Callahan. In a similar vein is the Emblematica Online, a digital subject library,

---

[72] Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives,* 1.
[73] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105.
[74] Gerald Tyson, Sylvia Wagonheim, eds, *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986).
[75] Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture*, (London: Longman Group, 1994), 2. Bath argues the latter type was directly influenced by the seventeenth century revival of Christian meditation.

which claims to serve as a prototype for similar digitized image-text related projects in the humanities.[76] Interdisciplinary scholarly studies and approaches to emblem books, emblems, their use and analysis are found in the journal *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies,* which provides a collection of articles on a nearly annual basis. Of particular importance to this thesis is G. Richard Dimler's work on the use of emblems specifically by the Jesuits, as compiled in his bibliography of literature in *The Jesuit Emblem.*[77] Finally his study on aspects of the theory and practice of the Jesuit use of emblems in *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem* presents a selection of the diverse spectrum encompassed by the term Jesuit Emblem.[78]

Although working with images that most often contain text, the majority of these studies still do not reflect upon the image-text relationship in books. This relatively new field explores the relationship between image and text for directing the viewer and reader response. A handful of articles that address this area, in part if not in full, have been published in a series by Brill titled *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*, including, most importantly, *The Authority of the Word* and *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period.*[79]

Image-Text relationship in books

In his work *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe,* David Areford points out that there is a great deal of resistance to exploring connections between word and image.[80] He explains that images depend on a process of interpictoriality, meaning a reliance on the readers to draw on their knowledge of the images, the subject and genre, as well as the narratives of the text that they illustrate.[81] This confirms that only a consideration of all these elements makes the analysis of

[76] Emblematica Online Resources for Emblem Studies, http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/, accessed August 30, 2013.
[77] G. Richard Dimler, S.J., *The Jesuit Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Literature with Select Commentary and Descriptions*, (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2005).
[78] G. Richard Dimler, S.J., *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*, (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2007).
[79] Celest Brusati, Karl Enenkel, Walter Melion, eds, *Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), Karl Enenkel, Wolfgang Neuber, eds, *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period,* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).
[80] David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 107.
[81] Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image,* 210-211.

images truly effective. In her work *Geteiltes Leid*, an examination of the text image relationship with a focus on the Passion of Christ in both a Catholic and Protestant context in the wake of the Reformation, Birgit Münch points out the surprising lack of study in the area of image-text relationships.[82] She explains that major studies in this discipline have been principally concerned with the search for the "big-name" artists, meaning artists who have since been elevated to the status of old-masters, assigning a higher collectable value to their work. She goes on to state that the lack of studies in this area is primarily due to the often complex interdisciplinary nature of these types of investigations.[83] Particularly required with this thesis for example is an understanding of the complex history of Münster, familiarity with Catholic theology, and comprehension of the history and socio-cultural role of prints and printed books.

Philip Soergel considered the use of text and image relationship in a specifically Catholic confessional context in *Wonderous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* which looks at pilgrimage imagery in the region of Bavaria, providing a good model for working with images in Catholic regions.[84] He examined the propaganda value of pilgrimage books and the images they contained and how they promoted the social and cultural values of the Catholic faith. The use of the image and text relationship in the service of a political goal was also addressed by Susie Speakman Stutch and Anne-Laure van Bruaene in their work "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary: Devotional Communication and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Low Countries, c. 1490-1520" which discusses the propagation of the devotion of the Seven Sorrows in the service of supporting the Burgundian-Habsburg ideology of peace and territorial unity.[85] They focus on how Philip the Fair used the propagation of the devotion of the Seven Sorrows in his program to pacify urban society and to appropriate its institutions and media for political and dynastic purposes.

---

[82] Birgit Münch, *Geteiltes Leid: Die Passion Christi in Bildern und Texten der Konfessionalisierung. Druckgraphik von der Reformation bis zu den jesuitischen Großprojekten um 1600*, (Regensburg: Schnell Steiner, 2009),15.
[83] Münch, *Geteiltes Leid,*15.
[84] Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints, Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
[85] Susie Speakman Stutch, Anne-Laure van Bruaene, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary: Devotional Communication and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Low Countries, c. 1490-1520", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61, (2010).

This thesis adds to this field, contributing a vital link between image-text relationships within books, placed within the larger social landscape through its use as a tool within a program of Catholic confessionalization. This relationship within these devotional texts clearly shows the strategic changes of the confessionalization programs in Münster, and how the medium of print was used to carry forward particular identifiable strategies. This thesis also contributes to our understanding of how regional devotional literature reflects regional piety, and gives insight into a localized Catholic response to the spread of Protestantism.

Through methodical analysis of the individual devotional titles this thesis clearly shows these works through the confessional lens as they would have been presented to contemporary laypeople. Four texts are examined in this thesis. The first, *Catechismus und Betböklin,* printed in 1596, reflects the first wave of the confessionalization program of Ernst von Bayern. This work presents the "weapon in confessional polemics" to safeguard conformity as described by Lotz-Heumann and Pohlig. It utilizes an aggressive language, stressing obedience to the Catholic Church as the true Church and highlighting the error of the Protestants. A strong emphasis on Mary as intercessor underscores the specific Catholic confession. The image-text relationship is knit together in such a way as to function as a visual illustration of the narrative, but in a meditational manner, to support and visually enhance the message of obedience and faithfulness to the Catholic Church.

The second and third works studied represent the second category of devotional work as described by Lotz-Heumann and Pohlig, "literature that was deeply embedded in a confessionally defined cultural context."[86] The second book, the *Vita Christi*, first printed in 1607, reflects the first feeling of success of the confessionalization program. This work has a milder language with a focus on piety. The stress on the Catholic Church has moved from being in opposition to the Protestants, to being one of the protector and comforter of the pious. Here, the same images are used as those in the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, yet the text is quite different. The images function as illustration of the narrative, and also as mnemonic devices for the prayers and devotions of the text.

[86] See footnote 55.

The third text, *Brautschatz,* first printed in 1625, like the *Vita Christi*, has a mild tone, and has a message of deepening piety, walking the reader through devotions. This work has a simple, yet practical message. This text was printed in a number of editions attesting to its popularity. The *Brautschatz* also shows haste and carelessness in its composition reflected in the use and placement of the images through the various editions with no clear explanation as to this inattentiveness. I posit that this reflects a shift of focus of the use of devotional literature in the confessionalization program during a period of unrest. This title demonstrates a passive maintenance of an established Catholic culture, reflective of the uncertainty of the Thirty Years War. Three different series of images were used over the various editions and the image-text relationship is quite different depending on the edition, working as an intense meditational device, or displaying a more haphazard careless placement reflecting the unsettled period of war.

The final work under consideration, the *Andaechtige Gebett,* printed in 1660, reflects the second wave of confessionalization of Christoph Bernhard von Galen, and, like the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, presents the "weapon in confessional polemics." Galen's program focussed on confessionalizing the laity through continuity with historical and traditional practices, highlighting the endurance of the Catholic Church as a means of reinforcing it as the true Church in an effort to restore and reinvigorate the post-war Catholic identity. There is a strong emphasis on Marian devotions, accentuating again the intercessory and comforting role and nature of the Virgin. In this work the image-text relationship is unique among the works studied in this thesis, as both were commissioned to function together. In the *Andaechtige Gebett* the images function to enlighten the narrative, providing an aid to meditation to accompany the pilgrimage for which it was written.

It is imperative to study these books as a whole, exploring the image-text relationship within the work, and then reflecting upon the devotional text within the context in which it was created. Consideration of these works within this greater context of creation provides an illuminating window upon the variations of confessionalization programs instigated by the prince-bishops in Münster. Close analyses reveal not only the confessional potential of devotional texts, but also the confessional reality. These books had the capacity to truly influence the lay reading public. By leading the reader through devotions and encouraging women to adopt the role of pious mother, these

works had a direct influence in the home, and on future generations. These devotional books thus carry the confessionalization program to the reader, and in turn utilise the reading public and their faith to establish a Catholic confessional culture.

Chapter Two

Approaching confessionalization in Münster

In order to appreciate Catholic confessionalization in Münster it is important to understand the events that led to the establishment of this religious program. The bishopric of Münster holds a historically significant position as the northernmost stronghold of Roman Catholicism in Germany. Its neighbours, consisting of the Calvinist United Provinces to the west, the largely Lutheran lands of the Duchy of Cleeve-Mark-Berg to the southwest, the Calvinist Hesse-Kassel and the Lutheran Hesse-Darmstadt to the southeast, the Lutheran (later Calvinist) County of Lippe to the east, Lutheran Osnabrück and Calvinist Bremen to the northeast, meant that by the seventeenth century, Münster was almost completely surrounded by Protestant territories.[1] The maintenance of Münster's Catholic identity is remarkable when one considers the encroaching Protestants, its own Anabaptist revolution, and the confusion during the decades between the initial wave of Protestants and the election of the Counter-Reformation Wittelsbach Bishop. Printing played a pivotal role in re-establishing and maintaining its Catholic confessional identity.

Laying the foundation, Reformation in Münster

It is inaccurate to cite the Reformation of Luther as a starting point when considering the reformation of the Catholic Church, as there were a number of reform movements prior to this within the Catholic Church itself.[2] Though there was genuine reform within the Church it would prove to be "the earliest glimmer of a dawn slow to break."[3] One of the important contributing factors to the success of Lutheran reform was

---

[1] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 2.

[2] This is a controversial view and one that has been presented in detail by John O'Malley in his work *Trent and all that; Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000). Kathleen Comerford also encapsulated the contributing factors in her article "Clerical Education, Catechesis, and Catholic Confessionalism: Teaching Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Early Modern Catholicism; Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Comerford opens the article with the announcement that the Reformation stemmed in part from discontent with the clergy, declaring however that the extent of this remains a matter of debate, she goes on to describe various avenues of reform both innovative and traditional.

[3] Arthur G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe*, (New York: Harcourt, 1966) 25. The revival that Dickens refers to is that found within the religious orders in Italy. This particular

Johann Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in Mainz about 1450. The press allowed for the exact replication of ideas in a format that could be widely distributed relatively cheaply. In combination with Luther's prolific writings and the approachability of his ideas the printing press formed a wave of change that would be felt for centuries.[4]

Significantly, in the ten years after 1510 the number of books printed quadrupled, in part due to the profuse writing of Dr. Luther. Works related to the writings of Martin Luther constitute an estimated one third of all printed material.[5] His ideas, criticisms and concerns about the mother church were widely disseminated, sparking a much larger movement than any of the previous reform movements were capable of achieving.[6] The publication of his 95 theses in the vernacular which spread swiftly throughout the German lands is considered to be one of the most influential events of the early modern period.[7] As Robert Scribner stated, this rapid and wide dissemination, precipitating within a number of months one of the major social and intellectual upheavals in history, is a feature of the Reformation that has always fascinated historians.[8]

Another crucial element in Lutheran success was the accompanying visual satire, such as the image on the title page of Luther's work *Against the Roman Papacy Founded by the Devil*. This anti-papal satire elicited a passionate and uncontrollable response from the lay population.[9] Figure 2.1 is a typical example of the type of polemic

---

vehicle, that of the orders, would serve as an effective impetus for revival both before and after the Tridentine decrees.

[4] The role of the printing press is considered in the somewhat controversial work of Elisabeth Eisenstein, where she states that Protestantism was ushered in and shaped by the printing press, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 164.

[5] Stephan Füssel, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing*, transl. Douglas Martin, (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 163.

[6] Dickens stated that this unprecedented dissemination of religious dissent was one of the primary reasons for the success of the movement: "Altogether in relation to the spread of religious ideas it seems difficult to exaggerate the significance of the Press, without which a revolution of this magnitude could scarcely have been consummated. Unlike the Wycliffite and Waldensian heresies, Lutheranism was from the first the child of the printed book, and through this vehicle Luther was able to make exact, standardized and ineradicable impressions on the mind of Europe. For the first time in human history a great reading public judged the validity of revolutionary ideas through a mass-medium which used the vernacular languages together with the arts of the journalist and the cartoonist." *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe*, 51.

[7] The actual posting of the 95 Theses on the cathedral door is debated, as is the exact procedure by which the theses were translated into the vernacular and quickly and widely disseminated.

[8] Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), 49.

[9] Martin Luther, *Wider das Bapstum zu Rom vom Teuffel gestifft,* (Wittemberg: Lufft, , 1545), ULB Münster, COLL. ERH. 245, Digital collection: urn:nbn:de:hbz:6:1-23754

propagated in the Reformation. The image, designed by artist Lucas Cranach, presents the Pope with the ears of an ass, sitting on his papal seat that is precariously balancing on top of a pyre in the mouth of hell. He is being supported by various devils, many reminiscent of fifteenth century artist and printmaker Martin Schoengauer's figures, and sporting attributes commonly associated with well-known Catholic opponents of the Reformers.

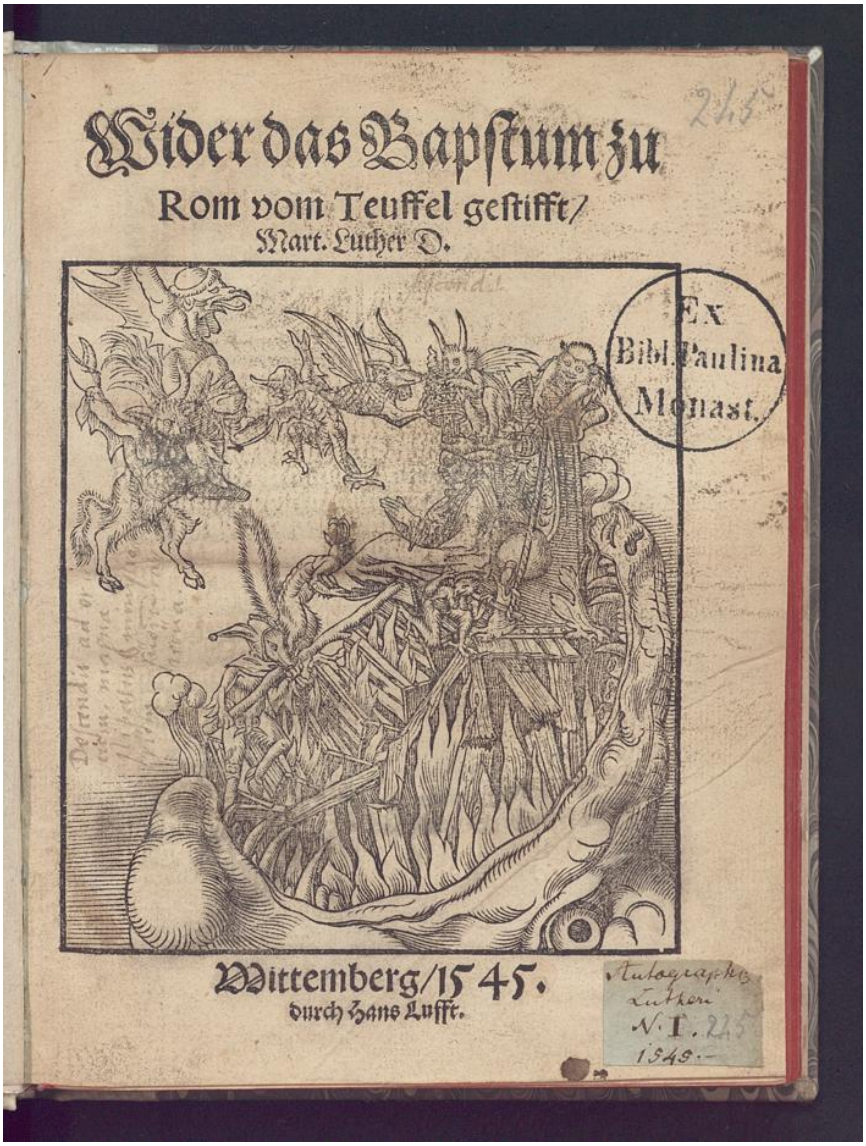

Figure 2.1 Lucas Cranach, Titlepage for Martin Luther's, *Wider das Bapstum zu Rom vom Teuffel gestifft,* Lufft, Wittemberg, 1545

Like the rest of Germany, Münster felt not only the encroaching religious reform, but also the secular reforms called for by the newly emboldened peasant class.

Simultaneous with the great Peasants' War in the spring of 1525, there was a revolution in the city of Münster in the form of peasant uprisings which were fully suppressed in 1526.[10] After regaining control in 1526, the city magistrates rescinded the concessions made earlier under duress to the disgruntled burghers.[11] The next reform movement was carried out in the 1530s, which would result in the most infamous period in Münster's history.

Anabaptist take-over

This period which is now known as the Anabaptist kingdom was not only a religious reform movement, but was also very much a secular and political movement within the city itself. It involved not only the burghers, but also some of the city council and the guilds. One of the reasons for this widespread involvement is that traditionally the city council and the city fathers in Münster were drawn primarily from a small group of elite citizens, almost all of whom were staunchly Catholic. The guilds on the other hand, the tradesmen, merchants and magistrates, consisting of the majority of the citizens, were more open to reform ideas, many holding Lutheran beliefs.

The city was part of a bishopric held by an elected prince-bishop (not elected by the city) who enjoyed secular and religious power over the region.[12] However by the late 1520s and early 1530s Münster was ripe for change as the burghers and the guilds were dissatisfied since the prince-bishop had refused to consent to the long desired political independence of the city.[13] The city of Münster was not only the main city of Westfalen, but it was also a successful commercial and trade centre due in part to its

[10] Alois Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen: Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft*, Bd. 2, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1979), 125ff and, Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 3.
[11] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 3.
[12] The prince-bishop was a territorial prince of the Church, who held both secular and clerical office. In this case it was Friedreich von Wied who resigned on March 24, 1532, then Franz von Waldeck from June 1, 1532. This territory included the bishoprics of Minden and Osnabrück. This position was an elected one that often had more to do with politics than religious affiliation, shown by the fact that von Waldeck lived in concubinage, and was known to be sympathetic to the Lutherans.
[13] The majority of the agitation came from the trades, guilds and merchants representing the middle strata of urban society. Hsia has pointed out that this strata was overrepresented throughout this episode, whereas almost all the upper-class that dominated city council and to a great extent ruled the city, rejected Anabaptism. Ron Po-chia Hsia, "Münster and the Anabaptists", *The German People and the German Reformation,* Ron Po-chia Hsia, ed, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 62.

historic membership in Hanseatic League.[14] The sense of independence behind the city's attempt to win liberty from the prince-bishop was associated in part with the Hanse and in part to a bid aimed at gaining autonomy from what was perceived as a "foreign" power. Heinz Schilling in his article "Reformation in Hanseatic Cities" argued that in "small or medium territories the Hanseatic towns still had a predominant and very independent position, and their burghers guarded their traditional autonomy" resulting in a development that he terms "Hanseatic City Reformation".[15] This type of reformation relied heavily on burgher involvement and is viewed as a communal burgher movement that had strong ties with the trades and guild structures. Münster reflected this movement as it found part of its identity through a well-established and strong guild system which was linked to the Hanse. It was in this guild system that in 1527, Bernhard Knipperdolling a locally known and respected cloth tradesman rose to a position of leadership. From this position he criticised both the city council and the prince-bishop. This criticism earned him arrest, punitive fines and banishment in 1528 which not only bankrupted him, but increased his bitter antagonism towards the city council and the prince-bishop.[16] After paying his fines and requesting and receiving permission to return, by 1532 Knipperdolling rose to a position of official opposition in the city council. Using this position combined with his influence within the guilds he helped to usher the Reformation into Münster.[17] As Schilling has outlined, the beginnings of the Reformation

---

[14] The Hanse, or Hanseatic League was an economic alliance of trading cities based in Lübeck, spreading across Northern and Eastern Europe, monopolizing trade in the North and Baltic seas. Utilizing river systems and overland routes, the Hanse had numerous affiliated towns and cities through northern Germany. Because of its success in trade, the Hanseatic towns had a sense of (or desire for) political autonomy associated with the formal, if loosely organized ties with the league. Münster was not an exception here, explaining the force of will of the guilds, and their objection to the secular rule of the prince-bishop. An early step towards the formation of a city league for commerce and defence involving Münster took place in 1253 with the signing of the *Werner Bund*. Along with the Westfalen towns of Dortmund, Soest, Lippstadt, and later Osnabrück, this league was renewed numerous times through the next century and would prove to be a cornerstone of the Westfalen Hanse-Quarter. By 1300, Münster was recognized as an influential Hanseatic trading town. Heidelore Fertig-Möller, "Der "Werner Bund" von 1253", *Historischen Arbeitskreis des Westfälischen Hansebundes in Schwerte* accessed Jan. 19, 2011. (2.9.2006), http://www.kreis-herford.de/media/custom/395_5371_1.PDF.

[15] Heinz Schilling, "The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 14, (1983), 445.

[16] Gerd Dethlefs, "Knipperdollinck, Bernd", *Internet Portal „Westfälische Geschichte",* accessed Jan 15, 2011. http://www.westfaelische-geschichte.de/per1103.

[17] There is a great deal of literature on the Anabaptist Kingdom, from firsthand accounts such as the writings of Bernard Rothmann, Robert Stupperich, *Die Schriften des münsterischen Täufer und ihrer Gegner*, 1 Teil, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), the memoirs of Hermann von Kerssenbroick who was a

in Münster followed a familiar path of guild and burgher participation in organizing uprisings against the conservative magistrates.[18]

Another important Münsteraner in this episode was Bernhard Rothmann. As early as 1530, local vicar Bernard Rothmann called for clerical reform in the bishopric of Münster, thus fanning the flames of discontent among the tradesmen, merchants and magistrates. He used the pulpit as the means for mass communication. As Scribner established, the pulpit was an unparalleled tool for the increased scope and intensity of the reformer's message. It was Rothmann's style, zeal and personality that attracted and swayed his listeners.[19] Although Rothmann was a Catholic priest, he was particularly sympathetic to the Protestant message, and around 1530 began preaching in the spirit of Lutheran reforms in St. Mauritz where he had been appointed in 1529.[20] Rothmann's break with the Catholic Church in 1531 was a consequence of his questioning of doctrine in combination with his fierce critique of the abuses committed by the higher clergy. As a result, without permission from the Church and with financing from the local merchants, Rothmann travelled from Münster to meet with well-known reformers in the spring of 1531. [21] Rothmann had three major stops on his travels: Marburg, where he met with Erhard Schnepf, a professor well versed in reformer theology; Wittenberg, where he did not personally meet Luther but corresponded with him through Philipp Melanchthon; and Straßburg, where he came into greater contact with "heretical writings", and met with the reformers Wolfgang Capito and Kaspar von

---

student in Münster at the onset (Simon P. Widmann, *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer zu Münster in Westfalen:Aus einer lateinischen Handschrift des Hermann von Kerssenbroick übersetzt. Originalgetreue Wiedergabe des Erstruckes von 1771, mit einer Einleitung und mit neuen Bildern ausgestattet,* (Münster: Aschendorff,1929), (in translation; Hermann von Kerssenbrock, *Narrative of the Anabaptist Madness: The Overthrow of Münster, the Famous Metropolis of Westphalia (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions; 132)*, translated with introduction and notes by Christopher S. Mackay. (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007) an exhaustive analysis of the social structure, Karl Heinz Kirchhoff, *Die Täufer in Münster 1534/35 Untersuchungen zum Umfang und zur Sozialstruktur der Bewegung*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), and a more recent look at the driving force of belief behind the actions, Hubertus Lutterbach, *Das Täuferreich von Münster: Wurzeln und Eigenarten eines religiösen Aufbruchs*, (Münster:Aschendorff, 2008).

[18] Schilling, "The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities", 449.

[19] Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, 51-52.

[20] St. Mauritz, although now in the city of Münster, is a small church that when founded in 1064 was well outside and to the east of the city of Münster, a position that it still held in 1529 when Rothmann was preaching there. Lutterbach, *Das Täuferreich von Münster,* 42.

[21] Lutterbach, *Das Täuferreich von Münster,* 43.

Schwenckfeld.[22] After his travels he returned to the pulpit in St. Mauritz. His reform message mobilized the commune in its struggle to win liberty from the prince-bishop, as it offered a means of political and religious independence from the religious and secular authority of the Catholic Church.

On February 18, 1531 Rothmann was elected and installed in the merchants' church of St. Lamberti, a move that would prove pivotal to subsequent events.[23] From this position, Rothmann directed the merchants of the city of Münster towards reform. Teaching a Protestant message, he became increasingly influential and radical. In 1532 the city of Münster set up a blockade against the newly elected Prince-Bishop Franz von Waldeck, a situation to which he responded with a demand for the Lutheran preachers to leave and reverse the reforms in the churches.[24] The prince-bishop's councillors and the Catholic patricians from Münster met in nearby Telgte to combat these developments. This meeting was stormed by approximately 900 armed men who took 18 hostages back to Münster as bargaining tools.[25] Through the intervention of Protestant Phillip of Hesse, both sides came to a compromise on February 14, 1533, known as the *Dülmener Vertrag.* This treaty outlined agreement from the Prince-Bishop von Waldeck to allow the citizens to choose their religious inclination without pressure on his part.[26] The result was a cessation of hostilities, the city accepted the prince-bishop as its secular authority, and he recognized the reform. [27] Münster was for all intents and purposes, Protestant. Up to this point the Reformation in Münster followed a relatively predictable path, yet it was not complete, and the next phase would differ dramatically from other cities.

The civic elections of 1533 saw a great many Protestants victorious, firmly establishing a Lutheran council. Yet already in the same year the paths of the magistrates and the reformers diverged, as the magistrates lost the sway of the

---

[22] Lutterbach, *Das Täuferreich von Münster,* 44.
[23] Lutterbach, *Das Täuferreich von Münster,* 48.
[24] Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen: Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft,*139.
[25] Lutterbach, *Das Täuferreich von Münster,* 53.
[26] Interestingly the first article stated: "Der Fürst soll den Münsteranern in Fragen des Glaubens under der chrislichen Religion keinen Zwang antun, sondern ihnen gestatten, das Wort Gottes ungestört zu besitzen…" the clause goes on to state that they be allowed to worship in the six parish churches. Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen: Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft,* 391.
[27] It was signed in Dülmen. Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen: Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft,* 141 & 391ff.

population to the more radical reformers. Rothmann soon came under the sway of Anabaptists who arrived daily from the Netherlands and from the Duchy of Cleves.[28] The brand of Protestantism in Münster was, in the words of one historian: "of a very special sort" wanting "nothing to do with all of Luther's compromises. It is extremely combative, almost to the point of being heretical..."[29] The Anabaptist "refugees" from the surrounding areas and the Netherlands that were filtering into Münster made it increasingly uncomfortable for those of a more moderate bent. Later that year near the close of 1533, Anabaptist apostles bringing the ideas of Melchior Hoffmann arrived preaching the end of the world, and the need for the elect to purify themselves by re-baptism.[30]

In the civic elections of 1534 Anabaptists took most of the council seats and saw to the election of Knipperdolling as mayor and executioner giving the Anabaptists the power to direct the citizens of Münster to be (re-)baptised, or to leave the city into forced exile.[31] This move caused the city to lose its legal and political defences. Although the treaty of Dülmen legally permitted Lutheranism, Anabaptism was against imperial law, and thus those moderates and the few remaining Lutherans found themselves in a dangerous position between the Anabaptists on one side and the bishop on the other.[32] 1534 also saw the arrival of both Jan Matthys and Jan van Leiden (Bockelson) who as

---

[28] Friedrich Reck-Malleczewen, *A History of the Münster Anabaptists' Inner Emigration and the Third Reich*, translated critical edition, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 7.

[29] Reck-Malleczewen, *A History of the Münster Anabaptists*, 5. Malleczewen's work was a surprising presentation of the subject. Although it is about the Anabaptist kingdom in Münster, the author used this example of historical tyranny as a metaphor for the rise of Hitler and the Third Reich. He saw in Jan Bockelson a character that was interchangeable with that of Hitler himself. Reck-Malleczewen's diaries reveal that this was clearly his intent, and that his friends were not only aware of this comparison, but warned him of the dangers. In a posthumously published diary, he often refers to Bockelson. In an entry from August 11, 1936 he stated: "I have been working on my book about the Münster city-state set up by the Anabaptist heretics in the sixteenth century. I read accounts of the "kingdom of Zion" by contemporaries, and I am shaken. In every respect down to the most ridiculous details, that was the forerunner of what we are now enduring. …As in our case, a misbegotten failure conceived, so to speak, in the gutter, became the great prophet, and the opposition simply disintegrated, while the rest of the world looked on in astonishment and incomprehension." Reck-Malleczewen however did not criticize the regime without repercussions, he was arrested at the end of 1944 and sent to Dachau where he died sometime in spring 1945. Karl-Heinz Schoeps, "Conservative Opposition: Friedrich Reck-Malleczewen's Antifascist Novel "Bockelson A History of Mass Hysteria," *A Flight of Fantasy: New Perspectives on Inner Emigration in German Literature 1933-1945*, ed. Neil Donahue, Doris Kirchner, (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2001).

[30] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 3.

[31] Gerd Dethlefs, "Knipperdollinck, Bernd", *Internet Portal "Westfälische Geschichte",* accessed, Jan 19, 2011, http://www.westfaelische-geschichte.de/per1103.

[32] James Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword*, (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 2nd ed, 1976), 231.

“prophets” would direct the millenarian kingdom in Münster.[33] With the exile of those who would not agree to adult baptism, and the rejection of his authority, Franz von Waldeck was forced to deal with this open rebellion and laid siege to the town.[34] The defences of Münster were such that for sixteen months the Anabaptists successfully repelled the attacks of mercenary soldiers hired to supplement Waldeck’s forces.[35]

Figure 2.2 Erhard Schoen, View of the besieged city of Münster, *Die Herrschaft der Täufer: Ansicht der Belagerung von Münster 1534* , hand coloured woodcut, 1534, LWL

[33] In February of 1534, Matthys (Matthijs) called for the godless to be expelled from Münster leaving behind their property, thus fulfilling the will of God as he understood it, creating a community of common goods as well as a purification of the people. James Stayer, *The German Peasants’ War and Anabaptist community of Goods*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991),132.

[34] In “Münster and the Anabaptists” Hsia makes a convincing argument that a portion of the male population who fled the city for fear of personal safety were under the impression it would be a short-lived episode, leaving wives behind to safeguard family property as women were not generally targets of political repression, 58-59.

[35] Numerous skirmishes took place on small scales, but the defences of the city proved to be too effective to overcome. Münster could be held with a relatively small force, though the actual numbers were unknown to Waldeck. It has been estimated by Kirchhoff that from the approximate 2,000 men, 1600 of whom were fit for military service in December 1534, through death, defection and starvation by June 1535 was reduced to 800 and 300 respectively. Karl Heinz Kirchhoff, “Die Belagerung und Eroberung Münsters 1534/35 Militärische Maßnahmen und politische Verhandlungen des Fürstbischofs Franz von Waldeck”, *Westfälische Zeitschrift,* 112, (1962),11-170.

The popular Nürnberg graphic artist Erhard Schoen created a woodcut, figure 2.2, showing the first assault on the city by von Waldeck's forces during Pentecost in 1534. The image displays von Waldeck's well entrenched assembled troops surrounding the city and the impotent activity outside the fortifications. This image is helpful for understanding the fortifications of the city itself, and how the citizens were able to repel the forces of the prince-bishop with such a comparatively small force. The details reveal familiarity with the city, for example the river Aa, the cathedral, and St. Lamberti church. However, the surrounding hills are entirely inaccurate. The lower border of the image contains text that, where legible, describes the image as "a true rendering of the city with all of its walls, towers, battlements, roof fortifications, watches, fences, armaments, moats."[36] The extent of the distribution of this single sheet woodcut is unknown. Although the image itself functions as a form of visual propaganda, it is not immediately clear which side of the conflict it supports. Part of the lower text describes the magnitude and the composition of the assembled forces outside the city, but says nothing about those within the walls. Schoen was known for his satirical woodcuts, anonymously producing many images attacking Church abuses. Simply from the appearance of the focus of the woodcut, it functions as a satirical attack on the prince-bishop's forces, that even with such a large force he could not breach the defenses of the city.

The prince-bishop did not have the personal forces to retake the city, but had assistance from Protestants, Phillip of Hesse, Count Palatine of Rhein, Duke of Jülich-Berg and the Catholic Elector of Köln.[37] Additionally, because of the perceived threat that the Anabaptists posed to public peace, Waldeck also received financial aid from the empire.[38] Donald Ziegler noted that this episode pointed to the common advantages of

[36] "Ein verzeychnung der Stat Münster mit all irer gelegenheit / mauren / thüren / zinnen / waten / schrankken / pasteyen / unnd geweren / wassergreben." Erhard Schoen, *Die Herrschaft der Täufer: Ansicht der Belagerung von Münster 1534*, Hand-coloured woodcut, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster.
[37] Hans-Joachim Behr, "Waldeck, von Franz", *Internet Portal "Westfälische Geschichte",* accessed Jan 20, 2011, http://www.westfaelische-geschichte.de/per227.
[38] Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods*,130.

cooperation if not reconciliation, between Lutherans and Catholics for maintaining the status quo.[39]

The siege ended in June 1535 after a traitor guided Waldeck's troops into the city taking it by surprise. Three of the ringleaders; the "King" Jan van Leyden (Bockelson), Bernhard Knipperdolling, and another Münsteraner, first lieutenant Bernd Krechtinck, were tortured to death in the market square, their bodies then hung in metal cages from the Market church St. Lamberti.[40] Rothmann's fate is unknown, it is thought that he perished in the final battle when the bishop's troops entered the city, but there is some speculation that he escaped the city and lived in Friesland.[41]

A woodcut detail of the title page from a pamphlet printed shortly after the deaths of the three radical leaders in 1536, figure 2.3, describes the rise and fall of the Anabaptists in Münster. This short eight-page pamphlet printed by Christian Egenolff in Frankfurt am Main has a decided bias towards the prince-bishop, detailing some of the torture, yet also expounding for the reader the necessity of the outcome, that the punishment was entirely deserved. Even both Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon spoke in support against the "terrible example" of the Anabaptists in Münster. That this pamphlet was not printed locally but in Frankfurt indicates a wide audience for this material.[42] This pamphlet provided a manner of disseminating information about the events in Münster, justifying the torture and deaths of the ringleaders by outlining the

---

[39] In August 1533 a debate that took place between Rothmann and representatives of both Lutheran - Dionysius Vinne, Hermann Busche, Peter Wirtheim John Glandorp, Dr. Johann van der Wieck and Catholic - Johann Holtmann, Deitrich Bredevort faiths. The representatives from the Lutheran and Catholic faiths found themselves in an uneasy unity against the viewpoint and arguments of Rothmann. Donald Ziegler, *Great Debates of the Reformation*, (New York: Random House, 1969), 141.

[40] The three were held and questioned both with and without torture until January 1536 when presented on a purpose built stage before the public. The spectacle consisted of the flesh being pulled from their bodies with red-hot tongs, their tongues pulled out with said tongs, then finally being stabbed through the heart with a red hot dagger. The three corpses were then placed in cages, to be hung from the tower of the Market church, St. Lamberti, as a symbol of the punishment for heresy and insurrection. The cages remain on the tower of St. Lamberti (though the current tower dates from 1888-1898 and is quite different from the original). One of the cages was damaged in WWII along with the church, and both cage and church were restored shortly after the war. The tongs thought to be used for the torture reside in the city museum of Münster, along with replicas of the cages and numerous other artifacts from the period.

[41] Reck-Malleczewen, *A History of the Münster Anabaptists*, 60. It is assumed that Rothmann perished, though his body was not recovered, instructions were to take him alive for punishment. Reck-Malleczewen refers to a wanted poster for Rothmann with his description that was sent out of Münster in 1537. This is also mentioned by Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen: Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft,* 456-7.

[42] It seems that the work was reprinted by two different printers in Nürnberg, Kunigunde Hergot and Wandereisen, which confirms the wider interest in the subject.

brutality of the Anabaptist Kingdom. This type of printed pamphlet and its distribution suggests a widespread interest in contemporary events and a morbid fascination with the corpses hanging in cages. It also provided a graphic cautionary tale for both authorities and citizens alike.

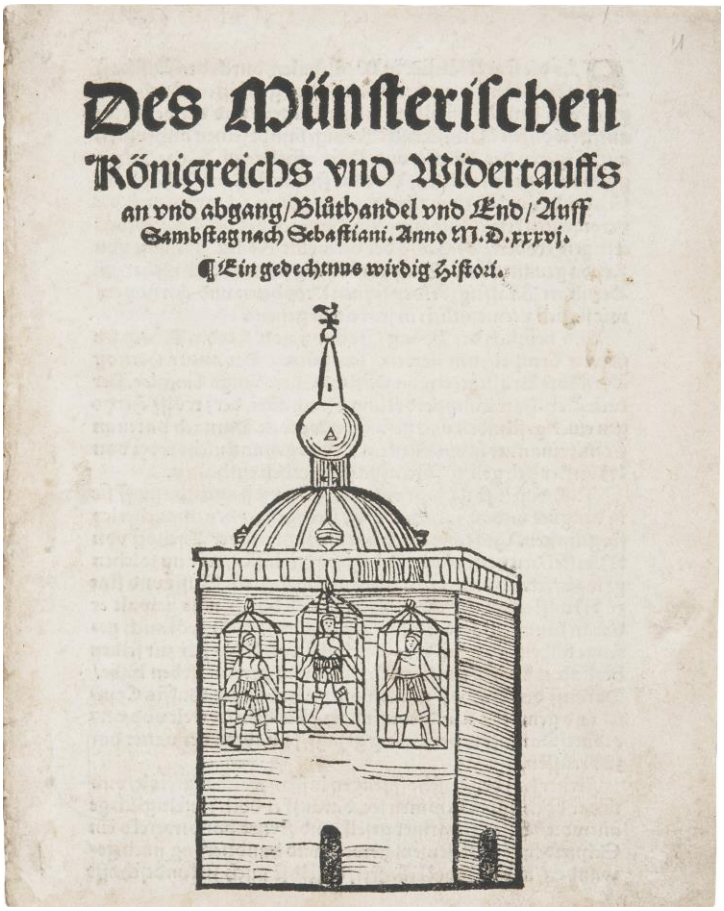

Figure 2.3 Anabaptist leaders in the cages, *Des Münsterischen Königreichs und Widertauffs*, woodcut, Münster 1536

When Franz von Waldeck made his triumphal entry into Münster, it was an entirely different city than sixteen months prior. There had been a great deal of destruction by the iconoclastic Anabaptists then the city had been bombarded during the siege and finally looted by the besieging army. In addition to damage to property, there was a great loss of life, mostly through starvation, but also through fighting and unchecked vengeance. Von Waldeck entered the city with three patrols of Landsknecht, and received the key to the city, along with the crown, sword and golden spurs of the

Anabaptist "King" Bockelson.[43] In order to maintain his newly established control of the city, von Waldeck tried and executed the leaders, rescinded all of the city's rights and freedoms and abolished the guild system.

Aftermath of the Anabaptist Kingdom: Post Anabaptist Kingdom prince-bishops

This episode was pivotal for the city of Münster; it illustrated the confessional divide in a violent way. What had begun in the city as a rather typical transformation from the Catholic to Lutheran confession, through the support of a large portion of the population, and the forced official acquiescence of Prince-Bishop Franz von Waldeck, ended in something entirely unexpected. Although it was clear that the Lutheran Protestants were not the same as the Anabaptists, particularly this militant branch, all Protestants were tainted by the odour of rebellion. The consequences of this episode of history were enormous, one of which was the perceived necessity for the reassertion of Catholic authority over the bishopric of Münster, which would be accomplished through Catholic confessionalization. As Hsia suggests, "For the ruling class, religious innovations meant rebellion; the rooting out of Anabaptism also destroyed the initial advances made by the Lutheran Reformation in Münster."[44] This event is so much a part of the fabric of the religious history of Münster that June 25 is still recognized in the Cathedral of Saint Paul as the date of the liberation of the city.[45]

In 1535, contrary to his own reform sympathies, and against the protests of Lutherans, von Waldeck reinstated Catholicism without exception.[46] In addition to the cost of reconstruction, von Waldeck was now expected to pay not only his soldiers, but also his allies for their assistance. To help pay these debts, all property of the Anabaptists was confiscated. However, because the properties were already burdened with debt many found no buyers and were either sold back at a fraction of their worth to

---

[43] However due to the odour of the corpses and plague in the city, he remained there only three days before removing himself to Iburg. Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen: Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft,* 457.
[44] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 8.
[45] "Allein die Tatsache, daß das Kapitel der Domkirche von Münster noch heute alljährlich am 25. Juni die Befreiung der Stadt aus der Hand der Täufer durch ein Dankamt begeht, zeigt, wie tief dieses Ereignis in das kirchlich-religiöse Bewusstsein des Volkes eingedrungen ist." Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen: Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft,* 460.
[46] Helmut Lahrkamp, *Das Drama der »Wiedertäufer«*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 2004), 40.

pardoned Anabaptists or their kinsmen, or passed into hands of those willing to take on the debt.[47] Kirchhoff presents a clear picture of how the properties changed hands finding that of the 631 properties confiscated, 241 returned to the possession of pardoned Anabaptists and their kinsmen, 146 were sold to third parties, but it is unclear what happened to the remainder of the properties.[48] Additionally, Kirchhoff reveals that von Waldeck gave some of the properties as repayment for loans, and others as rewards for service. Strained by debt, the city was unable to make full interest payments, and was only able to pay bonds according to their full value in the late 1550s.[49] In fact it took until 1559 for the city to return to its pre-1533 income level.[50]

The recovery of the city of Münster was slow, and would not re-establish a pre-Anabaptist kingdom population level until the 1570s. It has been estimated that the city lost approximately one-third of its inhabitants, the majority of which were men.[51] Although Lutherans and even Anabaptists were eventually conditionally accepted back, the repopulation of the city showed some interesting trends. In addition to those who returned, the trade base saw a great influx of professing Catholics from the surrounding countryside and villages for the most part representing the middle and lower classes, who had not been strongly affected by the Reformation ideas.[52] The resulting new wave of Catholicism in Münster was more accepting and open to reform than the previously entrenched conservative Catholicism. This openness to reform would prove important for the Catholic cause by facilitating the reception of the Tridentine decrees. The integration of this new population was difficult as the traditional means to regulate tradesmen and artisans, the guilds, had been abolished in 1535 for their support of the reform and perceived role as instigator of the ensuing rebellion. [53] When Prince-Bishop

---

[47] Hsia states "The cost of the fifteen-month-long siege ran to over one million guldens; while the other Imperial princes and rulers contributed toward the upkeep of the siege army, the major share of the financial burden was borne by the Bishop and the taxes levied by the territorial estates." Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 9.
[48] Kirchhoff, *Die Täufer in Münster 1534/35,* 35.
[49] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,10.
[50] The financial troubles lay not only in the burdensome debt, but also in the diminished population. It was this population growth and its demographic of post Anabaptist-Kingdom Münster that would direct the confessional identity of the city right through the Counter-Reformation period. Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 10.
[51] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,13.
[52] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,15.
[53] Hsia, "Münster and the Anabaptists", 65.

von Waldeck conditionally restored civic liberties to Münster in 1541, the ban on the guilds remained, and the only confessional services allowed were Catholic.[54] Von Waldeck restored the guilds in 1553, due in part to his need of the city's support both politically and financially.[55]

Though officially Catholic in confession, it is not surprising that a certain amount of religious apathy followed the confessional cartwheels of this period. Although there was no evidence of an open Lutheran community in Münster, it is known that there were clandestine meetings of Lutherans and they were not explicitly barred from obtaining citizenship.[56] The next Prince-Bishop Wilhelm Ketteler was reluctant to take on the mantle after the death of von Waldeck in 1553 due in part to his Protestant sympathies, but for the short duration of his tenure he dealt with some of the abuses in administration of the previous prince-bishop.[57] Ketteler resigned his position in 1557, to be followed by Bernhard von Raesfeld. Von Raesfeld, like Ketteler, worked towards addressing reform in the Catholic Church, and is also known for having introduced the Catechism of the Jesuit Petrus Canisius to his diocese. The Catechism of Canisius was printed in Münster first in 1558 and again in 1562. Like Ketteler, von Raesfeld found his position a burden and in 1561 he requested to be relieved of it but was swayed by Rome to remain until a suitable candidate could be chosen.[58] In autumn 1566, von Raesfeld was finally allowed to step down. The next elected prince-bishop was Johann von Hoya zu Stolzenau, who since 1553 had held the position of Bishop of Osnabrück. Von Hoya represented a new determination in Catholic renewal, and although his reforms in the bishopric of Osnabrück were limited, in Münster, they had more effect.

---

[54] Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft,* 467, see also Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,19.

[55] With the fall of the Protestant Schmalkaldic League and the defeat of von Waldeck's Protestant ally Phillip of Hesse, Philip of Brunswick renewed hostilities against von Waldeck, attacking Osnabrück and Münster, forcing von Waldeck to flee. The citizens of Münster recognized the opportunity and vowed loyalty, presenting their case for the restoration of the guilds at the same time.

[56] There were incidents of the magistrates questioning citizens about itinerant preachers, though it is thought that these incidents represent a small portion of the actual Lutheran activity. Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 93.

[57] One of his reservations was with the clause: "haereticos, schismaticos et rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus praedictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo", a formula which was not only directed against Protestants, but also some Catholics, and was also viewed as contradictory to the Peace of Augsburg and the interims leading up to it. Schröer, *Die Reformation in Westfalen*, 181-182.

[58] Alois Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1555-1648)*, Bd. 1. Die Katholische Reform in den geistlichen Landesherrschaften, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1986), 274.

His commitment to the position of prince-bishop was clarified in a statement that he would not only personally uphold the Catholic faith, but that he would also support and defend it through the bishopric, abolish sects and test all unknown preachers for heretical beliefs before allowing them a public forum.[59]

Like the previous two bishops, von Hoya worked towards righting abuses in the Catholic Church and had the Tridentine decrees published in the bishopric.[60] One of the most important steps he made in this direction was to carry out the first diocesan visitation. He also battled against clerical and clandestine marriage, initiated the creation of a marriage register, fought the misuse of benefices, and implemented reform in both male and female cloisters.[61] The visitation, which took place over the years 1571-73, revealed the extent of the Protestants in the diocese that had been unaddressed by previous bishops.[62] It also revealed the level of error and ignorance generally attributed to a number of influences ranging from superstition to political and dynastic developments, highlighting the need for Catholic education.[63]

In order to encourage the return of citizens back to the Catholic fold, von Hoya desired that the new Tridentine catechism, the *Catechismus Romanus*, be translated into German and placed in all churches and available for the public to read (chained for security).[64] However, this particular catechism did not reach the level of popularity of Canisius', which in its various versions continued to be used into the seventeenth century.[65] Von Hoya is known as being the Bishop who began the long process of Catholic confessionalization forging ahead with his implementation of the Tridentine decrees, until it came to an abrupt halt with his early death at the age of 45 in 1574.

---

[59] Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1555-1648),* 279.
[60] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,182.
[61] Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1555-1648),*307,312-314,321-323,326-334.
[62] Schröer has given a basic outline of the results of this visitation in his work *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1555-1648)*, 299-302, 315-320.
[63] Andreas Holzem, "Konfessionalisierung als Bildungsbewegung, Glaubenswissen und Glaubenspraxis in münsterländischen Dörfern nach dem Westfälischen Frieden", ed. Josef Alfers and Thomas Sternberg, *Die Kirchen und der Westfälische Friede*, (Münster: Verlag der Akademie Franz Hitze Haus, 1999), 119-121.
[64] Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1555-1648),*335.
[65] There were three versions of the Catechism written by Canisius, the first was the large Catechism in Latin for clergy and learned laity, *Summa doctrinae christianiae 1555*, the middle was the Catechism for Latin schools, *Parvus catechismus catholicorum 1558*, and the small was the Catechism for the public, *Catechismus minimus 1556*.

Johann Wilhelm von Kleve was presented as the next prince-bishop causing a split in the cathedral chapter. The cause for the split lay in two directions, firstly, the secular/religious politics that surrounded the candidate and secondly, at the time of his presentation, Johann Wilhelm was merely twelve years old. When his older brother died the next year (1575), Johann Wilhelm was required to succeed his father as the Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, resulting in his resignation. After his resignation, there was a long diplomatic dispute between Catholic and Protestant powers over his successor, resulting in two failed election attempts due to factional fighting thus leaving him as the administrator until 1585 during which period the work of von Hoya was almost entirely undone.

The 1580s presented a critical turning point for Catholicism in Münster, brought on by Ernst von Bayern. As the next prince-bishop he focussed his energies on confessional orthodoxy and political centralization.[66] It is with the reforming zeal of Ernst von Bayern that confessionalization comes to the fore in the bishopric of Münster through various initiatives.

Confessionalization and instituting and deepening Catholic piety in Münster

Ernst von Bayern

By the time of Ernst von Bayern's election as prince-bishop in 1585, a great deal of religious apathy existed in the diocese of Münster. He would prove to be different than a number of his predecessors in that he was a staunch Catholic. He came from the Wittlesbach line in Bavaria which it ruled like an absolutist Catholic state.[67] His election would prove a critical turning point, as he established a program of centralization and confessional orthodoxy in the diocese of Münster that reflected his native Bavaria.[68] A younger son of the Bavarian Duke Albrecht V, Ernst von Bayern moved quickly to

---

[66] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 95.

[67] "In Wittelsbach Bavaria and in other Habsburg lands the commitment of the dynasty proved to be a bulwark against Protestantism." Robert Bireley, S.J., "Early Modern Germany", *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, Vol. 2, John W. O'Malley, ed, (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), 13.

[68] Holzem describes the similarities in the confessional battle (Rekatholisierungsimpuls) between Bavaria and Westphalia, and points out that it is not clear how much of Ernst's reforming impulse was his own initiative or that of his father. Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802*,152-3.

implement the Tridentine decrees.[69] In the 1580s the struggle between the confessions intensified, signifying that the Empire had entered what is called "the confessional age."[70] The confessional age in Münster would prove to be decidedly Catholic.

Figure 2.4 Dominicus Custos, *Ernst von Bayern, Erzbischof von Köln*, engraving, c. 1600

This image of Ernst von Bayern, figure 2.4, is from a book of portraits of various European heads of state, Church, and merchants, assembled by Antwerp-born

[69] Born in 1554, as a younger son of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria he was destined for the Church. He was trained by the Jesuits in Ingolstadt and Rome; appointed Bishop of Freising (1566), Bishop of Hildesheim (1573), Bishop of Liège (1581), Archbisohp of Köln (1583), and Bishop of Münster (1585). These appointments were based on his Catholic training, and the power of Wittelsbach connections to halt the spread of Protestantism, re-claim former Catholic areas and enforce the Tridentine decrees. Max Braubach, "Ernst, Herzog von Bayern", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Band 4, (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot,1959), 614-615.

[70] Brady, "Settlements: The Holy Roman Empire", 355.

printmaker and printer Dominicus Custos, in his workshop in Augsburg.[71] Ernst is presented as a stylish head of state with very little indication on his person of his sacred role. The objects that surround him speak to his role, for example in the cartouche above his head is the cross, surmounted by a crown, and at the bottom of the portrait is a crown with palm fronds on either side, both indicators of his secular and sacred power. Likewise, to the upper left of the image is a censer, and to the right a metal globe, further indicators of his role.

Bavarian Catholic confessionalization: Münster's strategic example

Although leadership within the Catholic Church understood the need for reforms and for formalizing its stand on questions raised by Protestants as early as 1534, this formal process did not begin until the Council of Trent near the end of 1545 concluding in 1563.[72] What was most striking about the Tridentine decrees, as pointed out by Elisabeth Gleason, was their forward-looking character focussed on the future of the Catholic Church, and creating a sort of massive positive Catholic offensive on many fronts.[73]

> Each of the many German Catholic states has its own history of Tridentine Reform, and of accepting the council's decrees, ignoring them, or temporizing. Ironically, the most fervent champions of Tridentine Reform were not the German prince-bishops, but secular rulers like the dukes of Bavaria and Austrian Habsburgs like Ferdinand II.[74]

---

[71] The image is typical presenting the individuals in a similar manner, with sometimes even the same clothing but individual faces taken from portraits or prints. The selection criteria of the 171 images is unclear, as is the distribution, however with such a large collection of engravings, this work is unlikely to have been widely circulated. Dominicus Custos, *Atrium heroicum Caesarum, regum, [...] imaginibus [...] illustr[atum]. Pars 1-4.191 Bl.; 169 (von 171) Porträts,* (Augsburg: M. Manger, J. Praetorius, 1600-1602) accessed April 12, 2013, http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/desbillons/eico.html.

[72] Part of the difficulties of this assembly was its magnitude. This council involved members of the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy, and also Catholic secular princes, electors and rulers, as well as the Emperor, the King of France and the King of Spain. The secular politics was one of the great stumbling blocks causing numerous delays for the initial sitting. There were three sessions, the first December 1545-November 1547, the second May 1551-April 1552, and the third session January 1562-December 1563. Johann Peter Kirsch, "Council of Trent." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), accessed March 3, 2011http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15030c.htm\.

[73] Elisabeth Gleason, "Catholic Reformation, Counter Reformation and Papal Reform in the Sixteenth Century", *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation,* ed. Thomas Brady, Jr., Heiko Oberman, James Tracy, (Leiden: Brill,1994–1995), 333.

[74] Gleason, "Catholic Reformation, Counter Reformation and Papal Reform", 337.

After the conclusion of the Council of Trent it became increasingly clear to the Papacy that in order to see the reforms implemented, it would have to negotiate with the princes rather than the emperor.[75] The leadership in implementation of the Tridentine decrees was taken by the Bavarian Wittelsbach dukes, who as Philip Soergel points out, viewed the religious demands of Protestant reformers "as a challenge to their authority."[76] This was reflected in Duke Albrecht V's defeat of his Lutheran territorial nobility in the early 1560s, a move that enabled the duchy to become a key player in the Empire's Catholic reform.[77] The Wittelsbach program included the prohibition of Reformation books, the ban of Reformation printing, revitalization of traditional rituals and pilgrimages, support for confraternities, encouragement of Catholic devotional and pilgrimage books, and summoning the Jesuits to assist the establishment of religious conformity through education.[78] Secular rulers appear to have understood quite early that religious conformity would provide distinct advantages in their efforts at state building. The advantages as outlined by Markus Wriedt were; "enforcement of the political identity, extension of a monopoly of power and disciplining of their subjects."[79]

The decrees of the Council of Trent gave a forceful clarification of Catholic doctrine which provided the Bavarian Dukes, advisors and clergy a clear vision of the Roman Catholic religion that could be then implemented: This led to the moulding of these pronouncements to fit local needs, from which Bavaria emerged as a leader and model of the implementation of Catholic reform.[80] Wittelsbach dukes were able to exploit the inherent conservatism in their domain by using state authority not against local religious practices, but to defend the Church by appealing to the emotional idea of *traditio* in order to revive enthusiasm for the Catholic Church.[81] This emotional appeal

---

[75] Bierley, "Early Modern Germany", 14.
[76] Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 8.
[77] Thomas A., Brady, Jr. "Settlements: The Holy Roman Empire", *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation,* ed. Thomas Brady et al. (Leiden:Brill, 1994–1995) 364-365.
[78] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 9-12.
[79] Markus Wriedt, "'Founding a New Church…': The Early Ecclesiology of Martin Luther in the Light of the Debate about Confessionalization*", Confessionalization in Europe 1555-1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John Headley, Hans Hillerbrand, Anthony J. Papalas, (Aldershot: Ashgate 2004), 60.
[80] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 75-76.
[81] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 101.

had the secondary outcome of strengthening secular authority by securing "the consent of the subjects to their own subjugation."[82]

The establishment of the Clerical Council in Bavaria in 1570 represented a crucial action in the formation of a Bavarian state church.[83] This use of secular support of religious goals and vice versa was then expanded by the Wittelsbach's beyond Bavaria into other dioceses, most effectively through Ernst. Albrecht V saw to it that his young son was appointed with the bishopric of Freising at the age of eleven, thereby effectively giving him control of the diocese through his regency. Additionally, although contrary to the Council of Trent's prohibition of holding multiple benefices, because of the strong Wittelsbach Catholic reform program Ernst von Bayern also garnered the prince-bishoprics of Hildesheim and Liège with the hope that he could not only maintain the dioceses but to regain areas lost to the Protestants.[84] It was likewise their successes that brought the Wittelsbach Dukes into such endangered but powerful Catholic sees as Köln, a move to help stabilize the Catholic position in the northwest.[85]

Although the Augsburg Peace from 1555 presented the legal legitimacy of two major confessions (Catholicism and Lutheranism) and determined the rights of princes over religion with the principle summed up in the phrase *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, the period between 1555 and the arrival of Ernst von Bayern had been a period of religious uncertainty. There was a nominal Catholic presence lacking in determination to enforce or even necessarily support Catholicism within the diocese. With his election in 1585 Ernst von Bayern brought the Catholic confessionalization program from Bavaria to Münster.

---

[82] Wriedt, "Founding a New Church", 62, footnote 26.

[83] Geistlicher Rat, Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750*, (London: Routledge,1989), 41.

[84] Pope Gregory XIII overlooked the prohibition for pluralism despite the prohibition of Trent, especially for the Habsburgs and Wittelsbachs because they could supply episcopal candidates who strengthened the Catholic cause. Robert Bireley, SJ, "Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond", *The Cambridge History of Christianity Reform and Expansion 1500-1660*, R. Hsia, ed, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007),152.

[85] Köln was endangered when archbishop Gebhard Truchseß von Waldburg had married, converted to Protestantism and tried to retain his see in order to advance and support the Protestant cause in his diocese. In 1583 Truchseß was deposed and excommunicated by Pope Gregory XIII. Though it did not become a major war, this act and Duke Albrecht's challenge of the Ecclesiastical Reservation of Truchseß, supported by Bavarian troops, did spark the "Cologne War" (1583-85). The result of the conflict was the resignation of Truchseß and reception of Ernst von Bayern. Harm Klueting, "Westfalia catholica im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", *Westfälische Forschungen,* 56, (2006), 38.

While the taint of nepotism and pluralism may not have made Ernst von Bayern the ideal Tridentine bishop, his dedication to upholding the Catholic Church and forwarding the Tridentine decrees was clear.[86] Ernst von Bayern attempted to rule Münster with absolute authority using the secular training from his father's court in combination with his spiritual leadership from his Jesuit training. The combination of secular and sacred power bound together in the position of prince-bishop has been identified as a contributing force towards an absolutist-like state. As Markus Wriedt has suggested, when early modern state-builders joined in the process of confessionalization, this connection provided competitive advantages for enforcement of political identity, resulting in an extension of the power monopoly and discipline of their subjects.[87] This blending of power would prove to be a distinct advantage for Ernst von Bayern, but it would also confirm longstanding antagonisms between the city and the prince-bishop. Ernst von Bayern's rule met with resistance from the citizens, but more specifically from the patricians of Münster who resented the authority of the prince-bishop, a resentment that came to the fore preceding the Anabaptist kingdom, and would continue.

One of the main goals of Ernst was to direct the devotional and confessional climate of his dioceses towards the Catholic faith by presenting "acceptable" outlets for piety, and encouraging piety through these outlets.[88] In order to assess the religious climate within his diocese, and in keeping with the Tridentine decrees, Ernst von Bayern launched a visitation of his Diocese in 1592. The results showed a surprisingly similar situation to that of Hoya decades earlier, demonstrating that there was still ground to be regained for the Catholic faith.[89]

According to Wriedt the program for the restoration of the Catholic Church employed various instruments of education and indoctrination including "catechisms,

---

[86] His personal life did not necessarily reflect the spiritual goals he had set for his dioceses. When he appointed his nephew as coadjutor, he moved to his property in Arnsberg with his long-time mistress Gertrud von Plettenberg with whom he had a son, Wilhelm von Bayern. In contrast however to Truchseß, Ernst did not openly marry his mistress. He indulged his personal pleasures of hunting, art, music, mathematics, astronomy, and astrology. Max Braubach, "Ernst, Herzog von Bayern", accessed March 8, 2011. http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00016320/image_630.

[87] Wriedt, "Founding a New Church", 60.

[88] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 168.

[89] Werner Freitag, *Volks-und Elitenfrömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit:Marienwalfahrten im Fürstbistum Münster*, (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1991), 91.

sermons, church music, more popular spectacles as religious procession, pilgrimages, and the veneration of saints and their relics."[90] The Catholic reform program that Ernst implemented proved effective for the revitalization of Catholicism in the bishopric of Münster, fortified by his position as both secular and ecclesiastical ruler and reinforced by the religious orders, the Jesuits in particular.[91]

The reforming impetus of the Jesuits

The Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits, was one of the new orders formed in the mid-sixteenth century. Although most often thought to have been established as a Catholic counter-measure for the Protestant Reformation the Jesuits were initially established with the idea of going to the holy land, as explained by historian O'Malley, "they set their eyes on Jerusalem, not Wittenberg."[92] However, it would be in the battle against Wittenberg that they would prove themselves most valuable. The Jesuits became a willing tool for confessionalization in Münster using a number of weapons in their arsenal such as education, authorship, and the development of community activities like pilgrimages.

The Jesuits were granted approval for formation by Pope Paul III in 1540, and by the death of its founder, Spanish nobleman, theologian, and priest Ignatius Loyola, in 1556 there were one thousand Jesuits. By 1600 there were some 8,500.[93] The society was founded for the "defence and propagation of the faith...for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine...for the greater glory of God."[94] The statement *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, *for the greater glory of God,* the unofficial motto of the Jesuits, underpins the society, and all of their activities. A favoured and inclusive expression of their style of life and ministry was "our way of proceeding" (*noster modus procendendi* or *nuestro modo de proceder*), which is said to have originated with founder Ignatius Loyola, and was used to express the ideals and attitudes that distinguished Jesuit life and ministry,

[90] Wriedt, "Founding a New Church", 58.
[91] Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 40.
[92] John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993),16.
[93] J.P. Donnelly SJ, "New religious orders for men", *The Cambridge History of Christianity Reform and Expansion 1500-1660*, R. Hsia, ed, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 171.
[94] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 18.

and was reflected in their ministry activities and approaches in the community.[95] The impact of the Jesuits was great, largely because of the organization and self-definition of the members, but also the range and focus of their pastoral ministries.

Mobility and flexibility were paramount to the mission of the Jesuit, which was to help souls. The number of ways this could be accomplished explains the long and varied list of Jesuit ministries. This passage from their constitutions illustrates the ambitious scope of their ministries.

> ...public preaching, lectures, and any other ministrations whatsoever of the Word of God, and further by means of the *Spiritual Exercises,* the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity, and the spiritual consolation of Christ's faithful through hearing confessions and administering the other sacraments. Moreover, the society should show itself no less useful in reconciling the estranged, in holily assisting and serving those who are found in prisons and hospitals, and indeed in performing any other works of charity, according to what will seem expedient for the glory of God and the common good.[96]

Despite an association with elite society, Jesuits believed that piety and pious practices were for all regardless of social class, and often showed themselves tolerant of the local religious practices of the uneducated, incorporating them into their ministry when possible.[97] They called on traditional outlets of piety to encourage and confirm the Catholic faith for those who were wavering.[98] These traditional elements consisted of popular or well-known places, images or saints, but they also combed through archives seeking "earlier Saints, pilgrimages, icons and other miraculous objects", which they then inventoried, compiled and commented upon.[99] To disseminate and distribute this information, the Jesuits employed the medium of print through books, pamphlets and broadsides.[100]

---

[95] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 8.
[96] Ganss, Constitutions, 66-67, from O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 5.
[97] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 267.
[98] This is in reference to Catholic propagandists utilizing the long tradition of wonder-working, a term that covers a rather wide range of the miraculous, from the lives of the Saints, miracles, the Eucharistic wonders, to the very "miracle" of the survival of the Catholic Church through the centuries. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 95.
[99] The information was then compiled into collections that carried such book titles as "Bavaria sancta", or "Brabantia sacra." Signori, Gabriela, *"Heiliges Westfalen" Heilige, Reliquien, Wallfahrt und Wunder im Mittelalter*, (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2003), 14.
[100] It is exactly this pattern of identifying then championing established traditions that will be explored in chapter eight with the Pieta sculpture in Telgte.

The Jesuits however are perhaps best known for a ministry that they did not foresee at the outset. Their novitiate and later training were considerably longer than other orders as they encompassed both academic and theological training, which would lead them to be some of the most prolific writers of educational, polemic and devotional books. Although higher education was not among the original goals of the Jesuits, they came quickly to the realization of its value for instilling their values, and for the "defence and propagation of the faith." They soon became a teaching order, and the value of this addition to their mandate is incalculable. They were influenced by Renaissance humanism, or the *New Learning* that was sweeping Europe in the sixteenth century. Humanists stressed an education modeled on the curriculum of Roman antiquity, with the assumption that an education based on the revival of letters, the *litterae humaniores*, would produce enlightened students, thus resulting in social improvement.[101] The Jesuits valued this approach, using this ideal as a model for education and learning that would encourage religious reform which would ultimately lead to social improvement.

The educational philosophy emphasized in their colleges fostered the acceptance of high cultural and intellectual standards which were in line with their training and insistence on an educated priesthood to address the need for cultural and religious renewal and education reform.[102] The Jesuit colleges were open to all and did not force their religious point of view on the students as only the Catholic students were required to attend mass. By opening their style of education to both Catholic and Protestant students they were able to instil their value system because piety was invariably taught alongside academic subjects.[103] Jesuits appropriated both scholastic and humanistic learning and tried to relate these two cultures to one another, thus creating sought-after academic institutions.[104] The Jesuit college model had three

---

[101] John Olin, *Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits Essays on the Outreach of Humanism*, (New York: Fordham University Press,1994), 90-91.
[102] Olin, *Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits,* 99.
[103] John Donnelly, S.J., "Peter Canisius 1521-1597", *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560-1600*, Jill Raitt,, ed, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 152.
[104] This educational ideal continues today as observed in a comment by former Superior General of the Society of Jesus: "I am convinced that in 400 years of history our educational institutions have had as their sole end the commitment to make the human city a more just one for the Lord's sake. I am anxious to emphasize this since, when we Jesuits declare that today we are called to promote justice and to live the option for the poor, we are not formulating a new response; it is rather a new way of expressing an old

stages, the first two following that of the medieval universities (i.e., the *trivium*, including Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and the *quadrivium*) and the final stage which consisted of a four-year theological course of studies following the model of Thomas Aquinas, including moral philosophy, biblical theology and canon law.[105] Not only did the Jesuits shape the world view of their students, but their students went on to influence the greater populace. Christoph Bernhard von Galen illustrates the effectiveness of this program. Born into a noble Protestant family, he was educated by the Münster Jesuits and would go on as Prince-Bishop to push forward the second wave of Catholic confessionalization in Münster.

The Jesuits became more aggressively engaged with the Reformation in Germany during the 1550s when they were founding schools.[106] In an often-cited letter written to Ignatius Loyola in Vienna in 1555 Jerome Nadal laments:

> I believe that god our Lord raised the Society and gave it to the Church to down these heretics and infidels....This conviction grips me: in no part of the world would the society be more helpful. It is more than a matter of opposing, with God's grace, the heretics. There is a very grave danger that if the remnant of Catholics here is not helped, in two years there will be not one in Germany. Everybody says this, even the Catholic leaders. What stirs me most is the awareness that practically everyone has lost hope that Germany can be salvaged...I think that the task of helping Germany in its religious life is reserved to the Society.[107]

Historian Jeffrey Chipps Smith identifies the key phrase in Nadal's statement which epitomizes Jesuit activities in this area as "helping Germany in its religious life."[108] In 1549 the Jesuits were called to the university town of Ingolstadt in Bavaria by Duke Wilhelm to strengthen the Catholic cause. However, it was not until the rule of his son, Albrecht V, fortified by the Council of Trent, that the effectiveness of the Jesuit program became palpable.

---

response, well anchored in our Jesuit traditions. We have never been satisfied with mere cultural transmission. We have always insisted on developing a critical attitude, to equip our students to contribute to humane and cultural growth and to renewal in harmony with Gospel values." Peter-Hans Kolvinbach, "An Interview with Peter-Hans Kolvenbach", *America*, (1990), 195.

[105] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*97.

[106] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 16.

[107] William V. Bangert, Thomas M. McCoog, *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507-1580*, (Chicago: Loyola Press,1992),135, 147, citing *M Nadal*, 1:298 and 301.

[108] Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "The Art of Salvation in Bavaria", *The Jesuits Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773,* ed. O'Malley, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 572.

The Jesuits arrive in Münster

In 1588 Ernst von Bayern invited the Jesuits to Münster. This request was opposed by some segments of the population, having already resisted giving an invitation to the Jesuits in 1582. Among other reservations, they cited the many well-established orders, pointing out that another was not necessary.[109] To encourage the acceptance of the Jesuits, cathedral dean Gottfried von Raesfeld, bequeathed, in addition to his renowned library, 30,000 *Reichstaler* for the purpose of their support.[110] Hsia points out the importance of understanding the Jesuit presence in the context of the traditional pattern of lay-clerical conflict, that this represented control of education in the confessional struggle against the background of expanding princely power to the detriment of local, civic customs.[111] The Jesuits would prove to be one of the most important tools in the restoration of the Catholic faith in Münster following the successful program used in Bavaria.

The city council approved the admission of the Jesuits, having reached a compromise with the guilds that limited the presence of the Jesuits to the cathedral. The impetus for the admission of the Jesuits was education. The city fathers' ruling stated: "after having pondered on the upmost necessity of a permanent good school in this city for the support of both the clergy and the laity... [it] has therefore decided by majority vote...to allow the Jesuits to take up the running and rule of the cathedral school."[112] Upon their arrival, the Jesuits oversaw the cathedral school, and shortly thereafter founded the Jesuit College, the *Gymnasium Paulinum*. This college proved to be an effective means of re-Catholicising, being a pastoral as well as educational center oriented toward the youth and long-term conversion.[113]

The effectiveness of their education program can be ascertained through the *Litterae Annuae* of the Jesuit College in Münster. In 1588, the writer complains that

---

[109] "Since the Jesuits are unknown to this place and the citizenry is unfamiliar with them, moreover, in these extremely dangerous and worrisome times when in neighbouring cities disunity among the burghers was introduced on account of religion and its divisions, the magistracy expresses its reservations to allow the Jesuits into the Franciscan cloister." Staatsarchiv Münster, AII, 20, RP, 1582, Oct. 12, vol.14, fols. 54-54v, from Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 59-60

[110] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,* 96, see also Klueting, "Westfalia catholica", 40.

[111] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 63.

[112] Staatsarchiv Münster, AII, 20, RP, 1588, Feb. 19, vol. 20, fol.7. from Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 61.

[113] Bierley, "Early Modern Germany", 14.

Münster was impure and “poisoned by the Lutherans”, but by 1596 the report was very different.

> From those who live in Münster, not a few things have been accomplished for the greater glory of God and the salvation of men... How much have we strengthened the ruins of the Church in these places and restored it! Not only do we have the zeal of the young, the goodwill of all burghers towards us also grows day by day.[114]

Though this is in part propaganda, one cannot discount the effect of the Jesuits on the religious climate of Münster bringing about great change in the confessional status of the city. This change was evident within a generation, with what Hsia refers to as a youth movement; young men joined a new and vigorous spiritual movement seeking sanctity and spiritual guidance.[115] The *Litterae Annuae* often refers to examples of youth enrolled in the college who had brought Catholic worship back to the households of their parents merely by example and influence. The Jesuits not only focussed on re-Catholicising through formal education, but also through informal education by way of sodalities or confraternities. The Jesuits used the familiar association of sodalities aimed at good deeds and charitable work to direct piety, re-invigorate and re-direct the community back to the Catholic Church through social pressure. The sodalities encouraged and formed by the Jesuits were primarily Marian, and were useful for the influence of women and girls through both participation in the sodalities and their good works, and pilgrimages to Marian shrines in Münsterland.

Pilgrimage was one of the traditional religious practices that the Jesuits encouraged, and it became an important vehicle for the expression of Catholic piety.[116] Like the sodalities, pilgrimage was not a new form of piety, but one that experienced evolution. Through the early and high Middle Ages pilgrimage was an individual act, most often with a distant destination such as Jerusalem or Rome, where one would perform one’s act of devotion and then hopefully return home.[117] The late Middle Ages experienced a change, in which regional pilgrimage destinations were created and

---

[114] *Litterae Annnuae*, 1588 and 1596 respectively, from Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 59.
[115] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 67.
[116] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 105.
[117] Freitag, *Volks-und Elitenfrömmigkeit,*11.

supported, quickly becoming more popular than more distant sites.[118] This change also brought about a cultural transformation of the act itself: it became a more social act, taking on a collective character. Although Marian devotions were the last of the major types of pilgrimage to develop, they rapidly became popular alongside the older, more established pilgrimage shrines. Marian devotional objects were limited to secondary and tertiary relics such as images, statues, and icons.[119] Jesuits took up traditional and popular expressions of piety and subtly re-shaped them in support of Catholic Reformation goals. Burke suggests that this marriage between popular piety and Catholic Reformation goals allowed for a measure of negotiation.[120] In addition to strengthening the link with medieval piety and "reminding" people of the intercessory value of saints, Jesuits promoted the healing properties of saints. Sorgel explained that these shrines were often centres of "faith healing", reputed for supernatural intervention and the cessation of seemingly insoluble human dilemmas, such as perceived life-threatening illness.[121] The fourteenth century has been suggested as the zenith of the pilgrimage in Westfalen, which, in addition to the traditional pilgrimage draws of *Heilige Gräber*-sites associated with saints or relics, and *Heilige Kreuze*-the cross, saw the rise of sites for the veneration of the Virgin Mary. It was pilgrimages to these established, locally honoured sites that the Jesuits focussed their energies.[122]

There were a number of supported pilgrimage destinations in the bishopric of Münster, the two most popular being the veneration of the Virgin in Telgte and the Crucifix in Coesfeld. The most important for the city of Münster was that of the Virgin in neighboring Telgte which had long been a pilgrimage destination and its support by the Prince-Bishop proved a good fit with his reforming program.[123] Pilgrimage in the seventeenth century thus became an act of Catholic dedication that emerged out of an

---

[118] Freitag,*Volks-und Elitenfrömmigkeit,* 11.
[119] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 27.
[120] Peter Burke, "Popular Piety", *Catholicism in Early Modern History : A Guide to Research,* Vol. 2, ed. John W. O'Malley, (St. Louis, Mo. : Center for Reformation Research, 1988),123.
[121] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 20.
[122] Karl Ferdinand Beßelmann, *Stätten des Heils: Westfälische Wallfahrtsorte des Mittelalters*, (Münster: Ardey, 1998), 120.
[123] The relic, a statue of the Pietà dated from the second half of the fourteenth century with its history rooted in legend, is explored in chapter eight.

earlier devotional climate, and one that became defined by writers who provided explicitly written rationales for the act of pilgrimage.[124]

The Raesfeldt press called to Münster

Printing arrived in Münster soon after the Jesuits, brought in by Ernst von Bayern for the purpose of printing Catholic related material. The Jesuits recognized the value of the printed word and understood that many who were searching for a deeper piety were literate. To answer this need they produced a new kind of printed confessional propaganda intended to revive, define and discipline the Catholic Reformation.[125] In Lambert Raesfeldt, Ernst von Bayern found a printer not only for the local authorities, and for the cathedral, but for the Jesuits.[126] Raesfeldt received the commission to print all of the works for the newly formed Jesuit College, thus forging a relationship that would last for decades. Raesfeldt was granted official printer's privilege in 1591 and with that received guarantees of protection against piracy of his printed works, and permission to confiscate pirated copies of his printed works.[127] In 1612 Ferdinand von Bayern appointed Raesfeldt the official censor of the bishopric, giving him the power on his own authority to confiscate all books suspected of heresy and to dispose of them how he saw fit.[128] Finally in 1613, Raesfeldt received from the Prince-Bishop the monopoly for printing for all the schools in Münster including the college of the Jesuits, meaning they could only use books printed by him. Furthermore, Raesfeldt received "provincial", city, and bishopric privilege against competition which established a printing monopoly that would last for eighty-two years. As pointed out by Hsia, the "alliance between confessional polemics and printing success in Münster is clearly demonstrated by the character of the output of the Raesfeldt Press": about one third of all titles during the first decades were of a polemical nature, many of which were written by Münster Jesuits.[129]

---

[124] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 165-66.
[125] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 105.
[126] Gerd Dethlefs, "Katalog", *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster: Ausstellung im Stadtmuseum Münster*, (Münster: Regensberg Verlag, 1991), 138.
[127] Dethlefs, "Katalog", 139.
[128] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,161.
[129] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,161.

Ferdinand I von Bayern

Born in 1577, Ferdinand I von Bayern, like so many other male Wittelsbachs, was trained by the Jesuits in Bavarian Ingolstadt. In 1595 he was appointed by his uncle Ernst as co-adjutor of the Archdiocese of Köln who then delegated the administration of his dioceses to his nephew. Upon the death of Ernst von Bayern in 1612, Ferdinand I was appointed archbishop of Köln, bishop of Münster, Liège, and Hildesheim, and in 1618 he was appointed bishop of Paderborn.

Figure 2.5 Ferdinand I von Bayern, Erzbischof von Köln, engraving, c.1600

The image of Ferdinand von Bayern in the book of portraits by Dominicus Custos, figure 2.5, presents him as stylish, albeit in military armour as opposed to a

fashionable outfit, symbolic of his role through the conflict of the Thirty Years War. Ecclesiastical symbols of his position as prince-bishop are strangely absent.

Ferdinand is considered one of the most important reforming bishops in Münster; putting into place many strategies for Catholic reform and the development and strengthening of Catholic piety. Although often impeded by financial difficulties and war, Ferdinand worked throughout his tenure to promote Catholicism in his lands through reforms and adoption of the objectives from the Council of Trent, using its implementation in Bavaria as a guide.[130] Although his tenure began actively, enforcing a Catholic confessionalization program, his physical presence in the diocese of Münster for the last thirty years was minimal.[131]

Ferdinand von Bayern, made his priority of re-Catholicising his dioceses clear at the outset of his appointment with his "*Instruktion*" to the clergy, which outlined his goals: re-establishment of the Catholic faith; the re-Catholicisation of parishes that were Protestant; the recovery of Nobility and cities to the Catholic faith; the improvement of the clergy; and the enforcement of clerical celibacy.[132] In order to ascertain the status of his dioceses, Ferdinand instituted a visitation in 1613, from which he propelled his reform campaign. He so earnestly pursued reform that he personally participated in part of the visitation, an action that was reported to have brought some of the priests to tears, as for generations they had not seen their spiritual leader.[133] In 1613 Ferdinand von Bayern personally directed a diocesan synod at which he issued stern orders against clerical concubines and clandestine marriage within the parishes. He also insisted upon the duty of residence for parish priests, the wearing of the tonsure and clerical robes, and the instruction of the populace with the catechism of Peter Canisius.[134] In 1614, Ferdinand further facilitated Catholic confessionalization by requiring all city officials to provide a certificate from the clergy proving regular

---

[130] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*161.
[131] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*158. see also, Konrad Repgen, "Der Bishof zwischen Reformation, katholischer Reform und Konfessionsbildung (1515-1650)", in ed. Berglar, et al. *Der Bischof in seiner Zeit. Bischofstypus und Bischofsideal im Spiegel der Kölner Kirche. Festgabe für Joseph Kardinal Höffner, Erzbischof von Köln*, (Köln:Im Auftrag des Kölner Metropolitankapitels,1986).
[132] Klueting, "Westfalia catholica", 44.
[133] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*161.
[134] Alois Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung 1555-1648,* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1987), 275.

attendance at confession and yearly reception of communion, requiring the clergy to act as both role models and moral police for the people.[135] Finally, as a result of the visitation, the Prince-Bishop in co-operation with the cathedral chapter, presented reform decrees, ”*Reformdekrete”* in 1616 in five major areas which reflected the Tridentine reforms.[136] The majority of these reforms were directed towards the clergy and their improvement, although similar to his “*Instruktion”* the “*Reformdekrete”* was more detailed and expansive. Ferdinand enforced clerical reform by putting in place a series of reformers and informers within the local clergy.[137]

As a former student of the Jesuits, Ferdinand was one of their great supporters in Münster and like Ernst von Bayern, he utilized the Jesuits to further his Catholic campaign. The Jesuits, as pointed out by Hsia, tried to strengthen the Catholic faith among the nobility, going so far as to try to convert Protestant noblemen by serving as confessors and advisors.[138]

Confessionalization and the impact of the Thirty Years War

The Thirty Years War occurred during the tenure of Ferdinand von Bayern and presented a number of political and economic difficulties. In the words of Ronald Asch it appeared to be a haphazard series of individual wars which resulted in a chaos of individual conflicts both political and military.[139] It was however essentially a European civil war and despite the wide ranging area and distinct phases, it was a contest between dynasties, princes, and republics strongly focussed within the Holy Roman Empire.[140] Although it has often been claimed as having a confessional impetus, religion was simply used to reinforce political, legal and territorial disputes and desires.[141]

A precursor to the conflict took place nearby, a dispute over the Jülich-Berg succession, which, due to its wealth and strategic position controlling much of the land

---

[135] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 78.
[136] Alois Schröer, *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 2000), 288-293.
[137] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,* 161-2.
[138] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*,76.
[139] Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War, The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-48*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 3.
[140] Asch, *The Thirty Years War,* 4.
[141] Asch, *The Thirty Years War,*17.

around Münster, was an important territory. This area had historically been ruled by a Catholic duke but with the death of the last of the line in 1609 was contested by two candidates on opposite sides of the confessional divide.[142] The outcome of the treaty of Xanten left both sides feeling vulnerable as it provided for the splitting of the territory roughly along confessional lines. Although the treaty of Xanten was superior to open battle it proved to merely postpone the conflict. Out of concern for the lost territory to a Protestant force, Ferdinand von Bayern joined the Catholic league, though without the knowledge of the Münster chapter. It was not until the chapter voted to join in the spring synod of 1613 that Ferdinand von Bayern was able to offer financial assistance to the Catholic League.[143]

Ferdinand von Bayern hoped to use the Thirty Years War, certainly at its onset, to further the confessionalization program of his diocese. He did so by ordering Münster and a number of towns in the surrounding area to billet troops from the Catholic League, ostensibly for their protection.[144] This gave him the excuse to physically impose the Catholic faith on his diocese, and his religious edict issued in 1624 stated that Catholicism was the only religion tolerated therein.[145] The Catholic League occupation of secondary towns in 1623 proved to be decisive in the evolving relationship between state power, confession, and local autonomy in Westphalia as it imposed a requirement of proof of Catholic confession to gain citizenship and guild membership.[146] Centres that resisted this action found their goods confiscated, and town ordinances and privileges cut, not to be restored until 1632.[147] As Luebke points out, the corporate privileges were

---

[142] The final two dukes of Jülich, Cleves and Berg, though Catholic, were mentally incapacitated for the majority of their adult lives, and the last died in 1609 without issue. The two major claimants that stepped forward were Prince Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang Wilhelm, son of the Count Palatine Philipp Ludwig of Pfalz-Neuburg, basing their claims as heirs of two elder sisters of the last Duke. The dispute was resolved through mediation by the treaty of Xanten, where the territory was split with the Calvinist Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg taking control of Protestant Cleves, Mark and Ravensberg, while the newly converted Catholic Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg administered the Duchies of Jülich and Berg. Asch, *The Thirty Years War, The Holy Roman Empire and Europe*, 18, 29-31.
[143] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*170.
[144] In addition to Münster were Warendorf, Bocholt, Rheine, Dülmen, Borken, Werne, Coesfeld, Vreden, Haltern, und Telgte. Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*163-4.
[145] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,* 164.
[146] David Luebke, "Customs of Confession: Managing Religious Diversity in Late Sixteenth-and Early Seventeenth-Century Westphalia", *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Howard Louthan, Gary Cohen, Franz Szabo, New York: Berghan Books, 2011, 66.
[147] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,* 164.

eventually restored, but communion in the Catholic rite remained a necessary precondition for election to civic office. He concluded that networks of communication were absorbed by confessional controls from 1623 onward that proved effective in long term conversion of all but a few Calvinist holdouts.[148]

Although the war affected the city, and certainly the surrounding countryside, Münster remained physically unconquered and unspoilt.[149] In fact, although the surrounding countryside and neighboring cities were captured and plundered numerous times, Münster was the only city in Westfalen that did not fall into the hands of the enemy, and was only once seriously imperiled.[150] This continued security contributed to the relative stability in Münster, which led to its choice as one of the centres for the negotiation of the *Westfälischen Frieden* to end the war.

It has been said that through actions such as his visitations, "*Instruktion"*, "*Reformdekrete"* and reforming zeal, Ferdinand was the trailblazer of Tridentine reform in this diocese. However, because of the chaotic disturbance and confusion of the Thirty Years War, many aspects of his reform plan for the clergy failed.[151] Regardless of these failures, his reign witnessed the formation of new schools in which the students were trained within a Catholic leaning curriculum and highly influenced by the Jesuits. Ferdinand von Bayern also granted the right to the Jesuits for the establishment of a full University.[152] In the words of Alois Schröer Ferdinand's reign represented "a milestone on the way of Tridentine restoration in the Bishopric of Münster."[153] In 1642 Ferdinand von Bayern appointed his nephew Maximilian Henry coadjutor and retired from most temporal affairs of the dioceses until his death in 1650. The intended path of

---

[148] Luebke, "Customs of Confession", 66.

[149] Münster remained safe, Münsterland was carved in two between the Protestant troops of the landgrave W.V. von Hesse-Kassel and the Catholic league troops of Ferdinand von Bayern, both sides demanding accommodation equally of the local population. Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,* 173-4.

[150] Helmut Lahrkamp, "Münsters Verteidigung 1633/34: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges im Münsterland",*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Münster*, Bd. 11, (Münster:Aschendorff,1990), 273.

[151] Schröer, *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster,* 295.

[152] Unfortunately, due to the hardships of the Thirty Years War, the plan for the University was not developed to fruition. Christoph Bernhard v. Galen was likewise unable to see the plans through, the Jesuit University was not grounded until 1780 with the support of Prince-Bishop Franz von Fürstenberg. Schröer, *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster,* 295-6, 303.

[153] "…die das ganze Fürstbistum…in der *Einheit des katholischen Glaubens* zusammenheilt. Und das bedutete einen Markstein auf dem Wege der tridentinischen Restauration im Bistum Münster." Schröer, *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster,* 296.

confessionalization was to a certain extent frustrated by the Thirty Years War, culminating in a slackening of discipline that would be addressed by the next prince-bishop, Bernhard von Galen.[154]

Christoph Bernhard von Galen: The second wave of confessionalization

Figure 2.6 Hendrick van Lennep, *Christoph Bernhard von Galen, Fürstbishof Münster*, engraving, 1661

This image of Christoph Bernhard von Galen, figure 2.6, by Gelderland printmaker Hendrick van Lennep, like that of Ernst von Bayern, illustrates the dual role of the Prince-Bishop. He is flanked on one side with the episcopal crozier and on the other a sword. Von Galen is presented wearing the cross and the skull cap signifying his spiritual leadership. His military successes are celebrated through the surrounding laurel wreath, and captured in the title below the image.

[154] "Christoph Bernhard von Galen wrote shortly after his accession: in plurimis locis huius Dioecesis, occasione hostilium in hac Patria turbarum, et multorum annorum bellici tumultus, quibus Ecclesiasticae disciplinae rigor commode exerceri non potuit, apud non paucos, cuiuscunque status Clericos, etiam animarum curam gerentes…foedum illum Concubinatum irrepsisse." Schröer, *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster*, 295, footnote 283.

Christoph Bernhard von Galen was elected Prince-Bishop of Münster in 1650 and would prove to be another of the great Catholic reformers. Although from a Protestant family, he had been schooled by the Jesuits in Münster with whom he felt a lifelong affinity and, for the duration of his life selected Jesuits for positions of both friend and council.[155] His goal was to implement Catholic confessional discipline as outlined in the Tridentine decrees, which would in turn deepen the religious life in his diocese and strengthen the authority of the position of prince-bishop. His grave in St. Paul's Cathedral states that he was the "Terror of the enemies, protector of friends and the restorer, upholder, propagator of the diocese of Münster."[156]

The concerns that led to von Galen's confessional reform program can be seen clearly in his letter to Pope Alexander VII from 1660:

> My main concern is the re-establishment of piety. Heresy has so weakened the patrimonial belief, the years of war with its countless crimes have so affected the church that the consideration of the spiritual welfare of the people is demanded, and both must be restored…The flock follows the example of the shepherd. Therefore my first care is for the Shepherds.[157]

Like his predecessors, von Galen believed in enforcing the Tridentine decrees, as well as creating a unified and integrated sacred-secular state under his rule as prince-bishop. From the instruments of reform as defined by the council of Trent, von Galen focussed on three for the greatest effect: synodal reform, episcopal visitation, and the establishment of a seminary.[158] For von Galen, the first of these was the most important. In his own words; "The objective of each Synod is to overcome the darkness of error with the light of truth and to renew that in need of reform."[159] To this end, he called 43 diocesan synods, in addition to composing numerous statutes and Pastoral Epistles.[160]

---

[155] Alois Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die katholische Reform im Bistum Münster*, (Münster: Aschendorff,1974), 9.
[156] "Schrecken der Feinde, der Freunde Schutz, des Fürstentums Münster Erneuerer, Erhalter, Beförderer."
[157] Alois Schröer, "Galen an Alexander VII., Wolbeck 1660 Nov. 3, nr. 109, (Statusrelation)", *Die Korrespondenz des Münsterer Fürstbischofs Christoph Bernhard v. Galen mit dem Heiligen Stuhl (1650-1678)*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1972), 293.
[158] Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen,* 11.
[159] "jede Synode das Ziel, die Finsternis des Irrtums durch das Licht der Wahrheit zu überwinden und das Reformbedürftige zu erneuern", Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen,*11 footnote 25.
[160] Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation,* 44. see also Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen,* 12-13.

Von Galen announced a general visitation in 1654, its purpose being a reiteration of the Tridentine reforms: “to extinguish heresy, to spread the true faith, to reinforce good morals and correct bad ones, and to spur the people on to an honest and peaceable life of religious order through encouragement and exhortation, and in particular to restore the Churches discipline to the clergy.”[161] The general visitation took place over eight years, from 1654-1662, though isolated visitations took place in later years. Von Galen himself visited 55 parishes producing an illuminating picture of the bishopric. Institutional support and guidance for the visitation was provided at the great Synod in the fall of 1655 in the form of the *Constitutio Bernardina* which would prove to be the most important document for the propagation of Catholic reform in the bishopric of Münster. Its eighteen chapters laid out a “Münster-specific” application of Tridentine reforms and would become the basis against which belief, custom and devotion were to be measured.[162]

The third instrument of reform that von Galen attempted to support Tridentine reforms was the establishment of a seminary. Although there had been discussion about a seminary in Münster since the time of von Hoya, and the Jesuits were involved with a small seminary for twelve to eighteen candidates, no permanent solution had yet been found. Von Galen encouraged the formation of a full seminary, putting into place the means for funding, however a permanent full Seminary would not be established until the eighteenth century.[163]

The education restructuring put in place by von Galen through the *Constitutio Bernardina* was almost solely for religious socialisation; schools were to have only Catholic teachers, no books other than those approved by the Catholic Church were to be used, and the curriculum had to support and encourage Catholic piety.[164] Holzem points out that this literacy program was used as a mechanism to forward the Catholic confessional program and to regulate and manage the population through social discipline.[165] The majority of the instruction of students was carried out by Jesuits and

---

[161] Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die katholische Reform im Bistum Münster,* 13.
[162] Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die katholische Reform im Bistum Münster*, 14-15.
[163] Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die katholische Reform im Bistum Münster,* 15-17.
[164] Alois Holzem,“Konfessionalisierung als Bildungsbewegung”, *Die Kirchen und der Westfälische Friede*, ed. Josef Alfers, Thomas Sternberg, (Münster: Verlag der Akademie Franz Hitze Haus,1999),128-129.
[165] Holzem, “Konfessionalisierung als Bildungsbewegung”, 128.

Franciscans. Von Galen also supported his education program financially to ensure that it was implemented.[166] However effective this education program was, it did take a number of generations to accomplish, particularly in the smaller centres and in rural areas.[167]

To further spiritual education, von Galen commissioned the first Diocesan songbook in German for the bishopric in 1677, which contained 297 songs.[168] He intended that it be used widely, as stated on the title page, not only for "the mass, but also for Processions and pilgrimages, in holy brotherhood, with Christian teaching in the school, at home, on the field and during the journey to bring joy and spiritual benefit to the hearts of the people."[169] The "updated and improved" version from 1682 states additionally that as a Catholic Church song book, one of its purposes is for the teaching of Christian children in the diocese of Münster.[170] In both cases, the books were intended to have a broad social impact.

The education program was only a part of the Galenic reforms for the re-establishment of piety. Other examples of confessionalization were fines for disturbing the Church service either through sleep or drunkenness, as well as a decree for images within the church, forbidding those of a profane, worldly, or obscene appearance. [171] This program in turn fostered and developed a social movement where displays of piety garnered honour and rank, encouraging conformity through desire to belong to the greater community rather than face the shame of being an outcast.[172] Von Galen's reforms made conscious connections made with pre-Reformation Catholic devotional

---

[166] Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die katholische Reform im Bistum Münster,* 32.
[167] Holzem, "Konfessionalisierung als Bildungsbewegung", 135.
[168] Rudolph Nagell, *Münsterisch Gesangbuch/: Auff alle Fest und Zeiten dess gantzen Jahrs*, (Münster: Dietherich Raessfeldt, 1677).
[169] Schröer, *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die katholische Reform im Bistum Münster,* 29-30.
[170] "Catholische Geistliche kirchen=Gesäng/so man bey den Processionen und Christlicher kinder=Lehr im Stiffe Münster zu singen pflegt…gebessert und in ein bessere Ordnung gebracht", *Ausserlesene/Catholische Geistliche kirchen=Gesang*, (Münster: Wittiben Raessfeldt, 1682), titlepage.
[171]For fighting, gambling or chatter the fine was 4 pounds of wax, for sleeping during the liturgy 8 pounds of wax, for falling asleep because of drunkenness 10 pounds of wax. Holzem, "Konfessionalisierung als Bildungsbewegung", 133, and Werner Freitag, "Religiöse Volkskultur auf dem Lande. Aspekte katholischer Konfessionalisierung in Nordwestdeutschland", *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 25, (2002), 3.
[172] Holzem, "Konfessionalisierung als Bildungsbewegung", 137.

practices. As concluded by Werner Freitag, "von Galen returned to the popular piety and devotion of earlier generations."[173]

Further encouragement of piety focussed on pilgrimages within his Bishopric. In fact von Galen encouraged and supported a number of pilgrimages in the area: The cross at Coesfeld; the St. Annaberg shrine in Haltern; and Marian pilgrimages to Bethen and Telgte. For a number of these locations von Galen was viewed as both rescuer and protector, responsible for the building or rebuilding of altars and chapels after the damage, or ruin, from the war.[174] Two sites that were of particular interest for von Galen were Coesfeld and Telgte each receiving financial support, pilgrimage stations and publications spearheaded by the Bishop himself.

The large Coesfeld crucifix is believed to be an early fourteenth century wood sculpture, which resided in Coesfeld as early as 1312, with recesses for relics.[175] The period of the Thirty Years War was particularly hard on this sculpture, a legend states that as Protestant Hessian soldiers occupied the city they went so far in their sport as to throw the sculpture in a fire, but it was rescued by locals and subsequently hidden.[176] In 1651 von Galen paid the Hessians ransom to leave, and a celebratory procession at Pentecost followed.[177]

The Marian pilgrimage to Telgte, only thirteen kilometres from Münster, was another that von Galen encouraged to a great extent. Perhaps the most significant Marian pilgrimage in Münsterland, and even Westfalen, both then and now, the focus is a Pieta sculpture dated around 1370/80.[178] This particular pilgrimage had a

---

[173] Werner Freitag, "Fromme Deutungen der Heilsgeschichte. Wallfahrtsbilder in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit", Michael Matheus, ed, *Pilger und Wallfahrtsstätten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit,* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999), 62.

[174] For both the St. Annaberg and Bethen, von Galen's presence at the dedication of new chapels spurred on pilgrimages to both sites. Christian Schreiber, *Wallfahrten durchs deutsche Land: Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Deutschlands heiligen Stätten,* (Berlin: Sankt Augustinius Verlag, 1928), 306, 309.

[175] Besselmann, *Stätten des Heils,* 43.

[176] The legend of the fire is unsupported, however some damage from the Hessian soldiers is still visible. Schreiber, *Wallfahrten durchs deutsche Land,* 308 and Daniel Hörnemann, *Das Coesfelder Kreuz*, (Münster: Dialogverlag, 2000), 26.

[177] The ransom paid by von Galen was a startling 30.000 Talers, the resultant procession received the name of "Hessen Utjagd", and takes place to this day. Hörnemann, *Das Coesfelder Kreuz*, 26.

[178] The first written mention is 1455. Although a confraternity of Mary existed earlier, from 1311, no direct link can be made between them and the image. The history of the sculpture is unclear, known only through legend. Besselmann, *Stätten des Heils*, 93. In her earlier work, Doris Westhoff stated that the sculpture could not be earlier than 1348, but does not go so far as to suggest a possible creation date, or circumstance. Doris Westhoff, *Das Gnadenbild in Telgte*, (Telgte: Hansen, 1935), 7.

longstanding tradition, first mentioned in the official town documents in 1455. In 1500 it was considered to date back to the first half of the fifteenth century.[179] The ascent of Telgte as an official Marian pilgrimage destination was however instigated by the Jesuits, who began communal pilgrimage processions in the early seventeenth century. This demonstration of confessionalization in accordance to the Council of Trent brought a new quality, dimension and function to the veneration of the Virgin in Telgte.[180] To help support the official nature of this Marian pilgrimage, von Galen had a new chapel constructed, completed in 1657, to house the wooden Pieta sculpture.

In order to foster these pilgrimages, in addition to new chapels built to house the holy objects von Galen commissioned new stations to be made, eighteen for Coesfeld and five for Telgte, with trees planted along the route. Additionally, devotional books were printed for both. In honour of the Jubilee of the pilgrimage in 1656 von Galen commissioned the *Coesfelder Kreuzbüchlein*, a small publication that follows the route with prayers and points of devotion.[181] For the Marian Pilgrimage, he commissioned the *Andächtige Gebett/Und Seelen Ubungen/Bey den Schmertzhafften und Glorwürdigen Stationen, So zwischen Münster/ Und Telgt* in 1660.[182]

Von Galen and martial control

The city fathers of Münster resented von Galen's reforms and his absolutist stance, provoking similar sentiment to that which led to the ill-fated *Kingdom of Zion* more than a century earlier. The city, with feelings of independence reigning high after the signing of the *Westfälischen Frieden*, once again sought liberty from the prince-bishop, going so far as to requesting imperial free city status from the Emperor, which was denied. The city fathers and burghers then essentially barred von Galen from the

---

[179] Rudolph Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation. Die Begründung der Telgter Wallfahrt durch Christoph Bernhard von Galen", *Frömmigkeit-Theologie-Frömmigkeitstheologie: Contributions to European Church History; Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Berndt Hamm, Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert, Roland Liebenberg, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 578.
[180] Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation", 578-9.
[181] It is unknown to the author if a copy of this printing is still extant, though a reprinting from the mid-eighteenth century is located at the Bishopric library in Münster. Andreas Eiynch, *Coesfeld 1197-1997: Beiträge zu 800 Jahren Städtischer Geschichte*, (Münster: Ardey,1999), 752.
[182] As far as can be ascertained, there are two versions of the vernacular from this book found in the collections of the ULB, Diözesanbibliothek, and LWL Münster, and a Latin version (*Precis)*, of which only the images are known from the Heimatmuseum, now RELiGIO museum in Telgte.

city in 1654, leading to the first siege by the bishop in 1657 where he resorted to bombarding the city in an attempt to gain entrance. Von Galen only broke off the siege because of a rumour of Dutch military reinforcements coming to the aid of the city.

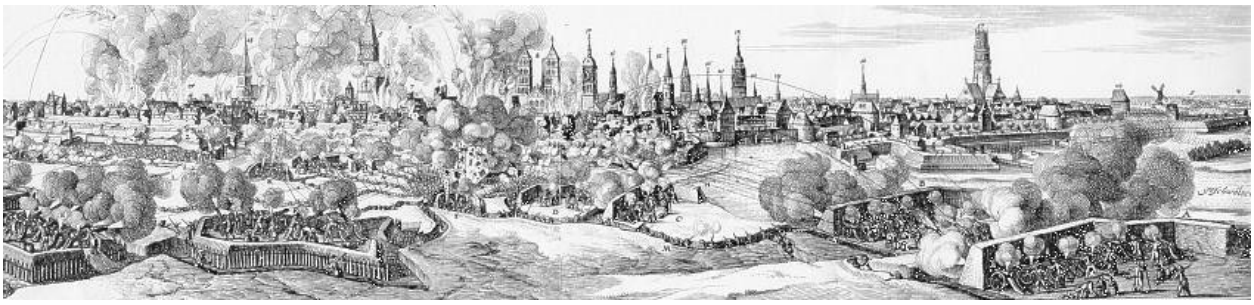

Figure 2.7 Caspar Merian, *Siege of Münster* 1660s, Etching[183]

Figure 2.7 is an engraving by Frankfurt printmaker Caspar Merian that depicts the city of Münster under siege by the Bishop's troops. The city's landmarks are easily identified even if some are obscured by cannon smoke and projectiles. This image gives a sense of the magnitude of the bombardment, but also indicates the need of the magnitude. Much as in the previous century, Münster was still a massively fortified city. A result of the expulsion of the Prince-Bishop and the siege, was a number of years of "strike and counterstrike" which was ended only when von Galen again besieged the city in 1660 for which another etching was made by G. Bouttats in 1670.[184] Facing isolation, starvation, flooding and lack of pay for soldiers, the city was forced to negotiate with von Galen. Among the terms the city was forced to agree to was submission to the leadership and occupancy (military and otherwise) of the Prince-Bishop, cessation of ties with allies in the Netherlands, a monetary settlement of 45,000 Reichstaler, and finally, von Galen replaced the mayor and a number of the city councillors.[185]

Von Galen attempted to further spread his confessionalization program beyond the borders of his diocese by force, both assisting the Emperor against the Turks, and closer to home against the Calvinist influenced Dutch Republic. The boldness and

[183] Reproduction of original Merian engraving, private collection, the original is in the Münster City Museum.
[184] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*196.
[185] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,*197.

willingness to use force are what earned von Galen the titles *Bomben Berend*, and *Kanonenbischof*. These titles were appended to him after a number of military episodes, both inside and outside his Bishopric.

Figure 2.8 *"Bomben Berend" von Galen*, engraving, c. 1672-78[186]

Von Galen's confessional campaign by force in the Netherlands can be seen in figure 2.8. It exemplifies the two sides of the man, the Bishop's mitre under his hand, and the military bombardment of the city of Groningen in the background, showing the exploding cannon rounds he is infamously known for. He is depicted wearing the same outfit as in von Lennep's image from 1661, yet the bombs in the background belie the calm in his countenance.

[186] It was the Dutch that gave Christoph Bernhard von Galen the nickname "Bommen Bernd" through various pamphlets printed in the Low Countries. The nick-name is still a popular term in Holland today, used not only for such marketing as a beer brand, but also a musical of the same name. Every year on 28. August Groningen sees a festival dedicated to the freeing of the city from the forces of von Galen, which traditionally ends with fireworks.

The historical significance of von Galen's efforts toward implementing Tridentine reforms and asserting his authority in his diocese, the effectiveness of this program and those of his predecessors, was such that for centuries Münster was a bulwark of Catholicism in northwestern Germany.[187] Von Galen's greatest efforts were directed towards the reform of the clergy, particularly their secular lifestyle.[188] In this area he had considerable success, eradicating the last traces of clerical concubinage and non-residency.[189] Although the confessional campaigns of the Bavarian prince-bishops and that of von Galen appear to have been effective, there is good reason for scepticism about the correspondence between the aims of state and Church disciplinary strategies and their actual outcomes, as these outcomes are always dependent on the community and ultimately the individual. It must be acknowledged that the absolutist administrative method could only create an outward conformity, and not necessarily influence the desired inner repentance.[190]

[187] Schröer, *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster,* 300-1.
[188] The secular lifestyle of the clergy extended to the highest levels resulting in only one of the first five prince-bishops of the Reformation period being in full support of clerical celibacy. For a number of the prince-bishops it was a matter of "do as I say, not as I do".
[189] Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation,* 44.
[190] Schröer, *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster,* 298.

Chapter Three

Printing in Münster: Literacy and readers

The Münster printing house of Raesfeldt, founded in 1591, was used extensively over generations by the Catholic Church to guide and order the beliefs of the citizens. Although not the first printing house in Münster, the Raesfeldt press would prove an essential tool in the Catholic confessional arsenal utilized by the prince-bishops in their confessionalization programs. Prior to the Raesfeldt press, a series of printers were active in Münster, though often with mediocre success. The output of the earlier printers was primarily secular, with an emphasis on the humanist tradition. Although the Raesfeldt press would continue to print material in this vein, it played a diminishing role through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the emphasis was placed upon Catholic and educational material. The Raesfeldt press benefitted greatly through a cooperative relationship with the prince-bishops, enjoying a monopoly and the privilege of regulation of printed material within the bishopric in return for providing Catholic material for it.

A brief outline of the beginning of printing

In the words of historian Sigfrid Steinberg, printing was the "principal vehicle of the conveyance of ideas during the past five hundred years, printing touches upon, and often penetrates, almost every sphere of human activity."[1] Although printing had begun in Mainz, by the end of the fifteenth century it was no longer a major printing centre. Instead, the economic powerhouses and trade cities of Basel, Augsburg, Strasbourg and Nürnberg in the south, and Hanse cities such as Köln, Lübeck and Bruges in the North became the major printing centres of the sixteenth century.[2] Dissemination of information, along with financial viability drove the early history of printing. The value of printing for circulating information, and more importantly for influencing and informing opinion as well as manipulation of the masses was recognized by both Church and secular authorities. Printing was used as a confessionalization tool to spread religious orthodoxy for the competing faiths. The effectiveness of printing was established

[1] Sigfrid H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 17.
[2] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing,* 40.

through three main features, usability, availability and accessibility. The usability for a widespread audience was accomplished through printing in the vernacular. Availability of printed matter was delivered through the proliferation of printing houses. Finally, financial accessibility was accomplished by providing a range of printed matter from single sheets to alternative editions of texts with a span of costs.

Rise of the vernacular

Because this project looks at works printed in the vernacular, it is important to understand the rise and the use of the vernacular in print. Prior to 1500 about three quarters of European printed matter was in Latin reflecting the anticipated audience. However, aside from the printing of school books, the proportion of books printed in Latin declined as the popularity and profitability of printing in the vernacular rose. Steinberg points out that the spread of print in the vernacular began fairly early and both deepened and influenced national frontiers simply through readers desiring access to books printed in their mother tongue rather than in Latin.[3]

The initial books printed in the vernacular reveal a popular interest in non-scholarly books on secular and religious topics. Professionals in law, administration, and commerce, as well as craftsmen also had their literature translated works from Latin into the vernacular to facilitate communication.[4] Yet the greatest impact of the early vernacular books was made through religious and sacred texts. To accommodate non-Latin readers, numerous monasteries made the move to translate Latin works into the vernacular for the betterment of the monks and nuns, and following this cue many parishes translated theological and edifying literature for those that could read.[5] The impact of the Reformation on the rise of the vernacular cannot be denied. The vernacular in Germany was standardized in part by Martin Luther's Bible translation which served to overcome regional language customs and habits. The output of German vernacular books up to 1517 averaged 40 per year, in 1519 this rose to 111, in 1522 to

[3] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 83.
[4] Klaus Schreiner "Volkssprache als Element gesellschaftlicher Integration und Ursache sozialer Konflikte: Formen und Funktionen volkssprachlicher Wisssensverbreitung um 1500", in *Europa 1500 Integrationsprozesse im Widerstreit: Staaten, Regionen, Personenverbände, Christenheit*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt, Winifried Eberhard, (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1987), 484.
[5] Schreiner, "Volkssprache als Element gesellschaftlicher Integration", 485.

347, and in 1525 to 498, of which 183 were by Luther, 215 by other reformers, 20 by opponents of the Reformation, leaving about 80 vernacular books on secular subjects.[6]

Printing in Münster

This study focuses on a selection of vernacular devotional books printed by the Raesfeldt press, the first in the 1590s, and the last in 1660. Though pivotal for the history of printing in Münster, the Raesfeldt press was not the first printing house established there. The technology of Gutenberg's press evolved and spread rapidly from the 1450s, reaching Münster in 1485 with the printer Johannes Limburg.[7] In the three years that Limburg was active in Münster his printing output was limited to only seven titles, four were humanistic (academic), the other three were of a religious nature. The titles and the Latin text make clear that they were printed with an educated readership in mind.[8] Although Limburg had no competition in Münster and his works were distributed as far as Köln and Deventer, it seems that there was not enough of a market, causing him to leave the area.[9] It would take nearly twenty years before the next printer would set up shop in Münster. With the encouragement of clergyman Johannes Murmellius, Gregor Os de Breda from Zwolle in the Netherlands was briefly active as a printer in Münster. A work from 1507 is attributed to him, but he was gone by 1508.[10] Murmellius tried again to attract a printer to Münster, and succeeded in encouraging a partnership between Laurenz Bornemann and Georg Richolff. Bornemann was a book seller, and Richolff had the press and type, together they were able to split the financial risk. Richolff however soon returned to his hometown leaving Bornemann to print alone.[11] This phase of printing then ended with Bornemann's early death in 1511.[12] The partnership resulted in ten printed works, eight on humanist subjects such as rhetoric,

---

[6] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 87.
[7] Bertram Haller, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster – ein historischer Überblick", *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster; Eine Ausstellung des Stadtmuseums Münster in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universitätsbibliothek Münster*, (Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1991), 11.
[8] Bertram Haller, *Der Buchdruck Münsters 1485 bis 1583: Eine Bibliographie*, (Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1986), 8.
[9] Haller, *Der Buchdruck Münsters,* 8.
[10] Haller, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 15.
[11] Joseph Prinz, "Der Verleger und Buchdrucker Laurentius Bornemann in Münster, 1498 (?) bis 1511", *Ex officina Literaria: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens,* Joseph Prinz ed, (Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1968), 20.
[12] Haller, *Der Buchdruck Münsters,* 9.

and two from the pen of Murmellius himself that included rhetoric, poetry and prayers. These early books used a limited number of woodcut images that came from Köln.[13]

The next printer in Münster, Dietrich Tzwyvel, was active from 1512-1533, with a peak production between the years of 1514 and 1516.[14] Tzwyvel's output proved considerably greater than that of his predecessors. He took over the type from Bornemann, but must have obtained a press from elsewhere.[15] He printed primarily humanist works such as rhetoric and ancient authors, chiefly for the school and mostly in Latin, and a small selection of religious titles. It appears he also employed his press to forward his particular interests, among which were Mathematics, Astronomy and Music.[16] Although Tzwyvel re-used image blocks inherited from earlier printers such as the image of the *Holy Family with St. Ann*, he also commissioned a number of woodcuts from local Münster artist Ludger tom Ring, produced in 1521.[17]

Tzwyvel is known to have had reformist sympathies from the early 1530s, and he is acknowledged to have had contact with identified Protestants in Münster. He was the printer of the *Dülmener Vertrag*, the official treaty for freedom of religion signed by Bishop Franz von Waldeck which ultimately allowed for Protestant preachers to enter the city. Tzwyvel was counted among those sympathetic to the new teaching in a description of him from an anonymous short pamphlet written against the Anabaptists from 1534.[18] When Bernard Rothmann began to bring the reform message to the guilds and the tradesmen of Münster in 1533 they were printed anonymously, though Clemens Steinbicker assumes it was the sympathetic Tzwyvel who printed the supportive tracts.[19] Regardless of his reform sympathies and activities, Tzwyvel left the city by the end of

---

[13] Haller, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 16.
[14] Haller, *Der Buchdruck Münsters,* 9. The name has two most common different spellings, and both have been used by various authors, for the sake of consistency I have chosen Tzwyvel.
[15] Clemens Steinbicker, "Die Buchdruckerfamilie Tzwivel in Münster", *Ex officina Literaria,* Joseph Prinz, ed, 37.
[16] Haller, *Der Buchdruck Münsters,* 9. It has been suggested that he was trained as a notary and ran the printing house on the side as a means of addressing his personal interests. It appears to not have been considered as an occupation by his descendants.
[17] The images were acquired along with the type and the press from Bornemann, as well as the publishing program, continuing to fulfill orders from Bornemann's previous customers. Haller, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 18.
[18] Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff, "»*In platea montana commorans«* Zur Geschichte der Tzwivelschen Druckerei an der Bergstraße in Münster", *Ex officina literaria: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens*, Joseph Prinz, ed, 73.
[19] Steinbicker, "Die Buchdruckerfamilie Tzwivel in Münster", 38. This is assumed because the type is the same as that used by Tzwyvel, who did not leave the city until 1534.

February 1534, and did not return until after the repossession of the city in June of 1535, whereupon he reclaimed his property, house and printing workshop on Bergstraße.[20] Analysis of font and typeface demonstrate that the Anabaptist tracts and propaganda of the Anabaptist kingdom were printed on Tzwyvel's presses, though who was printing them remains unclear. After the siege and the fall of the Anabaptist kingdom in Münster, it would take approximately ten years for printing to recover.

With Dietrich Tzwyvel's death sometime around 1541, his son, Gottfried Tzwyvel took over the business. Like his father's, Gottfried Tzwyvel's primary market was the cathedral school, and because of this very specific market, the majority of the works were printed in Latin.[21] In addition to these works, Tzwyvel also printed approximately one hundred civic pamphlets, indicating a relationship with both the city and the Prince-Bishop.[22]

Upon Gottfried Tzwyvel's death in 1560, there was a short period until 1562 when Johannes Ossenbrug competed with the Tzwyvel press. Ossenbrug is known to have printed seven works of generally poor quality, although he was responsible for two intaglio image commissions, one being from the renowned local artist, Ludger tom Ring the Elder.[23]

Dietrich Tzwyvel the Younger took over the press in 1562 until his death in 1580. His main contribution to the printed works being much like his forerunners. The printing output of Dietrich Tzwyvel did witness an increase in Catholic material, as quite unlike his namesake, he was a committed Catholic. Another change made by Dietrich Tzwyvel was expansion into larger book sizes. 1571 saw the first folio-sized book printed by Tzwyvel, a printing of *Ordnungen* from Bishop Johann von Hoya, his previous print runs being in the smaller quarto or octavo format. Like their namesakes, Dietrich Tzwyvel the Younger had a business relationship with the local artist Hermann tom Ring the Younger. Tzwyvel commissioned woodcut illustrations from tom Ring, a number of which were used in printed government ordinances. After the death of Dietrich Tzwyvel the

[20]Kirchhoff, "»*In platea montana commorans*«", 74.
[21] For further information see Ruth Steffen's article "Unbekannte Drucke Gottfried Tzwivels" in *Ex officina literaria: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens,* 77-80.
[22] Haller, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 20.
[23] It is interesting that Ossenbrug took over the press, as his occupation was listed as being a wine and animal merchant, the printing press was a secondary occupation. Haller, *Der Buchdruck Münsters,* 9.

Younger, his widow ran the press for a number of years but only one known work can be attributed to the press during this time.[24]

Throughout this period the Tzwyvel press relied on the cathedral school for its market rather than the cathedral, and printed books had a more humanist direction. The majority of the works printed by the Tzwyvel press were in Latin, identifying the market as scholarly and academic. One important exception to this was the use of the Tzwyvel press for civic purposes, which involved printing works in the vernacular for the widest possible audience.

Raesfeldt[25] printing house

The next great phase of printing in Münster belongs to the Raesfeldt printing house. Founded in 1591, it continued into the late twentieth century with merely two name changes. Raesfeldt set up shop soon after the arrival of the Jesuits, having been brought in by Ernst von Bayern for the purpose of printing Catholic related material. That Lambert Raesfeldt was brought in explicitly for this purpose confirmed the religious/political relationship between the two, and established printing as a tool for confessionalization in the diocese. This intention to print Catholic works was clearly stated in the foreword of one of the first books printed by the Raesfeldt press in 1591 titled *Evangelia und Episteln.*[26] The founder of this great printing house, Lambert Raesfeldt, arrived in Münster from Köln. By his own statement in communications with the cathedral chapter, he learned the printing trade under the well-known Köln printer Johann Gymnich.[27] Raesfeldt would prove to be a consummate businessman as well as a printer, in addition to being a committed Catholic. The latter is confirmed by his stating to the Archbishop Ernst in Köln his reason for moving to Münster was to print and

---

[24] Haller, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 22.

[25] Like Tzwyvel, there are a number of different spellings of the name Raesfeldt used both by the printers themselves, and those writing about them, the spellings used by Lambert alone through his career are: Rasfeld, Rasfeldt, Rasfelt, Raßfeldt, Raesfeld, Raesfeldius, Raesfeldt, Raeßfelt, Rassfeldt, and Raßfeldius. For the sake of continuity I have chosen the spelling Raesfeldt.

[26] "...Dat ick (wiewol der geringste) mich heiher in V.Churf. G. Stadt Münster sollte begeven, und mich solcker Catholischer Druck undernemmen: und vor erst, noedig befunden worden, dass de Evangelia, Epistolen und Lectiones des Göttlichen hyligen Schrifft, in düsser Sassenschen oder Westfalischer sprake in Druck möchen gefertigt werden…", *Evangelia und Episteln*, (Münster: Lambert Raßfeldt, 1591), ii.

[27] This was clarified through his own statements during negotiations with the chapter over a loan to help cover initial costs. Bernhard Lucas, *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt*, (Münster: Regensbergsche Verlagsbuchandlung, 1929), 3.

publish Catholic works.[28] When Raesfeldt first arrived in Münster he lived in Bergstraße in the old Tzwyvel house. Evidence suggests that in 1591 he took over the Tzwyvel presses and letters, as certain objects probably from the Tzwyvel business (such as an old press) were found in the inventory taken upon his death.[29]

His output, though similar to that of the Tzwyvel press, reflected his Catholic faith in a discernible way. Raesfeldt's move to Münster was negotiated in part by the cathedral chapter, specifically to print works for the cathedral and the Jesuits.[30] Like Tzwyvel, Raesfeldt continued to print scholarly works intended for the cathedral school, but in addition he received the commission to print all of the works for the newly formed Jesuit College forging a relationship with the college that would last for decades. With an increase in student numbers in the Jesuit school, they were forced to seek larger accommodations, leaving the former school building empty. Attesting to the close relationship with the printer, in 1595 Raesfeldt was allowed to move his printing business to the empty building on the Horsteberg, a property within the cathedral immunity zone.[31]

Raesfeldt was granted official printer's privilege in 1591 and received official appointment as printer to the diocese which in turn granted guarantees of protection against piracy of his printed works.[32] To enforce this protection, he was permitted to confiscate pirated copies within the bishopric.[33] In 1612 Ferdinand von Bayern appointed Raesfeldt the official censor of the bishopric, giving him the power to confiscate all books suspected of heresy and to dispose of them as he saw fit.[34] Additionally, in 1613, Raesfeldt received the monopoly for printing for the schools in Münster which included the college of the Jesuits in addition to being the official printer

---

[28]Bertram Haller, "Köln und die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Westfalen", *Köln und Westfalen 1180-1980,* Bd. 4, Katalog der Ausstellung des Westfälischen Landesmuseums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, (Lengerich: Kleins Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1980), 441.

[29] One of the objects was an old press, Haller, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 25, and Steinbicker, "Die Buchdruckerfamilie Tzwivel in Münster", 138.

[30] "…allsolche Boeklin möchten gedruckt warden.de to erhaldung der rechten alden warer Catholischer Religion…Dat ick…Stadt Münster sollte begeuen.und mich solcker Catholischer Druck undernemen…" *Evangelia und Episteln*, ii. "…wegen Anstellung einer Buchdruckerei...das jüngst hin ein Jung Geselle von Cölln anhero kimmen, mit deme man uff etliche Conditiones gehandelt…", Domkapitel protokoll, Fol. 107 v. (137) and Lucas, *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt* 3.

[31] The printing house Raesfeldt-Koerdinck-Regensberg would remain in this location albeit with new construction from the early 18th century, until its destruction by allied bombing in 1943.

[32] Clemens Steinbicker, "Der münsterische Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeld", *Ex officinal literaria,* 139.

[33] Dethlefs, "Katalog", 139.

[34] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 161.

for the cathedral.[35] Furthermore, Raesfeldt received "provincial", city, and episcopal privilege against competition, establishing a printing monopoly that would last for 82 years.[36] These guarantees signal the partnership between the printer and the prince-bishop of the monopoly in exchange for loyalty to the episcopal cause, supporting the confessionalization of the diocese.

As pointed out by Hsia, the "alliance between confessional polemics and printing success in Münster is clearly demonstrated by the character of the output of the Raesfeldt Press" .[37] About one third of all titles during the first decades were of a polemical nature, many of which were written by Münster Jesuits and approximately half consisted of school books and writings for and by the Jesuits.[38]

In addition to carving out a printing monopoly in the bishopric of Münster, Raesfeldt established a network within the printing community, creating relationships with printers in the larger centres within his vicinity such as Köln and Antwerp. These relationships enabled him to continually sell his books at the Frankfurt Book Fair, even if he was personally unable to attend.[39] Unsurprisingly, he more than doubled the output of the Tzwyvel press. In addition to material such as pamphlets issued by the public authorities, the cathedral, and the Jesuits, Bernhard Lucas attributes an impressive 207 book titles to his shop.[40] Raesfeldt's printed output focussed on two main areas: Catholic educational material and civic or episcopal material, approximately one third of the episcopal printing being polemical Catholic matter.[41] The material that came off the Raesfeldt press supported the Tridentine decrees to a much greater degree than the Tzwyvel press, though that is hardly surprising as the decrees were not fully published and disseminated in Germany until 1571.

---

[35] Haller "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 148.
[36] Steinbicker, "Der münsterische Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeld", 139.
[37] Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618*, 161. The confessional character can also be clearly seen in the titles still extant in 1929 through the appendix of printed works of Lambert Raesfeldt found in Lucas' *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt,* 67-96.
[38] Haller, "Köln und die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Westfalen", 441.
[39] Lucas, *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt*, 12.
[40] Hans Thiekötter, "375 Jahre Raesfeld-Koerdinck-Regensberg", *Ex officinal literaria*, 180.
[41] Haller points out that it is at times difficult to ascertain the difference between pious tracts, theological works and polemical writings, as they resembled one another quite closely. Additionally many polemical tracts were written against the Calvinist academy in neighboring Burgsteinfurt, "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster", 148.

With the death of Lambert Raesfeldt, the printing house went to his widow Anna Dörhoff. As marriage was viewed as an alliance of goods and assets, she was able to continue his occupation after his death, at least for a certain amount of time.[42] She applied to the cathedral chapter to continue the business, and received approval to do so, albeit with one restriction, she was not permitted to print any new material.[43] In 1619, in order to continue to build the business she married Michael von Dale a typographer trained in Antwerp.[44] Von Dale continued printing under the privilege attained by Lambert Raesfeldt, completing 65 works in total.[45] Von Dale additionally acquired Imperial privilege for his printing house in 1625 and continued working through the tumult of the Thirty Years War until his death in 1628.[46]

Like his predecessor, von Dale also used woodcuts frequently in title and end pages, but he was also a specialist in printing of intaglio images and established their use in the printing house.[47] Examples of intaglio frontispieces may be found in Carolus Scribani's, *Politico-Christianus* from 1625, and Luis de la Puente's *Betrachtungen* from 1627, the latter an exquisitely detailed plate by Frankfurt artist Sebastian Furck.[48] The *Betrachtungen*, was so popular, it was reprinted in 1662 by Theodorus (Dietrich) Raesfeldt with the same intaglio plate showing surprisingly little wear. In a number of works he also used woodcuts throughout the text such as in the reprint of the *Vita Christi* in 1624. That von Dale managed to keep the presses in operation despite the Thirty Years War that at times surrounded Münster is a significant indicator of the economic success and demand for printed literature even in times of instability.[49] This

---

[42]Sabine Alfing, Christine Schedensack, *Frauenalltag im Frühneuzeitlichen Münster,* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1994), 43. Lambert Raesfeldt died in May, 1617, Lucas, *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt*, 7.

[43] Staatsarchiv Münster, Domkapitel, Protokoll. 12 Bl. 63 vom 7.6. 1617.

[44] The great age difference between the two indicates the marriage was likely a business decision, Lucas points out that when van Dale was baptized at the age of two in Antwerp, Anna Dörhoff was married to Lambert Raesfeldt, *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt*, 8.

[45] von Dale, like others in the early modern period had no standard spelling of his name and the various spellings used are Michael von Dale, Michaelem von Dale, Michaelem van Daele, Michaelis von Dalius, Michaelis Dailii, Michaëlis Dalij, Michaëlem Dalium, for the sake of consistency I will use Michael von Dale.

[46] For a full list of privileges received from 1590-1799 see Thiekötter, "375 Jahre Raesfeld-Koerdinck-Regensberg", 164,165,174,176,180.

[47] Bertram Haller, "Michael von Dale", *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster,* 154.

[48] Bertram Haller, "Geistliche Betrachtungen", *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster,* 156.

[49] For further discussion about book production as an indicator of Economic health see Jan Luiten van Zanden, Eltjo Buringh, "Book Production as a Mirror of the Emerging Medieval Knowledge Economy, 500-

accomplishment is also a testament to his resourcefulness. One of the results of the Thirty Years War was a paper shortage. Von Dale met this challenge by simply printing in smaller type, in order to place more words on the page.[50]

In 1628 when von Dale died, the Raesfeldt printing house came under the care of Bernhard Raesfeldt, who had been too young at his father's death to take over the business. Bernhard continued along the path laid down by his forbearers. The protection of the previously granted privilege was renewed on 15. June 1629.[51] The Raesfeldt printing house continued to print works for the schools and the Jesuit College, including among the more standard literary and rhetorical works new works relating to science, the majority in Latin. Additionally, Bernhard Raesfeldt was recognized for printing what is known as *Erbauungsbücher*, devotional, edifying works generally in the vernacular that encouraged religious teaching and instruction. Due to the privilege that the printing house held, he was also responsible for all of the printed material from Münster related to the *Westfälische Frieden* (Peace of Westphalia), the peace treaties signed in Münster in 1648 ending the Thirty Years War.

The final male heir of note carrying the Raesfeldt name, Dietrich (Theodor) Raesfeldt, took over the printing house in 1660. Dietrich Raesfeldt maintained a number of the privileges of earlier generations and continued to be responsible for printing for the cathedral, the education facilities, the Jesuits, and the devotional material to be disseminated within the bishopric. Dietrich received the support of the Prince-Bishop Christoph von Galen who worked diligently to see the Tridentine decrees fulfilled within his bishopric after the disruption of the Thirty Years War. Von Galen accomplished this in several ways, one being the encouragement of pilgrimages within his bishopric. Apart from various short tracts to this end, Dietrich Raesfeldt printed a devotional text to accompany the Marian pilgrimage to the shrine in nearby Telgte. This was beautifully

---

1500", *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution: The European Economy in a Global Perspective, 1000-1800*, ed. Eltjo Buringh and Jan Luiten van Zanden, (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[50] An example of this is Carolus Scribani, *Politico-Christianus,* (Münster: Michaelem Dalium, 1625), or Luis de la Puente, *Betrachtungen Ludovici De Ponte der Societet Iesu Priestern, in sech Theil getheilet,* (Münster: Michael von Dale, 1627). Von Dale must have budgeted his supply, as the engraved frontispieces are on higher quality paper, although the text itself is printed in small type on cheap paper.

[51] Staatsarchiv Münster, Msc. I Nr. 39, Bl. 146.

illustrated with intaglio images that represent the various stations of the pilgrimage.[52] This relationship between prince-bishop and printer through the partnership of printing privileges in exchange for support of Catholic confessionalization shows the confessional state in action.[53]

In addition to religious works, Dietrich Raesfeldt was responsible for printing a number of pamphlets relating complex civic issues.[54] One issue in particular was that of the unrest between the city fathers and local government against Prince-Bishop Christoph von Galen. When von Galen attempted to re-establish what he believed were the rights of the reigning prince-bishop the city fathers rejected his imposition of an absolutist governance structure against their will. The city of Münster then expelled von Galen who in turn placed the city under siege. This conflict that began in 1654 was not resolved until 1661. The Raesfeldt press printed tracts revealing the conflict from both sides, pointing out the intractability of the respective parties. In addition to this wave of political propaganda, the Raesfeldt press printed literature on behalf of von Galen associated with the Dutch war of 1665-1672, which saw an influx of printed polemic against von Galen from the Netherlands. This war was presented as a holy war by the Prince-Bishop, to win back territories for the Catholic Church that had converted to Calvinism.

Dietrich also nurtured the trade network of the printing house, particularly the relationships with printing houses in Köln and the Frankfurt Book Fair. [55] At his death, the printing house went to his wife, Anna Catharina Raesfeldt, who published works under her own name and then in partnership with her son until 1705. Like previous generations, Anna Catharina, and eventually Johann Bernhard with her, printed primarily

---

[52] There are a handful of extant copies of the *Andächtige Gebett/Und Seelen Ubungen* (Münster: Theodori Rassfeldi, 1660), both illustrated and not, at the ULB, LWL, and the Religio Museum in Telgte, this is the subject of chapter eight.

[53] Thiekötter, “375 Jahre Raesfeld-Koerdinck-Regensberg”, 181. This privilege extended to personal contact with Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernard von Galen himself, he was named Godfather for Bernhard Raesfeldt’s child born in 1652 named Christoph Bernhard Raesfeldt. However there is no further information about this child, it is assumed he died young. Steinbicker, “Der münsterische Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeld”, 152.

[54] Gerd Dethlefs, “Christoph Bernhard von Galen”, *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster*, 180.

[55] The relations with printing houses in Köln is exemplified by a shared printing project of Ludovico de La Puente’s work *Betrachtungen,* printed by both Raesfeld, and Johannes Busaeus in Köln (inheritor of the Gymnich press) Haller, “Köln und die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Westfalen”, 444. As shown by both the Frankfurt Book Fair catalogue, as well as a court action in regards to Imperial printing privilege in which numerous other printers involved with the Frankfurt Fair were named, Thiekötter, “375 Jahre Raesfeld-Koerdinck-Regensberg”, 181.

educational works and devotional texts culminating in 95 titles. However, upon the death of Dietrich Raesfeldt, the privilege and the monopoly that the printing house had previously enjoyed was lost. Johann Bernhard Raesfeldt was active with the printing house from 1689-1696, but his mother, Anna Catharina continued actively running the business until her death in 1705. Although there were no other printing houses that moved into Münster prior to 1705, others were established in Coesfeld and eventually Warendorf, both within the Bishopric of Münster.[56] The final episode of the Raesfeldt line became known as the "Erben Raesfeldt", a partnership of three women who ran the printing house from 1705-1735, though there is not much known about this phase of the printing house as there were less than forty titles printed.

In conclusion, through the major printing houses in Münster there was a change in the subject material. The Tzwyvel press focussed on humanistic, scholarly subject matter, whereas the Raesfeldt press, though maintaining this strain, emphasized Catholic based works with a strong Tridentine agenda. What makes Münster a particularly fascinating case study for the use of printed material in directing belief is that there was no locally available alternative to that printed by Raesfeldt. With the monopoly and right of confiscation of unapproved works, even if for a limited time, the Raesfeldt printing house determined for the most part what was available and being read in Münster. Most importantly, Münster clearly demonstrates how the explicit collusion between generations of printers, and various prince-bishops supporting Catholic printed works contributed to the particular goal of Catholic confessionalization, clearly displaying the confessional state in action.

The books themselves, their purpose and their authors:

The Catholic vernacular devotional texts under consideration have a low survival rate for two main reasons, they are deemed regional or diocesan literature and they were regularly used. Regional literature was often written by local Bishops or Jesuits, printed and distributed within the diocese and reflect regional interests, concerns, and

[56] Christoph Bernhard von Galen approved the establishment by Johann Georg Todt, of the second printing house in his bishopric in the town of Coesfeld in 1677.

even dialects. Because of the regional nature of these particular devotional books, relatively few found their way beyond the borders of Münsterland.[57]

These works are also classified as *gebrauchsache*, works to be used or consumed. Thus they were meant to be consulted often, on a weekly, daily, or even hourly basis for advice, for guidance in prayers or for encouragement. A number of these works were meant to be read and reread for the purpose of memorization.[58] Additionally, as vernacular works, they often carried a lesser monetary value compared to works in the scholastic language of Latin. As such many devotional works were simply used until they were destroyed.[59] In addition to this are their ownership histories. Survival rates were lower for those in private as opposed to institutional collections such as monasteries or convents.[60] Herman Pleij has suggested that when works are not protected by institutions but are presumably used by the laity, there may be fewer than ten copies existing today.[61] However, even books residing in these more stable locations could be lost due to war, administrative changes, natural disasters, and censorship.[62] Considering that in the bishopric of Münster secularization and the dissolution of the monasteries and allied bombing were particularly devastating, the low survival rate is not surprising.[63]

---

[57]These works being written by the local Bishop or often Jesuits, reflected this regional nature by having a regional flavour and references to known personages, certainly in their prefaces. This is quite different from the works printed in Latin, such as the school books that travelled at times quite far from Münster, and were sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair. Conversation with Bertram Haller, September 23, 2010. See also Karen E. Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011) particularly page 32 and the surrounding section on Diocesan Catechisms. Raesfeldt's participation in the Frankfurt Book Fair is noted by Lucas, who catalogues the printed works of Lambert Raesfeldt in the appendix of his work on the printer, including the prices Lucas found in ledgers from the Regensburg press (formerly Raesfeldt) archive.

[58] Cornelia Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 58.

[59] Christine Dondi, "The European Printing Revolution", *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. Michael Suarez S.J., H.R. Woudhuysen, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 60.

[60] Dondi, "The European Printing Revolution", 60, Pleij, "What and How did Lay Persons Read", 16.

[61] Herman Pleij, "What and How did Lay Persons Read, or: Did the Laity Actually Read? Literature, Printing and Public in the Low Countries between the Middle Ages and Modern Times", ed. Thomas Kock, Rita Schlusemann, *Laienlektüre und Buchmarkt im späten Mittelalter*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 16.

[62] Dondi, "The European Printing Revolution", 60.

[63] In addition to loss of numerous institutional volumes through the process of secularization, public collections in Münster were particularly hard hit in WWII.

Authors and contents

Confessional tracts both directly and indirectly promoted piety and intolerance, defining not only what one should believe, but also vilifying other religious cultures.[64] It was assumed that religious conformity implied political loyalty, which in turn would lead to military loyalty. Argument is made through chapters five to eight that the style and the contents of these devotional works show that the confessionalization message of Catholic orthodoxy was directly linked to political conformity and loyalty through the combined ecclesiastical and secular power of the prince-bishop. Additionally, these devotional texts were written in the vernacular, making them accessible to a wide reading audience, thus garnering widespread support from the laity, rather than by use of Latin limiting the audience to the clergy and the learned.

Because of the Jesuit school and college in Münster, it is not surprising that there were a number of local Jesuits who wrote educational literature in Latin, and devotional literature in the vernacular. The Jesuits recognized the value of the printed word, understanding that many who were searching for a deeper piety were literate but not able to read Latin. Thus the Jesuits produced a new kind of printed work, propaganda as it is originally defined.[65] This printed material was calculated to propagate the faith, through a combination of apologetic, polemical and devotional material.[66] In the words of Gabriela Signore, these locally printed post-Tridentine works "shot out of the earth like mushrooms" they were so plentiful.[67] The publications ranged from single-sheet broadsides to short devotional booklets to full-sized illustrated books that contained prayers, devotions and catechetical information.

The authors of these devotional works were most often associated with orders. A leading example of these authors is François de Sales, a French Catholic saint who is best known for his devotional writings. Jason Sager has argued that the pastoral sermons of de Sales had a strong political ideology, which along with the Catholic

---

[64] Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 46-7.
[65] Meaning biased information used to promote a particular point of view. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 105.
[66] Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 105.
[67] "Ähnlich lokal oder regional ausgerichtete „Erbauungsschriften" schossen in nachtridentinischer Zeit pilzartig aus dem Boden." Gabriela Signori, »*Heiliges Westfalen« Heilige, Reliquien, Wallfahrt und Wunder in Mittelalter*, (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2003),14.

Counter-Reformation message encouraged political as well as religious obedience.[68] Another important Jesuit writer and teacher in Münster, was Westfalen born Matthäeus Tympius, a tireless promoter of Catholicism, first in Osnabrück then in Münster.[69] The devotional work of Tympius emphasised piety and obedience, most often giving clear reasoned explanations for the rites and observances.[70] In addition to his own writing, Tympius was responsible for the translation into German and the dissemination of the writings of others who followed the same vein of religious piety and obedience, including that of Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada.[71]

Finally, as mentioned above, these texts were written or translated into both the local dialect as well as the increasingly standardized High German language, not in the scholarly language of Latin.[72] These vernacular works accessible to the laity were meant to be read repeatedly so as to imprint themselves onto the reader impacting daily life and encouraging piety and obedience.[73] The foreword in an early vernacular printing from Köln underlines this accessibility by stating that "it was translated into the vernacular, more particularly a local dialect from Latin, with the desire that all men,

---

[68] Jason Sager, "François de Sales and Catholic Reform in Seventeenth-Century France", *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wim Janse, Barbara Pitkin, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 270.

[69] Tympius was a prolific writer, with at least sixty three polemical and devotional treatises to his credit. For the sake of consistency, the spelling used here will be Matthäeus Tympius. As with others from this period, Tympius' name was spelled several ways, such as Matthaeus Tympe, Matthaeus Timpe, Mathaeus Tymp, Matthaeus Tympius, Matheus Tympius, Mtthaeus Timpius, Matthäus Tympe, Mathaeus Tympius. VD 17, http://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.28/SET=1/TTL=1/SHW?FRST=1, accessed November 11, 2012.

[70] Examples of his devotional books emphasising obedience with reasoned explanations are: *Braut der Gottesfoerchtigen*, (Münster: Lambert Raessfeldt, 1601), *Rahtsfrag Welchen Glauben man annemmen/oder/Zu welcher Religion man Treten soll*, (Münster: L. Rassfeldt, 1610), and *Der ceremonien Warumb,* (Münster: Lambert Rassfeldt, 1609).

[71] Such as the *Vita Christi, das Leben unsers Erlösers und Seligmachers ¬Iesv [Jesu] Christi und seiner gebenedeyten Mutter Mariae* by Fransisci Costeri, Vincenti Bruni and P. Ludouici Granatensis, translated and abridged by M. Tympe, (Münster: Michael von Dale, 1624). Another interesting example of this is: *Gülden memorial, oder Denckbüchlein : darin kürtzlich verfasset, was einem Christen zu wahrer Gottseligkeit, oder recht und wol zuleben, zubeten unnd zubetrachten vonnöthen ist,* Luis de Granada, translated and corrected by M. Tympe, printed in Cölln in a joint project between, Henning unnd Raßfeldt, 1612. (Full text available online through the ULB Münster).

[72] The use of the vernacular as the language to encourage the laity was supported by reform theologians of the fifteenth century, with certain conditions attached, for example the Augustinian hermit Gottschalk Hollen (1411-1481) gave numerous examples and justifications for the appearance of the Bible and devotional material in the vernacular, however they must conform to four categories: 1.heretical material must be discarded, 2.they must contain simple messages, 3.they must contain "open" material not subject to diverse interpretations such as obscure Biblical texts like Revelations, 4. they may not diverge from official Church teachings. Karen Schreiner, "Laienbildung als Herausforderung für Kirche und Gesellschaft", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 11, (1984), 293-4.

[73] Pleij, "What and how did lay persons read", 24.

learned and unlearned, spiritual and worldly would find salvation and comfort through its translation."[74] These vernacular texts were meant to provide all the information that a "good Christian" should know, and through reading and contemplation, were meant to impact on the greater home environment through the reader and their behaviour.

Karen Maag concluded that literacy and religious instruction worked together in the home, and pointed out that the prime objective of education was "The creation of a doctrinally solid group of lay people..."[75] This indicates these texts could be, and were, used as confessionalization tools. The employment of these devotional texts for establishing a solid doctrinal understanding within the home can be found for example in the *Vita Christi* examined in chapter six: "God in heaven would have every paterfamilias read a contemplation from this treasury every week for the benefit of his household, that it would prove to be a right divine powerful and wholesome portion for young and old…"[76]

Although there were examples of the Bible translated into the vernacular, it was not common in Catholic confessional areas as there was a certain amount of dispute as to its value to the laity.[77] Even as early as the fourteenth century the value of the vernacular for the instruction of the laity was recognized. When referring to a translation of the book of Psalms a monk stated, "…if we are to receive God's salvation, we must translate Latin into German and other tongues, so that the laity will be brought therewith to devotion."[78] Having the Bible in the vernacular represented for the laity the opportunity

---

[74] "…yd moghelyck was nae duitscher spraecken/nae der bloemen des latins over to setten/…mogen alle mynschen gheleert und ungelert/geystlyck und wertlyck lesen in desen boeke/...quemlycheyt siner sielen heyll unde troest..." Hildegard Reitz, *Die Illustrationen der „Kölner Bibel",* (Düsseldorf: Zentral-Verlag für Dissertationen Triltsch, 1959), 6.

[75] Although she is speaking in reference to France in the sixteenth century, many of the issues dealt with there were very similar to the issues in Germany, certainly in the use of devotional texts in relation to confessionalization. Karen Maag, "Education and works of religious instruction in French", ed. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, Philip Connor, *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 109.

[76] "Wolte Gott im Himmel daß ein jeder haußvat=er alle Wochen eine Betrachtung auß die=ser Schatzkammer seinem haußgesinde leiß fürlesen.dann das were ja eine rechte geist=liche/kräfftige unnd heilsame Speiß vor jung und alte…", *Vita Christi*, (Münster: Lambert Raßfeldt, 1607), dedication no page number.

[77] The first translation of the Bible into the local vernacular of Köln "niederdeutsch" was the so called *Kölner Bibel*, printed by the Quentell press. Robert Ahldén, *Die Kölner Bibel-Frühdrucke: Enstehungsgeschichte, Stellung im Niederdeutschen Schrifttum,* (Lund: Gleerup, 1937), 30, established through the first part of chapter 3 "Drucker und Übersetzer."

[78] "Da von ist [Not], ob got will vns heil geben, das man aus der lateinzw deütsch pring vnd halt in ander czungen, das die layen da mit ze andacht pracht werden." Hans Rupprich, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur IV/1, Vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock. Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Humanismus und*

to step beyond religious symbolism and the interpretations of theologians, to begin a process of personally reading, and applying scripture to private existence in order to understand the vagaries of daily life. Though there were supporters of the Bible in the vernacular, there were more detractors, as it was thought that the scriptures were too complex and open to interpretation, which in turn would lead to heresy for the common man.[79] The compromise solution was to create devotional texts supported by Biblical passages to instruct and, more importantly, direct the interpretation of the reader.

Vernacular devotional texts thus found their way into the home, and were used for encouragement of piety and education. In the hands of women teaching the values offered by these texts, these books became particularly effective confessional tools for the propagation of a generational confessional culture. The Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek, for example, classifies devotional texts as women's literature.[80] As with other books written explicitly for women or girls, such as practical guides for household responsibilities and instructional texts, these devotional works were written in the vernacular, and represented shorter versions than their Latin counterparts.[81] Among the shorter devotional works most often meant for lay or female consumption were generally catechisms, prayer books and pilgrimage books.

Catechisms

A catechism is meant to teach the principles of the Christian faith, through a brief summary and basic instruction. The term is a translation from the Greek, referred to by the New Testament writers to designate the formal religious instruction that the apostles gave new converts.[82] This formal instruction became a requirement of those seeking membership in the Christian community by the early third century, and was usually

---

Renaissance, 1370-1520, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1970), 343, see also Robert Bast, *Honor Your Fathers Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany 1400-1600,* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 12.

[79] Schreiner, "Laienbildung als Herausforderung für Kirche und Gesellschaft", particularly part 2: Zur Legitimität und Illegitimität muttersprachlicher Bibelübersetzungen.

[80] In their online catalogue, these types of devotional texts are listed as: Gattung/Fach: *Gebetbuch: Frauenliteratur.

[81] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 61. See also Madeleine Jeay, Kathleen Garay, "'To promote God's Praise and her Neighbour's Salvation'. Strategies of Authorship and Readership among Mystic Women in the Later Middle Ages", ed. Anke Gillier, Alicia Montoya and Suzan van Dijk, *Women Writing Back/Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 38.

[82] Bast, *Honor Your Fathers,* 2.

carried out during Lent by lower clergy culminating in the baptism of the catechumens on Easter Sunday.[83] This system of instruction eventually fell into disrepair and was not reconsidered and restored until the Reformations of the sixteenth century.[84]

The catechism in this study is a work that issues a brief summary of the faith and basic instruction. Included are often selected prayers, psalms, the creed and the Lord's Prayer. The catechism as such was not new to the early modern period, but found its inception in the works of St. Augustine in his *Enchiridion*, a book of instruction. The early catechisms functioned as both edifying reading material, and instructional manual, to be read either individually or aloud. Catechisms are also identified as some of the earliest children's literature.[85] The most popular Catholic version of the catechism translated into a number of different languages was that of Canisius. He wrote three of varying lengths, but his small catechism, *Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum* would prove most popular, not only in Germany but in other lands as well.[86] This volume was printed in Münster in both High German and the local dialect.[87] The very nature of the catechism and its memorization supported Catholic confessionalization strategies by determining the reader's instruction in a specific doctrinal direction. Though catechisms utilized scripture to support teaching objectives, not all used biblical passages to explain points of doctrine. It is thought that Wicilius' *Catechismus Ecclesiae* was the first Catholic work to do so: Wicilius also employed direct biblical passages in other works.[88] Material from the

---

[83] Bast, *Honor Your Fathers,* 3.

[84] The change of instruction was also due to the rise in popularity and eventual duty of parents for infant baptism. This required that the previous formal instruction prior to baptism be carried over to a later point in life. Bast, *Honor Your Fathers,* 3.

[85] Many early modern catechisms include content aimed at children, and instructions for parents, such as Stephan Agricola's Catholic *Catechesis,* which in the dedication states; "Antoinio, Hans Jacob, and Georg Fugger, so that they may teach their sons and daughters." Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 60.

[86] Carter, *Creating Catholics,* 31.

[87] The Canisius *Catechismus* was translated into the local Münsterland dialect by Lambert Raesfeld in 1600, then printed again by von Dale in 1627: Petrus Canisius, *Der kleine Katechismus: Catechismus in korte fragen und antwordt gestalt.Vor die gemeine Leyen und jung Kinder sehr deinlick*, (Münster: Michael von Dale, 1627), Landesmusum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, K155.

[88] Georgium Wicilium (Georg Witzel), *Catechismus Ecclesie : lere vnnd Handlung des heiligen Christenthums, auss der warheyt Göttliches worts, kurtz vnnd lieblich beschryben,* ([S.l.] : [s.n.] , 1536). Originally printed in 1531. See also Georgium Wicilium (Georg Witzel), *Christlichs Betebüchlin fur Alt und Jung : Von newem gemehret und gebessert. Sampt den Collecten oder Kyrchbiete der Sontagen durchs gantze Jar, und Quadragesimal Fasten*, (Coln: Quentell, 1548). In the introduction he explains the process of using scripture, as well as the difficulties of translation of both Old and New Testaments from Latin or Greek: "Wol Dolmetschen/ist on gehulffen schwer/am meisten/wenn eyner aus bösem Latein gut Deutsch mache sol. Zu zeite wirt hie den Griechen mehr gefolget…Habe auch der deutschen Dolmetschung in dem Büchlein des Newen Testamets sehr brauchet…", Aiii.

Bible and the catechism was meant to inform on matters of faith, adhering closely to established texts written primarily by theologians. The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* exemplifies this type of printed work, written specifically for the bishopric of Münster by the well-known dean of the Liebfrauen (Uberwasser) Church in Münster Michael Rupert (Michäelem Rupertum). A final strategy used to facilitate and simplify the contents of a catechism for the "simple folk" the K*atechismustafel* or catechism table or sheet was devised and used throughout Germany. The sheet was simply laid out, and all the basic information could be seen at a glance. One such sheet preserved in the München Staatsbibliothek claims relevance to an ambitiously broad audience of the "young and the elderly, gentlemen, servant, women and young ladies."[89]

Prayer books

Often deemed especially appropriate as reading material for girls, the prayer book is a collection of appeals, petitions and praises addressed to God, often accompanied by Psalms, litanies and Marian devotions. Though there were numerous versions from the ninth century, such as Alcuin's prayer book authored at the behest of Charlemagne, these early prayer books were meant primarily for monastic houses or the learned, penned most often in Latin.[90]

The most popular type of prayer book for the laity emerged in the Middle Ages as the Book of Hours, books written in the vernacular and most often illustrated. Books of Hours typically contained Psalms, prayers and hymns, and were a simplified reworking of the canonical hours which emerged out of monastic breviaries. The production of devotional works such as Books of Hours was nurtured by the desires of the laity for a means of integrating religion into their everyday lives. In addition to a strong focus on Marian devotions, hymns, Psalms, a liturgical calendar and a selection of prayers, they also carried a penitential element to assist the reader through preparations for

[89] "jungen und die greysen, herrn, knecht, frauen auch meyden." P. Egino Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters*, (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 205.

[90] Through four installments, Beissel traced the history of prayer books from their inception in the 9th century as a collection of prayers and psalms, through the development of books of hours, books of devotions, books of meditations, through to the reforms of individual Bishops charged with the removal of false or heretical material in prayer books printed in their dioceses by the council of Trent. Stephan Beissel, "Zur Geschichte der Gebetbücher", *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach,* 77, (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung,1909), 30.

confession and penance.[91] These books were designed for private devotions, and were often made for an individual, family, community or even church.[92] As such they reflect a certain local flavour such as regional concerns, traditions, and saints. Books of Hours vary from volume to volume, and echo the personal wishes and tastes of its owner(s). Books of Hours revealed the influence of the cult of the Virgin, the Hours of the Virgin often being the main focus of these personal prayer books. The illustrations, an intrinsic component of these books, reflect the rich pictorial tradition surrounding the prayers and texts associated with the Hours of the Virgin and also reveal the individual nature and the expense that elevated these books to the status of treasure to be handed down within families as heirlooms.[93] Although the sumptuously illustrated versions of these texts are more commonly known, the many humble examples made for everyday use show the popularity of these devotional books. This popularity of the Book of Hours reflected rising literacy, and more specifically literacy of women. Sandra Penketh explored Books of Hours produced for and owned by women, establishing the firm relationship between this genre and a female readership.[94] Furthermore, Books of Hours demonstrate how Marian devotions served as a model of moral and social behaviour and piety, particularly for women. Books of Hours were frequently used as "first reading books" by mothers who taught the basics of literacy to their children.[95]

Prayer books for personal devotions became more popular as printed diocesan literature after the council of Trent ruling that the Bishops were responsible for elimination of false or heretical doctrine found in uncontrolled prayer books within their diocese.[96] One of the most popular prayer books in German was Jesuit Wilhelm Nakatenus' *Himmlische Palmgärtlein*, printed first in 1660, and republished continually into the nineteenth century.[97] The second part of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* fulfilled the function of a prayer book, providing the life of Christ with accompanying meditations

---

[91] Charity Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected texts*, (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 1.
[92] Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England,* 5.
[93] Roger S. Wieck, *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1988), 28.
[94] Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours", ed. Lesley Smith, Jan H.M. Taylor, *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, (London: The British Library, 1997).
[95] Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours", 270.
[96] Beissel, "Zur Geschichte der Gebetbücher", 282.
[97] A quick browse on World Cat attests to its popularity. This work was already on its sixth edition in 1678, and was continuously reprinted until the 1860's, with a final scholarly reprinting in 1969.

and prayers. The *Vita Christi* functioned similarly, in that it examines the subjects of Christology, eschatology, Mariology, as well as techniques of prayer and meditation, reinforced by writings of a wide range of theological authorities.[98]

Pilgrimage books

Pilgrimage books provided a written form of information, miracles and advertising for pilgrimages, both regional and further afield. The earliest pilgrimage books were simple travel manuals such as the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, most of which describe routes to the Holy Land.[99] Pilgrimage books developed through the Middle Ages, with the focus turning to more regional locations, designating way stations, local shrines and the miracles and legends attached to them. Thus although not new in the sixteenth century these books and their authors flourished through the upheavals of the confessional period following the Protestant Reformation, taking advantage of the opportunity to tie into traditional practices. Pilgrimages presented an ideal opportunity to portray the longstanding and enduring nature of the Catholic Church in comparison to that of the Protestant, validating this established nature through the miracles performed at the shrines associated with it. Pilgrimage books followed a specific literary and motivational model formulated from sayings, scripture and patristic writers that accompanied the miracle-working power of the destination, followed most often by examples of miracles associated with the particular shrine. These works often represented a type of propagandistic literature that functioned as advertising, not only for the destination chapel, church or cathedral, but also for the town or city in which it was housed. Being a popular pilgrimage destination was a significant economic industry for any town, thus through various media, hand-written tracts, printed works, miracle books, miracle images, poems and objects, locals attempted to motivate pilgrimage.[100] Certain destinations were more successful than others, for example the *Schöne Maria*

---

[98] Charles A. Conway, Jr., "The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centred on the Incarnation: A descriptive analysis", Dr. James Hogg, ed, *Analecta Cartusiana*, (Salzburg: Institute für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1976), 3.

[99] The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* also known as the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, was written by the "Pilgrim of Bordeaux" and recounts a pilgrimage from Bordeaux to the Holy Land in 333-4, digitized in translation through the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

[100] Harry Kühnel, "'Werbung', Wunder und Wallfahrt", *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, International round-table, (Wien: Verlag der Österrichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), 96.

shrines in Regensburg, Altötting, Kevelaer or Mariazell had international reputations and drawing-power. Often containing a combination of text and image, the small pamphlet-sized books that promoted these destinations were meant for both literate and illiterate audiences. They utilized established imagery, often Marian, to direct the reader in devotions, and encourage piety. The combination of text with image and prayers was effective for engaging a semi or even non-literate audience who could use the images as devotional objects.

Visual and textual literacy: Who is reading these books

Philip Soergel explained that the rise of literacy and popularity of books is attributable to innovation in readers, not publishers, insisting that the agent of change was the reading audience rather than the press itself.[101] His statement speaks to the consumers of these books, posing the question of what kind of information is necessary to turn a potential buyer into a reader. He explained that books construct readers, as much as readers construct books, meaning that though book printers publish works that will sell, the subjects of the books themselves will influence the reader.[102] Thus it is essential to consider how books were used by the reading public and define who the reading public was. To better understand the reading public of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, it is important to follow the rise of literacy through the availability of printed material.

It has often been stated that literacy in the late medieval and early modern periods was extremely limited, yet more recent scholarship has shed light on this. In his work *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution,* van Zanden convincingly argues that in the late Middle Ages religious movements spread throughout Western Europe that emphasized the importance of direct access to religious truth that was obtained by reading the Bible, he concluded that the Reformation was very much a consequence of the "grassroots growth of literacy."[103]

---

[101] Philip Soergel, "Afterword", Naomi Liebler ed, *Early Modern Prose Fiction: The Cultural Politics of Reading*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 283.
[102] Sorgel, "Afterword", 285.
[103] He goes on to convincingly argue that increasing book production and consumption, indicating increasing literacy rates had a positive impact on economic growth.(197). van Zanden, Buringh, "Book Production as a mirror of the emerging Medieval knowledge economy, 500-1500", 90-91.

A presumed common early modern reading practice was the literate reading aloud for the unlettered.[104] This assumption is supported by the fact that Luther's sermons and hymns were read or sung in a communal setting. There are also such paradoxical statements as that found in a Reformation flier of 1524: "Dear reader, if you can't read, then find a young man who can read this text to you."[105] Thus the ideas were disseminated both through print and oral communication. "Aurality" or communal reading was not only a social response to illiteracy, it was also perceived as an ingredient of social life and thus reading was much more than an individual and private act.[106] Instead, reading was commonly a participatory activity and included both readers (in the strict sense of the word) as well as listeners.[107]

Reading was also not strictly verbal or ideographic, but also visual and involved the complex act of interpreting the visual images found within pamphlets or on broadsides, most often in the form of woodcuts. These short or single-sheet printed works utilized an established visual vocabulary to engage, persuade, and instruct the viewer, influencing both the illiterate through visual means and the literate by enhancing the meaning and effect of the accompanying text. The images drew upon a highly articulated visual culture that both existed independently of and supplemented textual communication. Scribner explains the image-text relationship as the "rhetoric of the image" being "a structured system for conveying the intended meaning of visual propaganda", utilizing two methods: anchorage, where the "text directs the reader in how to read the visual image"; and relay, "where the linguistic text and visual image stand in a complimentary relationship."[108] Thus though reading literacy may have been limited, through visual literacy and the image-text relationship the message had a relatively wide "readership."

---

[104] Oral transmission and the concept of aurality relate to oral instruction, a method of teaching intrinsic to the Church, understood and accepted by the populace and an effective tool for the illiterate laity. Robert Scribner discusses the importance of oral transmission in his work *For the Sake of Simple Folk*: *Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, as does Heidi Brayman Hackel in *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[105] Unfortunately, the author did not cite the specific pamphlet in which this is found. Stephan Füssel, S, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 169.
[106] For a detailed consideration of Aural reading see Chapter 2, "Gestures and habits of reading." Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 47.
[107] Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 51.
[108] Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 244.

Assessing levels of literacy and even defining what we mean by the term present significant challenges. Part of the challenge is simply that literacy is represented by two separate abilities, those of reading and writing.[109] Attempts to evaluate early modern literacy through signatures on legal documents have proven inadequate as at all social levels reading was taught prior to writing.[110] That the skills were taught separately is corroborated by the statement of a contemporary educator, John Hart, who suggests people should "first to learn to read before they… learn to write, for that is far more ready and easy."[111] This learning order makes good pedagogical sense. The physical skills required for the acts themselves are quite different from the passivity of reading, to the material demands and manual acuity of writing.[112] Furthermore, Margaret Spufford's study of early modern education shows that reading was taught to children first and writing only later, at a point when many children would have to leave their studies and take up paid work.[113] She concludes that "an account of 'literacy' based on the only measurable skill, the ability to sign, takes no account of the implications of the fact that reading was a much more socially diffused skill than writing."[114] Thus it can safely be assumed that the ability to read was much more common than previously supposed and that there would be many people unable to write or even sign their names that could, at least to a certain degree, read.

Even the skill of reading can be broken down into a variety of skill sets such as reading silently, needing to read aloud, reading by rote or "aural readers" who may or may not have been able to read independently but whose experience of texts was through public readings.[115] Reading was also taught ideographically and phonetically, forms of rote learning. Learning by rote involves memorizing texts and learning words as

---

[109] Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 14.
[110] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
[111] John Hart, *A methode or comfortable beginning for all vnlearned, whereby they may be taught to read English,* (London: Henrie Denham, 1570), preface n.p..
[112] Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 66.
[113] Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England,*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)*,* 45.
[114] Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, 27.
[115] Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 15.

complete ideographs.[116] Phonetic literacy is the concept of oral rote learning associating sounds with shapes and figures.[117] This type of reader is defined as the most elementary vernacular reader who is able to read haltingly and out loud, but unable to write.[118] This form of reading which contemporaries referred to as "knowing one's letters" or alphabetism, represented the initial stages of literacy, the level attained by numerous readers. These readers, though not competent to understand precise grammatical meaning, had an appreciation of the sense of the text.[119]

Literacy proficiencies varied greatly, both with levels of education and social background. Literacy was "highly socially stratified", and "characterised as oligo-literate, where reading ability was a mark of social stratification, distinguishing between 'clerks' and common folk."[120] This social stratification showed that even within the nobility the greater nobility had a higher rate of literacy than the lesser nobility.[121] Although the printed word increased the potential for literacy, the growth of mass literacy was a slow process.[122]

Hand-in-hand with limited literacy was familiarity with and approaches to books. Texts were also not always read from the beginning to end. Rather it was often a process of picking out segments of text with an understanding of the whole story, or the greater picture.[123] This is certainly the case with devotional texts. They often contained short sections that would be read or studied at various times and in different orders. The books most commonly listed among the personal effects in testaments, prayer books, were certainly read in this way.[124]

---

[116] My Grandmother is an example of rote reading, she was functionally illiterate, but could always recognize the ingredients and instructions in recipe books simply out of rote and necessity.
[117] Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*, 20, and also Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages", Roger Chartier, ed, *The Culture of Print: Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 142.
[118] Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 63.
[119] Saenger, "Books of Hours", 142.
[120] Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* 2.
[121] See chapter 3, "Literacy among the Nobility", István Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe,* English ed., (New York: Central European University Press, 2000).
[122] Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* 2. Additionally even if one could read printed text, it does not mean that one could read a manuscript, as printed fonts tend to be standardized, handwriting differs with the individual.
[123] Pleij, "What and How did Lay Persons Read", 23.
[124] He cites here a number of examples of semi-literate readers in various circumstances, but all involving specifically prayer or devotional books, and both men and women. István Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe,* English ed., (New York: Central European University Press, 2000), 69-72.

> Semi-literates most easily could do justice to prayer books, which served as the classic example of intensive reading. The reader repeatedly peruses a single, highly appreciated text, which he or she probably knows by heart...Even those who had lesser reading abilities must have been able to negotiate the prayers they knew half or fully by heart, less reading the text than glancing at it from time to time to refresh their memories...[125]

Devotional texts proved to be relatively accessible reading material both physically because of the nature of the material through the encouragement of the Church, and comprehensibly as they often contained familiar prayers and petitions. Devotional texts were identified as appropriate reading-material for girls, and reading girls grew into reading women.[126]

Women and literacy

Early modern women have been conventionally described as less literate than men, yet evidence suggests a higher percentage of women had some level of literacy than is generally assumed. Women faced the same socially stratified literacy encountered by men in addition to experiencing different expectations for the purpose of their education and often informal methods of education. As Robert Houston suggests, women's literacy is traditionally considered to have been inferior to that of men primarily because of the prevailing attitudes towards women:

> Men conventionally described females as intellectually and morally an inferior subset of humanity, endowed with less reason than men, easily influenced and thus in need of strong guidance. Women's place in society was as dutiful daughter, obedient wife, careful mother. If educated at all, girls were to receive a training which would prepare them for these roles.[127]

Although generally denied the sort of formal education given to men of their class, literacy was acquired in other less formal ways. One must consider an informal view of

---

[125] Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe,* 70.

[126] Like Dolan, I too "…assume rather than seek to prove that many women could read and/or write." Dolan makes this argument clearly as she considers the earlier work of Cressy, as well as more contemporary considerations of female literacy, in her article "Reading, writing, and other crimes", ed. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, Dympna. Callaghan, *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging subjects*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 143-145.

[127] Houston's work looked in greater detail at the statistics of signatures on marriage documents, and this type of study is often referred to when attempting to ascertain literacy rates among the greater populace, see specifically chapter 6 "Sources and measures of literacy" Robert A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800,* (New York: Longman, 1988), 19-20.

education not only for women, but also for peasants, men and women alike.[128] This unconventional and much broader view of education was meant to prepare the individual to fulfil their role in society, and as such did not consist of a single formal educational model.[129]

Expectations of women, their role in society as religious educators

Women readers were not an invention of later periods. The most common image of women reading through the Middle Ages was found in Books of Hours, the Virgin providing the model of the pious female reader. By its very nature, a Book of Hours was meant to be read, or consulted throughout the day. It was to provide images and texts for meditation and recitation of prayer. Reflecting the sacred text found within a Book of Hours, images that depict women reading them show the books open on an altar, a table, or held with reverence with fabric between the readers' hands and book. The reading women illustrated within Books of Hours provided the ideal for the pious female reader, establishing the example of not only what women should be reading, but also the circumstances in which reading should take place and the attitude that should be taken towards the reading material. That women were then expected to teach their daughters in a like manner is also shown through numerous illustrations in Books of Hours such as the image "SS Joachim and Anne teaching the Virgin" in the *De Lisle Hours* also known as "the book owners teaching their daughter" which clearly shows St. Anne holding an open book before the young Virgin, and St. Joachim standing in-front of the pair, hand raised in an attitude of instruction.[130] These books present women as both examples and instructors of piety within the private, domestic sphere.

The expectation that women should assume a domestic role and its attendant duties, which included concern for the primary and moral education of the children, transcended geographic boundaries, time and confessions. Girls were trained to care for domestic duties, but it was also expected that they would exemplify duty and devotion not only to their husband and children, but also to the household. This notion appears as

---

[128] Barbara Whitehead, "Introduction", *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500-1800*, Barbara Whitehead, ed, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), x-xi.
[129] Whitehead, "Introduction", xiii.
[130] "SS Joachim and Anne teaching the Virgin (the book owners teaching their daughter)", *De Lisle Hours,* Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS G.50, fol. 17t.

early as the 1220s in the *Sachsenspiegel* which stated legal provisions for the inheritance of daughters from their mothers including numerous items, such as bedding, linens, jewelry, and "all books that pertain to the service of God and are often read by women."[131] In order to provide the primary theological education of the children, it was necessary to provide a rudimentary education for women, which included basic literacy.

The need for women's education

Reformers such as Martin Luther recognized the importance of educating girls as future mothers and primary teachers of the faith particularly so that they might read and study the catechism.[132] Likely due to this encouragement, accounts of the education of Protestant Humanist daughters are numerous.[133] The Pietists likewise wanted women to read more than just their prayer books and acquire an education in religion beyond catechism and weekly sermons.[134] Although reading women were viewed with caution within the Catholic Church as reading the wrong material could easily lead them astray, the Jesuits recognized the possibilities of domestic piety and distributed devotional literature at shrines, during meetings of catechism classes and through confraternities.[135] Even well-known Catholic reformers such as Carlo Borromeo recognized the importance of female literacy for domestic piety, asserting that "Christian doctrine should be introduced to these spinning rooms" where women gathered, to counteract gossip or otherwise unedifying chatter.[136] In a sermon given in honour of the feast day of St. Katharine, then again a year later for the feast of the Immaculate Conception in the Nicholas Church in Freiburg in 1587, the well-known Jesuit, Canisius,

---

[131] "…und alle boke de to godes deneste horet de vrowen pleget to lesende." The accompanying illustrations depict items that are named, however the illustration in the Dresden copy from 1350 features the book far more prominently than the earlier Oldenburg copy. The *Sachsenspeigel* was an early law book and legal code written in the vernacular, dating from approximately 1220. Eike von Repgow, *Sachsenspiegel*, erstes Buch, (Rastede: 1336), [40] 19(r-v), Oldenburg Landesbibliohek Online edition: urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-3571.

[132] Martine Sonnet, "A Daughter to Educate", *A History of Women in the West: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, ed. Natalie Zemon Davis, Arlette Farge, (Cambridge: Belkap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), 102.

[133] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 49, 55.

[134] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 27.

[135] Wolfgang Brückner, "Zum Wandel der religiösen Kultur im 18. Jahrhundert. Einkreisungsversuche des "Barockfrommen" zwischen Mittelalter und Massenmissionierung", ed. Ernst Hinrichs, Günter Wiegelmann, *Sozialer und kultureller Wandel in der ländlichen Welt des 18. Jahrhunderts*, (Wolfenbüttel: Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 1982), 76-7.

[136] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 63.

advocated girls' schools in order to teach the Catechism, reading, writing, prayer, spinning and pious devotional instruction:

> That the parents of the Blessed Virgin brought her to the temple in Jerusalem gives me pause to consider how good it would be to have a house in which good pious girls could be taught. Parents have neither the wisdom nor qualifications to rear their children in Christ, knowing little their Catechism or how to pray and not having discipline or a fear of God. It is clear to see what a lack of discipline brings to girls, who become impudent and insolent. If however a good house was available, in which pious older maidens were gathered and nurtured, where they could learn work for the home such as sewing and spinning as well as reading and writing, prayer and church services thus becoming better housewives when married and better able to teach their children.[137]

The prevalence of this role of spiritual model and educator is even reflected in criticism from Lutheran converts in the 1530-40s, who stated that through the encouragement of the papacy, parents but more specifically mothers, perpetuated theological errors and aberrations within the entirety of the household through recounting "church teaching" and "catechism" *within the home*.[138] But as Broomhall points out, at all social levels among both Catholics and Protestants mothers taught daughters household management and basic Christian doctrine in the hopes that it would make girls obedient Christian mothers.[139]

Given these expectations, it is not surprising that early childhood education was also considered the duty of the mother. It was the mother who should perpetuate the cycle, and teach young girls the Catechism, the Common Prayers, and sometimes initial reading.[140] Thus women were encouraged to read, albeit from a limited selection of titles

---

[137] Hermann Albisser, "Die Ursulinen zu Luzern: Geschichte und Werk des ersten Konventes1659-1798. Teil 1", *Der Geschichtsfreund: Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Zentralschweitz*, 91, (1936), 54-56.

[138] "…lutherische Theologen und lutherische gewordenen Landesherren rühmend hervorheben, daß sich in der finsteren Zeit des Papsttums 'die Eltern und sonderlich die lieben Mütter' als die vornehmsten Hauspfarrer und Bischöfe bewährt hätten, die durch ihre 'Hauskirche' und ihren 'Hauskatechismus' – ungeachtet 'aller theologischen Irrungen und Wirrungen' – die wesentlichen Stücke des Glaubens an ihre Kinder und an ihr Gesinde weitergaben." Klaus Schreiner, "Volkssprache als Element gesellschaftlicher Integration und Ursache sozialer Konflikte: Formen und Funktionen volkssprachlicher Wisssensverbreitung um 1500", ed. Ferdinand Seibt, Winfried Eberhard, *Europa 1500 Integrationsprozesse im Widerstreit: Staaten, Regionen, Personenverbände, Christenheit*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987), 484.

[139] Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 23.

[140] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 43. Egino Weidenhiller also points out that with the duty of infant baptism, the prior practice of formal catechetical instruction culminating in baptism had to be given after baptism and fell initially into the hands of the parents and godparents. *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters*, (München: C.H. Beck, 1965), 12.

which promoted in an effective way the indoctrination of women.[141] After all, was not Mary the Virgin herself the ideal model of humble piety, and often pictured reading from appropriately pious material?[142]

The types of titles commissioned specifically for the education of children were Psalters, Gospels, and educational treatises, providing not only pious material, but also serving as alphabet books and "how to" manuals.[143] The restriction of approved material for women reflected the double-edged sword that literate women represented. What on one side was a powerful tool that could be used for personal and domestic piety as well as self-assertion could also be used for uncontrolled and "unlicensed ends."[144] To avoid material woman may utilize for "unlicensed ends", their reading was to be focussed on religious instruction and devotion, be they catechism, prayer books, books of virtuous example, or parenting manuals.[145]

The evidence of women's education

Cornelia Niekus Moore approaches the education of girls by looking at childrearing manuals from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries to understand the teaching of girls for their roles.[146] Rare biographical data from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows that most women were educated at home, but some in schools and cloisters.[147] Because the education for girls was often done informally, there was very limited access to Latin. Education for girls in a formal setting was carried out by women in teaching orders, who spent most of their time teaching, not writing about their techniques, thus making the process invisible even if the effects were not.[148]

---

[141] Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 15; Susan Schibanoff, "Taking the Gold Out of Egypt: The Art of Reading as a Women", ed. Elizabeth A. Flynn, Patrocinio Schwieckhart, *Gender and Reading: Essays on Readers, Texts and Contexts,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 100.
[142] For an understanding of Mary and her presentation as reader, writer, and model for pious womanhood see Klaus Schreiner, "Die lesende und schreibende Maria als Symbolgestalt religiöser Frauenbildung", Gabriela Signori, ed, *Die lesende Frau*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), 2009.
[143] Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners", 756.
[144] Dolan, "Reading, writing, and other crimes", 151.
[145] See such works as Gasparo Contarini, *Catechesis Oder Kurtze Summa der Lehre der heiligen christlichen Kirche fuer die Kinder und Einfältigen,* Stephan August Agricola (trans), (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1560): Matthaeus Tympe, *Kinderzucht oder kurtzer Bericht von der Eltern Sorg und Fürsichtigkeit in Aufferziehung ihrer lieben Kinder zu Gottes Ehr und dem Vatterlandt und Gemeinem Wesen zum besten*, (Münster: Raesfeldt, 1597, 1610).
[146] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror*. See specifically chapter 2 "The intended readers: girls."
[147] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* pg. 39.
[148] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* pg. 157.

Furthermore, education of girls through female teaching congregations and cloisters was heavily influenced by the Jesuit educational program. The Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* or rules for education established in 1599, was infused with the desire to inculcate morality and good character, and had three basic purposes: "to teach 'letters', meaning humanities and the arts; to intertwine a religious education with secular studies; and to form the religious and moral character of their students."[149] The use of reading and writing for girls was encouraged by seventeenth-century author Hans Michael Moscherosch who stated alongside the prayer-book belongs a feather, so that young ladies could learn letters and their numbers, so that upon marriage they can be a helpmeet to their husband.[150] He goes on to declare the most important qualities of a maiden were letters, numbers and keeping house.[151] Reading approved material would ideally not only shape behaviour but also keep girls out of trouble. They were to be edified by the material, learn the lessons found within, and emulate the heroines.

For the most part the authors of books intended for women were those engaged in education such as teachers, preachers, theologians and parents. Niekus Moore also points out that the majority of the authors writing for girls and women had personally been confronted with the need for such material, and often dedicated works to specific individuals.[152]

The rise of literacy in women has been shown to have correlations with publishing in the vernacular. For all the limitations on women readers, Susan Groag Bell points out that book-owning women not only influenced lay piety, but also the development of vernacular literature in the late Middle Ages.[153] The rise of the vernacular in printing was due to the increase in a potential market unlearned in Latin, that is, women.[154] In his study of the European economy, van Zanden noted that in the Low Countries there was a relatively high level of literacy with no difference between men and women, confirmed

---

[149] Carter, *Creating Catholics,* pg. 65.
[150] "Zum Bettbuch gehöret Eine Feder...daß ihr just und fertig Schreiben und Rechnen lernet; auff daß, wo ihr durch Gottes Genade in einen heyrath kommen soltet, da Verechntete Dienste sind, ihr ewerem Mann möchtet zu hülffe sein." H.M. Moscherosch, *Insomnis Cura Parentum* (Abdruck der ersten Ausgabe 1643), (Halle a.S: Max Niemeyer, 1893), 63.
[151] Moscherosch, *Insomnis Cura Parentum,* 65.
[152] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 32.
[153] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture", *Signs*, 7, (1982), 743.
[154] Niekus Moore, *The Maiden's Mirror,* 25.

by the spread of such movements as the Modern Devotion which focused on studying books, where 60 percent of the membership was women.[155] The use of books in the vernacular by women associated with this movement is clearly shown through reconstructions of libraries of convents, the main purpose of these libraries being the education of succeeding generations of women.[156] The observation of this trend of rising women's literacy was in connection with both convents and urban contexts.[157] Women of the middling and merchant classes were more likely to read printed books, and often obtained them by trade, by requesting them from correspondents, by selling one in order to purchase another, or by sending books to other women as gifts.[158] The early modern period also maintained a pattern of book inheritance amongst women, as established in the medieval period.[159] Finally, women commonly received texts upon their profession as nuns.[160]

Female book ownership

Assessing the level of female book ownership is difficult but not impossible. Inscriptions in books, although difficult to date and not common, are ideal. Additionally catalogues, books lists, probate, and surviving historical libraries can provide some evidence of female ownership.[161] Where inscriptions exist, they can be used to establish ownership, as well as to give insight into the kinds of titles women were reading, and desirous of claiming. Mary Erler has also shown that sometimes these inscriptions evince networks of female exchange often through religious women's houses and their

---

[155] van Zanden, Buringh, "Book Production as a Mirror of the Emerging Medieval Knowledge Economy", 87.

[156] This insistence on the education of women can be seen through the bequeaths in wills, and the importance of women reading under these circumstances is shown by Anne Bollmann, "Lesekult und Leseskepsis in den Frauengemeinschaften der Devotio moderna", Gabriella Signori, ed, *Die lesende Frau*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 159-162.

[157] Erika Uitz, *The Legend of Good Women: Medieval Women in Towns & Cities,* (Mount Kisco, N.Y: Moyer Bell Limited, 1990), 71.

[158] Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 29-31.

[159] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbitors of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture", *Signs*, 7, (1982), 749; for the consideration of female estates and their books see also; Alexander H. Schutz, *Vernacular books in Parisian private libraries of the sixteenth century according to the notarial inventories,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

[160] S. Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 31.

[161] P. Egino Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters*, (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 201.

libraries.[162] Probate is also effective for establishing book collections sometimes including individual titles, although it is impossible to know if the individual titles comprise of a comprehensive list of books or merely represent particularly valued volumes.

Of the numerous books examined for this project, only a handful contain legible inscriptions of women's' names. The majority of the female names in inscriptions are found in vernacular devotional literature. The inscriptions by female owners in works printed in Münster during this time period are: Maria Catharina Pipi[er] in a book of sermons by S. Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Weise recht zu leben*; Maria Lurvemans in a devotional book devoted to virgins and widows edited by Bernard (Bernardum) Dörhoff, *Spiegel Der Jungfrawen und Witwen*; Christina Elisabet Witling in the anonymously authored *Brautschatz* examined in chapter seven; Clara Anna Rathman in another anonymously authored, *Geistlicher Blumen Krantz*; and finally Catharina Heimans in the devotional *Gülden Kunst Christliche seelen zu wäschen und auffzuschmücken* by the Jesuit Vincenti Bruni. These works provide insight into the literature choices of women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Münster. Of these women, only Catharina Heimans is recorded as having written a will that was registered in Münster and it fortunately survives.[163]

Wills provide not only a means of proving that books were held as objects of value, but also are a way of ascertaining female book ownership. Naturally, a woman needed have a certain level of independent wealth to make a will necessary, and so probate most often gives a limited picture. [164] The wills that do evince female book ownership show a clear awareness of the value of books.[165] Not only do wills give insight into objects with economic worth, but also can express emotional value by the wording. The naming of devotional texts in wills shows not only that they were treasured,

---

[162] Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8.
[163] S. Bernhardo abt zu Clarevall, *Weise recht zu leben*, (Münster: Raßfeldt, 1605), (Diözesanbibliothek Münster, 1E 8094), Bernard (Bernardum) Dörhoff, ed, *Spiegel Der Jungfrawen und Witwen,* (Münster: Michael von Dale,1627), (ULB, RD 872), *Brautschatz*, (Münster: Bernardt Raesfeldt, 1645), (ULB, Rara RD 877), *Geistlicher Blumen Krantz*, (Münster: Bernardt Raeßfeldt, 1658), (LWL, K 95d), Vincenti Bruni, *Gülden Kunst Christliche seelen zu wäschen und auffzuschmücken,* (Münster: Lambert Raßfeldt, 1602), (Diözesanbibliothek Münster, G12 33).
[164] John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages,* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 3.
[165] Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 3.

but also that the testator desired that others share in this experience. Identifying individual book titles or descriptions of volumes in their wills suggests that the owners were actively interested and engaged in their libraries, having read the volumes or took aesthetic pleasure or satisfaction in the text or images.[166]

Catharina Heimans' will: A Münsterlanderin example

Catharina Heimans was a financially secure woman living in Münster about whom very little is known. What we know about her comes only through her will, dated May 20, 1658.[167] Numerous bequests detailed over four pages of handwritten text make clear she was well off. She appears to have had no living blood relatives, at least none with whom she was on good terms, as none are mentioned in the will. Instead, much of her money went to religious orders both in and around Münster, the majority to Jesuits, although she bequeathed to all local orders. These orders include Capuchins, Fraterherren (Brethren of the Common Life), Franciscans (both observant and minor), Dominicans, St. Clare's, a nunnery in Dülmen, and a cloister in Niessing, asking for prayers for her soul in return for the bequests. She also made further bequests to confraternities. All of this suggests a woman of considerable piety.

Her personal bequests to individuals, whether monetary sums, pictures, clothing, articles of furniture or material goods mainly go to female beneficiaries. Among these personal bequests, Catharina mentions a few of her books, in each case passing them on to other women. Her bequests of books reflect anticipated patterns of female book ownership. That the titles are individually named confirms the value she attributed to each. All the bequeathed titles are devotional, verifying that Catherina valued their contents enough to want other women to possess them and glean their value. Although the volume listed above, *Gülden Kunst,* is not individually named in the will, she does name the *Brautschatz* from chapter seven. Thus the works listed in her bequests and inscribed with her name were Catholic devotional books with distinct confessional messages.

---

[166] Friedman, *Northern English Books*, 21.
[167] *Testamentum der Catharinen Heiman* [sic] *Publicat. Anno 1658 den 20: Maij*, Stadtarchiv Münster, Testamente II Ne. 247 fol. 38-40v. I am indebted to both Dr. Gerd Dethlefs and Dr. Leonard Horowski for their assistance with reading and translation of this material.

Catherina's copy of *Brautschatz* was bequeathed to an Enneken Barckhauß, and although the relationship is unclear there is also a Maria Barckhauß named who was bequeathed a small sum of money. The other two titles specified, *Seelengärtlein*, and a *Himmlischer Rosen??thal?* (the text is unclear), were both bequeathed to another woman, Enneken Riemesdieck. The name Enneken is traditionally a diminutive of Anna, or Änneke, suggesting that these two were young. In addition to specifically passing on these books to women, she bestowed devotional items to women, one a Crucifix and two Marian images. She not only stipulates the women to whom these images are to go, but also specifies the particular image to which she refers, suggesting that there were numerous similar objects in the house. An image of the Virgin Mary, specifically identified as the one that is placed on Catherina's personal altar, she bequeathed to a widow (name is unclear), but only for the remainder of her life. After her death it should to go to the widow's daughter at the cloister in Ahlen. To a Gertrude Rottmans she willed a Sorrowful Marian image that was in the parlour. Finally, to Anna Remmen (possibly the widow of Conrad, the following text is not clear), the image of the Crucifix that hangs near her bed. That these images were named specifically along with their locations indicates that there were others of perhaps of lesser emotional or monetary value that would simply have been included with the "remainder of the estate" that was bequeathed to the "poor students" at the Mariannenhauß, a religious school.

Catharina Heimans and the other women who had inscribed their names into the abovementioned devotional titles, confirm not only literacy among women, but the particular use of devotional titles by women for domestic piety. That women inscribed their names in vernacular devotional texts supports the argument of the types of reading material available to women. Heimans bequests show that these works were passed onto other women demonstrating the confessional culture established by women. This in turn underscores the vital role of women for promulgating piety within the domestic sphere, indicating that it was indeed women who were responsible for the encouragement of younger generations of women to perpetuate a Catholic identity within the home.

Chapter Four

Image as illustration, establishing the image and text relationship

"A picture paints a thousand words." It is a cliché which carries some truth. Visual images are not only a common form of communication, but an effective one, thus their quick adoption in propaganda campaigns. Yet, without the understanding of the Christian message of salvation and redemption, the crucified Christ is simply an image of a tortured man hanging on a cross. Thus although images function with an inherent visual language, that visual language must first be learned and, as with every language it constantly evolves and changes. The values and the messages that lay behind the image must be understood or, like cultural satire removed from its context, are meaningless. Finally, external textual messages appended to images can direct their reception, thereby colouring the message.

The images examined here are neither new, nor necessarily identifiably Catholic. Rather they represent an established visual iconography that remained unchanged from the pre-Reformation Church. However, the accompanying text guides the viewer through the image in order to convey a specific Catholic confessional message. Like in modern advertising, the constantly repeated visual and textual messages both inform and colour how the viewer receives the information by directing and conditioning its interpretation. In order to understand the role of the image as illustration for text in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, it is important to understand why these images were useful. The devotional texts and the image-text relationships under investigation in this thesis present a natural progression of the use of text to direct the reading and understanding of the images, and the use of the image-text relationship as a meditational device. All of the titles contain several images, utilizing both woodcuts and intaglio techniques. This chapter is an exploration of the growth of the printing techniques, the textual colouring of a visual message, its development through the medium of print and examples of its use in devotional contexts. It also looks at book illustration and the development of the common visual language that made these images both familiar and functional. Finally, this chapter presents meditational image-text models used specifically for the initial works under investigation.

Devotional prints, the forerunner

Gregory the Great said: “images are the books of the laity”, a statement born out in its most clear manner through the graphic images that gained popularity from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Peter Schmidt stated that the printing of reproducible images was without doubt one of the greatest innovations of the later Middle Ages.[1] These early prints represented a relatively uncomplicated means of creating reproducible art that was both easily disseminated, and relatively inexpensive. Printmaking also represented the beginning of a type of “media revolution” that would be magnified by the printing press.[2]

A great many of the earliest known western prints were of a religious devotional nature, and employing this medium as an aid for prayer and contemplation set it upon its path as a “popular” and accessible art form.[3] The majority of these early *andachtsbildchen,* or devotional images were fairly simple in design and were used to give the viewer a visual representation to reflect upon for their prayers. These images were not meant as an end in themselves, but rather they were intended to aid the viewer in moving their focus from a material to a spiritual level.[4]

The bulk of these early devotional prints were created using the simplest printmaking technique, relief printing with wood blocks. The relief technique easily allows for hundreds of impressions with little damage to the woodblock matrix, thus it is assumed that with these quantities, woodcuts were created for popular consumption. Additionally, this simple technique was relatively inexpensive and affordable to almost all levels of society. That these prints were already popular in the fifteenth century is evidenced by a sermon where the preacher endorsed the use of these relatively inexpensive prints for encouraging piety in all levels of society.[5]

---

[1] Peter Schmidt, “The Multiple Image: The Beginnings of Printmaking, between Old Theories and New Approaches”, ed. Peter Parshall, Ranier Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking; Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 37.
[2] As addressed by Eisenstein in regards to moveable type printing. Peter Schmidt has pointed out, in the discussion about moveable type, image printmaking is largely absent, see his article, “The Multiple Image: The Beginnings of Printmaking, between Old Theories and New Approaches”, 37-56.
[3] The use of the term “popular” here is not without reservation as it is fraught with pitfalls and has yet to be conclusively proven.
[4] David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 67.
[5] Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image,* 67.

Relief prints: Woodcuts

Woodcut relief is thought to have been first used in Western Europe around the 1440's, and utilized the lengthwise soft wood of such trees as pear.[6] As the block functions like a stamp, the positive portions of the image were carved out of the block, leaving the negative portions of the image standing in relief. The block was then inked and printed in various ways. The most popular means of printing prior to the printing press were stamping the block on the paper or placing the paper on the block and rubbing it with a smooth object.

In its early stages, woodcut printing served as a source of inexpensive single-sheet devotional or votive images, chiefly images of Christ, the Virgin and child and the saints. The majority of these images are thought to have been designed, cut and printed in monastic workshops or by independent craftsmen, often called "Jesus makers" or "saint makers" in archival records.[7] Though often created in monastery or convent workshops they were meant for the lay public as well as the religious community. The popularity and wide distribution of these simple works is attributed to both the potential for mobility as small pieces of paper or cloth they were easily transported, and accessibility as they were relatively affordable most people could own at least one.

These *andachtsbildchen* were treasured as devotional items and served a number of different functions such as meditative, decorative or protective objects. They were valued for their use as a visual devotional aid or as a third-class relic having been touched to a first or second-class relic. Devotional images were also acquired as pilgrimage mementos, illustrations for religious books, pious reminders or protective talismans. These images were displayed and used in numerous ways such as being pasted onto a wall, pasted onto ecclesiastical or household furnishings such as chests or wardrobes, pasted or placed into in a book, or sewn into clothing. As a result of their accessible nature, these prints could redefine or heighten devotional practice through the viewing experience by means of the interaction between print and viewer.[8] Thus the

[6] The origin of printmaking in Western Europe is a rather contested point, and is difficult to determine with absolute accuracy, as woodblocks were used earlier for textile stamping, resulting in decorative wall hangings and religious articles.
[7] David Landau, Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 2.
[8] Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image,* 67.

function and the meaning of the image were dependent on how the viewer used it. Devotional images often included a prayer and bore the image of a particular saint or holy personage. The accompanying text was intended to guide the viewer through the devotional or meditative use of the image and the benefits it offered. They carried fairly standard promises of assistance tradition associated with the intercessory power corresponding with the saint.

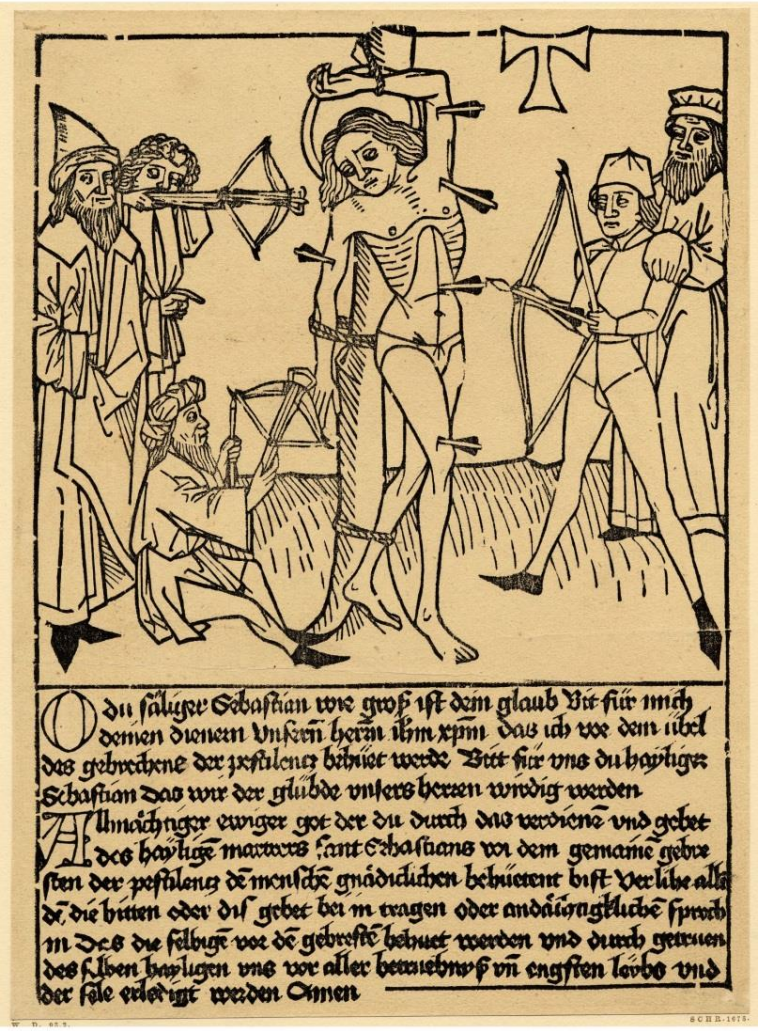

Figure 4.1 Anonymous, St. Sebastian, woodcut, 1470-75, British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum

This example of St. Sebastian created by an anonymous artist, figure 4.1, demonstrates this relationship with the image and accompanying text. The accompanying text requests the intercession of St. Sebastian with God on behalf of the supplicant. It petitions for mercy and protection from plague, and claims that this would

be granted through the bi-fold action of continual prayer of this text, and the wearing of this image.[9] St. Sebastian, known as the patron saint of athletes, soldiers and plague sufferers, is clearly indicated. Traditionally, St. Sebastian is shown with three main elements: he is bound to a tree or column, pierced with a varying number of arrows, and is accompanied by a varying number of Mauritanian archers. The text offers the words to say both praising God, and entreating his mercy through the intercession of St. Sebastian. The text guides the viewer through the image, briefly mentioning Sebastian's martyrdom and the arrows that pierced him, and relating his intercessory role. A prayer could be said without reading the text, yet the text guides the viewer through a specific series of steps from supplication and honour to request and gratitude that relate to this specific saint. Thus the spiritual value of this devotional image lies not in the image or text, but in its use by the viewer to envision the saint's intercessory role and speak the words of appeal in order to experience the supernatural. This example shows the basic relationship between image and text as explored in this thesis, which by the end of the sixteenth century was a longstanding and familiar relationship for the contemporary viewer.

Very few of these early prints survive due to a number of factors, the main reason being the relatively fragile nature of the material. Once they were damaged beyond use or no longer held emotional value, out of respect for the subject matter they were to be destroyed.[10] Those that still exist do so often in single impressions and frequently survive by having been pasted into books or onto furniture such as cabinets, chests, and wardrobes.[11] In his study of early single sheet woodcuts, Wilhelm Schreiber determined that of the approximately 5,235 surviving early European woodcuts, only

[9] "Bit für uns du haylige Sebastian das wir der glübde unsers herren wurdig warden…Allmächtiger ewiger got der du durch das verdiene und gebet des Häylige martyres sant Sebastians vor dem gemaine gebuesten der pestilenz de mensche gnädichlichen behüetent bist …alle di die bitten oder dis gebet beym tragen oder andäwagtliche sprach in Des die selbige vor de gebrefte behuet werden…"

[10] The disposal of blessed objects should be either burial or burning, and out of respect, unblessed but devotional objects were often treated to the same ultimate fate.

[11] There are many examples of this practice found in furniture in museum collections, however unless pasted in, few remain in books found in library or museum collections, most having been removed for their individual value or for their lack of direct connection to the text in the book. Thus decontextualized, the background of many early prints is nearly impossible to determine.

roughly seven percent exist in more than a single impression.[12] When one considers that a wood block was capable of printing hundreds of impressions and many survive in only one, the magnitude of lost images becomes clear. Thus these devotional images both alone and in conjunction with text would have been widely available and financially accessible by the end of the fifteenth century, and were both common and popular expressions of piety for centuries prior to the seventeenth century.

The role of the woodcut expanded dramatically with the rise of book publishing in the mid-fifteenth century as it was adopted as the most effective means of illustrating moveable type. The woodcut proved perfectly suited to moveable type printing as both are relief printing techniques which can be printed on the same press. Previous to the use of moveable type, the text found on devotional images was carved into the woodblock along with the image. Thus woodcut images were used to encourage piety and/or visually support text, but these images could also be used with text to which they may or may not have an intrinsic relationship.

Following an established tradition of text illustration

Illustrated books were not a new invention of the early modern period as the use of images in connection with Biblical texts can be found in some of the earliest manuscripts in the form of small visual identifying images in the illuminated initials. Illuminated initials were placed prior to chapter and verse identifiers, and would present a subject that could distinguish the Biblical book, relating such information as the main figure of the book, a major incident, or the opening text.[13] The use of illuminations in Psalters as early as the eighth century also contributed to the visual vocabulary used in later devotional books. The images were not so much depictions of the text in the Psalter, as cycles of freestanding pictures which reflect both the Old and New Testaments.[14] These Psalters often reflect the typology developed by the Patristic writers, illustrating the parallels of the Old and New Testament, the prefigurations of Christ, emphasising the fall and the redemption of mankind. These early typologies form

[12] Wilhelm Schreiber, *Der Formschnitt seine Geschichte, Abarten, Technik, Entwicklung und seine ikonologische Grundlagen*, 7 vols., (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1929).
[13] Christopher De Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible*, (New York: Phaidon, 2001), 140.
[14] De Hamel, *The Book,*143.

the foundations of the visual vocabulary used in the later devotional texts and ultimately the images considered in this thesis.

A type of medieval picture book that is valuable today for contributing to our understanding of the visual vocabulary illustrating typology and allegory are *Bibles Moralisées*. Privately commissioned, these books would not have been seen by the greater populous yet they evince well-known literary ideas and concepts through an established visual vocabulary. The visual vocabulary utilized here would later be used to illustrate more popular works such as the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Gulden puchlein* and later *Bibles.*

Image and text as a meditational device

The *Biblia Pauperum* is an early example of a book with intrinsically linked image and text that was used for religious devotion. The *Biblia Pauperum* presents the complex subject of salvation condensed in a narrative of image and text, demanding of the reader knowledge of Biblical text, doctrine and a visual vocabulary. Because it used an established visual vocabulary, the theological position and typological connections would have been relatively accessible to contemporary readers.[15] The typology used in the *Biblia Pauperum* was a way of viewing the world and its history as a unified story under the direction of God, popular in early Christianity as a means of creating parallels between the Old and New Testaments. To the medieval theologian certainly, events in the Gospels had been proclaimed in advance.[16]

The *Biblia Pauperum* is a series of xylographic block books thought to have been first written in the mid-thirteenth century. The pages of the *Biblia Pauperum* (typically 40) are each composed of three principle images with short texts distributed around these scenes. The pages follow the same pattern of three registers, figure 4.2, all containing images. The narrative is established by the central scene in the central register which provides the “chronology” for the text beginning with the annunciation and ending with Christ giving the crown of eternal life, this scene is called the *antitype*. The flanking scenes are usually from the Old Testament are presented as prefigurations or

[15] Avril Henry, *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987),18.
[16] Andrew Wilson, Joyce Lancaster Wilson. *A Medieval Mirror Speculum humanae salvationis 1324-1500.* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1984), 25.

foreshadowing of the *antitype*, they are called the *types*. The placement of the *types* and *antitypes* follows an established understanding of Typology formulated in the early Christian period. According to this typology, the flanking images are prophecies, and the central image the fulfillment of the prophecy, however unrelated they may initially appear. This use of images to present the fulfilment of prophecies as laid out in the text of the Old and New Testaments reinforced the established use of images for religious devotions. Employing this established use of images to identify and characterize the narrative in the text allowed these books to be appreciated and understood by a wider audience.

Figure 4.2, Anonymous, "Judas Betrays Jesus", *Biblia Pauperum*, Lower Rhein, Netherlands region, c.1460, replica, private collection.

The *Antitype* from the New Testament chronology in the centre of figure 4.2 is that of Judas discussing with the chief priests how he might betray Jesus in. The Old Testament *Types* on either side are “Joseph’s Brothers betray him”, showing the bloodied cloak of David presented to Jacob to deceive him into believing Joseph was slain by animals, and “Absalom betrays David”, showing Absalom coveting the crown and scepter plotting to overthrow David. The accompanying text above each of the *Types* summarizes the scriptural episodes of the *Types* from Genesis 37 and 2 Kings 15 respectively. All three images refer to betrayal, the two *types* establishing the betrayal of a brother and father both Joseph and David having divine blessing and mandates upon their lives. In a similar manner, Judas and Absalom are compared for their sin of greed, and the brothers and Judas for their jealousy. The Old Testament betrayals foreshadow that of the innocent Christ. This kind of complex meditative reading is central to the image-text relationship in pre-modern and early modern devotional books.

In its combination of text, typology and visual vocabulary, the *Biblia Pauperum* was not a simple salvation message or a simple history. Rather it presented a complex web of visual connections through which the viewer is guided by the accompanying text. This iconography and its presentation in the *Biblia Pauperum* was influential in a number of mediums and became adopted as a model.[17]

The fifteenth century *Gulden puchlein* (Golden booklet), is a series of woodcut cycles presenting the life and suffering of Christ, derived from the same prototype.[18] What distinguishes the *Gulden puchlein* from the *Biblia Pauperum* is the planned incorporation of separately created single sheet images into a pre-existing manuscript text. The book consists of printed images placed within the text, often opposite handwritten prayers bound together creating a complete work of image and text. The use of image and text in this particular manner, although not printed or written together but rather being pieced together prior to binding, confirms a conscious effort made for the relationship between the two elements. The image-text relationship found in the *Gulden puchlein* further demonstrates the standardization of iconography and

[17] Lucien Febvre, Henri-Jean, Martin, *The Coming of the Book The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, (London: NLB,1976), 94.
[18] Schmidt, “The Multiple Image”, 46.

composition, reinforcing the established visual vocabulary used in devotional works, and ensuring the widespread devotional use of woodcut images.[19] Additionally, the *Gulden puchlein* was created and intended for a female audience, the Dominican St. Catherine's Cloister in Nürnberg.[20] The *Gulden puchlein* presents a clear example of the cooperation between book production and the graphic arts in a devotional text aimed at women.[21]

Thus though the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Gulden puchlein* were quite different in their approach to the meditative material of the life of Christ, and neither demonstrate the printing of image and movable text together, they both show an earlier dependence on the relationship between the text and the image to present the overall message.

Illustrating moveable type

The use of woodcuts to illustrate moveable type books is credited to Albrecht Pfister, a printer based in Bamberg who inserted wood blocks beside the text.[22] This combination was quickly adopted as woodblocks and moveable letters could be printed on the same press. The rapid rise in popularity of illustrated books was due in part to the flourishing printmaking industry in fifteenth-century Germany. The woodcuts used in the early works are simplistic, and reminiscent of the economy of line used in simple woodcut devotional images. The purpose of these images was to amplify and support the text not to produce a work of art.[23]

Although the Gutenberg Bible was not illustrated, other early Bibles were, and like the meditational devotional works mentioned above, woodcuts were used to illustrate the text and visually assist the reader in understanding the message of the text.[24] This visual assistance is akin to that previously done through artwork placed in churches. As explained in an illustrated Bible from Köln dated 1478, the images were to

---

[19] Schmidt, "The Multiple Image", 46.
[20] Peter Schmidt, *Gedruckte Bilder in Handgeschriebenen Büchern Zum Gebrauch von Druckgraphik im 15. Jahrhundert*, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 22.
[21] Schmidt, "The Multiple Image", 46.
[22] Febvre, *The Coming of the Book,* 90.
[23] Febvre, *The Coming of the Book*, 91.
[24] The Gutenberg Bible may have been a rather simple work lacking illustrations as it came from the printer, however there is no surviving work that is undecorated. Unfortunately there is little to no indication as to when this was done. Additionally, these works are all decorated by hand, rather than by having previously printed images inserted or pasted into the binding. De Hamel, *The Book,* 211.

offer "enjoyment of the readers, but also as illustration, and in order to better understand the biblical contents the illustrations have been associated with the book."[25] The *Kölner Bibel* provides illustration of the Biblical text through an impressive 113 coloured woodcuts. This Bible was written in the local dialect of Köln and is one of eighteen vernacular language Bibles printed prior to the Luther translation.[26] The composition and the presentation of the scenes were in turn used as an archetype for Bible illustration until the Reformation.

Illustration to accompany text was not solely used for religious works, but its value was understood and employed in secular works dated to the outset of printing. This can be seen for example in *placards* - handbills or broadsheets which were used for both religious subject matter such as the Protestant polemic but also to political subject matter to both prescribe behaviour and inform the citizenry.[27] Christian Jouhaud explored the relationship between text and image for *placards*, concluding that it was a vital association.[28] He explains that the use of text and image made *placards* accessible to a broad range of society, and discovered that these works were not only mass produced, but could be found in "all places and streetcorners."[29] Like the early devotional prints, these works were actively consumed, and because of this they were rarely preserved.[30]

---

[25] "…Unde ouck ymme dat meere ghenoechde unde leefde kreghe dee mynsche dese werige hyllighe schrifft tho lesen unde sin tyt dar mede nuytlick thoe ghebruken: sint in etlicken enden unde Capittulen figuren ghesat. Soe see van oldes ouck nock in veelen Kercken unn cloesteren ghemaelt staen:welcke ock dat suluen de oghen er toenen unde meer erclaren: dat de text des Capitels dar man de figuren vinded ynne hefft." Hildegard Reitz, *Die Illustrationen der "Kölner Bibel",* (Düsseldorf: Zentral-Verlag für Dissertationen Triltsch, 1959), 15.

[26] There were two printings of this book thought to have come from Köln, the first in 1478 the second a year later in 1479. There are also two vernacular languages that were used for the printings, one an old Sachsen (alt Sächsen) dialect and the other from the Rhein (alte nederrhein) of which there are only 20 known extant copies. Rudolph Kautzsch, ed, *Die Kölner Bibel: 1478/1479 Kommentarbd. Zum Faksimile 1979 der Kölner Bibel 1478/1479: Studien zur Entstehung und Illustreierung der ersten niederdeutschen Bibel,* (Amsterdam: Buijten& Schipperhejn, 1981), 11.

[27] Christian Jouhaud, "Readability and Persuasion: Political Handbills", Roger Chartier, ed, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 235.

[28] Jouhaud, "Readability and Persuasion", 235.

[29] Jouhaud, "Readability and Persuasion", 236.

[30] Only one collection of 46 sheets remains today from a private collection of L'Estoile who stated his collection of posters and lampoons made up "four large volumes." The collection is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

To fill the printing houses' demand for images, schools of illustrators grew up in great publishing centres, and both influenced and were influenced by other artistic mediums and by local techniques and styles.[31] The mobile nature of both the printed impressions and the printing medium of woodcut blocks and intaglio plates played a central role in the diffusion of regional styles, compositions and symbolic visual interpretations throughout Europe. Both the impressions and the blocks and plates were purchased, given as gifts or even brought with printers as they moved from printing house to printing house, as attested by the *Crucifixion* printing block considered in chapter five. Febvre points out that printers from the Rhine Valley "took blocks with them when they left home to work elsewhere, or cut new blocks themselves for the books they printed."[32] Additionally, early illustrated books demonstrate that there were a number of illustrators/engravers who tried their hand at printing, and it appears that these engraver-printers either worked their own images, or had colleagues who did.[33] This movement of printing blocks and transmission of compositions and designs is evidenced clearly through this project, showing that in an area that was not a major printing centre, the illustrations, whether in woodblock or intaglio plate form, came most often from elsewhere.

Intaglio images and their use for illustrations

Intaglio devotional prints originated in the early to mid-fifteenth century, and initially these early works were often only slightly more sophisticated than their woodcut contemporaries. Intaglio, Italian for "between the lines", is a technique which utilizes a soft metal plate on which the design is physically engraved with a burin, the plate is then inked, and wiped clean with the ink of the design found within the lines. Although early intaglio images, like those of the woodcuts were printed by a rubbing technique, this was soon followed by the development of the high pressure intaglio press. Engravings from this early period were worked on copper plates allowing for greater freedom of line for the engraver, permitting more detail and a finer image. The combination of the soft

[31] Febvre, *The Coming of the Book*, 92.
[32] Febvre, *The Coming of the Book*, 91.
[33] Alfred Pollard, *Early Illustrated Books*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.,1893), 39, 44, 46.

copper plates, and the high pressure intaglio press gave these images a “built-in” rarity value, as the number of good impressions that can be pulled from a plate is limited unlike that of a woodblock.[34] Intaglio requires more expensive materials, and was therefore more costly to produce and more expensive to purchase.

The combination of materials, design possibilities and expense created an early collectors market. Modern understanding of the early intaglio technique and the prints from this period is indebted to a great extent to this collectors market. The survival rate of intaglio prints is higher than that of woodcuts simply because once collected they were more likely to be preserved, one common method being pasting images into albums which were housed in private libraries.

Some of the earliest known intaglio artists have been grouped by style and have names that allude to who they may be, but like woodblock cutters, most are unknown. One such example is the Master ES, designated so because of the initials he inscribed on his later plates, whose legacy is dominated by devotional images. The direction that intaglio as a technique took in Northern Europe was determined largely by the work of Martin Schongauer. Working in the 1480’s, Schongauer would prove to be the first identified painter/engraver associated with the medium and worked with both sacred and secular imagery. The promotion of this already more costly medium by an established painter offered a legitimization that determined its future at the top of the hierarchy of reproducible media techniques. Schongauer introduced a more painterly appearance into his images and his training as an artist gave his works greater depth and a complexity in composition rarely seen in earlier prints. Schongauer influenced Albrecht Dürer who would prove to be one of the most influential artists and printmakers of his time, and would go on to influence generations of artists. Dürer’s oeuvre is expansive, extending over relief and intaglio techniques, single sheet images and book illustrations, and encompassing both religious and secular subjects. Although Dürer has been credited for the reinvigoration of the single sheet woodcut, he also contributed to woodcut images specifically intended for book illustration, notably the *Liber Chronicarum* or *Nuremberg Chronicle.* Dürer’s influence on printing techniques,

[34] This can be seen clearly in chapter eight, when comparing images from the 1631 and the 1659 editions of the *Brautschatz.*

composition and style is evident in the designers of the books under investigation in this thesis, specifically in the *Catechismus und Betböklin* is considered in chapter five.

Emblem books and their influence

The Emblem is a combination of image and text that together form a specific message. As Alain Boureau argues, the rhetorical and intellectual roots of the emblem are lost but what can be definitively identified is the collection of emblems as a publishing phenomenon.[35] From its first printing in Germany in 1531, the emblem as described by Andrea Alciati became a pan-European phenomenon used in both secular and, less often, sacred images.[36] Emblem books, though primarily a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century phenomenon, rose in popularity in the mid sixteenth century and continued to be used into the eighteenth century. Emblems are comprised of three parts, a Latin title or *motto*, an image or *device,* and a short often moralizing and explanatory text which is sometimes in Latin but more frequently in the vernacular. Emblems were meant to convey a message, which could be rhetorical, glorifying, intellectual, or, most often moral. Alciati was a humanist scholar who looked to antiquity for many of his emblems and though the majority of emblems carry moral messages, they were not necessarily Christian. Boureau explained that the books of moralizing emblems with their heroic devices captured the intellectual heritage of Christian representation and secularized it.[37] This cross-over underscored the potential for the use of emblems as tools for religious propaganda. Christianity seized this genre turning it into a kind of illustrated and worldly catechism.[38] The potential of the emblem for intellectual yet religious instruction was also recognized by the Jesuits, though largely not until the seventeenth century.[39]

---

[35] Alain Boureau, "Books of Emblems on the Public Stage: *Côté jardin* and *côté cour*", Roger Chartier, ed, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 261.
[36] Adreas Alciato, *Viri clarissimi D. Andree Alciati iurisconsultiss. Mediol ... emblematum liber*, (Augsburg: H. Steyner, 1531).
[37] Boureau, "Books of Emblems on the Public Stage", 267.
[38] Boureau, "Books of Emblems on the Public Stage", 269.
[39] Alison Saunders, "The sixteenth-century French emblem book as a form of religious literature", ed. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, Philip Conner, *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 40.

Emblems were highly coded images, which could both enlighten but also conceal their message to the reader. The audience for emblems was limited to the literate and educated as messages were meant for the learned or culturally-informed viewer/reader. Emblems often represent abstract concepts but were meant to cause the viewer/reader to self-reflect on a specific moral message. Although the images found within the texts of this thesis do not utilize the emblem tradition, it is nonetheless valuable when exploring image text relationships as it influenced the Jesuits who wrote much of the devotional literature in this study.

Image-Text Models – Direct forerunners

The devotional texts of this study were framed by earlier books that established the image-text relationship for meditation and devotion. More specifically, both the *Rosario Della Gloriosa Vergine*, and Hans Holbein's *Dance of Death* provided visual models for the woodcuts of the *Vita Christi* series used in both the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* and *Vita Christi*. In addition to providing compositional inspiration to the *Vita Christi* woodcut series, these earlier works attest to the mobile nature of books throughout Europe and their widespread influence. This widespread influence assured the standardization of the established iconographic visual vocabulary in devotional works. The *Köln Catechismus* also exemplifies the movement of books throughout Germany, and reveals that woodblocks also moved between printing houses. Through the first known use of a block from the woodcut *Vita Christi* series in Köln, it confirms the connections between the printing houses in Köln and Münster. It is clear through both the objectives of the texts and the comparison of the images in the following chapters that these earlier works served as models for the authors, designers and woodcutters of the images and texts in this thesis.

Rosario Della Gloriosa Vergine

The *Rosario Della Gloriosa Vergine,* written by the Italian Dominican Alberto da Castello, consists of images and texts which led the reader through the devotional formula of prayers of the Rosary. The *Rosario* functioned as both a model for how the image-text relate to and support one another, and a visual prototype for a number of the

images in the *Vita Christi* series. The *Rosario* is an extensively illustrated work, presenting woodcut images for each of the one hundred fifty prayers of the Rosary, in addition to images for the introduction to the confraternity, its history, formation, Papal approval, method of teaching, and spread throughout Europe.

The Rosary, one of the most popular forms of Marian devotion, is thought to stem from the twelfth century when, according to legend, it had been given to St. Dominic. [40] Although the origins of the Rosary itself are difficult to prove, the confraternity of the Rosary can be clearly traced. It received Papal approval on September 8, 1475 and grew rapidly in popularity.[41] It was organized in Köln by Jacob Sprenger O.P. who wrote and published the first basic instructions to the confraternity in 1476.[42] *Unser Lieben Frauen Psalter,* his second publication dated to 1489, attained a wide circulation. *Unser Lieben Frauen Psalter* was a precursor to the "Rosary Picture Books" because of its illustrations of the mysteries of the Rosary through simple woodcut images framed by pictured Rosary beads.[43] The most successful picture book of the Confraternity, the *Rosario Della Gloriosa Vergine,* made significant contributions to the "Rosary Picture Books" genre due to its illustration of each of the Hail Mary's.[44] The popularity of the *Rosario* by Castello, first published in Venice in 1522, is attested to by the eighteen Italian editions, and its translation into both French and German by 1579 and 1599 respectively.[45]

The book is divided into sections, the introduction which provides a history of the Rosary and the confraternity, the purpose and benefits of praying the Rosary, and finally the prayers. The prayers of the Rosary in the *Rosario* are divided into the Joyful,

---

[40] Direct documentary evidence of this event is lacking, and it seems the legend developed over time, as did the physical form of the Rosary. Thurston, Herbert. "Hail Mary." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 7. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910, Retrieved October 21, 2013 from New Advent: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07110b.htm.

[41] Richard Gribble, C.S.C., *The History and Devotion of the Rosary,* (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, c.1992), 65-66.

[42] Gribble, C.S.C., *The History and Devotion of the Rosary,* 67.

[43] The images are set five roundels to the page, and illustrate the Joyous, Sorrowful and Glorious Mysteries. A good example printed in Augsburg from 1502 can be viewed online though the Deustche Forschungsgemeinschaft; http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0000/bsb00007415/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00007415&seite=30.

[44] A digitized copy of a later edition this work printed in Venice in 1591 is available through the Research Library, The Getty Research Institute: http://www.archive.org/details/rosariodellaglor00cast.

[45] Gribble, C.S.C., *The History and Devotion of the Rosary,* 68. Anne Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 60.

Sorrowful and Glorious Mysteries, each of which has five mysteries or events, and in accordance with the Rosary, each event has ten prayers. Each prayer in the *Rosario* begins with a framed full-page image containing a title, and a full page of framed text on the facing page.

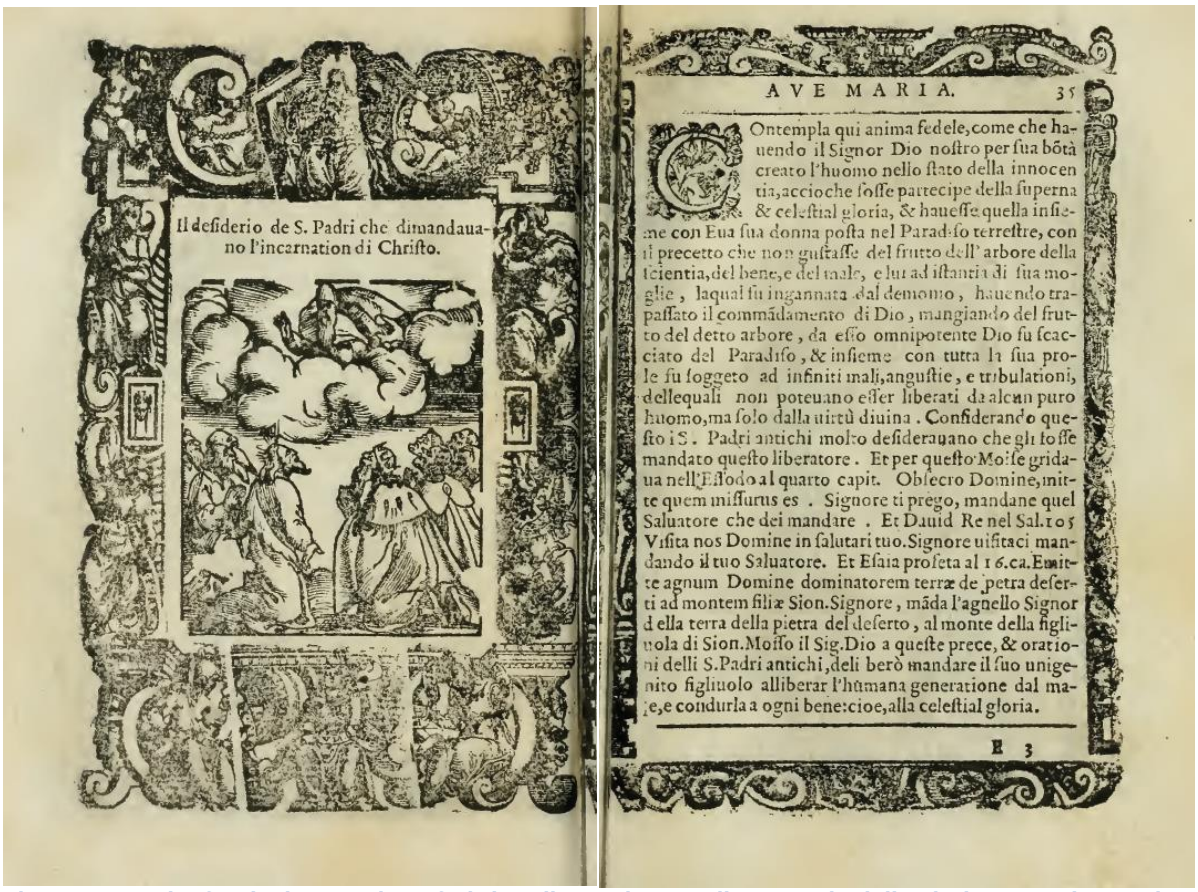

Figure 4.3 Desire for the incarnation of Christ Alberto da Castello, *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria: con le stationi, & indulgentie delle Chiese di Roma per tutto l'anno: di nuouo stampato, & ricorretto con nuoue & belle figure adornato*, Presso Gio. Antonio Bertano, Venetia, 1591. Getty Research Institute online at the Internet Archive.

Figure 4.3 shows the format of the *Rosario Della Gloriosa Vergine*, with the image and short title on the left, and the descriptive text, petition and prayers on the right. Both pages are framed by woodcut image borders. Almost all of the prayers have an individual image as there are very few repeated impressions. The images demonstrate the experiences of Mary and Jesus as described in the Mysteries, as well as aspects of their character to be modeled by the petitioner. The text contains descriptions of the figures in the image, as well as prayers and encouragement for the reader. The combination of image and text guide the viewer/reader through the

devotional intent of the Mysteries providing not only the words to be spoken, but also a visual connection to focus on.

The *Rosario Della Gloriosa Vergine* provided a direct influence on the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* through the composition of a number of the images, the arrangement of the image-text relationship physically on facing pages, and the descriptive text with a prayer that both supports and is supported by the image. This instrumental model for the *Catechismus und Betböklin* printed in Venice confirms the mobile nature of printed books. It also proves the international influence of devotional books on authors and printers in other countries in the early modern period.

Holbein's Dance of Death

The *Dance of Death* or *Totentanz* was a series of images first appeared in large scale fresco painting format that functioned as a *memento mori* reflecting the vanities of life, and presenting the great equalizer, death. Although initially emerging in the Middle Ages, Hans Holbein's woodcut series would prove to have the most lasting impact of the *Dance of* Death, and redefine the genre. Holbein's woodcuts transformed this series into a format for personal reflection by taking it from large-scale painting to printmaking.[46] The images from Holbein's *Dance of Death* date from approximately 1526. The first printing with simple German titles is known as a series of proofs.[47] Holbein's *Dance of Death* was first published in folio format in 1538, and proved a popular series frequently copied after its publication. The title of the earliest edition was "*Les Simulachres & Historiées Faces de la Mort autant elegamment pourtraictes, que artificiellement imaginées*" which was printed primarily in French but included Latin Biblical text with the images.[48] The popularity of this work cannot be overstated. The *Dance of Death* was printed in six editions in less than twenty-five years, not including the various translations and imitations of the original.[49] The *Dance of Death* exemplifies the image-text relationship. The author accompanied each image with an excerpt from

[46] Austin Dobson, *The Dance of Death*, (Boston: Scott-Thaw Company, Heintzemann Press, 1903), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21790/21790-h/21790-h.htm#h2H_4_0005, accessed August 20, 2011.
[47] Hans Ganz, *Der Totentanz: Vierzig Holzschnitte*, (München: Holbein-Verlag), 1914, iii.
[48] Because of the use of image, Latin quote and French poetic text, argument has been made that it is an emblem book, though this is not generally agreed upon.
[49] Dobson, *The Dance of Death*, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21790/21790-h/21790-h.htm#h2H_4_0005, accessed August 20, 2011.

the Latin Vulgate including chapter location, and a rhyming vernacular quatrain connecting the Biblical passage with the image and a moralizing message. In the *Dance of Death*, the text and image present an intrinsic relationship that is a result of the interplay of the mediums.

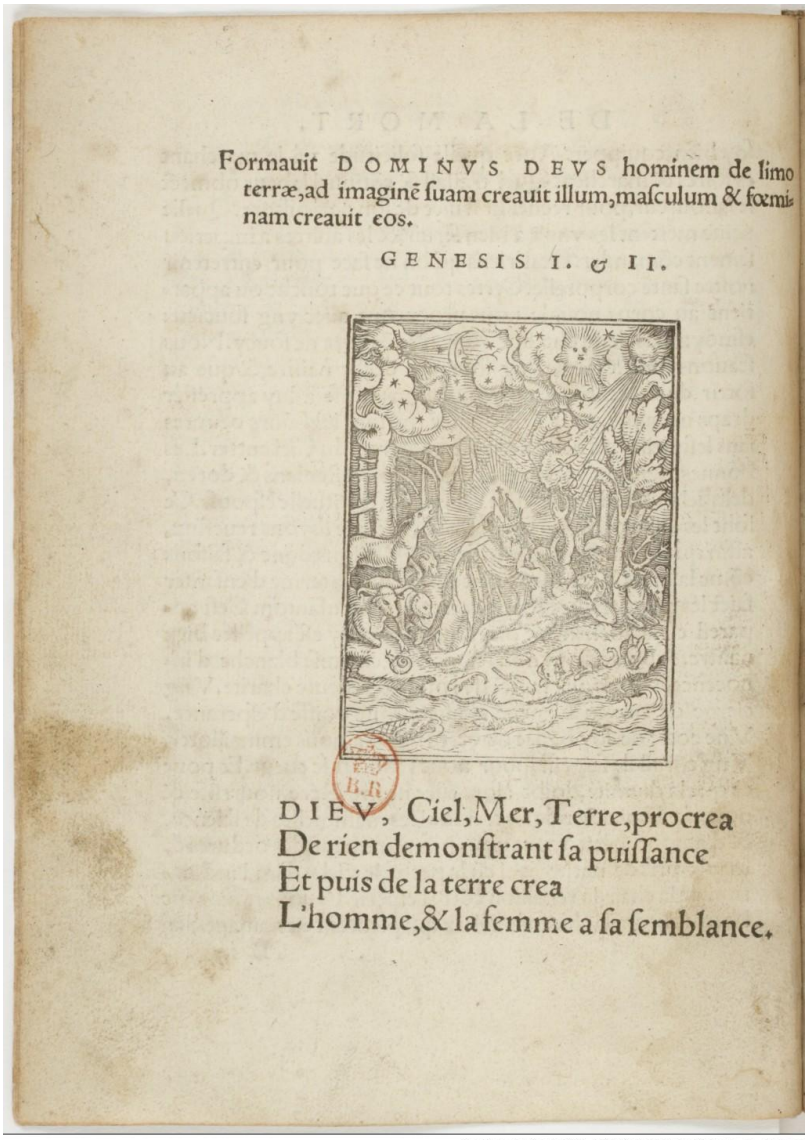

Figure 4.4 Hans Holbein, The Creation, Jean de Vauzelles, Gilles Corrozet *Les simulachres et historiées faces de la mort, autant élégamment pourtraictes, que artificiellement imagines*, soubz l'escu de Coloigne, Lyon, 1538, Bibliothèqe nationale de France.

The Creation, as shown in figure 4.4, exemplifies how the *Dance of Death* presented the image and text, with the Latin biblical text and reference above the image, the image in the centre of the page, and the French verses below. The Latin text

is a reference from Genesis chapter one: “God created man in his own image.” The French text provides a description of the image in rhyming verse. The Creation is the first of the images in the *Dance of Death*, and is one of the four images showing scenes from the Old Testament. Rather than the creation of Adam, Holbein depicts the creation of Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam. God is pictured drawing out Eve from the side of Adam with both hands, while Eve reaches her hands up towards the face of God. Holbein has also included a suggestion of the previous six days of creation with the inclusion of the sun, moon and stars, and a wide selection of animals, all of whom witness the drawing out of Eve from Adam’s side.

The *Dance of Death,* though primarily focussed on death as a skeleton collecting people from all walks of life, begins with four Old Testament images, the Creation, the Temptation, the Expulsion, and finally Adam and Eve tilling the earth. Of these four scenes, two are in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* and appear almost identical to those of Holbein, namely *the Creation,* and *the Expulsion*. Although neither the *Dance of Death,* nor the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* focus on the Old Testament, these images set the stage for those that follow. This sequence from the Old Testament visually establishes death in the world for and the necessity of the redemption of Christ. Additionally, the use of these two Old Testament images in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* creates a contrast between Eve as the instrument of the fall of mankind, and Mary as the instrument for the birth of Christ as redeemer.

The Köln Catechismus

The Köln *Catechismus* printed in 1589 provided a model for the confessional language, style of presentation, and the first image block of the *Vita Christi* series. The image-text relationship used in the Köln *Catechismus* set the tone for the Raesfeldt printing house providing an in-house model for the use of images and text to promote a confessional message.

Ties with larger established Catholic printing houses in Köln were imperative for business in the smaller centre of Münster. These connections were important not only for the printing trade, but also for the Catholic confessional culture as Ernst von Bayern Prince-Bishop of Münster, was also the Archbishop Elector of Köln. Lambert Raesfeldt

had links with distinguished Catholic printers such as Johann Gymnich, Peter Henning, and one of the most prominent printing houses in Köln of the period, Quentel.[50] Quentel was the printer at the forefront of the Catholic reform movement in Köln. From the mid-sixteenth century theological material dominated the printing output of Quentel with a wide spectrum from writings of church fathers to edifying devotional texts.[51] Additionally, the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* was commissioned as a reprint of an earlier edition printed by Quentel in Köln.[52]

The 1589 Köln *Catechismus,* a vernacular devotional text, illustrates that the first wave of Catholic confessionalization experienced in Münster was very similar to that of Köln. The *Catechismus* reflects the confessional direction of the Quentel printing house which over four generations through the sixteenth century moved from printing primarily humanist works in Latin to printing a wide variety of titles in the vernacular.[53] This particular title, a catechism combined with a prayer book, provided a model for the aggressive anti-Protestant stance and language found in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*. The title page of the Köln *Catechismus* asserts that "within is a short presentation of all points of teaching from the only true Church the Catholic religion, with foundational refutation against all offered error/ extended and delineated with many devotional prayers and tactics."[54] The work was dedicated specifically to the Prince and Princess, Duke Johan Wilhelm Duke of Julich-Cleve Berg, Count of the Mark and Ravensberg, Lord of Ravenstein etc. and his beloved bride Lady Jacobea Duchess of Julich-Cleve and Berg, countess of Mark and Ravensberg, Lady of Ravenstein born Margravine of Baden. Significantly this book is dedicated not only to the Duke, but also

---

[50] These business ties benefitted the printing houses as they were able to divide the financial risk of printing various titles, the business ties also encouraged co-operation between printing houses at the Frankfurt Book Fair. Haller, "Köln und die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Westfalen", 441.

[51] Wolfgang Schmitz, "Familie Quentel (1479-1639), Kölner Drucker- und Verlegerdynastie", accessed August 4, 2012, http://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/persoenlichkeiten/Q/Seiten/FamilieQuentel.aspx.

[52] In the preface of the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, it states that this work was re-printed because the first catechism was long out of print, although still sought after: "Nach dem auer dat vorgemelte Böcklin gedruckt und verdeilet worden ist: Also dat man lange iydt her kein Exemplar daruan heft können bekommen/Ist tho mehrmalen begehret worden..." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* Aiii. No extant copy of the earlier edition is known.

[53] Wolfgang Schmitz, *Die Überlieferung Deutscher Texte im Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, (Köln: Habilitationsschrift Universität zu Köln, 1990), 434-457.

[54] "In welchen kürtzlich alle Lehreartickel der alleinseligmachenden Catholischen Religion/mit gründtlicher Widerlegung dargegen eingebrachter Irrthumben/außgefüret/und vil andechtige Gebett und Betrachtung begriffen." Petrum Michaelem S.J., *Catechismus*, (Cöln: Calenium/und die Erben Johan Quentels, 1589), title page, ULB G+3 303b.

assumes that it is of value to, and would be read by, his wife, supporting the assertion that this devotional title was also aimed at a female readership. The foreword goes on to declare this "short statement of the Catholic religion was written and printed on occasion of this lamentable time…" and, "…how useful such a small book is to that Christian folk who are confused and wound in error to show them the right way and difference of the true religion."[55] The text sets out to aggressively combat the error of Protestantism, and claims to provide a means of winning back those who have strayed.

The text opens with the same crucifixion image and image placement as the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*. [56] This crucifixion image is the only image in the Köln *Catechismus* but plays a significant role for setting the tone of the text. Although it is the same woodcut block as that used in the Münster publication there is no evidence of an agreement for the sale or loan of the printing block from one printing house to the other. Nor is the artist or woodblock cutter known. Woodblock cutters were often unacknowledged, and the majority of woodblocks used for book illustration were unsigned and most often neither the designer, nor block cutter are known.[57] Judging from the style of the block, it is the same artist who created the rest of the series, though it is possible that they were created at different times. Stylistic elements suggest the image derived from central Germany, but it is impossible to say where the blocks were cut.[58]

The use of this image prior to the body of the text is unsurprising considering the nature of the book. The Catechism is a summary of doctrine, in which salvation through

---

[55] "…einen kurtzen Bericht Catholischer Religion nach gelegenheit dieser erbarmlicher zeit/zu stellen/und in Truck zu verfertigen.", "…wie nutzlich und notwendig solche Büchlin seind/mit welchen das arm/verworren/und in irrthumb gewicklet Christlich volck/zu rechter erkantnuß und underscheid wahrer Religion", Michaelem, S.J., *Catechismus*, 2r,4v.

[56] This image placement was a printer's decision not the patron upon binding, as is shown from exemplars in both Münster (ULB G+3 303b) and Köln (Diözesan-und Dombibliothek 1983.317).

[57] In an account book of the Quentel printer dated from 1577-1585 the cost of the woodcuts were negligible, "...die Kosten für diese Holzschnitte sind nicht unerheblich; z.B. werden für einen Titel zu "schreiben" 20 Albus, für die "Hölzer" dazu 20 Albus, die ganze Herstellung 76 Albus gezahlt" Georg Domel, "Aus der Buchführung der Quentelschen Druckerei in Köln in den Jahren 1577 bis 1585", *Deutscher Buch-Und Steindrucker* 19 (1912):79-82. Also, according to Domel, 20 Albus was the same cost for water freight of a bail of paper, or a few hours pay for a trained printer.

[58] "Den Holzschnitt halte ich für mitteldeutsch (Frankfurt / Mainz/Hanau/maximal Bamberg/Strasburg) wegen der Gesichter der Menschen - zumindest das Vorbild - dann vielleicht in Köln oder anderswo nachgeschnitten." Andreas Grundmann, Antiquariat, to Sandra Herron, August 17, 2011.

the sacrifice of Christ is a cornerstone. Using this image then as the opening for the text creates a visual cue of the reverence with which the reader should approach it.

Figure 4.5 Crucifixion woodcut, from P. Michaelem, S.J., Catechismus, Gerwinum Calenium/und die Erben Johan Quentels, Cöln, 1589, ULB Münster.

The image, figure 4.5, is a familiar composition with three crosses, Christ is in the middle and Mary and John are placed on either side at the foot of the cross. Mary is

shown to the right of Jesus, establishing the significance of her role.[59] The hill of Golgotha is represented by the skull on the ground at the base of the cross of Jesus, and the soldiers and the crowd are represented by the figures in the background.[60] To create a tight composition the two thieves are presented physically facing Christ. The repentant thief is placed to Christ's right, and is shown making eye contact with Christ, whereas the unrepentant thief to Christ's left looks away.[61] The composition underlines the message to the faithful, that when one turns away from Christ, one turns away from salvation. The text on the facing page reinforces this message of salvation stating in strong confessional language "Part one, the Catholic statement from the true Christian Religion."[62] The image-text relationship here clearly communicates the Catholic confessionalization message, pointing out the dangers of turning away from the "true faith" of Catholicism. The repentant thief was the first human to benefit from Jesus' salvific act on the cross.[63] The text continues, stating that the only comfort from this veil of tears is the salvation of Christ granted through his act on the cross, an act that the repentant individual connects to through the one true Church.[64] The image provides visually the connection between the institutional church as represented by Christ and the repentant followers as represented by the repentant thief. This textual statement emphasises the visual emotional impact of the salvific act. Thus the image of the Crucifixion embodies the both the potential of images to generate religious effect, as well as the purpose of the book as a whole. The juxtaposition of the crucifixion with the text stating this salvation comes through the Catholic Church is clearly meant to reinforce the Catholic confessional identity.

---

[59] For an interesting presentation about the placement of gender in art see Corine Schleif, 'Men on the Right-Women on the Left: (A)symmetrical spaces and Gendered Places, *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005).

[60] As pointed out by Dr. Mihai-Dumitru Grigore, Christian tradition considers this to represent the skull of Adam, creating a visual link between the fall and the redemption.

[61] The importance of the presentation to the right was understood, being an established longstanding tradition both biblically and culturally, Christ is seated to the right hand of God (for example, Mt. 26:64, Mk. 16:19, Lk 22:69).

[62] "Der I theil Catholisches Berichts von wahrer Christlicher Religion.", *Catechismus,* Av.

[63] As described in Luke 23:43, "And Jesus said to him: Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise.", Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible* (Challoner revised ed., 1749-52),1598. Pointed out by Dr. Mihai-Dumitru Grigore.

[64] *Catechismus,* Av.

Mary is presented standing, with hands crossed over her heart, in a gesture of acceptance. Significantly, Mary is self-contained and upright, which reflects the changing presentation and role of Mary within the church from the Franciscan view of the Mater Dolorosa, a swooning agonised figure, to a more symbolic figure accepting of the temporal sorrow, but with an understanding that Jesus would rise again.[65] St. Francis de Sales (1567-1622) argued that Mary did not doubt Jesus would rise again, and thus could not have grieved over his death, which is shown here with her gesture and her appearance of both comfort and strength.[66] De Sales' position reflected that of an earlier writer, Ambrose, who understood that Mary would have human feeling and pity (with dignified restrain), but not the lack of human perfection displayed by a swoon or an emotional outburst.[67] Additionally, the use of the halo signifies her elevated spiritual status. She is positioned between the human figures in the background, and the cross on which Jesus is crucified. This visually emphasises her role as intercessor between humanity and her son as the eye travels from the left to the right, from the human to the divine. This underscores the role of Mary within the Catholic Church, a role of intercessor emphasised by Marian devotions.

John the apostle is pictured beside the cross, and is the only disciple to have remained by Jesus' side through the crucifixion as described in the gospel of John 19. John's presence here is not only literal, according to scripture, but it is also significant as a symbol of future events. Mary becomes the intercessor for humanity to her son, but it is John who records the future of the church through the events in the book of Revelations.

The Köln *Catechismus*, provided not only a model for the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, but also demonstrates the link between the Raesfeldt and Quentel printing

---

[65] For a clear understanding of the representation of Mary collapsed under emotional strain in art, see Amy Neff, "The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross", *The Art Bulletin*, 80 (1998): 254-273. The agony portrayed in images of the Virgin Mary gave emotional understanding, making the sacrifice on Golgotha real by 'focussing human feeling in a comprehensible and accessible way'. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 211.

[66] Joelle Mellon, *The Virgin Mary in the Perceptions of Women: Mother, Protector and Queen Since the Middle Ages*, (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2008), 31.

[67] Neff, "The Pain of *Compassio*", 254.

houses which furthered both trade and the political religious program of the Ernst von Bayern.

The Images in the texts of this project

The texts analyzed in chapters five through eight reflect the changing religious and political climate in which they were printed. They represent the product of the perfect storm of political and religious events, namely, the possibilities of printing, a sympathetic printing dynasty, and the power of the relationship between image and text for presenting and propagating a specific confessionalization message.

Images in devotional texts such as those in this study are not only illustrations, but as Areford explains, "contributing components of a dynamic, devotional visual culture..."[68] The images in the texts under investigation contribute to visual culture, serve as instruments for devotions, textual illustration, and as a tool for a deeper religious and political program fulfilled through the relationship between the image and text. This examination will show that once they were in the possession of the printing house both blocks and plates were continuously used, even when damage from wear and time obscured the image. The *Vita Christi* series of woodblocks, presented in chapters five and six, illustrates how blocks could originate from other printing houses, and be used through not only multiple editions of a single title, but also different titles. Although both texts utilize the same series of woodcut blocks, they differ in the overall message and the amount of text. Both exemplify the efficacy of the image-text relationship to forward distinct confessional messages.

Chapter seven considers later examples of the continuous use of blocks in the possession of the printing house, focussing on a number of editions of a single title *Brautschatz*, which all contain the same text, but has both woodcut and intaglio image editions. The blocks for the woodcut image series found in the *Brautschatz* were also used in other titles, notably in an ideologically related but later work titled *Geistlicher Blumen Krantz* printed by Dietrich (Theodor) Raesfeldt (son of Bernhard) in 1676.[69] Even more surprising is seeing a selection of the same woodcuts show up in a

[68] Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image,* 76.
[69] *Geistlicher Blumen Krantz Andechtigster Gebetter/Welche auß Gottseligen Catholischen Bett Büchern*, Deitherich Raeßfeldt, Münster, 1676, LWL call number K 95 d.

haphazard collection of illustrations for a much later text titled *Himmlischer Wegweiser oder Andächtig Katholisches Beth=Büchlein,* which was printed by the successors of Köerdinck, the continuation of the Raesfeldt press through the female line from 1735-1823. Although there is no printing date in the *Himmlischer Wegweiser*, the date given in the dedication is May 25, 1813.[70] By the early nineteenth century the woodblocks, though still whole, exhibit a great deal of wear and extensive worm holes.

It is not apparent where all of the blocks or plates came from as records for this information are no longer extant. At least some of the printing blocks came from Köln as indicated by the crucifixion image described above. The Raesfeldt printing house had business ties with other printing houses in larger centres, and it can be safely assumed that they were able to obtain materials through them. Lambert Raesfeldt's successors continued along the path he laid down, printing much the same type of titles and continuing to utilize images to support and enhance the text. The only point at which there is some debate about this careful selection of images for the text is in the *Brautschatz*, which exhibits a certain number of irregular and inconsistent choices, which might be the result of the instability of war and civil unrest.

The final title examined in this study is the short pilgrimage text *Andächtige Gebett Und Seelen Ubungen*, which was used to reinforce a “second wave” of Catholic confessionalization. The focus of this title was the continuity of the Catholic Church by emphasising the unbroken line to an earlier tradition of medieval piety, rather than its rightness in relation to the Reformation. This work contained specifically commissioned intaglio images that not only enhance the text, but also help to promote the larger religious and political program of the prince-bishop.

This is the visual “landscape” from which the image-text relationships in this study arose, a landscape rich in variety and change, from popular woodcut image market that covered the entire spectrum of society to the relatively elite high-art collectors market for intaglio single sheet images. The small inexpensive devotional *andachtsbildchen* continued along its relatively humble if evolving pace through the whole period under discussion. The illustrations found within the texts under images in

[70] “Monasterii die 25 Maji 1813”*Himmlischer Wegweiser oder Andächtig Katholisches Beth=Büchlein,* Köerdinck’s Erben, Münster n.d., but the date given in the dedication is ‘Monasterii die 25 Maji 1813’, DR-ULB call numbers 0154, 0154a.

this study are the natural offspring of the fifteenth century devotional picture. The images in this study reflect the direct inheritance from early devotional *andachtsbildchen,* and reveal the growth of the medium resulting in a range from simple images of single figures in woodcuts to complex allegorical intaglio images. The image-text relationship under investigation through this study also shows how this established visual vocabulary and visual landscape influenced and was in turn influenced by the social political and religious context in which they were created.

Chapter Five

Establishing Catholic confessionalization in Münster, the first wave

The Life of Christ Series at the end of the sixteenth century

This chapter examines how the 1596 *Catechismus Und Betböklin* utilized the image-text relationship to forward the initial Catholic confessionalization strategy of Ernst von Bayern. The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* reinforces the loyalty of the reader by encouraging a steadfast connection with the Catholic Church through obedience. It accomplishes this by instilling a sense of security that the Catholic Church is the true Church, and confirming that the reader would not be among those in error, but rather praying for them. The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* also imparts a sense of reassurance and comfort by emphasising elements of Catholic belief that differentiates it from Protestantism, such as the role and intercession of the Virgin. The language is more aggressive compared to the later works that will be analyzed, as is the underlying message of error and damnation for those not aligned with the Catholic Church. The image-text relationship throughout this title reinforces obedience and the true nature of the Catholic Church, thus functioning both individually and collectively as a confessional tool.

The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* was written by Michaëlem Rupertum (Michael Ruperti), dean of the Liebfrauen-Überwasser parish in Münster, a well-known and liked preacher who focussed on Christ's passion in both sermons and writing.[1] The printing of at least two editions of this work attests to its popularity.[2] This work was printed at the Raesfeldt press, but printing credit is shared with Matthaeus Pontani (Pontanus) who

[1] Hsia, *Society and religion in Münster*,180.

[2] In his work *Society and religion in Münster*, Hsia relates there was two printings of this work, however Bahlmann in his work *Deutschlands Katholische Katechismen bis zum Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* states that there were three printings, the first from Köln in 1588, the second 1596 in Münster and the third, 1607, also in Münster, the author can only verify the second one. There was a copy of the 1588 printing at the University Library in Greifswald, which is listed as missing from the collection, as a result there is nothing more known about this copy. Of the third printing nothing is known to the author, though Bahlmann states that there was an incomplete copy in a private library of the von Olfers family. According to Bertram Haller, this library collection although known, has long since been dispersed. Haller is likewise unfamiliar with this third printing. In his work *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt*, Bernhard Lucas describes a fourth printing in 1598, of which nothing further is known, 73.

came from Köln and eventually moved on to Paderborn.[3] The book was underwritten by Pontanus, presumably in a bid to prove himself as a master printer. Although the centre of distribution is not listed, it has been suggested this title was used to set up his business in Paderborn. It is known that he took a number of copies with him.[4]

The group of woodcut blocks used both in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* and again later in the *VitaChristi* is seen in its fullest presentation in this 1596 title with a surprising fifty one images.[5] Re-use of blocks was fairly common as a large series like this was an expensive investment.[6] Additionally, this re-use of images underscores the legitimacy of the Catholic Church through the use of an established iconography that links back to the visual vocabulary of the pre-Reformation Church.

The Title Page: Crucifixion of Christ

The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* uses the Crucifixion image, figure 5.1, like that of the 1589 Köln *Catechism*, figure 4.5, prior to the body of the text. As in the *Catechismus*, by presenting visually the sacrifice of Jesus for the reader, the image establishes the devotional nature of the ensuing text. The greatest difference between the presentations of this image in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* and *Catechism* is that the image is framed by text, setting the pattern for the remainder of the images. The texts above the image are annotations of four Old Testament events that prefigured the sacrifice on the cross. The New Testament verse below the image describes the event. Working as a whole the purpose of the text is to allow the reader to meditate on both the image and the accompanying text, reflecting upon the promise of the Old Testament to its fulfilment in the New Testament.

The references above the text are Genesis 4 and 22, Exodus 12 and Numbers 21. The first is “the innocent Abel is struck dead” from Genesis 4.[7] Abel’s tragic death

---

[3] Matthäus Pontanus worked under Raesfeldt for a time before he founded his own printing house in Paderborn in 1597. Lucas, *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt*, (Münster: Regensberg, 1929),13.
[4] Klemens Honselmann, “Matthaeus Pontanus in Münster und Paderborn Die Anfänger des Paderborner Buchdrucks”,*Ex officina literaria Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens*, ed. Joseph Prinz, (Münster: Verlag Regensberg,1968), 201.
[5] The copy in the ULB, G+3 1698, is an incomplete copy taken from microfilm, there is a notation in the copy that “96 pages are missing here”: Michaëlem Rupertum, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, (Münster: Raßfeldt, 1596), Aiiib. The location of the original is unknown, it is listed as missing since 1982.
[6] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005),121.
[7] “Der unschüdige Abel ist dodt geschlagen/Gen.4.” *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, 37.

made him a “type” as in the *Biblia Pauperum,* or a prefiguration of the death of Jesus. In the canon of the mass Abel’s sacrifice is often mentioned with that of Abraham and Isaac, also mentioned here.[8] Abel was favoured of God because of the type of sacrifice he offered, “the firstlings of his flock, and of their fat” as opposed to Cain who merely “offered of the fruits of the earth.” Abel and Jesus were also both the first born.

Figure 5.1 Crucifixion with text, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

[8] John Tierney, "Abel." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.(Vol. 1. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed 15 Aug. 2011<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01035c.htm>.

The second verse is Genesis 22, “Isaac is willingly presented to be sacrificed.”[9] The sacrifice of Isaac is often also shown as a “type” of the obedience and sacrifice of Jesus. Abraham obeyed the command of God to sacrifice his son. In Genesis 22:2, God said, “Take thy only begotten son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and go into the land of vision: and there thou shalt offer him for a holocaust...”, Abraham responded the next morning by saddling his donkey and taking with him all that he would need for the sacrifice.[10] This is a prefiguration of Jesus, as Isaac was the only son of the covenant with Sara.

The third verse is taken from Exodus 12, “The Easter lamb is slaughtered”[11] referring to the Lamb of the Passover or the paschal lamb, its blood on the door posts and lintel spared the household from the tenth and final plague of Egypt, the death of the first born. The term Easter lamb connects with Jesus and the crucifixion. Jesus offered himself as the sacrificial lamb allowing for the removal of the curse of sin upon humanity, thus becoming the scapegoat cursed to carry the burden of sin.[12] The paschal sacrifice saved the faithful prior to the exodus in the Old Testament, connecting with the sacrifice of Jesus, “the Lamb of God” for the salvation of the faithful in the New Testament.

The fourth and final verse above the image is from Numbers 21, “Moses made a brazen serpent standard.”[13] The episode is the healing that came from looking at the brass (or bronze) serpent fashioned by Moses at the command of God. As the Israelites gazed upon the brazen serpent they were healed from the bites of the real serpents sent as punishment in the desert. The connection with the crucifixion is made in the New Testament in John 3:14 “as Moses lifted up the snake in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up.” referencing both reverence of Jesus, and the physical lifting of his body on the cross.[14] The brazen serpent has the physical appearance of the serpents causing destruction, but was not a serpent, in this manner, Jesus Christ had the physical

---

[9] “Isaac ist gutwillig geoffert/Genes.22.” *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, 37.
[10] Genesis 22:2-3, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 29.
[11] “Dat Osterlemlin ist geschlachtet/Exod.12.”, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, 37. Although it seems odd to have the term Osterlemlin, this was a presentation of the word paschal, and was used in earlier translations, for example: “Wie Got gepotten had den Jüden zu ehren drey tag irer erlösung. Wie sie dz Osterlemline essen/und ire heuser mit dem blüt bestreichen solten/und wie sie auß Egypten zohen.” Exodus 12, introduction to chapter [89] *Bibell*, (Köln: J. Dietenberger Hrg., Quentel, Johann (Erben),1556). XXXVIIIr.
[12] As pointed out by and discussed with Dr. Mihai-Dumitru Grigore.
[13] “De erne Schlang ist van Mose erhauen/Num.21.”, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, 37.
[14] John 3:14, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1605.

appearance of humanity, but this appearance was combined with a divine nature, thus continuing the parallel of the healing.

Despite the relative brevity and interpretive nature of the Biblical references, these texts provide a frame of reference for the understanding of both the image and the following text. The latter two Biblical references, like many found in this text were frequently used typological devices found in such meditative works as the *Biblia Pauperum*, and the Carthusian Willem van Branteghem's 1537 *Iesu Christi vita, iuxta quatuor Evangelistarum narrationes*. These uses of image-text relationships for typological devices compliment the hermeneutics of scriptural and devotional reading.[15] Additionally, the referencing of these specific antecedent events provides both an introduction and a link to the kinds of biblical allusions found in religious writings from Church Fathers, sermons and hymns.

These Old Testament references establish the reward of blessing that ultimately results from obedience. Obedience is one of the primary themes of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* confirming the Catholic confessional message. Additionally, as the events of the crucifixion were prefigured in the Old Testament, the continuity of the message of salvation and redemption is reflected in the continuity of the Catholic Church as the true Church. The Catholic Church offers endurance through the Reformation period, claiming the direct connection of the authority of Peter through the popes.

Unlike the text above the image, the text below describes the image, and through this description, alludes to a Catholic message. The verse is 1 Corinthians 2:2: "I decided to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified."[16] The theme is preaching Christ crucified and the salvation gained through belief in this event. Paul did not want to impress the listener with his eloquence or ideas, rather to present Jesus Christ and the spiritual wisdom of salvation through divine revelation. This revelation

[15] Walter Melion, Celeste Brusati and Karl A.E. Enenkel, "Introduction: Scriptural authority in word & Image", *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, (Leiden: Brill 2012), 6.

[16] "Wante ick gaff mich nicht uch under ueh/dat ick etwes wüste/dan allein Jesum Christum/und denselbigen gecrützigten." This text was particularly challenging to read, as the language is quite different, with the help of a 1556 Bible printed by Quentel in Köln and the assistance of Andreas Grundmann, Antiquariat, a specialist in devotional images, we were able to translate the unique spelling. The Quentel version gives insight into the difference of the local spelling: "Den ich gab mich nit auss under euch/dass ich etwas wisste/on allein Jesum Christum/und denselbigen gecreuzigeten." *Bibell*, (Köln: J. Dietenberger Hrg., Quentel, Johann (Erben),1556): [1299] CV r.

comes to those who believe in Jesus as the saviour, the converted as it is a mystery not revealed to those who do not believe. This text supports and helps to explain the significance of the crucifixion as an image. It also supports the Catholic confessional program in Münster, being presented as the one true Christian confession through which divine revelation will come to true believers, as opposed to those who rebel against the Catholic Church. This image-text relationship with the Crucifixion presents the simple message of salvation. It draws the line of continuity from the Old Testament prefigurations, through Christ to the New Testament establishing the direct line to the Catholic Church. The verse from Corinthians is especially significant for Catholic confessionalization, as it differentiates the continuity of the Catholic Church through the simplicity of the crucifixion, as opposed to written eloquence or ideas justifying the splitting away from the true Church as shown by the extensive publications of the Protestants.

Foreword

The forward follows this image. Although printed in and intended for Münster, this work was dedicated to Prince-Bishop Dietrich IV of Fürstenberg of Paderborn, simply because it was Pontanus' bid to set up a printing house there. The foreword demands the Catholic confessional program with such assertions as, the "nobility has a God given duty to reinforce the Catholic faith in the land and over the people...to bring the people back [from the Lutheran] to the only true Catholic faith of their ancestors who lived for many centuries in peaceful concord..."[17] Referencing previous Bishop von Hoya, it explicitly states the obligation of the Prince-Bishop to implement the Catholic confessionalization program:

> …through the proper appointed Christian apostolic priest and Bishop, over all those subjects within the realm...who is, through the grace of God, to enforce the holy council of Trent...this through the clergy and the printing of such good works as the *Catechism Romanum*, the Decrees and other parochial works...under the governance of Jesus Christ and his proper successor of the Holy Apostolic stole,

[17] "...und van guden frommen alden Adeligen Geschlechten (mit den man Landt und Lüde moth regeren) nichts anders vermeint hebben/dan als hebben se gar wol/ja Godt einen deinst daran gedaen: dat se sich/under einem geschmücktedem verbloemenden Schyne vermeintes lutteren Evangelij/vam Alden wahren Christligen Geloeuen und Religion etwes hebben affleiden laten/darin ere leiue selige Catholicsche Voralderen (wie oick dat gantze hylige Römische Ryke/und all dat Catholische Christendom) so viel hundert Jahr in so groter fredsamer eindracht…", *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* Aii v.

Pius IV.[18]

The intended audience is inclusive as the text is written for the general laity. In further reference to the programs of von Hoya, it asserts that he had endorsed "for the simple folk the catechism, a prayer book and Biblical commentary..."[19] In the same vein, Ruperti affirms that he likewise had this short Catholic catechism and prayer book as a compendium printed for the benefit of the simple folk.[20] Additionally, to help the laity of the region understand this Catholic confessional material, this work was printed in old Sachsen and Westphalian language.[21]

The foreword is followed by a perpetual calendar with the saints' days for each month. Next is an introduction to the following text continues describing it as a brief instruction about the Church presented through question and answer format. Unfortunately, this section of the text is missing.[22] Due to the incomplete nature of the exemplar, little comment can be made on the catechism portion of the text. The content of the text was summarized by Paul Bahlmann as an initial section of a brief instruction of the function and role of the saints and holy personages within the Church, it continues then with a section of Question and Answer addressing: 1. Christian belief, 2. the

---

[18]"…vor einen rechten Christligen Apostolischem Presulem und Bishop/vor all synen Stenden und Underdanen öppentlich erkleret und bewyset biß in syn Graff/Und wie he/so balde dat H. Concilium Tridentinam/dorch Godes genade/gehalden und verendiget worden ist: synem Clero/den gerzligen hochnödigen Catechismum Romanum/mit besunderen Unkosten hefft drucken und ferdigen lathen/so uth dem Decreto/und verordnunge desseluigen H. Concilij/und allen Christgelöuigen tom ewigen heil/an alle Parochos/Pastores und Seelensorger…der Stadthälder Jesu Christi/und ordentliger Successor des H. Apostolischen toels/Pius Quintus, gern beweilligt hefft (Wie dan dat Bre.ue Apostoicum, so demselbige Catechismo prefigert un vorangestatt ist/klärlich vermeldet)." *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* Aiii r.

[19] "Also hedde he oick vor dat gemeine simpel Volck gern einen einfoldigen Catechismum/wie oick ein Betbock/und Postill…", *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* Aiii r.

[20] "einen korten Catholischen Catechismum und Betboeklin hebbe upt Papyr gebracht…So hebbe ick glyckwol/sem simplel Voelcklin gude/ ein klein Compendiolum.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* Aiii v.

[21] "...in aldt Sassenscher und Westphalischer Sprake tho Catholischer Warheit repareren und bringen willen..." *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* Aiii v.
From 1529 Münster felt the pressure to utilize the High German, *hochdeutscher* language, the chancery of the city of Münster was one of the first in Westphalia to take up the high German language, doing so considerably earlier than any other of the neighboring cities. ed. Robert Peters, Friedel Roolfs, *Plattdeutsch macht Geschichte: Niederdeutsche Schriftlichkeit in Münster und im Münsterland im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, (*Münster: Aschendorff, 2009) 20-21.

[22] The next page in this work states the next 96 pages are missing ("Hier fehlen 96 seiten"), what they contained can be surmised through the use of other texts as a continuation of the question and answer already introduced, see also Bahlmann's summary.

sacraments, 3. the commandments of God and the church, 4. Our Father and the hymn of the Angels, or the doxology, 5. Christian Justice.[23]

This work continues with a *Passional* illustrated with fifty-one images, history and sayings from both the Old and New Testaments, ordered in the manner of the Rosary.[24] The ordering of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* reflects the Rosary with the words at the bottom of each prayer at the foot of the page, being either an "Ave Maria" or "Our Father" (*Vader unse*). The connection between the Rosary and visual imagery of the fall and redemption through Jesus is not an unfamiliar one as the Rosary was used not only for prayer, but also as a meditational means of focussing on the life of Christ.

Apart from the initial image, the remainder of the images from the *Passional* follow a model of the image-text relationship with Old Testament prefiguration text above the image and the New Testament fulfillment below the image. An accompanying prayer is found on the facing page. The sense of connection and fulfillment of promise constructed between the image and the Biblical text is integral to the text on the facing page, which then connects this anticipation and promise with the Catholic Church.

The Expulsion

The expulsion, figure 5.2, is the opening act of the great redemption, demonstrating the necessity of salvation offered by the crucifixion. Jesus is the second Adam repairing the separation caused by sin. Mary is the vessel for the redemption, as Eve was the vessel for the fall. The composition is presented in such a way that Adam and Eve are running in shame and fear unaware that they run directly towards death, the inevitable result of their sin. The fall has brought separation from God, as indicated by the clouds which create a barrier between the eternal heaven, and the temporal earth. The angel, placed firmly in the heavenly realm above the dividing cloud, points at the direction the couple are facing, expelling them from the garden, flaming sword upraised. This creates the visual line of movement from the upper left to the lower right, utilizing a typical reading motion for both text and image, so that the viewer can follow the narrative from the expulsion from the garden, to the pair moving toward their inevitable death,

[23] Paul Bahlmann, *Deutschlands Katholische Katechismen bis zum Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, (Münster: Regensbergischen Buchhandlung,1894), 37.
[24] "Dat Leuen Unsers Herren und Erloesers Jesu Christi/Oder Passionalboecklin…Met sünerligen Figuren/histroien/und Spröcken/Aldes und Niggen Testaments/verzieret und vermehret. Na der Ordnung eines Geistlichen Rosenkrantzs." *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*No page number.

emphasising the tragedy of the fall. The rocky ground that they run towards underscores the adversity which will be faced by the couple in their separation from God.

Figure 5.2 Expulsion, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

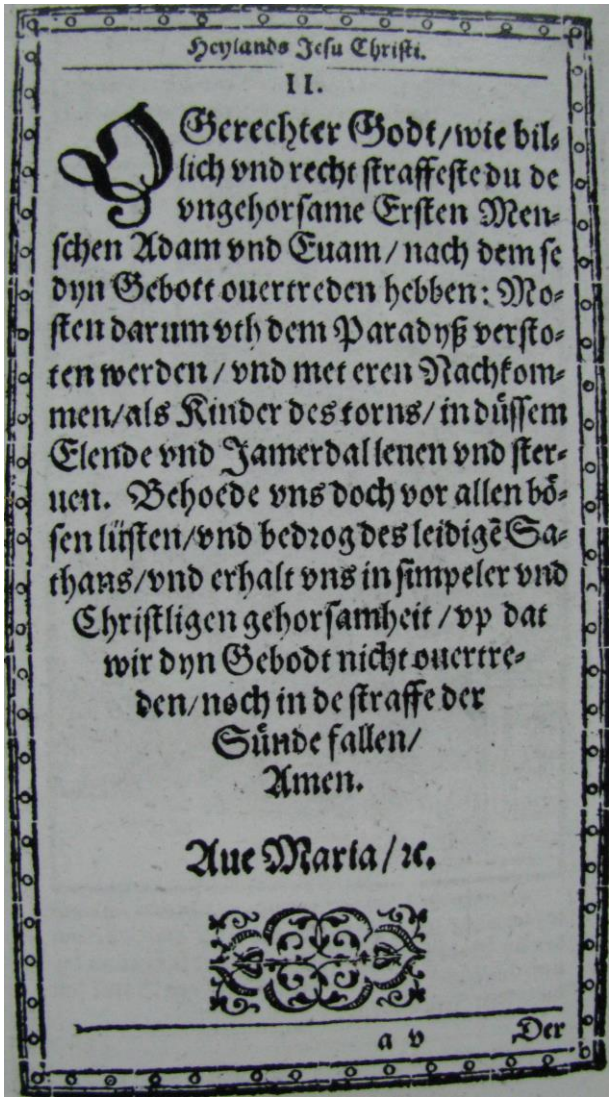

Figure 5.3 Expulsion text, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The figure of death playing his hurdy-gurdy illustrates an unmistakeable visual debt to Hans Holbein's earlier *Dance of Death* figure 5.4. Changes to the design in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* are minor primarily the presentation of a greater sense of modesty certainly with Adam and his small modesty leaf, additionally death has been given legs of flesh. The angel in both works is separated from the earthly realm by the clouds, but is much larger in Holbein's work, stressing the vehemence of the expulsion from the garden. The difference in scale between the angel and the pair in Holbein's

work highlights the divergence of the greatness of the divine from the now mortal mankind, something that is visually underplayed in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* This visual similarity of these images underlines the mobile nature of prints and books, as well as pointing out how works with similar methods of communication in this case an intrinsic relationship between image and text, can influence others.

Figure 5.4 Expulsion, *Dance of Death*

Both the Catechismus Und Betböklin and Dance of Death reference Genesis chapter 3, but use different verses. The *Dance of Death* refers to verse 23 “the Lord God sent him out of the paradise of pleasure, to till the earth from which he was taken”,[25] whereas the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* is a summation of verses 17 and 19 “you are ashes/ substance (God spoke after the transgression of Adam) and you shall return to it.”[26] Both works emphasise the consequences of the sin of rebellion.

[25] “Emisit eum Dominvs Devs de Paradiso voluptatis, vt operaretur terram de qua sumptus est.” A. Dobson, *The Dance of Death*, (Boson: Scott-Thaw Company, Heintzemann Press,1903), accessed August 20, 2011, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21790/21790-h/21790-h.htm#h2H_4_0005.
[26] “Du bist Asche/ader Stoff (sprack Godt nach der Ouertreddung tho Adam) un salst wederum tom Stoue warden/Gen.3.” *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* aiiii.

In the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* these consequences are further accentuated by the remaining accompanying text, figure 5.3. The message of death as the payment of sin is carried over to the text below the image with Romans 5:12, "It is through one man that sin came into the world, and through sin, death."[27] This emphasises the price of rebellion, separation from God. This likewise underscores the Catholic confessionalization program as it stresses the penalty of rejection of the Church.

Obedience is stressed in the facing text, stating that the consequence of their sin was to be thrown out of paradise and along with all of their offspring, to face death.[28] The prayer petitions for God's grace to protect the supplicant from disobeying his commandments in the same reckless manner.[29] The sin of rebellion which resulted in being cast out of the garden is reflected in the rebellion against the authority of the Catholic Church. It can be concluded that the rejection of the Catholic Church is the rejection of the commandments of God.

The Visitation

After the fall, this *Passional* presents the path to redemption, beginning with the Virgin Mary. Although appropriate to include Mary in the life of Christ, it is also significant for the prominent role of Mary in the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. The role of Mary as the intercessor and comforter supports the Catholic tradition of the veneration of the Virgin. The focus on Marian liturgy served to bind the pre-Reformation to the Counter Reformation.[30] Marian devotions also played a particular role in state-sponsored Bavaria, influencing Münster through Ernst von Bayern. Marian devotions were encouraged by the Prince-Bishop and the Jesuits, who played an important role in implementing the confessionalization program in Münster. As in Bavaria, Marian devotions became emblematic of Catholic allegiance.[31] Marian devotions advocated the perception of Mary as the ideal of mercy providing a gentle mother-intercessor that

---

[27] "Dorch einen Menschen ist de Sünde gekomen in de Werlt/und dorch de Sünde der Doidt/Rom.5." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* aiiii.
[28] "…ungehorsame Ersten Menschen Adam und Evam.nach dem se dyn Gebott overtreden hebben: Mosten darum uth dem Paradyß verstoten werden...", *Catechismus Und Betböklin* a v.
[29] "Behoede uns doch vor allen bösen lüsten…up dat wir dyn Gebodt nicht ouertereden/noch in de straffe der Sünde fallen/Amen.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin* a v.
[30] Brigit Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 148.
[31] Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 149.

contrasted to the Judgment of Christ.[32] The use of Mary as a mother figure makes her more approachable incorporating the notions of nurture and comfort bringing her closer to humanity than her God-begotten son. The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* follows an established iconography of the virgin, laying the foundation of her obedience, and equally importantly, her role as comforter who acts as a compassionate intercessor between the sinner and Christ.

Figure 5.5 Detail, Visitation, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The Visitation, figure 5.5, is a significant episode in the life of Mary and is an alternate in the Seven Joys of the Virgin, and one of the Joyful Mysteries in the

[32] Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),13.

Rosary.[33] Central to the composition are Mary and her older cousin Elisabeth. Mary's long hair represents her chastity as left loose it was symbolic of virginity, whereas matrons traditionally bound their hair. Mary is presented as an example of humility, the handmaiden of God yet willing to meekly serve her elder cousin, shown by her head bowed forward in acquiescence. Mary makes a prophecy at this point which is paramount for Marian devotions, "for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. Because he that is mighty, hath done great things to me…"[34] This signifies the future of honour paid to the Blessed Virgin. The canticle *The Magnificat* is based on these words. Through her actions she presents a model of behaviour and feminine virtue for women. Mary is also notably the only figure in this image with a radiating halo, signifying divine grace. Apart from the Trinity she is the only one throughout this series of images that is consistently depicted with a radiating halo.[35]

Mary's Cousin Elisabeth, rendered appropriately as a matron with her hair covered, reaches out her hand to Mary. Zacharias, Elisabeth's husband, is shown in the background leaning on a closed half-door. The physical barrier created by the door between him and the women acts as a visual indication of both his muteness, and his lack of faith by his questioning of the angel that was its cause. This scene is pivotal in the life of Jesus, as Elisabeth through her words confirms the Immaculate Conception: "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?"[36] With this recognition, divine grace was conferred upon both Elisabeth and her unborn child, John the Baptist. It is also at this moment of greeting that John the Baptist is established as the forerunner or the herald of Christ.

The text accompanying this image provides a prefiguration of the Virgin through the heroine Judith. The text is from Judith 13:14: "And God has through me his maid, fulfilled his mercy and promise to the house of Israel."[37] Judith saved the house of Israel

---

[33] An example of its use as an alternate is in the Franciscan Crown, or Searaphic Rosary. For a full list of the illustrations and their ordering in this work, see Appendix 1.
[34] Luke 1:48b-49a, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1550.
[35] John the Baptist is consistently portrayed with a halo without the radiating lines, and in the Crucifixion, John the apostle has a radiating halo, though this is the only time in which he is depicted with one.
[36] Luke 1:42-43 Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1549.
[37] "Und Godt heft in mir syner Maget syne barmhertigheit erfuellet/de hy dem Huse Israel gelauet hadde/Judit.13." *Catechismus und Betböklin.* a vi. This verse is indicative of the particular dialect used in

though her obedience, and likewise Mary saves mankind through hers. Though Judith destroyed the enemy by cutting off the head of Holofernes, Mary would do a greater work though the birth of Jesus Christ, who would in turn break the very gates of hell and defeat Satan. The use of Judith as an antecedent for Mary is also significant within the Catholic confessional program as the book of Judith is deuterocanonical, and is referred to by Protestants rather pejoratively as being apocryphal, having been relegated as such in the German tradition with the Luther translation.

The New Testament verse below the image is from Luke chapter one: "My soul (Mary spoke in her praise The Magnificat) exalts the Lord/ for he has done great things for me/he who is mighty."[38] Thus Mary acknowledges that the promise made by the Angel Gabriel would be fulfilled, reinforcing the connection of blessing through obedience.

Both the Old and New Testament texts relate to the image by foreshadowing the event, and defining the particular action respectively. This use of text in combination with the image creates a meditational device for the viewer/reader, giving them a particular event and principle to reflect upon. By emphasising both obedience and the use by God of a female vessel in the texts, it flavours the image of Mary that is given a particular Catholic conception through the facing text.

The prayer in the facing text refers to the obedience of Mary, both in her submission to God and her willingness to go to her cousin Elisabeth. The text then recommends this obedience to the reader who, with the Lord's help would continue to praise and serve God.[39] This text supports the Catholic confessional message by underlining the "need for His mercy to despise human accolades, to only praise and glorify God, and serve well those rightly placed over us."[40] By specifying "those rightly

---

this region, compare with*:* "Und hat in mir seiner magd sein erbermbd erfült/die er dem hauß Israel verheissen hatt" Judith 13 *Bibell*, [578] CCLXXXIv.

[38] "Myne Seele (sprack Maria in erem Louesange Magnifica) maket groit der Herren/xc. Wante he heft grote ding an my deaen/der da mechtig ist/Luc.I." a vi *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*This is a summary of verses 46 and 49.

[39] "...dir sy loff und knack in der groten Demoet diner werdigen Moder Maria/welcke mit groter yle und leiffmoedigheit ere Verwandtin Elisabeth himgesocht hefft…So hefft se doch met erem Lauesang Magnificat/…" a vi *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*

[40] "Giff uns genade/dat wir dat Menschliche Loff verachten/Godt allet ynd louen un prysen und unserem Negesten uth rechter Leffte und truwer gern denen", a vi *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*

placed over us", the text emphasises obedience and submission to the authority of the will of God, represented on earth through the leadership of the Catholic Church.

The image-text relationship reflects the emphasis on both obedience and service. The text reference of an Old Testament figure acknowledged within the Catholic Church, not the Protestant, gives the image, though certainly Biblical and accepted by all Christians, a specific Catholic reading. Also, the mention of Judith's obedience in the text supported by the visual obedience of Mary not only emphasises the role of an obedient woman, but also implies obedience specifically to the Catholic Church. Likewise depicted is the result of doubt and disobedience, with Zacharias. Mary through her actions is a model of virtue for women and can thus be emulated, and her obedience to authority can also be followed through submission to the Catholic Church. It is also understood that by reflecting upon these virtues, one will not only understand them in action, but also take them to heart, a goal of all devotional writing.

The Circumcision

Circumcision, according to Jewish law, takes place when the child is eight days old. It was commanded in Genesis 17:10-14 as an outward sign of the covenant between God and his people. This is one of the alternate events (alternate with the prophecy of Simeon/offering at the Temple) of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. It foreshadows the Passion by being the first blood spilled by Jesus.

Figure 5.6 shows three figures: Joseph, the human Father figure, here holding a round vessel and a torch, the mohel (ritual circumciser) performing the circumcision and the sandek holding the child (a position of honour). Jesus is pictured looking away showing discomfort, but not struggling or crying. The figures in the doorway of the temple are a means of visualizing the prophetical power of Simeon who discerns between the messiah and other children coming for circumcision.[41] The figure placement draws the eyes from the figures in the doorway, to the Christ child, identified as divine by his halo. This image underscores the confessional message of obedience to authority, as reflected here through obedience to Jewish law.

[41] As suggested by and discussed with Dr. Mihai-Dumitru Grigore.

Figure 5.6 Detail, Circumcision, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The text above the image is Genesis 17:12:"A child when he is eight days old, shall be circumcised among you."[42] This presents the law of circumcision showing that Jesus regardless of his divinity submitted to the Mosaic Law in order to fulfil it according to the prophecies. The lower text from Luke 2:21 describes the event stating also that he was named Jesus at this point, as instructed by the angel at the announcement. The image-text relationship is developed through Christ's circumcision by the emphasis on obedience, stressing that the result of obedience, as stated in the accompanying text is the blessing of everlasting life.

[42] "Ein Kindt wann er eth Acht dage alt ist/so eth under juw beschneden werde/Gen.17", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* v.i.

The facing text emphasises obedience, but also asserts that obedience requires sacrifice and commitment. It references the spilling of blood by Christ for the blessing of humanity. The prayer then pleads for mercy to reform reflections, thoughts words and actions, that the supplicant may be added to the "Book of Everlasting Life" and remain therein.[43] This reflects upon the humanity and obedience of Jesus by his honouring of Jewish law and tradition by shedding his blood. The "Book of Everlasting Life" is found in Revelations in the New Testament and states "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the pool of fire."[44] The text, by specifically mentioning being written in the "Book of Everlasting life" and remaining there on its pages works to emphasise the obedience to authority. To be written in this book is the assurance of eternal life in heaven. The Catholic message here is the consequence for disobedience to authority or for sin is to be erased from the book, and thus experience the second death referred to in Revelations 20:14, where the sinners have the final separation from God in the lake of fire.

The Offering at the Temple

The offering and purification at the temple were to fulfill the observance of purification forty days after childbirth. This is known as one of the alternate events (alternate to the Circumcision) of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, and it is also one of the Joyful Mysteries of the Rosary. This event marks both the offering of a pair of turtledoves, or young pigeons as the sin offering for Mary for giving birth, and the offering of Jesus as the first-born son. This event reinforces the Catholic elevation of the Virgin through Marian devotions and is the Marian feast of Candlemas.

Mary's presentation is significant, figure 5.7, she is the centre of this image, Jesus is presented off to the side, a visual cue that brings the eye from the left side of the image to Mary in the centre. She is shown here as previously, virginal with flowing hair, a halo surrounding her head. Her position of prominence, as well the halo signifying her

[43] "...Danck vor dyne hylige schmertlige Beschnydung/…du güdigester Herz und Seligmecker/reinige unns doch in dynem hyligen Bloide/van unseren Sünden/und giff Genade/dat wir dir/met nyggen reformerten Sinnen/Gedancken/Worden und Werken/also mögen denen/dat unsere Name in dem Boke des ewigen Leuens mögen geschreuven syn und blyuen/Amen." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* a v,v.
[44] Revelations 20:15, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1851.

holy nature and the divine favour that leads to her role as intercessor, is a particularly Catholic presentation of the subject. [45]

Figure 5.7 Detail, Offering at the Temple and prophecy of Simeon, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

She is looking towards Joseph, hands together in a gesture of prayer, acknowledging, understanding and accepting the words of both Simeon and Anna. Mary's obedience and humility are highlighted here, presenting her as the model of female virtue. It is through her motherly love and mercy that she is both willing and able to intercede on

[45] The central positioning of Mary and the use of a halo were typical Catholic visual trope, not commonly found in Lutheran art. The differences in presentation of Mary between Catholic and Lutheran or Reformed faiths in Germany have been explored in great detail both in text as well as image, see Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary*, and Susanne Wegmann, "Die Sichtbarkeit der Gnade – Bildtheorie und Ganadenvermittlung auf den lutherischen Altären", ed. Johanna Haberer, and Bernd Hamm, *Medialität, Unmittelbarkeit, Präsenz: Die Nähe des Heils im Verständnis der Reformation,* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

behalf of humanity with Christ. Simeon looks upon Jesus who is in his arms. In Luke 2:25-35 Simeon awaited God's promise that he would not die before he had seen the anointed one, the Christ. Once he saw Jesus, Simeon stated that he could now die "Because my eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples: A light to the revelation of the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel."[46] Simeon goes on to bless the family and stated specifically to Mary that her own heart would be pierced by a sword.[47] This part of the prophecy shaped the understanding of the Sorrows of the Virgin, and the sword that he describes became the visual symbol used to portray them.[48] Joseph is presented with head bowed, hat in hand, a position of deference and submission. Behind Mary to the right is the prophetess Anna who "...coming in, confessed to the Lord: and spoke of him to all that looked for the redemption of Israel."[49] In the background to the left of Mary are faces, presumably the "all" to whom Anna spoke. Presented in this image are two figures that have received revelation and are witnesses of the divine nature of Jesus, both of whom speak of it openly, giving prophesies about the redemptive role of Jesus through the Passion.

Above the image are two Old Testament references. The first is Malachi 3:1, "The Lord whom you seek, shall come to his temple, and the Angel of the covenant who you desire."[50] It is a prophecy for the coming of the Messiah, confirmed by both Simeon and Anna in the temple. The second verse is Genesis 46:30, "I shall now die with joy, that I have seen your face."[51] Although the verse is Jacob seeing his beloved Joseph in Egypt, the reference here is to Simeon and the promise of God. These verses clearly foreshadow the redemption of mankind through the coming of Christ.

The verse below the image is Luke 2:22: "And after the days of her purification were fulfilled, according to the Law of Moses, they brought him to Jerusalem, that they may present him to the Lord."[52] This not only describes the image, but also implies the

---

[46] Luke 2:30-32, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1553.
[47] Luke 2:34-35, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1553.
[48] As seen in the images for the Marian pilgrimage in chapter eight.
[49] Luke 2:38, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1553.
[50] "Der Herscher den gy soeket.wert bald to synem Temmpel kommen/und der Engel des Bundes den ghy begeren/Malach.3." *Catechismus und Betböklin* viii.
[51] "Ick will nu frölick steruen/wante ick hebbe dyn Angesicht gesehen.Genes.46." *Catechismus Und Betböklin* viii.
[52] "Und do _e tage erer Reinigung erfuliet weren/na dem gesette Moisi/brachten se en in Hierusale/up dat se en darstelleten dem Herrn/xc.Luc.2." *Catechismus Und Betböklin* viii.

obedience of Mary in obeying the Mosaic Law of purification. These Biblical texts create the context of both obedience, as well as confirming Christ's fulfilment of the prophecy.

The following text refers to the presentation of the child in the temple and the prophecy of Simeon. It then goes on to state: "the supplicant could also receive grace to know the true temple, and unity in the Holy Catholic church, and when finally past this veil of tears, to praise the Lord alongside Simeon in Heaven."[53] This reference to the Catholic Church underscores the connection between the promise of God to Simeon, and the promise offered by the continuity of the Catholic Church.

The image-text relationship emphasises obedience and fulfillment of prophecy between the image and the Biblical text, this is then given a specific Catholic reading through the facing text indicating that through the Catholic Church will experience the fulfillment of the promise of everlasting life. The interaction between the image, Biblical text, and the facing text work together to reinforce the confessional message of Ernst von Bayern by joining together the central intercessory role of Mary, and the fulfillment of the promise of Everlasting Life through unity in the Catholic Church.

The Temptation in the Wilderness

Figure 5.8 presents a compilation of the three temptations of Jesus during his forty days in the wilderness. This episode demonstrated that though Jesus was approved by God, he was still subject to trial prior to entering his public work. His temptations acknowledged those of everyman. This image shows all three temptations as found in Matthew 4:3-12, illustrating the narrative as the eye moves from the centre across the foreground figures, then following the line from the devil up the mountain and across to the two temptations in the background. Each of the three temptations is presented here visually, though only one is referenced in the lower New Testament text. In all three temptations, Jesus is portrayed in calm refutation. The foreground shows the most obvious of the three temptations pictured. The first of the three temptations he is told to assuage his hunger by turning the stones to bread the devil points to the stones on the ground and holds one in his hand.

[53] "...Giff uns dyne Genade/dat wir im rechten Tempel/und in einigheit dyner Hylligen Catholischen Kercken/dich den Seilgmecker der Werlt erkennen/recht geloeven/und Godtfrüchtiglich leven/up dat wir/wanner Lyff unnd Seel scheiden sall/met Simeon uth düssem Jamerdal/in dem frede faren/und dich im Hemel prysen moegen/..." *Catechismus und Betböklin* viii.

Figure 5.8 Temptation in the Wilderness, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

Jesus is clearly identified by his halo and his humility is indicated by his simple robes and bare feet. Jesus overcame this temptation through humility, quoting the Old Testament. Jesus prevailed where Adam failed. For Adam eating the apple would elevate him to the status and wisdom of God, whereas turning the stone to bread would

show Jesus' divine power. Jesus not only overcame temporal hunger, but also spiritual by overcoming pride with humility. The devil is likewise identified, wearing a jester's hat complete with bell, and claws rather than feet. The use of this hat alludes to not only the foolish nature of the jester, but also his ignorance that is mistaken for wisdom. The figure of the jester, often identified by his hat was not simply one of amusement, but also carried a negative and cautionary connotation. The figure of the jester or fool was often pictured opposite King David as a means of contrasting wisdom and ignorance, also illuminating Psalm 52:1b "The fool said in his heart: There is no God."[54] This portrayal contrasts the wisdom of Jesus' divine nature, against the foolishness of the devil. Above the heads of the central figures is the third temptation, described as the devil taking Jesus to a high mountain, offering him all of the cities of the world if Jesus would bow at his feet. Jesus resists, and after the third temptation Jesus sends the devil away which can be seen with the figure of Jesus pointing away from himself, and the devil flying in that direction. On the right side of the image is the second temptation, from Mathew 4:5. The devil took Jesus to the pinnacle of the temple in the holy city stating that he could jump but be protected by angels lest he "dash his foot against a stone."[55] The second temptation was deflected in much the same manner as the others. This event is of utmost importance for believers, as it shows that Jesus' human nature endured the temptation, but unlike Adam was able to resist providing an example to be emulated.

The composition of the image in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* has direct influences from earlier printed works, such as printmaker Lukas van Leyden's 1518 image of the Temptation, figure 5.9, and the *Rosario della Gloriosa Vergine Maria,* figure 5.10, first published in 1522.[56] The elements in all three images are almost identical, with minor differences. In the van Leyden print for example Christ leaning on a rock. Because engraving lends itself to much greater detail, though small, the second and third temptations are visible details in the background. The *Rosario,* a woodcut, presents the composition mirrored.

---

[54] Psalm 52:1b, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 778.
[55] Mathew 4:6b, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1470.
[56] Another very similar composition is Willem van Branteghem's, *Iesu Christi vita,* printed in Antwerp in 1537.

Figure 5.9 Lucas van Leyden, *The Temptation of Christ*, engraving, 1518, British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 5.10 Temptation of Christ, *Rosario della Gloriosa Vergine Maria,* 1591.

A further minor difference is the covering of the devil's feet. Yet the most obvious debt of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* to the *Rosario* is through the domed structure on which the two figures stand depicting the second temptation as this was an architectural feature not found in the Münsterland region. It is clear that Van Leyden influenced the designer of the woodblocks for the *Rosario*, which in turn influenced the designer of the woodblocks for the *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* These visual debts shown through these three works attests both to the mobile nature of prints and their movement throughout Europe as well as the speed with which books and prints were disseminated.

The text above the image in *Catechismus Und Betböklin* is taken from Psalm 90:13: "Upon the snake and basilisk will you walk, and tread upon the lion and the dragon."[57] This verse emphasises that with obedience comes divine protection assuring

[57] "Up den Schlangen und Lewen werdstu gaen/und thotredden den Löwen unnd den Draken/Psalm.90." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XII. Numerous versions use the term Basilisk, though here Lion is used, this particular term is uncommon.

safety among dangers. This verse foreshadows the resurrection of Jesus who ultimately treads upon the devil, described alternately as both a “roaring lion” and as a snake. Because of this description, the devil was often depicted as a snake, here the devil’s nature is betrayed by his claw-like feet.

The text below the image is Matthew 4:3: “And the tempter came to him and said: are you God’s Son; then speak that these stones become bread.”[58] This describes the figures in the foreground, and the following verses describe the temptations in the background as mentioned above.

The image-text relationship here establishes the temptation of Jesus, providing a model for humanity that resistance is possible. Contrasting both visually and textually the wisdom of Jesus with the foolish nature of the devil provides the viewer/reader with the confidence that when one walks in Jesus’ footsteps they too can overcome temptation. This underscores Jesus’ obedience, overcoming temptation that would ease the path set before him. Because he did not compromise he moved into his public ministry. This impression of conquering strength offered in the image-text relationship is affirmed through the facing text.

The prayer praises Jesus for his strength, protection and prayers, that through the grace of God he was able to withstand hunger and temptation in the desert. It then requests the strength and mercy to follow his example and likewise overcome human frailty.[59] The text specifically petitions for strength against Satan and all his challenges, implying through the image, the contrast between the Catholic Church as the true Church as reflected in Jesus against the Protestants as reflected in the image of the foolish devil. The image-text relationship then bolsters Catholic confessional identity by emphasising different temptations, not only physical exemplified here with hunger, but also spiritual, as shown here with wisdom as opposed to foolishness or pride.

---

[58] “Und der Versocker trat to em/und sprack: Bist du Godts Sohn: so spreckt dat düsse Steine Brott werden. Matth.4.” *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XIII.

[59] “Dank sy dir Herr Jesu Christ/vor alle dyne Moye und Arbeit, vor dyn waken und bedden vor uns.tho dynem Hemelschen Vader…met so lange strengen fasten.in der Wonstenye.castigget.un alle versökung des bösen Viggends ouerwunde heffst.Stercke uns doch mit dyner Genade.dat wir dynem Exempel nachfolgen…Oick (da wir jo dorch Menschlige Gebreckligheit gefallen) wahre böte doen…”, *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XIII.

The Summoning of the Twelve

Luke 6:13 describes that after a night of prayer Jesus summoned his disciples in order to choose twelve who he named apostles. Figure 5.11 depicts Jesus addressing the twelve who are arrayed about him in a circle. All of the figures are bearded, visually establishing that those responsible for the formation of the Church were mature, and capable of the responsibility. The one face turned away is presumably the youthful apostle John. The stream that flows between them is symbolic of Jesus being the “living water” and also foreshadows the water that would flow from Jesus’ side after the crucifixion. The stream flows directly to the lower frame towards the viewer, establishing a visual but also physical link between the viewer and Christ.

Figure 5.11 Detail, Summoning of the Twelve, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The domed structure in the background has the appearance of a church, much like that in the Temptation which was clearly the high temple. The physical placement creates a strong vertical line from the building, through to Jesus, reinforcing the establishment of the Church by Christ. Via the connection of the water, the viewer then participates in this direct line, through Jesus to the Church. The text above the image is from Psalm 44: 17, "Instead of your fathers, children are born to you, you shall set them as princes over all the earth."[60] This indicates that distinction and honour are drawn from the proceeding generations, rather than the preceding. In this way Christ establishes the lineage, his honour and dignity to be drawn from those who follow him, not from his earthly lineage though it was a line of kings. The verse continues that they will be made princes over all the earth, not just a territory. Further, that his authority and renown would be spread through his children to all lands, a prince made by the authority of Jesus not by inheritance. This foreshadows the new covenant provided by Christ through his children as opposed to the old covenant the Mosaic Law of his ancestors.

The text below the image is Luke 6:13, "And the lord Jesus called his disciples, and chose twelve of them, who he also named apostles."[61] This verse clarifies the action, linking with the verse above the image. Fulfilling the verse from Psalms, the apostles will be sent out to establish his Church over all the earth. The number of apostles is important as well, as this is one of the significant numbers within Christian numerology and symbolizes perfection.[62]

The relationship between the image and the Biblical verses establishes the lineage of Jesus as founder of the Church of the new covenant, and his choice of twelve of his disciples as apostles to spread the gospel. The combination of the two verses emphasise the lineage of Jesus's authority that he passed on to his apostles. It links Jesus not only to his apostles, but also to the Church he founded, which is accentuated through the visual line that creates a connection between the Church in the background with Jesus, and thence through his gesturing hand, to his apostles. This supports in turn the Catholic confessional message, as it was Peter that Jesus then appointed as vicar of

[60] "In stede dyner Vedere sint dir Kinder geboren/de werdst du setten tho försten ouer alle de Werlt/Psalm.44." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XIIII.
[61] "Und der Her Jesus reip syne Jüngeren/und erwelde uth enn twelve/de he oick Apostelen noemenede/ Luc.6." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XIIII.
[62] The recurrence of 12 is notable, from the 12 tribes of Israel, to the 12 apostles, to the 12 gates.

the Church, a lineage from which the Catholic Church can claim a direct descent. This association established in the image-Biblical text relationship is then stressed through the accompanying facing text.

The following text uses this opportunity to make a direct reference to the Catholic Church through the successors of Peter. It begins by stating that Jesus has "gathered his Apostles and Disciples together that they may act as his *legates* and messengers that the word of life may be brought to the whole world."[63] The text goes on, "Give your mercy to all rightly ordered successors of Peter and all of your Apostles and disciples, that our souls (as you have commanded) remain true, and that we also (as simple sheep) are happily obedient...."[64] Legate refers here to a Church emissary, sent directly by the Pope. This affirms the direct connection between Jesus choosing disciples as Legates, and the pope choosing Legates, underscoring the lineage of the pope as the legitimate successor of Peter. Additionally this supports the assertion of the authority of the Catholic "Princes of the Church", referring back to the legitimacy of their authority as coming from Jesus. The image-text relationship between the three elements here firmly and clearly establishes the Catholic confessional message of the legitimacy and unbroken holy lineage of the Catholic Church.

The Marriage at Cana

The marriage at Cana marks not only the first miracle of Jesus' public ministry, but it also establishes the intercession of Mary, here between the newlywed couple and her son. The event is a wedding to which Mary, Jesus and his disciples were invited. A lack of wine would have reflected badly on the newlywed couple and their families, thus when the hosts ran out of wine, Mary pointed this out to Jesus. The next verse simply has Mary instructing the servers to do what Jesus asks. Mary's response reflects her unwavering faith that Jesus would fulfil her request. Mary's faith in the response from her son established the role of Mary as intercessor on behalf of humanity.

---

[63] "…so heffstu ock vort an dyne Apostolen unnd Jüneren uthgekoren/Dat se/als dyne Legaten und Gesanten/dat Wort des Leuens dorch die gantze Werlt verkündigen sollten", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XIIII.

[64] "Giff doch genade/dat aller rechte ordentliche Successoren Petri und alle dyner Apostelen und Jüngeren/unsere Seelen (wie du befolen heffst) getruwelich weiden/und dat oick wir/(als simpele Schäpelin) gern gehorsam syn….", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XIIII.

Figure 5.12 Detail, Marriage at Cana, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

In figure 5.12 the virginal bride, identified by a small crown and her loosely flowing hair, is placed in a position of honour between Jesus and his mother. The figures of Jesus and Mary stand out in part due to their halos. The eye lights first upon Jesus who is directly on the left and who is both slightly larger and set apart from the others. He is pictured with jars at his feet and hand up with an indefinite gesture as he speaks with the chief steward. Mary is speaking with the bride, her gesture one of confidence and reassurance. Like the offering in the temple (figure 5.7), Mary is in a position of honour in the centre of the composition emphasising her role as intercessor. The image shows the rest of the guests in conversation, unaware of the unfolding events.

The verse above the image is Psalm 138:14.[65] It is a common praise of God, stating, "Wonderful are thy works, oh Lord."[66] The reference is not only to God the creator, but also to the miracles that Jesus would perform as the anointed one and son of God.

The lower text references John 2:9, "As the chief steward tasted the wine (which was water) and knew not from whence it came/etc."[67] The miracle was not common knowledge, as only the disciples, Mary and the servants knew. The chief steward and other guests were unaware of the provenance of the wine. This forges a link to the viewer who shares in the knowledge of the miracle unknown to the participants in the image.

The image-text relationship between the presentation and the Bible verses reinforces praise for Jesus and his actions and introduces the miracle of Jesus, even though his public ministry had not yet begun. Additionally, the image-text relationship establishes the intercessory role of Mary through her central placement in the image, and her request of her son to remedy the lack of wine. The presentation of Mary in this central position reinforces the importance of Mary in the Catholic Church and recommends the honour found in Marian devotion.

The prayer underscores the image-text relationship supporting the miracle of Jesus, the intercession of Mary on behalf of mankind and also the sacrament of marriage represented by the celebration. It states that this was the first miracle of Jesus, done at the behest of his mother, in honour of the newlyweds.[68] The text validates Mary's role as intercessor stating that Jesus honoured his mother Mary through the first miracle.[69] The central positioning of Mary also emphasizes her intercessory role, which

---

[65] This verse number is from the Greek Septuagint and Latin Vulgate numbering system, which differs from the more common Masoretic Hebrew numbering system most often found today, which has this particular verse numbered 139.

[66] "Verwunderlich sint dyne Werck O Her. Psalm.138", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XV.

[67] "Als aver der Spysemeister schmakede den Wyn (der Water gewesen was) und wuste nicht warher der gekomen was/xc. Joan.2.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XV.

[68] "…du den H. Ehestand/…bestediget…und up anhalden und vorbitt dyner leivesten Moder Marie/mit dinem ersten Mirackel (nemlick/mit der verwandlung Waters in Wyn) verehrt heffst." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XV.

[69] *"…/*und up anhalden und vorbitt dyner leivesten Moder Marie/mit dinem ersten Mirackel (nemlick/mit der verwandlung Waters in Wyn) verehrt heffst:… ", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XV.

was denied by both the Lutheran and Reformed churches.[70] Furthermore, it attests that by his mere presence Jesus endorsed the sacrament of marriage and further emphasised this endorsement through the miracle to support the newlywed couple with the creation of wine.[71] The text then petitions for a "blessing upon Christian married couples for the marriage and household that they would remain in the will of God and holy within the union."[72] By placing Jesus and his mother in roles of support of the sacrament of Marriage, and by conferring blessing upon the union through this miracle, it emphasizes the scriptural foundation for marriage as a sacrament, as propounded by the Catholic Church.

Thus the text-image relationship once again verifies specific elements of Catholic theology, such as the role of Mary and the sacrament of marriage. Through these elements, the complex image-text relationship furthers the Catholic confessional program of Ernst von Bayern, particularly the emphasis on Marian devotion.

The Last Supper

The Last Supper is possibly one of the best known images of the life of Christ apart from the Nativity. Figure 5.13 portrays the twelve disciples surrounding Jesus who is central to both the table and the composition. Leaning on the lap of Jesus is John, a pictorial convention shown in earlier influential works such as the *Biblia Pauperum.*[73] This is the sacrament of the Eucharist, and is directly after Jesus revealed that one at the table will betray him. Easily identifiable to the reader, Judas occupies the foreground clutching his money bag in his left hand on his lap, a clear visual indicator of not only his status as "treasurer" but also his acceptance of the silver payment to betray Jesus.[74] On

---

[70] "CANON I. If anyone says, that matrimony is not truly and properly one of the seven sacraments of the evangelic law, (a sacrament) instituted by Christ the Lord; but that it has been invented by men in the Church; and that it does not confer grace; let him be anathema.", Twenty-fourth Session (11 November 1563). *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Celebrated under Paul III. Julius III. And Pius IV. Bishops of Rome.* English translation, London:T.Y., 1687, 122.

[71] "…der du den H. Ehestand/sampt dynen leiuen Apostolen/tho Cana in Galieae bestediget…", *Catechismus und Betböklin,* XI.

[72] "…Giff doch allen christlicken Ehelüden genade/dat se alsock en hyligen Standt Godtfrüchtiglich anfangen/und darin freidsamlich leven/ere Kinder und Huißgesinde/nach dynem Gödtligen Willen uptein und regere/up dat se thosamen moegen selig werden/…", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XI.

[73] See for example, *Biblia Pauperum: facsimile edition of the forty-leaf blockbook in the library of the Eszergom Cathedral,* (Budapest: Corvina,1967).

[74] John 12:6 "...and having the purse, carried the things that were put therein." And John 13:29 "...because Judas had the purse..." Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1625, 1628.

the table are the significant elements that would become the sacrament of the Eucharist, the plate with the bread, which appears as Eucharistic wafers and one cup directly beside the plate. These elements serve as a visual reminder of the purpose of the Last Supper, the physical manifestation of the relationship between the believer and Christ. The bread and the wine are transubstantiated through the liturgy into the flesh and blood of Christ. To emphasise this Jesus is physically juxtaposed directly behind the plate and cup.

Figure 5.13 The Last Supper, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

Compositional influences for this image are seen in Dürer's *Small Passion,* figure 5.14, a series of 36 small quarto format woodcut images published in 1511, and the

Rosario della gloriosa Vergine, figure 5.15, first published in 1522.[75] Both of these renderings, like those of Van Leyden and the *Rosario*, show unmistakable conformity of the placement of the figures, the setting of the table and the space in the room.[76]

Figure 5.14 Last Supper, *Rosario Gloriosa Vergine Maria*, 1591.

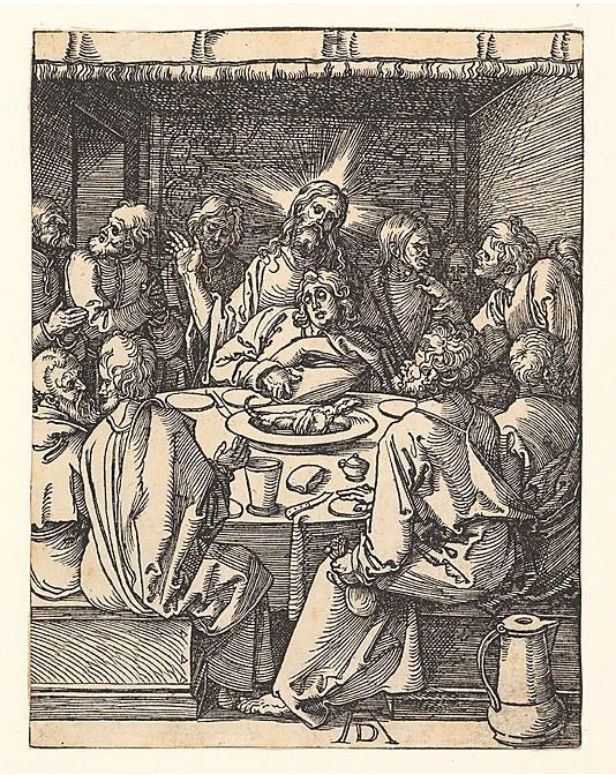

Figure 5.15 Albrecht Dürer, The Last Supper, *Small Passion,* 1511, Metropolitan Museum of art, N.Y

As in the case of earlier images with compositional similarities, this attests to the mobile nature of books and graphic prints. These three stem from very distant places in the early modern world, Venice, Nürnberg and Münster. The most significant difference however is that in neither of the earlier works is a visual implication of the paten and the chalice as is clear in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*. The similarities of composition highlight that although most of the elements in the images may be the same, the changes in the details for the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* are significant for the use of the image in conjunction with the text presenting a distinct confessional message.

[75] Dürer's *Small Passion* series focuses on the Passion of Christ but like the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, begins with the Fall and Expulsion, moving onto the Annunciation and the Nativity before focussing on the events of the passion.

[76] This rendering would go on to influence numerous Northern European artists for Generations, such as Virgil Solis, and Jost Amman, along with artists working in other mediums such as tapestry designer Bernard van Orley.

The text above the image in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* gives two Old Testament references, Genesis 14:18 and Psalms 109:4.[77] The first indicates the lineage of Melchisedech as not only a king but also a priest of God, who brought forth bread and wine to bless Abram. The second refers to the Lord, a foreshadowing of Jesus, a priest in the order of Melchisidech. Both of these verses refer to the eternal nature of the priesthood, as Melchisidech was a priest without beginning or end, unlike the Levitical priesthood that Jesus would replace with the new covenant.

The verse below the image, Matthew 26:26-27a, provides the narrative for the image, describing Jesus blessing and breaking the bread, then taking the chalice and giving thanks.[78] It was through this action that the sacrament of the Eucharist was established.[79] The image utilizes this narrative passage to visually present the Catholic Eucharistic wafers and Chalice to differentiate it from both pre-Reformation and Protestant depictions of the scene, giving it a specific Catholic confessional reading.

The image-text relationship for the Last Supper is subtle, but vital. The Old Testament verse establishes Jesus as a priest in the order of Melchisidech, establishing Jesus' spiritual lineage as a priest without beginning or end, in the same manner as the Godhead. The New Testament verse describes the establishment of the Eucharist, the act that allows the communicant to participate in remembrance of the Last Supper. These three verses create continuity from Mosaic Law to the New Covenant through Jesus and his act of sacrifice symbolized in the Eucharist. This echoes the continuity of the Catholic Church, as it was the direct inheritor of the Eucharistic tradition. Furthermore, this very sense of continuity that the Catholic Church represents links directly through the pope to the eternal nature of the priesthood that Jesus represents. Finally, depicted in the image, was the visual establishment of the Eucharist as described in the text, this specific element also supports Catholic confessionalization, as the substance of the Eucharist proved a point of great difference between the Catholic and Protestant belief systems.

---

[77] "Melchesidech der könning van Salem/droeg Broit und Wyn herfor/wante he was ein Prester Gots des Allerhögsten/Gen.14.Psalm.109." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XXIII.

[78] "Do se auer tho nacht eten/nam Jesus dat Broit/und benedyede/und bracks/und gaffs den Jüngern und sprack:Nemmet hen/und ettet/Dat ist myn Lyff/und he nam den Kelck/und danckt/re. Mat.26." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XXIII.

[79] As pointed out by Dr. Frank Klaassen, the firm scriptural identification and establishment of the Eucharist as a sacrament further enhances and supports the previous presentation of the sacrament of marriage.

The facing text then builds upon this confessional message by further referencing the establishment of the Priesthood of Jesus. It begins with the position of Jesus as the "true high priest, in the order of Melchisidech", and continues with "the sacrifice of his body and blood that are the holiest sacrament that he has given to his holy Church as a reminder of his innocence and his sacrifice."[80] The text goes on to urge "that all approach this Sacrament with proper faith and honour", and additionally that the supplicant would come to the sacrament "with humble and considered understanding" that they may be united with Jesus, not to be separated from him.[81] This reinforces the image-text message by articulating the lineage of the Catholic Church referencing Jesus as the high priest in a long established lineage, a priesthood continued by his "holy [Catholic] Church." Moreover the reader is prompted to recognize the dogma of transubstantiation, rejected by the Protestants. The text emphasises the "holiest" of sacraments, underscoring the error of the Protestant perception, by emphasizing the connections of the ritual with the institution of the Catholic Church.

The Judas Kiss Betrayal of Christ

The betrayal and arrest of Jesus, also commonly known as the Judas kiss, is told in all four gospels (Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22 and John 18) with varying levels of detail. This is the first of the violent actions towards Jesus in the passion sequence and describes the betrayal of Jesus by Judas. Judas previously accepted a payment of 30 silver coins from the chief priests, and established a signal to identify Jesus to the temple soldiers who came to arrest him. The incident takes place in the Garden of Gethsemane.

Figure 5.16 combines a number of elements from this narrative. To the right of centre is the main narrative, the identifying kiss. Jesus is portrayed as compliant accepting his arrest by the surrounding soldiers. In the foreground Peter, with raised sword, prepares to cut off the ear of the servant of the high priest who is depicted

---

[80] "O Herr Jesu Christe/du wahre Hoge ewige Prester/nach der Ordnung Melchisedech/der du mit hertzlige verlangen/und uth groter leffte/dat hiligste Sacrament dynes waren Lyves und blodes heffst ingesatt/in der Nacht als du verraden wordest/welches du dyner hyligen Kercken to steder gedechtnusse/...", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XXIII.

[81]"... Lath uns doch/dat genaderykeste Sacrament/mit rechtem Gelouen allerydt verehren/und oick mit gebörliker vorbereidunge gern demödiglick entfangen/up dat wir/met dir vereinigt syn.und van dir nimmer gescheiden werden...", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XXIII.

carrying the light, in this case a lantern. The violence of Peter's action with upraised sword is balanced by the peacefulness of Jesus with his hands down, in submission.

Figure 5.16 The Betrayal of Christ, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

In the background are fleeing figures, apparently naked. This reflects Mark's account: "Then his disciples leaving him, all fled away. And a certain young man followed him,

having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and they laid hold on him. But he, casting off the linen cloth, fled from them naked."[82]

The upper text refers to 2 Kings 20:9. Joab, out of jealousy murders Amasa by betraying his intention under the guise of friendship.[83] The guise of friendship was a kiss of respect and kindliness, like that of Judas. The difference is that Amasa was unaware of Joab's intention whereas Jesus had already prophesied Judas' intent. The lower text describes the event from Matthew 26:48b, "...the one who I kiss (spoke Judas) it is he, arrest him."[84] The lower text provides the narrative, and both clarifies the point of action, and identifies the persons involved.

The relationship created between these verses and the central image emphasizes the betrayal of Jesus by one of his apostles, one of the men he personally appointed, and trusted. The Old Testament text implies that Judas was motivated, at least partly, by jealousy, and the reader also knows from the Last Supper, greed. The story of Joab and Amasa provides a prefiguration for the betrayal, thus through the image and the lower verse, the prophecy in the prefiguration is fulfilled. Betrayal is the crux of this image-text relationship, that the facing text expands upon, and directs the reader to a Catholic specific understanding.

The prayer underlines the Catholic confessional message by stating "loose us from the binds of our sins, and bind us to the Catholic Church, in unity and dutifulness in your Holy Church, and Christian community."[85] Through highlighting the betrayal by a close companion, linking this through both the Old and the New Testaments, this implies the betrayal of the unity and endurance of the Church, by the splitting from the Catholic Church by the Protestants, notoriously by Luther who once was a monk. The text calls attention to the Catholic Church, the Holy Church, encouraging sinners to turn away from their sins and be reunited with the church. The strong language underlines the treachery of the actions of Judas, but also unfaithfulness of those who have turned away from her.

---

[82] Mark 14:50-52, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible* 1544.
[83] "Joab sprack tho Amasa (den he verrädelick erstack) Wes gegrott myn Broder/2.Reg.20.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XXV.
[84] "Welckeren ick küssen werde (sprack Judas)der ists/den gryper an/Matth.26.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XXV.
[85] "...Löse uns doch van den Bänden unser Sünden/Aver im Bande des Catholische fredes.in einigheit und gehorsamheit diner H. Kercken/und Christliken leisste...", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XXV.

The Supper at Emmaus

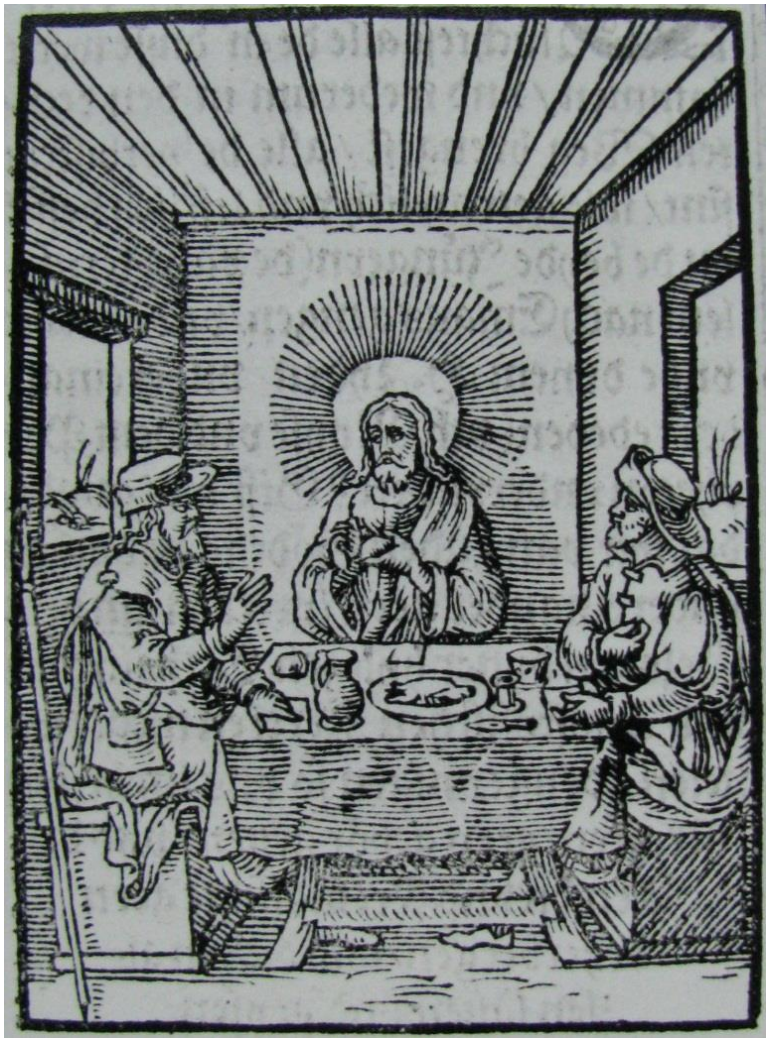

Figure 5.17 Detail, Supper at Emmaus, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The Supper at Emmaus tells of the return of Jesus after the resurrection when he appeared to two of his disciples who did not recognize him. The narrative, Luke 24: 13-31, explains that as the disciples were walking and discussing the recent events and Jesus' death, a man joined them and inquired why they were sad. They explained the events of the crucifixion, and their sadness at Jesus' failure to rise up to redeem Israel. Following this, the man continues speaking making scriptural references to Jesus and the prophecies concerning him, yet through this, the disciples do not recognize Jesus. Upon reaching their destination, they invited Jesus to join them for a meal. It was only when Jesus blessed the meal when breaking the bread, a physical reminder of the Eucharist, that they recognized him. Upon their recognition of him he vanished. This

constituted an important lesson for the disciples about faith, illustrating that not only common people but even his own disciples failed to recognize Jesus.

Figure 5.17 shows the figures sitting at the table, the two disciples having received the revelation that it is Jesus who sits with them. As with the Last Supper, Jesus is central in the image, and the perspective (and orthogonal lines) of the composition lead the eye to his head and the action of his hands breaking the bread. The two disciples are shown in attitudes of wonder, with gestures of both surprise and amazement. Although the compositional setting is reminiscent of the Last Supper, there is no indication of the Eucharist. Here it is simply a meal, the significance lies rather in the revelation of Jesus' return.

Psalm 118, a portion of which is found above, includes a number of important lessons particularly significant to the circumstances of the disciples questioning and sorrow, including appeals for wisdom, support through trials, and reassurance. The chapter is summed up in one of the last verses (169) "Let my supplication, O Lord, come near in thy sight; give me understanding according to thy word."[86] This speaks directly to the image by distinguishing seeing and understanding. The text quoted above the image comes from two different verses in this chapter, the first, Psalm 118:130 "The declaration of thy words giveth light: and giveth understanding to little ones." The word light here has a double meaning: the light of Jesus-a physical embodiment of the light of the spirit, and the light of revelation for the reader. This clarifies the understanding of the disciples who's eyes were opened in recognition. The second reference is Psalm 118:140a "Thy word is exceedingly refined."[87] Here *refined* relates to what is refined through fire, to remove any impurities. The vulgate uses the word "ignitum", which in turn refers to fire, for both refining, as well as in ardent or intense speech. The fire not only removes impurities, but in turn refines the reader, and as Haydock states, "enlightens

[86] Psalm 118:169 , Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 835.
[87] "Wanner dyn Wort erkleret wert/so er=luechtet eth/und gift den kleinen verstandt. Dyne Rede ist sehr fuerich. Psalm. 118.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin.* XLIII. The verses in translation were taken from Psalm 118:130, 140, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 834. The second reference is somewhat confusing, as the word "fuerich" is unusual, and the author was unable to find another reference to it. The closest reference was "Dein red ist wol durch fewr geleutert" Der Psalter, in the nearly contemporary *Bibell*, (Köln: J. Dietenberger Hrg., Quentel, Johann (Erben),1556), CCCXXVII r.

the penitent."[88] This shows that Jesus had fulfilled the prophecies, he was resurrected, having gone to and returned from the fire of hell.

The lower text is from Luke 24, "And they spoke with one another; was not our heart burning in us, while he spoke with us on the way and explained the scripture?"[89] This describes the understanding that came to the disciples after Jesus had disappeared, clarifying that though their mind did not understand their hearts were already full of light.

Taken together the text and image encompass the fulfillment of prophecy, and also revelation, or the illumination of the individual to both spiritual and temporal truth. The image presents the moment the disciples witness Jesus blessing and breaking the bread, an act reminiscent of the Last Supper. At the Last Supper Jesus predicted his death, something that was fulfilled, though the disciples were disappointed and had lost faith in his resurrection. They did not recognize Jesus on the road, even as he related scripture referring to himself. Accentuating the ignorance of the disciples and their lack of perception alludes to the implication that the Catholic Church, the true Church, is not recognized, and thus rejected. The moment of enlightenment of Jesus' person, is also the moment when the disciples understand the fulfillment of the promise of the resurrection. Repenting of their lack of faith, they can fully recognize what their hearts realised on the road. Jesus's divine light is both shown through the halo, and also alluded to through scripture. The viewer/reader can also connect to this light through revelation, having acknowledged and accepted the resurrection of Christ.

The accompanying text directs this image-text relationship to support the Catholic confessionalization message. It is directed to Jesus, stating that he is the "true light, lighting all in this world, and will bring all to the right way" as with his disciples.[90] Here again is the reference to Jesus as the light, and to emphasize this, it states the "true" light. This underlines not only the revelation to the disciples of his divine nature, but also stresses the true path that is found through Jesus. It then describes how Jesus spoke with his disciples and steered them to the truth. The prayer goes on to request mercy for

---

[88] Psalm 118, *Haydock's Catholic Bible Commentary*, accessed February 12, 2013, http://haydock1859.tripod.com/id843.html.

[89] "Und se sprecken undereinander: Was nich unse Herte bernde in uns/do he mit uns redede up dem Wege/und verkarede de Schrifft? Luc.24.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIII.

[90] "…Jesu Christe/der du bist dat ware lecht.un er=lüchtest alle de in süsse werlt kommen.und wederum in den rechten Weg brengest…", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIII.

speech, that "good and Godly things be spoken to one another, and gladly speak about, and not despair in the belief of his holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."[91] The text then not only petitions that the supplicant be guided in words and belief, but also emphasizes that the Catholic Church is the true church as established by Peter, through the charge of Jesus who was the true light as witnessed by Peter, James and John on Mt. Tabor. This connects the true light of Jesus and with his representative on earth the pope, the leader of the "true" Catholic Church. Thus the image-text relationship reassures the viewer/reader that revelation, like that of the disciples, would be revealed through the Catholic Church. That one need not despair, but could take confidence that they would be guided in truth and, unlike Protestants, be able to recognize the truth when they saw it. Finally, as the disciples spoke of their revelation and the fulfillment of the resurrection after Jesus disappeared, the viewer/reader should speak about their belief in the truth of the Catholic Church, thus disseminating the Catholic message.

The Doubting of Thomas

The doubting of Thomas recounts Jesus' appearance to his disciple's after his resurrection. Thomas was not with the disciples when Jesus first appeared to them and when they told him about it, he was sceptical, stating "…Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe."[92] It is not until the next week when the disciples are again gathered that Jesus appears amongst them. He tells Thomas to touch the wounds, destroying any doubts he may have. Thomas' response is well known, he believed.

The image, figure 5.18, presents this moment of conviction. Jesus is in the center of the composition clad in little more than on the cross to emphasise his wounds, with his disciples arranged on either side of him. Thomas is on his knees humbled, his fingers in the wound in Jesus' side. His right hand holds that of Thomas at his side, and his left points up to heaven in a gesture acknowledging the belief of Thomas. Jesus then stated: "…blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed."[93] It is after this point that Jesus gives the commission for the disciples to tell the world what they have

[91] "…guden Gödtligen dingen undereinander gern sprecken/an dem Gelouen dyner hyligen Catholischen und Apostolischen Kercken…", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIII.
[92] John 20:25, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1639.
[93] John 20:29, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1639.

witnessed. The commission explains the gestures of the disciple to the right of Jesus, who points one hand to the heavens, an acknowledgement of the commission from God, the other hand to the earth, showing that the message be brought to all those on earth.

Figure 5.18 Detail, The doubting of Thomas, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The text above the image is Psalm 118:176, “I have erred, as a lost sheep, seek your servant (again).”[94] This refers to the nature of all sinners, who have erred, but hope to return to the flock. It is through belief in Jesus and his salvation that the lost sheep can return, as the sheep will not return on their own. The use of the metaphor of sheep and shepherd is prevalent in the Bible and refers almost exclusively to the mortal fallible

[94] “Ich hebbe geeret als ein verloren Schap/soeke dynen Knecht weder/Psalm 118.”, *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIIII.

nature of humanity and the divine and loving nature of Jesus respectively. This text written by Jesus' forefather David, both reflects upon David's own role as a shepherd, and foreshadows Jesus' as spiritual shepherd.

The text following the image is Luke 15:6b, "Rejoice with me, as I have found my sheep that was lost."[95] Here again is the reference to sheep, but in this case it is Jesus who is speaking parables to the public. He makes it clear here that his goal is to retrieve all those who have fallen away. The next verse in Luke goes on to say: "I say to you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance, more than upon ninety-nine just who need not penance."[96] The use of the two verses makes clear God's desire to collect all the sinners who have fallen away from the Church.

The image-text relationship developed with these two elements accentuates the desire of the Godhead for repentance and unity of all people. As the image shows, Jesus came back specifically for one disciple, in order to quell Thomas' doubt. The text emphasises this image through both the Old Testament with the Psalmists acknowledgement of his own separation from God, to the New Testament with Jesus' insistence on eliminating the separation with Thomas. Thus through the emphasis on the collection of lost sheep and the continuity of this message from the Old Testament through to the New testament, the image-text relationship alludes to the Catholic confessional program of collecting all of the lost souls back into the Catholic fold, the Church that has provided unbroken continuity.

The facing text builds upon the image-text relationship developed between the image and the scriptures, solidifying the specific Catholic confessional direction of the text. It refers not only to Thomas and the gathered disciples, but also to the collecting of lost sheep.[97] The text reinforces the importance of gathering all of the lost sheep, suggesting that like Thomas, others can doubt, and it is this disbelief that draws the sheep away from the shepherd. It goes on to reassure the reader that, like Thomas, disbelief can be brought to belief. It continues by stating that the sheep return to the sheepfold through revelation bringing about unity, the text then clarifies that the result is

---

[95] "Freuwer euch mit mir: wante ick hebbe myn Schap wedergefunden/dat verlohren was/Luc.15", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIIII.
[96] Luke 15:7, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1581.
[97] "…Herr Jesu Christe/der du dich Thome dynes Jüngers al seines verlohrnen Schäplins/in=sunderheit heffst angenommen/unnd dich und dyne hylige Vyff Wunden oppenbaret heffst/als he by der Versamlunge der Apostele weder gekommen was.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIIII.

the reunification of the holy Catholic and Apostolic church.[98] This encapsulates the particular Catholic program of Münster, which was endeavouring to bring back all those who have fallen away, drawing the apathetic souls in Münster through the leadership of the Bishop himself, and his "soldiers in Christ" the Jesuits.

Pentecost

Pentecost is often referred to as the birth of the church and in many English-speaking lands is known as Whitsunday. It is celebrated seven weeks, fifty days (the word is Greek for fiftieth *Pentēkostē*) after Easter and falls on the traditional Jewish celebration of Shavuot or the "feast of weeks." The event is described in Acts 2:1-41, as an outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the apostles and other disciples gathered for the Jewish feast. It was the impetus of the Holy Spirit, which came upon those gathered as "…tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them: And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost…"[99] In Acts it states that this is the fulfillment of the prophet Joel 2:28-32. After receiving of the Holy Spirit the disciples went out to preach the message of Jesus, in the native tongues of their listeners.

The descent of the Holy Spirit in figure 5.19 is depicted as hovering as a dove in the middle of the image and as licks of flames above the heads of all of the figures. Centrally positioned is the Virgin Mary, who is the only one seated, and the only one apart from the Holy Spirit with a halo. She occupies pride of place in this image, and is portrayed with humble grace, hands demurely placed before her chest, hair covered in a matronly manner. The dove lingers directly above her head, though the Holy Spirit flames are above the heads of all the others. The central and honoured positioning of Mary reinforces her role as mediator and intercessor, and the emphasis of this reveals a particularly Catholic presentation of Mary.

The verse above the image is Joel 2:28, "I will give out my spirit on all flesh, through which all sons and daughters will prophesy."[100] This was a prophecy of Pentecost, of the coming of the Paraclete. This verse in Joel is a part of a much larger

---

[98] "Erlüchte doch alle/de sich van Einigheit dyner hylligen Catholischen un Apostolichen Kercken affgesundert hebben.Dat se mit Thoma wederkeren.eren Erdom demödiglig bekennen…" *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIIII.
[99] Acts 2:3b-4a, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1642.
[100] "Ich werde mynen Geist uthgeiten up alle fleisch/Daruan jene Sonne und Dochtere warden propheteren/Joel 2.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* LXVII.

section which relates to the coming of the Lord, offering not only to hope for the future, but also conferring faith, repentance and reconciliation.

Figure 5.19 Detail, Pentecost, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The verse below is the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy, Acts 2:4. It states, "And they were all full of the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with diverse tongues, as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak out."[101] Haydock follows St. Augustine's interpretation of this verse meaning the ability to speak in diverse tongues relates to the ability to speak with all nations ultimately leading to the conversion of all nations united in one faith, one

[101] "Un se worden alle vull des H. Geists/und fenge an to red emit mannigerley tungen/na de der H. Geist en gaff uthtosprecken/Act.2", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* LXVII.

confession.[102] This miracle reflects the overall themes of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, the emphasis on obedience, and repentance from heresy, and return to the true church, the Catholic Church, in order to accomplish unity.

The image-text relationship establishes both the hope of the future through unity via the Holy Spirit, and also the honoured role of Mary as playing a central role as intercessory between the viewer and the Holy Spirit. The verses impart a sense of hope and unity within the Holy Spirit. Through the image and reinforcement of the text, it is clarified that all who were gathered together received the Holy Spirit, and all prophesied. Furthermore, all who are gathered are united in belief and purpose, and it was in light of this unity that the Holy Spirit descended. The importance of unity, like that of obedience, has been impressed upon the reader throughout the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, and here too implies that unity is necessary for the fulfillment of the promises in the Bible. The implication of the necessity of unity within the image-text relationship supports the Catholic confessional message of the text. Furthermore, the image presents a conduit for the viewer/reader to arrive at unity, the central figure of this image, Mary. Although it is clearly shown that all those gathered received the Holy Spirit, it is really only Mary who faces the viewer/reader, and provides a visual connection between the reader and the Holy Spirit as a dove above her head. This presentation of the intermediary role of Mary reinforces her role as intercessor, supported by Marian Devotions.

The accompanying text facing this image further reinforces and clarifies this relationship. It begins by thanking Jesus for sending the Holy Spirit from his heavenly Father to both the apostles and the first Christians.[103] It continues by pointing out that "through the orderly successors and followers, even the poor heathens throughout the world can be brought to the sheep stall of your Holy Universal Church."[104] This establishes not only the lineage of the Catholic Church, but also the primacy of its mission. The text continues by emphasizing unity under this Church established by the Holy Spirit, "Oh almighty God through the selfsame Holy Spirit sustain and perpetuate

---

[102] Haydock's Catholic Bible Commentary 1859 edition, accessed February 15, 2013, http://haydock1859.tripod.com/id117.html.

[103] "*O Her Jesu Christe/dat du am Pinrdage dynen Apostelen und ersten Christgelöuigen dynen H. Geist/van dynem Hemelische Vader/so mildiglich und rycklich ge=sant heffst…", Catechismus Und Betböklin,* LXVII.

[104] "…und ere ordentlige Successoren und Na=folger/ock de arme Heidenschop/dorch alle de Werlt/tom Schapestal dyner H. Allgemeinen Kercken vergadert heffst. ", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* LXVII.

unity of your Holy Church through the true faith."[105] Through this text, it is yet again clear that all three elements, the image, scriptural references and accompanying prayer all work together to support the Catholic confessional message, reinforcing through the lineage of the successors of Peter the responsibility and the duty of the Church to the people, but also that of the people to the Church. Through this legitimate lineage the Catholic Church is granted interpretation of scripture, unavailable to the Protestants.[106] Furthermore, the emphasis of the legitimacy of the Catholic Church as the "Holy Universal Church", affirms the legitimacy of their role in converting the heathen and bringing back those who have fallen into error.

The Assumption of the Virgin

The final image considered here refers to Mary's assumption into heaven. This event is not in the Bible but is rather founded on the apocryphal treatise *De Obitu S. Dominae*, likewise in *De Transitu Verginis*, and in sermons from the eighth century onwards.[107] Although it is not Biblical, the Assumption of the Virgin has taken its place among the teachings since at least the time of the above mentioned source in the sixth century. Eamon Duffy states "there is, clearly, no historical evidence whatever for [the Assumption of the Virgin]."[108] It was firmly established tradition by the early modern period, although not established as dogma until the twentieth century. The inclusion of this event in this devotional text is crucial for stressing its Catholic confessional nature as the Assumption of the Virgin is a doctrine that is not accepted by the Lutheran or Calvinist Churches.

The image, figure 5.20, shows the Virgin being welcomed into heaven by Jesus, with God the Father beside her and the Holy Spirit above. This figure grouping is surrounded by putti, with one in the front blowing a large trumpet. Jesus is central to this composition, who by his action leads the eye to the focus of his attention, Mary. The Trinity is clearly displayed by the close positioning of the halos. In this image, Mary is given a halo, but it is decidedly simpler than those of the Trinity. Mary's status as a virgin

---

[105] "O allmechtiger Got/dorch den selbigen H. Geist erhalde und bewahre doch deselbige dyne H. Kercke by der Einigheit des rechten Gelouens…", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* LXVII.
[106] As pointed out by Dr. Frank Klaassen.
[107] Frederick Holweck, "The Feast of the Assumption." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. (2. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed February 17, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02006b.htm.
[108] Eamon Duffy, *What Catholics Believe about Mary*, (London: Catholic Truth Society,1989), 17.

is emphasized by her hair, long and flowing loosely as that of a young maiden. God the father is presented as an old man, wearing a crown, with one hand holding the orb. The orb is a recognized symbol of authority, though here representing spiritual, is also used to represent temporal authority.

Figure 5.20 The Assumption of the Virgin, *Catechismus Und Betböklin*

The text above the image is taken from 2 Kings 6:15, though slightly altered: "David and the whole of Israel brought the Ark of the Lord in Jerusalem with rejoicing."[109] This draws attention to the role of the Ark of the Covenant, as it represented the covenant of God with the Israelites. The Israelites rejoiced with the Ark's arrival in

[109] "David und dat gantze Israel souden de Arcken des Herren in Jierusalem mit ??cu=den. 2.Reg.6.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIX.

Jerusalem as it meant that God's promise was with them and that they could partake in the blessing that its presence represented.

The lower text is from Luke 10:42, "Mary has chosen the best part, and it shall not be taken away from her."[110] This refers not to Mary mother of Jesus, but rather Mary sister of Martha and Lazarus. The verse describes the difference in actions between the two sisters, one who was serving, and the other who listened to Jesus' words. When Martha complains to Jesus that he should ask her sister to help her, Jesus stated, that Mary had chosen to listen to spiritual things, rather than worry about temporal ones. When Jesus exclaims that Mary has chosen the best part, he is gently explaining that spiritual sustenance is more important than physical and that it would not be denied to anyone seeking it. The Virgin Mary chose to accept the will of God and the blessings and tribulations that this entailed and is welcomed in heaven. She is an important intercessor between humanity and her son through her role as Theotokos, Mother of God.

The theme developed in the relationship between the image and scripture is the establishment of Mary as intercessor. The positioning of the Old Testament verse with the image of Mary creates a link between the Ark of the Covenant and the Virgin, highlighting the intercessory nature of both vessels. The Ark was the manifest presence of God, in the same spirit that the Virgin enabled the presence of God to be manifest through her obedience and willingness to be a vessel for Jesus. The verse from 2 Kings also refers to the rejoicing with which the nation of Israel welcomed the Ark, the same rejoicing that the cherubim show here with the welcoming of the Virgin into heaven. In turn, it is the same rejoicing and respect that the Catholic Church gives to her as intercessor. Mary was the vessel that brought Jesus into the world and it was he who fulfilled the law that the Ark of the Covenant represents. The New Testament verse, although not technically directed at Mary mother of Jesus, supports her obedience and faithfulness. This verse reinforces the choice that Mary made and the result of her choice is evident in the image, she is welcomed into heaven by the Godhead, and her son is reaching out his hands to lift her up. The combination of image and scripture bolsters the importance of Mary and legitimises her connection with her son. This

[110] "Maria yefft den hasten deil utherkoren/der sall nit van er genomen werden.Luc.10.", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* XLIX.

supports the intercessory function of Mary for humanity. Also, the connection between the Old and New Testaments reinforces the continuity of intercession on behalf of humanity, first of the Ark with the old Covenant, then Mary with the new Covenant. This continuity also alludes to the Catholic Church, and its unbroken lineage.

The text on the facing page further clarifies the image-text relationship by expanding on the theme of choosing the blessed spiritual path. After a description of the love of Jesus for his mother, and her devotion to him to the point of a "broken" heart, (a pierced heart, as stated by Simeon), it states that the Virgin "was taken from this veil of tears, and with a choir of angels left [the earth] with both body and spirit."[111] The text implies, rather than stating directly, that like Mary sister of Lazarus, the reader may "serve him truly, that is, by having made the best choice, with both body and spirit."[112]

This establishes a meaningful relationship between service and intercession. The service here is a spiritual one, and speaks to the paramount need of the spirit over the body, and continues with the Virgin in a position to intercede on the part of the spiritual needs of humanity with her son. Her physical position here reflects her status, she is not divine as the Trinity, but she is holy. Through this position, as shown here, she serves as intercessor, a role emphasized throughout this text, and one that is part of the confessionalization message of the Catholic Church.

The final text in the *Catechismus und Betböklin* reiterates not only the purpose of the work as a devotional text, but also its use as a confessional tool to reinforce the Catholic doctrine through a visual catechism. It begins with a call to prayer, that those reading this book are likened to those who prayed on Friday after the passion.[113] The prayer speaks of mercy for guidance yet in this particular text the request is for "guidance for all spiritual and temporal leadership, which they would lead with good Christian concord on behalf of the Lord, for the good and freedom of all Christians."[114]

---

[111] "…Herr Jesu Christe/der du dyne leueste Moder Maria…under erem Junfferligen Herten gedreggen heffst/to lest uth düssem Jammerdall genommen.und bouen alle Chör der Engeln met Lyff und Seele erhauen heffst." *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* LIX.

[112] "…dat wir dir in jyligheit und gerechtigheit/mit Lyff und Seele getruwlich deinen…", *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* LIX.

[113] "Wie de H. Kerck Godts am Stillen Fryedage nach der Passion bidet vor alle Stende und Menschen: Also folget oick up dütt Passional=boeklin/ein gemein Gebedt." No page number, *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*

[114] "Erlüchte und sterke in allem gude alle Geistlige und Wertlige Overigheit/up dat se in guder Christliger Eindracht alles beförderen/wat to dyner ehr/to unserem heyl/und to gemeine frede der Christenheit gedyg=gen mag." No page number, *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*

This is a direct call to leadership to rule well, with guidance from God. This means guiding the flock in the right direction according to the truth, in this sense the true Church. To underscore this, the text goes on to read, "give us O' God the freedom for truth and unity in belief, and destroy all heresy, sects and splintering, searching for all your loved sheep, bringing them back to truth…."[115] This presents a clear denunciation of all other beliefs, and the necessity of returning those sheep that have erred back to the true church. This reinforces the confessional message presented through a number of the image-text relationships, that of the desire of Jesus for unity, and that through unity in the true Church the promise of eternal life will be fulfilled. This sentiment is reinforced by "return our hearts to the true message and reform our lives."[116] Thus the message of reform and return to the Catholic Church is a clear confirmation of the confessional message that this book is meant to convey.

The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* is highly representative, if not commonplace, in its iconography, typology, selection of biblical texts, and interpretive commentary as a graphic manifestation of the Catholic worldview. The links between text and image found in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* employed and developed an earlier established understanding of theological concepts inherent in the images and inscriptions. These images would be well known to the readers, however it is through the relationship with the text that the image takes on and supports the particular confessional message. The language of this work though not harsh, establishes the message of obedience, and the truth of the Catholic Church, conversely the error of all others. This council for repentance from heresy with which this work ends is very much in the militant tone of the initial confessionalization program of Ernst von Bayern. The emphasis on the sacraments presented in this work also reinforces Catholic doctrine and addresses the key areas of dispute with Protestants. Finally, through the promotion of Mary visually and textually, this work reinforces distinct Catholic interpretations, such as the role of the Virgin Mary as intercessor. All of these elements encouraged and reinforced through the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* were components of the overall Catholic confessionalization

[115] "Verlehne uns O Got des friedes/rechte Einigheit im Gelouen/und verdelge alle Ketterye/Secten und spaltungen/Soe=ke dyne verloven Schapelin/und brengk we=der tho rechte…", No page number, *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*

[116] "Bekehre unse Herte to wahrer bote und betterung des Le=uens." No page number, *Catechismus Und Betböklin.*

program of Ernst von Bayern and demonstrate how printed material was employed as a tool in his strategy to return Münster firmly back into the Catholic fold.

Chapter Six

Images as a means to deepen established Catholic piety

The Vita Christi Series at the opening of the Seventeenth century

The *Vita Christi* of Matthäus Tympe, first printed in 1607, reflects the continuation of the confessionalization program of Ernst von Bayern utilising a slightly different strategy than that of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*. To accomplish its goal of fortifying the position and authority of the Catholic Church the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* used aggressive language and vocabulary that focused on the consequences of rejection of authority and praised obedience and submission. The *Vita Christi* provided a means of reinforcing and intensifying Catholic practice after it was re-established and strengthened by the initial actions of the confessionalization program in Münster. The emphasis on the deepening of an established Catholic piety in the *Vita Christi* is accomplished by asserting the unbroken connection with the pre-Reformation medieval piety.

Although the images in both publications are the same, the image-text relationships are different, and the text that guides the reader through the images reinforces distinct and dissimilar emotional responses. Both works rely on the familiarity of the image to engage the viewer/reader with the text then directing the reader through a specific reading of the image with the image-text relationship, then continuing with further instruction and encouragement within the Catholic faith. The image-text relationship in the *Vita Christi* differs from the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, in that it utilizes the image as a mnemonic device for a meditational reading of the text presented with particular overtones of the adapting confessional program.

The language in the *Vita Christi* is supportive, descriptive, encouraging and contemplative, focussing on the intercession of the Virgin and the compassion of Christ through visualization of his suffering. Not only is the tone of the language different, but the *Vita Christi* first published in Münster a mere decade after the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, no longer uses the Münster dialect, but it is rather printed in High German.[1]

[1] Although it is High German, at this point it is still a developing language, spelling for instance is not standardized.

This change of the written language from the local Low German dialect to High German began in Münster already in 1529. However it was not until between 1580 to approximately 1610 that this second phase of the transition took place, when High German became the language of the guilds, schools, church, book printing and private life.[2] It took much longer for the transition from the written Low German dialect to the High German in the smaller centres surrounding Münster and in private affairs, the Low German dialect continued well into the eighteenth century.[3]

Although a different text, by association the *Vita Christi* of Matthäus Tympe draws on the reputation and esteem of the fourteenth century *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony. Tympe's*Vita Christi* is presented in the spirit of Ludolph of Saxony's work, and through this earlier work connects to medieval piety, pointing out the unbroken lineage of the Catholic Church. Tympe's *Vita Christi,* like that of the earlier work, was intended for a close reading, and encourages meditation and contemplation. It is this very contemplative nature of the *Vita Christi* that makes it an ideal instrument to use the image-text relationship to forward a specific confessional program.

Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony

The *Vita Christi* is not just a life of Christ as its name implies, but also a *summa evangelica,* containing commentary taken from Church Fathers, spiritual instructions, prayers, and meditative material, all based around the events from the life of Jesus. The *Vita Christi* thought to have been written by Ludolph of Saxony is an encyclopaedic life of Christ.[4] The importance and the influence of the *Vita Christi* lie not only with the contents, but also because it developed and encouraged meditation upon the life of Christ. Ludoph of Saxony probably wrote this work after having entered the

---

[2] "In der Zeit zwischen 1580 und etwa 1610 erfolgte die zweite Phase des Schreibsprachen Wechsels. Sie umfasst die niedere Gerichtsbarkeit, die Schriftlichkeit der Gilden, Schule, Kirche und Buchdruck, sowie das private Schrifttum." ed. Robert Peters, Friedel Roolfs, *Plattdeutsch macht Geschichte: Niederdeutsche Schriftlichkeit in Münster und im Münsterland im Wandel der Jahrhunderte,*(Münster: Aschendorff, 2009), 23.

[3] Markus Denkler, "Niederdeutsche Schriftlichkeit in Münster und im Münsterland nach 1600", ed. Robert Peters, Friedel Roolfs, *Plattdeutsch macht Geschichte,* 45.

[4] Ludolph of Saxony was a German Dominican, then Carthusian monk and prior (c. 1295-1377). Charles A. Conway Jr., "The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion centred on the Incarnation: a Descriptive Analysis", *Analecta Cartusiana*, ed. Dr. James Hogg, (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1976), 1.

Carthusians, a contemplative order known for its silence, solitude and austerity.[5] Although written in Latin, Ludolph is generally accepted to have been a Dominican prior to his call to the Carthusians, and as a mendicant his vocation would have been preaching. His audience would therefore have been not only cloistered monastics, but also people living in the world.[6] This work greatly influenced such movements as the *Devotio Moderna,* and Carmelite, Jesuit, Salesian and French schools of spiritual life.[7] Additionally, the approachability of the *Vita Christi* is vital to the study at hand, as in the hands of sixteenth century Jesuits this work creates one of many links between medieval piety and the post-Reformation Catholic Church. The *Vita Christi* was first printed Cologne in 1472 and spread rapidly from there.[8] Its popularity is proved by frequent quotation by both St. Teresa, and prolific and well known writer St. Francis de Sales.[9]

The *Vita Christi* aimed to bring readers from all walks of life into a closer relationship with God through contemplation on the life and sacrifice of his son.[10] Among the themes of the *Vita Christi* are contemplation of the divine, consideration of Jesus' devotion and obedience to his Father's plan, and an invitation to meditation on the suffering of Jesus, physical, mental and emotional. The *Vita Christi*, as with other mediational works based on the life of Christ, presented his life as the model to emulate through meditation. By emphasising the humanity and the everyday condition of Jesus' life that led to his extraordinary suffering, the *Vita Christi* underscores the capacity of the reader to participate in his life and his obedience which ultimately led to redemption. The extensive detail enumerates the virtues of Christ through his daily behaviour providing a pattern for living a virtuous life.[11]Meditational techniques encouraged by the

---

[5] Paul Shore, "The *Vita Christi* of Ludoph of Saxony and its influence on *The Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola", *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, (St. Louis: 30/1,1998), 3.
[6] Milton Walsh, ""To always be thinking somehow about Jesus" The Prologue of Ludoph's Vita Christi", *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits, (*St. Louis 43/1, 2011), 6.
[7] Conway Jr. "The Vita Christi", 2. Sister Mary Immaculate Bodenstedt, S.N.D., "Praying the Life of Christ. First English Translation of the Prayers Concluding the 181 Chapters of the Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Cathusian: The Quintessence of His Devout Meditations on the Life of Christ", *Analecta Cartusiana*, (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg,15,1973).
[8] Conway Jr. "The Vita Christi", 2.
[9] Ambrose Mougel, "Ludolph of Saxony", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908),accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09416b.htm.
[10] Shore, "The *Vita Christi* of Ludoph of Saxony", 5.
[11] Walsh, "To always be thinking somehow about Jesus", 5.

Vita Christi found themselves replicated in the popular *Devotio Moderna* and through that movement to the *Imitatio Christi*, and the *Spiritual Exercises*. This devotional culture shared by the *Spiritual Exercises* was fundamental to Jesuit academic training, making the *Vita Christi* a significant text within Jesuit colleges.[12]

The *Vita Christi's* structure roughly chronicle's the life of Jesus Christ as presented in the four Gospels of the New Testament accompanied by theological commentary.[13] It is split into two parts, the first consisting of ninety-two chapters, the second eighty-nine. Each chapter is divided into sections, some with as few as three sections, and others with as many as twenty eight. The chapters themselves are of varying length, and in the words of Sister Mary Bodenstadt are "rambling, lacking in balance and quite too long."[14]

In his analysis of the *Vita Christi*, Charles Conway describes the text as a device for remembering theological information but also as a meditative system. "Each person, event, name or object [acts] as a kind of tag or code which provides the mediator with reference points by means of which may not only learn the essence of the whole Gospel but also learn a method of envisioning the universe in a pattern harmonious with the Gospel."[15] The *Vita Christi* utilizes textual mnemonic devices and emotion to help guide the reader through the concepts of the life of Christ. Attaching an idea or a larger concept on to a name or event is the same mechanism as the use of imagery as a mnemonic device. Whereas Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* used only text, Tympe's *Vita Christi* utilized images in combination with text. The resulting image-text relationship of the Tympe's *Vita Christi* guides the reader through the life of Christ, and through its placement within the larger Catholic confessional program, the security of the Catholic Church through his chosen representative on the earth.

---

[12] Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translation of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 224.
[13] Conway Jr. "The Vita Christi", 18-19.
[14] Sister M.I. Bodenstedt S.N.D., *Praying the Life of Christ First English Translation of the Prayers Concluding the 181 Chapters of the Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian: the Quintessence of His Devout Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Analect Cartusiana, (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1973), II.
[15] Conway Jr. "The Vita Christi", 36.

The Vita Christi: Tympe's version

By the time Tympe's *Vita Christi* was first printed in Münster the number of Protestants in the city had dwindled, certainly the number of Protestants in positions of authority such as in the city council.[16] It was also then that the effect of the Jesuit schools was felt, and resulted in an increase of Catholic influence and presence in Münster. In the opening decades of the seventeenth century there was not the same sense of desperation and militancy in the Catholic confessionalization as the close of the sixteenth century. The Catholic Church in the early seventeenth century was in a stronger position, and from this position, focussed on the deepening of Catholic piety.

The anticipated readership of Tympe's *Vita Christi* was broad. The inclusivity of the intended audience is reflected through the use of simple language and concepts through to the use of references to both scripture and writings of Church fathers and Biblical quotations that require a familiarity of Biblical text and access to resources. Thus the reader may read the text superficially, or delve deeper into the references. Given this combination of elements and the raw length of such works, they were meant to appeal to a wide, if primarily literate or at least semi-literate audience from the elementary level to the learned. [17]

Tympe's *Vita Christi* first printed in 1607 was reprinted in 1624 with trivial alterations.[18] The 1607 version uses much higher quality paper, and is much clearer and easier to read. This difference in quality is most likely due to the circumstances created by the Thirty Years War, and access to materials. The title page of the 1624 edition acknowledges the change in hands of the printing house, acknowledging Michael von Dale, but altered the original dedication.[19]

The title, as is typical for the period, is an extensive description of the contents, *Vita Christi, the life of our blessed saviour Jesus Christ and his chosen Mother Maria,*

---

[16] Heinz Duchhardt, "Protestanten und "Sektierer" im Sozial- und Verfassungsleben der Bischofsstadt im konfessionellen Zeitalter", ed. Franz-Josef Jakobi, *Geschichte der Stadt Münster,* Bd. 1, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994), 243-244.

[17] Although there are markers with basic information in the cross reference material, many of the references are difficult to identify.

[18] The slight differences are font changes, and spelling. The 1607 volume is located in the private archive of Aschendorff Publishing House, Münster, the 1624 volume is located in the ULB Münster, call number RD 303, digitized: http://sammlungen.ulb.uni-muenster.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:hbz:6:1-31137

[19] The author of the dedication MatthäusTympe, died in 1616.

containing for both, the childhood until their ascension, divided into a treasury of fifty two devotional meditations.[20] This work is not attributed to Ludolph of Saxony, but rather it claims to be a shortened version of the "excellent Meditations of the venerable and erudite Messrs. Francis Coster, Vincent Bruni theologians of the Society of Jesus and the ingenious P. Luis of Granada, brought together in this short form and order by M.T."[21] Presented in the spirit of Ludoph's work, Tympe's *Vita Christi* claims a connection through the title. M.T. refers to Münster native Jesuit scholar and theologian Matthaeus Tympe, who was active in Jülich, Köln, Osnabrück and Münster.[22] Matthaeus Tympe was an important figure for Münster, a Jesuit theologian known for his writings, translations and compilations that numbered over eighty while in Münster alone. His concern for the laity can be seen through numerous texts written in the vernacular, such as devotional texts, explanatory texts, homilies, sermons and pastoral texts. Tympe also wrote to the laity about church ceremony and processions, explaining the elements, their purpose, and how to conduct oneself.[23] Francis Coster was a theologian trained in Cologne and known for his defense of the Catholic faith and doctrine, and his writing on ascetical subjects, meditations and sermons, as well as defenses against attacks by Protestant writers.[24] *Franciscu Coeterus* as he is otherwise known, was a founder of the Latin sodality in 1595, was a fervent promoter of the Rosary, as also of the Marian cult of Loreto, having been installed there as privileged *penitenzieri* since 1554.[25] Vincent

---

[20] "*Vita Christi Das leben un=sers Erlösers und Seligma=chers Iesu Christi, und seiner ge=benedyten Mutter Mariae, von beyder kindtheit an biß zu ihren herzlichen himel=fahrten/in sqey und fünfftzig andäch=tige Betrachtung als ein Schatz=kammer abgetheilt.*" *Vita Christi*, (Münster: Lambert Raßfeldt, 1607), title page. Private archive, Aschendorff, Münster.

[21] "Auß den fürtrefflichen Betrachtun=gen der Ehrw. Unnd hochgelehrten Herrn Francisci Costeri, Vincentij Bruni der Socie-ret Jesu Tehologen/und deß geistreichen P. Lu-douici Granatensis/inn diese kurtze form und ordnung zusammen gezo=gen durch M.T.", *Vita Christi*, Title-page.

[22] As with other figures in this period there are a number of spelling variants of his name: M.T., Matthaeus Timpe, Matthaeus Timpius, Matthaeus Tymp, Matthäus Tympe, Mathaeus Tympius, Matheus Tympius, Matthaeus Tympius, Matthäus Tympius. CERL Thesaurus, accessed February 20, 2013, http://thesaurus.cerl.org/record/cnp00465119.

[23] M Matthaeus Tympe, *Der Ceremonien Warumb/Das ist/Lautere unnd klare ursachen und außlegun=gen der fürnemsten Ceremonien/wel=che auß einsprechung deß H. Geists bey dem H. Gottesdienst inn der gantzen H. Chri=stenheit von alters her gleichförmig und einhellig gebrauchet werden…*", Lambert Raßfeldt, Münster, 1609, ULB call number Rara RD 355.

[24] G. E. Kelly, "Francis Coster." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 4. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) accessed February 21, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04419a.htm.

[25] Walter Melion, "The fine style as Marian Devotion in Wierix's *Maria"*, *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. Walter Melion, Celeste Brusati and Karl A.E. Enenkel, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 601.

Bruni, also known as Vincenzo Bruno was also a Jesuit theologian who likewise wrote meditations on the life and passion of Jesus, as well as a treatise on the sacrament of penance. Luis of Granada was a theologian, writer and preacher of the Dominican order at the convent of Santa Cruz in Granada known for his ascetical theology, and writings on scripture, dogma, ethics, biography and history.[26]

Tympe's *Vita Christi* is dedicated to P. Dieterich Loman von Stralen, Prior of the Brothers of the cross (Kreutzbrüder, Crosiers) in Köln, its provincial order, and all brothers in Christ. The claim in the dedication certainly supports the goals of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph, stating "just as the fiery spark springs forth when hard stone is struck by steel, so too, meditation upon this godly work will foster the divine fire."[27] The use of this text as a guide for the participation in the life of Christ is stated in the dedication as well: "Specifically we must contemplate upon the bitter suffering and death of our blessed saviour. Therefore we must let Christ the Lord as a living example also direct our actions…as he said, 'I have provided for you an example that you will do as I have done.'"[28] It is also clearly explained that one is meant to not only read, but reflect upon the words and put them into action: "What use is it to you to always read the good name of Jesus in books; you are studious then also with his mercy and amiable nature keeping it as mere tradition. It behoves a true Christian that he goes with Christ at all times, and follows the Lamb where ever it goes."[29] The ultimate purpose of this devotional book is to lead the reader into a deeper understanding and a closer walk with Jesus Christ through an understanding of his life on earth and sacrifice. Moreover, "These exercises are the Mother of contrition, a beginning of devotion, a foundation of holiness a source of humility, a spring of perfection and a powerful medicine against all

[26] John B. O'Connor, "Ven. Louis of Granada." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 9. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), accessed February 21, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09385b.htm.
[27] "Dieweil wie auß einem harten Stein durch das gewaltig anschlagen deß Stahls die feuwrige Funcken herauß sprin=gen/also auß der betrachtung göttlicher ding das brennendt Feuwr der göttlichen Leib außgezogen wirdt." *Vita Christi*, iii.
[28] "Dieweil wir auch müssen nach dem Herrn Christo als einem lebendigen Vorbild all unser thun unnd lassen richten/…Ich hab euch ein Exempel geben daß ir thut wie ich euch gethan hab.", *Vita Christi*, iii.
[29] "Was nutzt es dier den gütigen nahmen Jesu stäts in Büchern lesen/du be=fleissest dich dan auch seine gnaden und gütig=keit in Sitten zu halten? Es stehet eigentlich einem wahren Christen zu daß er allezeit mit Christo gehe/unnd dem Lämblein nachfolge wo es hingehe", *Vita Christi*, v.

temptation."[30] How one accomplishes this state of understanding is also explained in the dedication, that is, how one should read this work, and also to whom. It states quite distinctly: "God in heaven would that every paterfamilias, every week, would read to, and for, the benefit of his household a contemplation from this treasury, that it would be a right divine powerful and wholesome portion for young and old…."[31] The responsibility of personal piety and the teaching of the household is placed firmly in the home rather than in the church, underscoring both the assumption, and the value of literacy among the laity.

As asserted in both the title and the dedication, this work is divided in a way that facilitates weekly reading, that is, a chapter for each week of the year. Because it is roughly chronological the events do not fall in line with the liturgical year. Of the fifty-two chapters, thirty-five are illustrated with the same blocks as those found in the *Catechismus und Betböklin.* Two questions arise in connection with the images. Why not use all of the blocks used in the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, and where is the crucifixion image from the *Catechismus und Betböklin* which held such a position of prominence? A much smaller and cruder alternative crucifixion image was used in the 1624 *Vita Christi* edition. The blocks that are used in the *Vita Christi,* both in 1607 and again in 1624 show little wear or damage.[32] It seems then strange that not all of the fifty one images used in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* were used, raising the question of whether the missing sixteen blocks were sold or damaged.[33] As with the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, a selection of the images in the *Vita Christi* will be examined to demonstrate the specific image-text relationship in this title.

The *Vita Christi* demonstrates the value of the image not only for illustration, but also as a means of tying a non-tangible concept to a tangible and recognizable visual

---

[30] "Diese ubung ist eine Mutter der rew/ein anfang der andacht.ein fun=dament der Heyligkeit/ein ursprung der Demuth/ein Brunn der volkommenheit/unnd eine kräfftige Artzeney wider alle versuchung.", *Vita Christi*, iiii.

[31] "Wolte Gott im Himmel daß ein jeder haußvat=er alle Wochen eine Betrachtung auß die=ser Schatzkammer seinem haußgesinde leiß fürlesen.dann das were ja eine rechte geist=liche/kräfftige unnd heilsame Speiß vor jung und alte…", *Vita Christi*, dedication no page number.

[32] Although woodblocks are sturdy and wear cannot be seen as readily as on a copper plate, wood blocks are subject to damage such as cracking and worm holes, none of which is evident even in the later printing.

[33] To the authors knowledge having looked through the majority of the extant books from the Raesfeldt printing house, there is no use of any of the missing blocks in later books, which leads to the conclusion that they were no longer available for use.

image. The Jesuits recognized the value of art and fully embraced it in the context of carefully planned artistic programs that supplemented their other teachings.[34] Soergel explains that there was not so much a common Jesuit artistic style, as a distinctive Jesuit approach to art, wedding art with their corporate mission to bolster the faith.[35] The images in the *Vita Christi* in combination with the text guide the viewer/reader through contemplation of the life of Christ, not only describing it, but presenting the reader with a visual account, encouraging the viewer to partake in the events. These images become devices that focus the reader, and in combination with the text accentuate and enliven the life of Christ. For each of the images, a selection from the accompanying text has been chosen to illustrate the image-text relationship which in the *Vita Christi* is the use of the image as a mnemonic device for a meditational reading of the text.

The Visitation

Chapter three is titled *From the Joy and the hymn of praise of Maria in the visitation of Elisabeth, also from the revelation of the chastity of Maria and Holy Joseph.* It is divided into forty sub-headings, numerically presented. The image, figure 6.1, is the same woodcut block as that used in the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, yet here there is no surrounding biblical textual lens guiding the viewer but rather the accompanying text relates to the image in such a way that it becomes a mnemonic device for meditation. Once the text has been read, and mentally and emotionally consumed, it can then be recited through the visual experience of the image.

Section I begins with Mary's obedience and gratefulness to God for bestowing upon her such honour. It emphasizes her obedience to God, and willingness to serve her cousin even though they are both pregnant. The text states that not only did she go to her cousin, but as quickly as possible.[36] This sense of humility is conveyed visually in the image through Mary's deportment with head slightly bowed, hand reaching to her

[34] Peter Soergel, "The art of Salvation in Bavaria", *The Jesuits Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773,* ed. Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T.Frank Kennedy S.J., John W. O'Malley S.J., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 593.
[35] Soergel, "The art of Salvation in Bavaria", 593.
[36] "…mit grosser schenll seinem nechsten zu hülff komen…", *Vita Christi*, 41. The footnotes refer to both printings of this work (1607, 1624) unless otherwise specified.

cousin. In the margin, there is further guidance, encouraging the reader to be like Mary, stating “seek out also yourself your next opportunity to serve.”[37]

und Mariæ. 41

genschafften der wahren lieb seyn / 1. nit feyren / 2. mit grosser schnell seinem nechsten zu hülff kommen / 2. die schwerigkeiten mit einem grossen Gemüt vberwinden / 4. ein innerliche liebe an der mühe so dem nechsten zu gutem reicht / empfinden.

Suchestu auch also deines Nechsten nutz.

II. Die weite vnnd schwere reiß. Dann es habe gleich Zacharias zu Jerusalem gewohnet / wie Beda vermeint / so ist doch gewiß daß sie 19. oder 20. kleiner meil reisen müßte / diese reiß hat sie gutes muts mit schwangerem

S. Bern. de verbis Apoc. 12.

Cy

Figure 6.1 The Visitation, *Vita Christi*, 1624

[37] “Suchestu auch also deines nechsten nutz.” *Vita Christi*, 41.

Below this advice in the margin is a reference to S. Bernard, which presumably would be understood by the learned, if not necessarily the layperson. Marginal text also refers to Helias (Elijah), particularly God's encouragement when he fled to the wilderness, and Job.[38] Both of these Old Testament figures were tested and then encouraged by God. This provides for the reader a number of different circumstances where God encouraged individuals through their steadfast belief in him. Sections II and III both refer to Mary's physical state, that her body was energised through Jesus, enabling her to undertake tasks unlike any other pregnant woman. It refers to the distant and difficult journey, but states even the distance travelled was light because of the inner fire conferred upon her by Jesus.[39] This distance is implied by the landscape in the background of the image behind the Virgin.

Section III begins with a reference to the hills, and how they proved no physical challenge to Mary as she was invigorated by the child in her womb.[40] The hill country mentioned in Luke 1:39, is shown in the image visually indicating Mary's journey. This section continues by expounding on the impact of the Holy Spirit on the entire household through Mary's presence.[41] The household is visually represented: Elisabeth shown here pregnant, Zacharias to the right, and the rest of the household implied by the figures in the background. Elisabeth's astonishment at the honour of being in the presence of God's chosen, presented in the question: "And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" is visually signified by the hand gesture of Elisabeth, with her left hand her index finger points downward with a signal of "here."[42] The section goes on to elaborate on the relationship of the two mothers and their unborn sons, all filled with the Holy Spirit. This relationship is visually indicated not only by their physical presentation here, but also the connection of their hands, and the placement of their respective pregnant bellies.

---

[38] "3. Reg.19 Helias hat 40. Tag und 40 nacht ex. Job.6.", *Vita Christi*, 42.
[39] "Die weite unnd schwere reiß…weil Gottes Sohn/der ein fewr der Liebe ist/all ire innerliche und eusserliche kräffte dermassen erfüllt had/daß sie zu allen tugentsame wercken hurtig und willig geweist ist…", *Vita Christi*, 42.
[40] "Daß Maria in das Gebirg auffgestiegen als sie mit Gott erfüllt gewest…", *Vita Christi*, 42.
[41] "Derowegen dann Elisabeth deß H. Geists erfüllt worden/und nit allein sie/sonder auch Zacharias der Priester und all das Gesind/ja sogar Johannes voll deß H. Geists noch inn Mutterleibe", *Vita Christi*, 42.
[42] "…derowegen sie mit verwunderung fragt: wannen her begegnet mir das/daß die Mutter mienes Herren zu mir kompt?", *Vita Christi*, 43. Luke 1:34, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1550.

Mary's role as intercessor for mankind is also emphasised throughout the *Vita Christi*. Her role as intercessor imbued with divine favour is displayed visually with her radiating halo and through figure placement, by being a prominent figure to the left of the image she is where the eyes first land. The text confirms her intercessory role, specifying that her words carry much more weight in heaven than they ever did here on earth.[43] The image-text relationship thus supports and encourages veneration of Mary and her intercessory role on behalf of humanity.

Section VI highlights the humble service that Mary provides for her older cousin, referring to the three months that she remained with Elisabeth. The text compares the meek service of Mary to that of Old Testament figures of Jacob, when he willingly served in the house of Laban, Helias (Elijah) when he was served by Heliseus (Elisha), and reference to the service of the Ark of the Covenant in the house of Obed-Edom, which by its mere presence greatly blessed the material as well as spiritual needs of the household.[44] The text goes on to state how much more than these Mary would bless the house of Zacharias.[45] The text highlights that blessing results from humble service and loyalty, reinforcing the faithfulness and the deepening of Catholic piety. Mary is presented as a model of service to be emulated, visually demonstrated here by Mary's presence with her cousin, as well as through the unspoken agreement between the two implied by the touching of their right hands.

Section VII relates that Mary was sent to support and serve in the house of Zachariah for the benefit of Elisabeth. Here mention is made of Zacharias being struck dumb for his lack of faith, and that this sign was one to be endured until the grace of God loosed it through the birth of his son John the Baptist. This particular point lays emphasis on the use of John as the voice that announces Jesus, who would fulfill the law and redeem the sinner. Zachariah's muteness was symbolic of not only the old

---

[43] "So vie list daran gelegen Maria zu einer fürsprecherin zuhaben/insonderheit weil jetzt ihre wort im Himel grosser krafft und wirckung haben/hülff zuerzeigen/als sie in deisem jammerthal hetten.", *Vita Christi*, 43.

[44] The Old Testament book, and verse references are printed in the margin so the reader can read further on the figures and events mentioned.

[45] "So der Patriarch Jacob di benedeyung gebracht had in deß Labans seiner Mutter Bruder Hauß/der doch ein abgötterer gewest: So Helias und Heliseus den senigen so sie beherbergt vil genutzt: So die Arch deß Bundts das Hauß Obed=Edom gebenedeyet hat: Was grosse Bene-deyung wirdt dann die Mutter Gottes inn das Hauß Zachariae gebracht haben?", *Vita Christi*, 45-6.

covenant individual responsibility (and sacrifice) for sin, but also a foreshadowing of his son as “the voice in the wilderness” crying out in advance of the coming of the Lord. Zachariah’s muteness and lack of faith is visually exhibited by his physical separation from the two women in the image. He is barred from fully partaking in the blessing that Mary represents. Zachariah creates a visual contrast with Elisabeth, showing the impairment faced through lack of obedience and lack of trust.

Mary is presented as a model for women to follow, simply by stating she used few words is a gentle means of impressing upon the reader the ideal state of women, as opposed to the more common complaint of women gossiping. Section IX points out that Mary was a woman who, although she spoke with others, did so with only the necessary words, preferring to have long conversations with God in prayer.[46] The marginal text reinforces this by referring to the Hymn of Praise that Mary sang, stating that she held God before her in her thoughts and praised him. This is visually signified through her bowed head and closed mouth in contrast to the women in conversation behind her. The assertion that Mary preferred long conversations with God in prayer presents a model of good female behaviour and shows how to obtain a greater relationship with God.

Section X refers to the *Magnificat*, the song of praise described in the Gospel of Luke. The text states that this song contains three things, praise to God, indoctrination for the Christian, and prophecy of future things.[47] This in turn highlights the relationship between this devotional text and the *Magnificat*. In this canticle, Mary expresses her joy and honour at being chosen.[48] It continues stating that God showers blessings onto his people into future generations. This prophecy reflects directly upon the pregnancy of Mary and the future role of redeemer that Jesus will play. This song of praise is visually presented here by the modest nature of Mary, the honour bestowed by God is shown by her halo. In turn the *Magnificat* reflects in part upon the text of the *Vita Christi* through its basic elements, praise of God, and indoctrination of the Christian reinforcing the Catholic program of deepening of piety through instruction for the reader.

---

[46] “Da| so offt Maria mit Menschen ge=redt/sie mit wenig worten/…aber mit Gott ein langes gespräch gehalten…”, *Vita Christi*, 47.
[47] “…weil es drey ding in sich helt/Gottes Lob/der Christen underweisung/unnd wahrsagung zukünfftiger ding...”, *Vita Christi*, 47.
[48] “…mit höchsten Freuwden auß eingebung deß H. Geists gesungen.”, *Vita Christi*, 47.

The contrast of the confessionalization message between the *Catechismus und Betböklin* and the *Vita Christi* can be seen clearly through the Visitation. Both works pay particular honour to Mary, referring specifically to her obedience and service, to God and her cousin respectively. Both works likewise describe the *Magnificat*, and its significance for believers as a song of praise. Yet, the message in the *Vita Christi* is expansively and unmistakably presented through extensive text that walks the reader through not only what a model of obedience, service, humility and honour looks like, but also describes it in such a fashion as to make this model a conceivable goal for the layperson. This model is not only detailed through the text, but all of these virtues are presented visually in the image, allowing the reader to then utilize the image as a mnemonic device for living a more virtuous life. Furthermore, the difference in the tone of the language and the use of the language encourages the deepening of an established Catholic piety as opposed to pointing out to the reader the error of all other religious messages. This chapter provides a model of piety that is specific for women, indicating that women would be reading or at least exposed to this work in order to reap the benefits of it.

The Circumcision

Chapter five, *About the Circumcision of Christ,* is divided into seven sub-sections, all considering the events found in the gospel of Luke 2. As with all of the images used here in the *Vita Christi*, figure 6.2 is placed within the text and creates a mnemonic device to assist the reader through their mediations. The circumcision is shown clearly, the infant Jesus is held while the circumciser performs the ritual. There are three figures present:" the two seated being the sandek holding the child, the mohel performing the circumcision, and the standing figure of Joseph who holds a torch and a flask of wine.

Section I begins with an explanation, stating that as with other Jewish children on the eighth day Jesus was taken to the temple to be circumcised. This duty was the outward symbol of the covenant between the Jews and God as outlined in the Old

Testament. The text explains that though Mary knew Jesus to be free of original sin and not bound to this covenant, she had it done according to the will of God.[49]

Figure 6.2 Detail, Circumcision, *Vita Christi*, 1624

Mary had three reasons for doing this: 1. through this act of humility, she would not elevate herself despite being the Mother of God, 2. that the Jews would have no reason to reject the messiah as not being one of them, and 3. she knew that God wished his

[49] "…Und Maria wuste daß ir lieber Son fern von aller Sünd/…und zu diesem Gesatz/welches er gemacht hette/nicht verbunden wer/Hat ihn aber beschneiden wöllen lassen.", *Vita Christi*, 75.

son to live as a man, experiencing a human life but without sin.[50] That the text dwells on the obedience of Mary is peculiar, as she is not present in this image. The insistence of the role of Mary here underscores her honoured position within the Catholic Church, as well as highlighting her obedience, providing a model of duty for female readers.

Section II presents three reasons why Christ submitted to this procedure: 1. that he may provide a humble mirror for all, showing that by being subject to the law that he may fulfill it, 2. that he may show his ardent love by shedding the first of his blood, and 3. to be an example of humility, that he who was without sin would bear the sign of one with sin.[51] This text emphasises that although Jesus is a child he is aware of his role, and is already aware of the great example that he must set for the whole of humanity. The image captures this acquiescence for the viewer/reader to contemplate. Through his gestures Jesus visually offers himself, his left arm stretched out in compliance. The image cements Jesus' acceptance of his role as sacrifice and redeemer of mankind. Through the image, the viewer/reader can connect with the obedience and submission of Christ, who presents a model of humility for mankind to follow. The marginal text encourages the reader to consider that because Christ was obedient at the tender age of eight days old, the reader could trust in him and model his obedience. This underscores the submission of Jesus, lending support to the deepening of piety through trust in the Church that represents him.

Section III refers again in three points, to the obedience of both Jesus and Mary through the process of the first blood being spilled. The image of the infant Christ here foreshadows the crucifixion, where he will likewise allow his blood to be drawn without crying out. The text in the margin here cautions the reader to "not be too proud", but to pattern oneself on Jesus who as the "incarnation of God allowed himself to be thought of as a sinner."[52] This is a particularly effective means of encouraging the reader and

---

[50] "1. damit sie durch diese sonderbare Demuth ihr größte wired/daß sie eine Mutter Gottes/verbergen möchte. 2. Damit sie den Jüden kein ursach gebe den Messiam nicht anzunemmen. 3. Dieweil sie gewußt/daß Gottes will wehre daß der Sohn/weil er under den Menschen lebte/allen menschlichen beswhwerden underworffen were/außgenomen die Sünd.", *Vita Christi*, 75.

[51] "…1. damit es dire ein Spiegel einer grossen Demut fürstetlte/inn deme s so dem Gesetz nicht underworffen war/dannoch ein so beschwerlich Gesetz erfüllt…2.Damit es dir seine inbrünstige lieb erwiese/…im willen sein Blut hernach dir zu gutem gar zuuergiessen. 3. Damit er dir ein Exempel der Demuth gebe/…also beschnitten zu sein/ist das zeichen eines Sünders.", *Vita Christi*, 76.

[52] "Wo der reineste Gott sich nicht gescheuht vor ein Sünder gehalten zu warden: so nem du es nit für ungut auff wna man dich für den helt der du bist.", *Vita Christi*, 76.

directing the reading of the image. Jesus' divine nature is shown through his halo, making there no question as to his awareness of the sacrifice expected of him. Jesus also freely allows the spilling of his blood here presented as showing absolute compliance, merely looking away but not struggling. This visually creates an invitation to meditate and emotionally invest in the experience of Jesus, encouraging the deepening of piety by directing the reader to not only engage with the narrative, but to become part of it

Section IIII considers again Mary, and the sorrow she felt on behalf of her son. It points out that Mary dedicated herself to her son's pain, uncomplaining, and showing no sign of impatience, encouraging that the reader may in turn face all burdens with patience and a good disposition.[53] The repeated reference to Mary who is not in this image, as opposed to Joseph who is, highlights the significant role she plays within the Catholic Church. This event is an alternate of one of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. Her role of intercessor between humanity, or in this case, the reader directly, and her son is unmistakable. Because she already bore these things as a mother the reader may call on her for comfort, reassurance and intercession on their behalf with her son. This in turn supports the Catholic confessional message of deepening of piety by reinforcing Marian devotions.

Section VI refers to Mary and Joseph, and the divine nature of their mission as parents. They were instructed by the angel that the child should be named Jesus.[54]

> That thorough this name would show: 1. the power of God the Son to deliver us from the hands of the devil, 2. his wisdom that protected him from the devil who tempted him to fight for humanity, 3. his love from which comes all our healing, 4. his sanctity and purity from all sin without which he could not save the sinner from their sin, 5. his divinity, God alone is able to pay for our debt, and 6. his power over all mankind for which he paid the price of our sin with his blood.[55]

---

[53] "…und ires Sons schmertze ir selbst zugeignet/so had sie dannoch nichts ungebürlichs weder mit worten notch wercken gehdelt.sich nit geklagt.kein geichen der undedult von sich gegeben.sonder das leidt in sich gedrückt.darmit du alle beschwerd mit gedültigem und grossem gamüt uberstehest.", *Vita Christi*, 77.

[54] The name means "God saves." The naming of the child would traditionally be done at this time.

[55] "Dann dadurch wirdt angezeigt/1. die, macht so Gott der Son hat/welcher uns auß der Handt deß Teuffels erlöst und gerissen hat. 2. Seine Weißheit damit er dem Feindt die Gottheit verborgen/und ihn mit der menschheit zum kampff gereitzt. 3. Seine liebe/auß welcher er on allen seinen nutz unser heil gewrickt. 4. Seine heiligkeit unnd reinigkeit von aller Sünd/dann ein Sünder hett die Sünder von der Sünd nit können erlösen. 5. Seine Gottheit/dann allein Gott ist genugsam die unendliche schult zubezahlen. 6.

This establishes in no uncertain terms the divinity of Christ, even at his birth, as well as the great weight that he would bear as savior. This is projected into the image through the simple act of submission to circumcision. Through this act the divine son sets the entire course of events in motion.

This chapter ends with a prayer of thanks, and relates a key goal of the supplicant which is that like the physical act of circumcision, Christ would circumcise the spirit, not to inflict pain, but rather to eliminate any unnecessary words, deeds and thoughts.[56] This notion of spiritual circumcision operates as a metaphor for both the act of cutting out, as well as the act of shedding blood, both working towards establishing the covenant between Jesus and the individual.

Though the messages are similar between the *Vita Christi,* and the earlier *Catechismus und Betböklin,* there are distinct differences that stem from the overall goals. Whereas they both praise Jesus for his submission to this act of spilling his blood, and honouring Jewish law, the *Catechismus und Betböklin,* emphasises obedience to authority, whereas the *Vita Christi* speaks more to the individual being not only aware, but sorrowful and appreciative of Christ's sacrifice that submission follows emotional understanding. The image functions as a meditational device illustrating not only the action, but inviting the viewer to participate emotionally in the act of submission and acceptance through the emotions displayed on the faces of both Jesus and Joseph. Furthermore, the *Vita Christi* directs the reader to appreciate and meditate on the acceptance of Christ in this act, desiring in turn to participate in the circumcision of their own hearts to eliminate sin. Finally, the role Mary, although not present here is emphasised, drawing focus to her intercessory function which is a part of the Catholic confessional program.

The Offering at the Temple

Chapter seven describes two events that took place forty days after the birth, the offering in the temple and the purification of the Virgin.[57] This chapter consists of twenty

---

Seine herrschafft uber alle Menschen/als welche er mit dem theuwen kauffschilling seines Bluts an sich gelöset.", *Vita Christi*, 79.

[56] "du wöllest meine Seel beschneiden von aller uberflüssigkeiten in worten/wercken/unnd gedancken.", *Vita Christi*, 80.

five sections, a selection of which will be presented to illustrate the relationship between text and image.

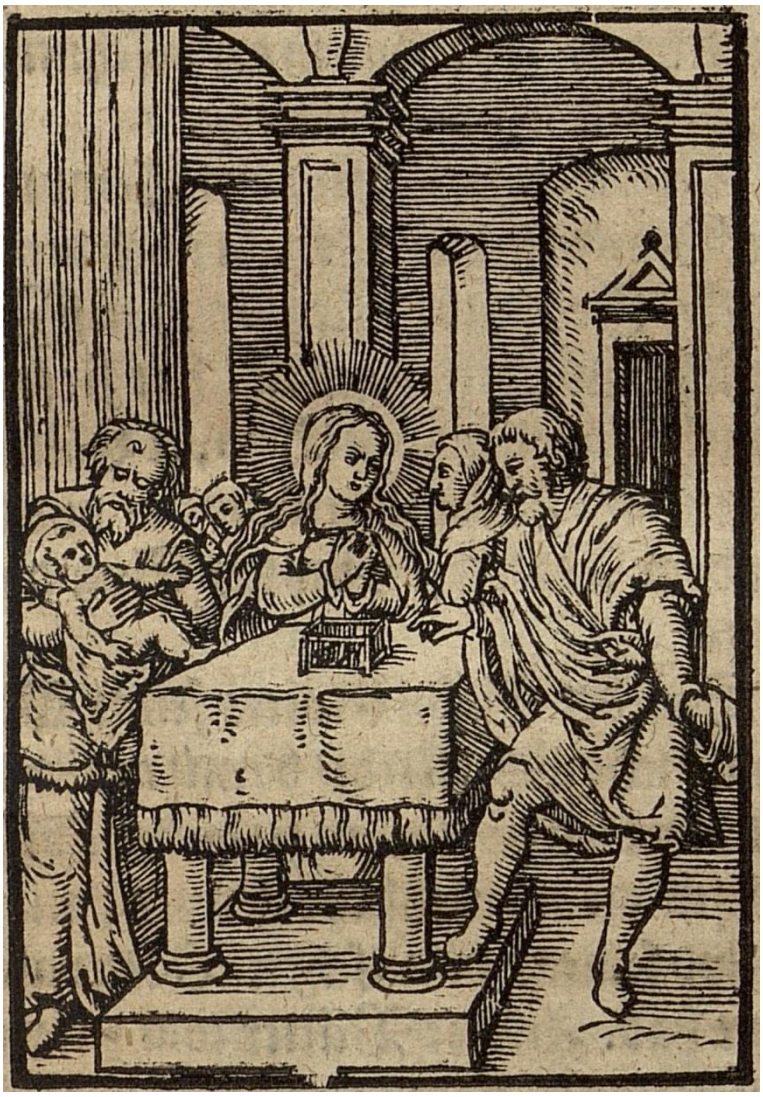

Figure 6.3 Detail, The Offering at the Temple, *Vita Christi*, 1624

The image, figure 6.3, is that of the Holy Family in the Temple, the focal point here is the Virgin Mary, Jesus is held by Simeon who according to Luke 2:28-35 speaks over the child, declaring that Jesus was the salvation of the Lord, and was a "light to the

[57] On the first page of this chapter, ostensibly page 87 the page numbering of the two editions diverge. The following material, both text and image, remains the same apart from minor font differences, however, page 87 in the 1607 edition is incorrectly numbered as 79, but then continues the original count with 88. Likewise in the 1624 version page 87 is mislabelled, but as 97, however, the numbering continues from this mistake, maintaining a ten page difference for the remainder of the text, the following footnotes for this chapter are taken from the 1624 version, which can be easily viewed online.

revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel."[58] Mary's centrality in this image reinforces her position as mother and intercessor, supporting in turn the promotion of the Virgin within the Catholic Church.

Section I speaks directly to the events shown in the image, stating that according to Jewish law, Jesus was presented and Mary made the offering. It goes on to state however, that these things were done only to adhere to the law as Jesus was born without damaging Mary's virginity and was not required as an offering for opening up Mary's womb, and because he was conceived of the Holy Spirit and not a man she did not require purification.[59] This emphasises the submission of the holy family, and their commitment to obedience, providing models of behaviour to be emulated.

Section II makes a connection with the Old Testament, and Mary's ancestor David. Like David took joy in going to the Temple in Psalms 121, Mary took joy in going to serve her cousin, yet this joy paled in comparison to going to the temple to present the son of God.[60] This serves as an exemplar of the joy with which the individual should feel towards the Church. This joy is represented here with Mary, humbly, yet diligently and obediently at the table with her offering, hands in a gesture of appeal that her offering be acceptable.

Section III considers Fathers, underscoring the difference between the actions of the heavenly father in comparison to those on earth. It states that in desperate need an earthly father may sell or kill his child for his own benefit, but God the Father gave himself for the benefit of his children.[61] This message is also indicative of the honour of Joseph, as he supported the Holy Family, not only through duty, but love. This is one of the few recognitions of Joseph in the *Vita Christi*, acknowledging his role as earthly father and provider for the Holy Family. The important if often overlooked Joseph is here

---

[58] Luke 2:30, 31, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,*1553.

[59] "Christus aber hat bey seinem außgang von Mutterleib ihr Jungfräwlich geschloß unverletze gelassen. Es haben sich auch allein die Kindtbetterin reinigen müssen/welche auß männlichem Samen geboren hetten/Maria aber hat auß dem H. Geist one mannliches zuthun empfangen/und dannoch mit andere Weiber/beyde gebott erfüllen wöllen/damit sie sich nicht für andern erhebte/und uns das Exempel der Demut fortrüge.", *Vita Christi*, 97.

[60] "Mit was frewd sie zum Tempel geteylet/so David ein durst gehabt nach dem Tembernackel Gottes/und sie zum Hauß Zachariae mit freuwden gangen ist/had sie freylich mit mehr frewden zum Tempel Gottes geeylet…unnd nun Gott dem Vatter irer beyder Son darstellen solte.", *Vita Christi*, 98.

[61] "Andere Vätter wann sie wtwan in eusserster not waren/verkaufften sie ire eigene leibliche Kinder/bißweilen töten sie dieselben…aber dieser Vatter der jukünfftigen Welt/opffert und gibt sich selbst dar für seine eigene Kinder.", *Vita Christi*, 98.

presented in the foreground, having brought the Holy Family to the temple, respectful with hat in hand, pointing to the offering on the table. Joseph's noble nature is presented visually with a humble inclination of his head which acknowledges both his family, and their purpose in the temple, the offering to unite Mary and Jesus into the congregation. Though he is not the Father of Jesus, he is essential to the lives of both Jesus and Mary for material support and earthly guidance.

Section VII is indicative of the difference in tone between this work and the earlier *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, as it refers to the Holy church without the necessity of clarifying Catholic. This reference underlines the softening of the previously aggressive confessional tone, presenting one that encourages the deepening of piety through understanding and meditation. This section refers to actions, that one's actions alone are merely physical, but when one's actions are fueled by the merit of Jesus and are joined to his purpose, they become invaluable.[62] The comparison is made between simple water, and the water that Jesus turned into wine, pointing out that our physical labours are empty without unity to his will. The implication here of the need for physical action to be accompanied by divine guidance is visually presented by Joseph pointing to the offering on the table, carrying the eye directly across to Jesus, linking the action of offering with his divinity. The physical proximity of the offering on the table, and Jesus visually beside it provides the link to the next section, which asserts Simeon's recognition of Jesus' divinity.

Section XVIII makes a significant point for the premise of this investigation into the deepening of piety thus strengthening faith as presented in the *Vita Christi*. Making the reference to light, the text explains that externally it will illuminate the darkness, but that it will function likewise internally, as Christ represents this internal spiritual light. It continues stating: "many things will be illuminated by him, 1. the darkness of error will be expelled and the truth examined through faith, 2. that through mercy from God sin is forgiven, and enlightenment is the same for all believers and necessary for holiness."[63] The divine illumination here is made plainly visible by the halos of both Jesus and Mary.

---

[62] "…unsere Werk/welche für sich selbst wenig gelten/eines unerschätzlichen weths/wo sie mit den Wercken Christi vereinigt werden…", *Vita Christi*, 101.

[63] "Etliche aber werden von im erleucht/ 1. Daß sei die Finsternuß unn irrthumb vertreiben/und die Warheit durch den Glauben anschawen. 2. Daß sie durch sukunfft der innerlichen gnad dis Sünd vertrieben/…diese erleuchtung ist allen frommen gemin und zur Seligkeit nothwendig.", *Vita Christi*, 107.

Thus through submission, the reader can both see and understand the divine illumination that supports the Catholic Church. The text indicates that enlightenment will come to the reader through the expulsion of error, and repentance of sin. Enlightenment then leads to a greater depth of understanding and piety. The implication through this chapter is that through unity and obedience to the Church, and the intercession of his mother Mary, one can access the grace and merit of Jesus.

The image-text relationship through this chapter reinforces the obedience of all three members of the Holy Family, all of whom provide models for the viewer/reader to follow. The image and the text also promote Marian devotions through her central positioning in the image, and the repeated references to her obedience, faithfulness and sacrifice in numerous sections of this chapter. The encouraging and explanatory nature of the text furthers the Catholic confessional program through instruction and encouragement and by extension models submission to the Catholic Church.

Baptism of Christ

Chapter eleven presents a pivotal event with *The Baptism of Christ*, figure 6.4. At a mere three sections it is surprisingly short considering the importance of the event presented. This marks the transfer from the old covenant by the last of the prophets John the Baptist, to the new covenant represented by Jesus Christ. When Jesus came to him, John expressed reluctance to baptize Jesus, going so far as to state that he, John should be baptized by Jesus. John always knew of the divinity of Jesus, yet upon Jesus' insistence, he acquiesced. At the moment that Jesus emerges from the water, the sky opens the Spirit of God descends as a dove, and a voice claims "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."[64] The significance of this occasion, the public acknowledgement of God the Father of Jesus as his son is shown clearly through the visual connection of the Godhead. Jesus stands in the water, the Holy Spirit as a dove is directly above his head, and above that is God the Father in the Heavenly realm indicated by the clouds that separate him from the rest of the scene. God the Father is presented with his right hand upraised his fingers in a gesture of blessing. In his left

[64] Matthew, 3:17, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1470.

hand God the Father extends the orb of authority towards Jesus, visually bestowing his acknowledgement and authority upon Jesus.

152 Von dem Leben Christi

II. Daß der Herr nach 30. Jahren auß Galilæa inn daß Jüdische Landt kommen sey zu dem fluß deß Jordans daß er sich von Joanne ließ tauffen; daß er allein sey kommen one mitgesellen / dann er hette noch keine Discipeln; daß er kommen sey vnder den offenen Sündern vnnd Phariseern gleich als wann er einer auß jnen were / vñ also gewartet hab daß er mit vnd vnder jhnen getaufft würde / damit du lernest dich zu nidrigen biß auff die Erden / vnnd dich nie vor andern fär gerechte achtest /

Figure 6.4 The Baptism of Christ, *Vita Christi*, 1624

The text begins by stating that there is nothing known about the life of Christ between his twelfth year, when he is found teaching in the temple, and his thirtieth year, as presented here at his baptism. It does state that meditation upon this absence of those intervening years teaches the reader a very distinct lesson, namely silence. [65] Although Christ was wise from childhood, he remained silent until he was thirty.[66] This silence is visually presented by the peace of the figure of Jesus. He is shown with mouth closed, and face relaxed. There is no sense of wonder at seeing the Holy Spirit descending, nor of the voice coming from the clouds, merely a peace that emanates from Jesus. This provides the visual model for the viewer/reader to emulate, that of contemplation and silence. The peace and acceptance portrayed in the image provide a meditational device for the viewer/reader to consider a lesson not usually mentioned. The marginal text suggests both biblical references as well as St. Bernard for the baptism of Christ, but also presents an honest, if rather harsh judgment of humanity: "we have our mouths always full and in all things give excuses."[67] This short text points out the difference between the actions of Jesus, and the actions of humanity.

Section II continues in the same manner as the section I, using this event to impress upon the reader lessons to be learned from Christ's actions. Here it refers to humility. The text explains that at thirty years of age, Jesus left his home in Galilee to go to the river Jordan where John was baptizing. He arrived at the Jordan unaccompanied, as at this point he did not have any disciples. The text goes on to emphasize that Jesus "appeared to be as all other sinners and Pharisees, and waited until he was baptized like the rest."[68] That he came as all others stresses the humanity of Jesus that he was not looking for recognition, but that he would experience life as a man. The lesson is then clarified for the reader: "so that you learn to humble yourself, even so low as to the ground, and do not consider yourself a judge of others, or build yourself up with pride

[65] "…daßer uns ein sehr fürnehme Lection unnd die auch sehr von nöten ist/nemblich daß wir lernen stillschweigen…", *Vita Christi*,151.
[66] "…dann das lehret uns daß er dreissig Jahr geschweigen/so er doch von Kindtheit auff toller Weißheit war…", *Vita Christi*, 151.
[67] "Wir haben allzeit dz Maul voll/und wollen in allen durch auß reden." *Vita Christi*, 151.
[68] "…: daß er kommen sey under den offenen Sündern unnd Phariseern gleich als wann er einer au´inen were/und also gewarted hab daß er mit und under ihnen getaufft würde/…" *Vita Christi*,152.

considering yourself better than others."[69] As stated earlier in the chapter with the circumcision, Christ puts himself forth as a mirror against which humanity can reflect their own actions. Christ is shown humble, he has merely a loin cloth wrapped around his waist, but otherwise nude and exposed, in a position taken by others who without exception come in a state of sin. Although he understood the implications of his divinity, he did not speak of it. This in turn emphasises the confessional message of the *Vita Christi*, as Jesus provides a model for the reader to meditate on, and to emulate in order to deepen their understanding of his actions and their implications for the sinner.

Section III further emphasises the humility of Christ, stressing to the reader the depth of his sacrifice. The language used here is simple, yet particularly effective briefly listing the gravity of Christ's deeds. It begins by pointing out yet again the acceptance of Christ, putting himself in the position of sinners, to the point of remaining humble even when the sky opens up, the Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove, and the voice of God comes from heaven.[70] Set up in the same way are a number of other moments of divine revelation: that he was born in a stall, but was welcomed by angels, that he was circumcised like a sinner but then named Jesus-which means saviour, redeemer, and that he died on a cross between two murderers and the sky became dark, the rocks split, the dead rose from their graves. Unlike the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, the emphasis is not on the authority of Jesus, (as an implied reflection of the Church) but rather on his humility, as a lesson for the individual. In contrast to the *Catechismus und Betböklin* the language here reinforces the lesson in humility and submission rather than that of obedience to authority, taking into consideration how Christ has lowered himself even though the heavens acknowledge and exalt him, so much more should the individual humble themselves. This serves in turn to reinforce the confessional goal of the deepening of piety, as opposed to establishing authority, and the lineage of the Catholic Church. The image functions as a mnemonic device for conveying the sense of

[69] "…damit do lernest dich zu nidrigen bi| auff die Erden/unnd dich nit vor andern für gerecht achtest/oder dich mit hoffart auffbäumest/oder besser haltest dann andere.", *Vita Christi*, 152-3.
[70] "…solche demut nicht ohn zeugnuß einer grossen Glory unnd herzligkeit abgangen/dann sich die Himmel haben auffgethan/unnd der H. Geist inn einer Tauben gestalt herab gestiegen/unnd man hat die herrliche stimm deß Vatters gehört/welche saget: Der ist mein geliebter Son/an dem ich ein wolgefallen hab/diesen sole ir hören.", *Vita Christi*, 153.

humility, silence and contemplation, inspiring the sense of acceptance impressed upon the reader.

The prayer at the end of this chapter maintains this tone, beginning with thanks, acknowledging Christ's humble nature, and then a petition for cleansing of body and soul, making the supplicant into "such a person that is pleasing [to him], that when I should depart this pilgrimage, that I would be from that hour on by you, to look upon you for eternity, and rejoice in eternal bliss."[71] Again, unlike in the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, the prime petition here is not for recognizing authority, justice or duty, militant terms that support the aggression of the initial wave of confessionalization, but rather mercy, humility and the cleansing of sin, peaceful terms that support the confessionalization of deepening an established piety.

Temptation in the Wilderness

Chapter twelve presents the temptation in the wilderness, like the Baptism of Christ, this chapter is short at a mere four sections. The scriptural references for this chapter are listed as Matthew 4, Mark 1 and Luke 4 in the margin. The image, figure 6.5, presents all three temptations in the composition.

Section I makes specific reference to the previous event stating that after he was baptized and heavenly witness made, he was directed by the Holy Spirit into the desert, that he may be tempted by the "evil enemy." The text goes on to state that the purpose of this was to exemplify that "when God sends his servant, special grace will accompany them, and that for great and toilsome tasks strength and ability will be made manifest."[72] The text encourages the believer with an anecdote: In the same way that that a rider does not take his horse across the land without making provision for its feed in order that it may maintain its strength, the believer need not see proof of the grace of God to carry out tasks set before them, but rather have faith that like the horse they will be cared for. This is a particularly apt as the image in the foreground focusses on the devil asking Jesus to turn the stones into bread, when Christ was fasting. In this image,

[71] "…zu einem solchen Menschen der dir gefalle/auff daß wann ich auß dieser Pilgerfahrt scheiden soll/ich von stund an bey dir sey/dich allezeit anschauwe/unnd mich inn der ewigen Selikeit erfreuwe…", *Vita Christi*, 154.
[72] "…daß wann Gott seinen Dienern ein besondere gunst erzeiget…daß er sie zu grösserer arbeit und muheseligkeit stärcke und geschickt mache.", *Vita Christi*, 155.

the devil points down at the rocks at the foot of Christ, and as the eye travels up to Christ's hand, the viewer understands that Christ is denying his physical hunger, and with a visage of patience and peace, his gesture rebukes the temptation.

Figure 6.5 Detail, The Temptation in the Wilderness, *Vita Christi*, 1624

The image works as a visual device confirming the anecdote of the horse inspiring the believer to remain confident in their faith that God will care for them, as he did Jesus. The image also reminds the viewer/reader of the deceptive nature of the devil. That he is cunning, and though appearing honest and wise, he is not. This is underscored by the

fool's cap, which was historically symbolic of the devil and associated with his trickery.[73] The devil also has visible claws, rather than feet, another indication that he is not what he appears. These visual indicators assist the viewer/reader in contemplating the nature of temptation, that it often appears quite welcoming and pleasant, but that this appearance hides its true nature.

Section II asserts that Christ began his public ministry with forty days of fasting, and though he was of the highest perfection, was prepared and tested in this manner. The text goes on to refer to the desert, posing the question of what the desert means, explaining that it is both a physical, and metaphorical place. This statement helps the reader to understand and learn from Christ's example of steadfast denial to all temptations. The image depicts Christ's denial of the three temptations described in the gospels, presenting him as a steadfast model to be emulated.

Section III continues in its reference to the fast, stating that though the Holy Flesh fasted, he was nourished by the spirit. It goes on to state that the "first fight of a Christian is against the vice of gluttony."[74] This temptation is perhaps easiest for humans to relate to, and is therefore shown in the foreground. The other temptations were pride and avarice both in the background. The image presents these temptations in a circular composition, encouraging meditation of all of the temptations, reminding the viewer/reader through this composition that the individual will face these temptations constantly, not just once.

The final section in this chapter is reminiscent of the first. It reinforces the point that the Lord prayed through his fast and though he was tempted, fought the enemy for the sake of humanity. The text goes on to specify "that he used the desert as an example for us, that prayer is a medicine, that fasting is a satisfaction for our burden, and that by contending with the enemy he left our opponent vanquished."[75] It is this last sentence that really highlights the other temptations illuminating the relationship

---

[73] An early thirteenth century example of this is in the abbey church of Maria Laach, on a capitol sculpture Eve is pictured riding a snake that has a man's head wearing a fool's cap.
[74] "…dann der erste kampff eines Chrsiten ist wider daß laster des fraß.", *Vita Christi*, 156.
[75] "Dann die Qüste hat er gebraucht uns zu einem Exempel/das Gebett uns qu einer Artzney/daß Fasten zu einer gnugthuung für unsere schulden/daß straiten mit dem Feindt/damit er unseren widersacher uns ubersunden verließ.", *Vita Christi*, 157.

between image and text by clarifying that the other scenes in the background are his contending with the enemy, all the while showing himself as an example to be followed.

In comparison with the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, the language is much less militant. In the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, the emphasis for this image was on defeating the enemy and overcoming temptation with an emphasis on his obedience to his purpose on the earth. In the *Vita Christi* the language relates personally to the reader, referring to the very human experience of hunger, and trusting in the Lord for strength. The text works hand in hand with the image, to confirm, inform and instruct. The image is a meditational device that walks the viewer through the temptations, but also confirms Christ as model to be imitated.

Marriage at Cana

Chapter thirteen presents the Marriage at Cana in Galilee, figure 6.6, where the first miracle of Christ's ministry takes place. This chapter consists of thirteen sections, and focuses on not only the first miracle and the ministry of Christ, but also the mercy of Christ extolling the extent of his Love as shown through his actions. This chapter also emphasises the sacrament of marriage, and highlights the intercessory role of Mary.

The text begins by describing the period directly after the Baptism of Christ. It states that after his time in the wilderness Jesus began to connect with the people through companionship, and commenced preaching and revealing signs and wonders evincing the supernatural.[76]

Section III explores the extent and the physical exertion that Christ experienced in search of his lost sheep: from various lands, to different cities. It goes on to say: "With what great love did this good shepherd go over mountains and valleys, all to search for the stray little sheep, that he could carry it on his shoulders to the manger."[77] The text continues: "How graciously he handles the sinners, he went into their houses, sat with them that he could bring them to goodness through conference and conversation and with his example build them up, with his good deeds convert them, and with his

[76] "Daß nach der Tauff und viertzigtägigen fasten Christus angefange mit den Menschen zu conversiren unnd gemeinschafft zu haben/dem predigen außzuwarten/unnd der Welt/wer er were/mit seinen Wunderwercken unnd Zeichen zuuerstehen zu geben.", *Vita Christi*, 158

[77] "Mit was grosser lieb dieser gute Hirt uber Berg unnd Thal gangen sey unnd das verirrte Schäfflin gesucht/damit ers auff sein Achsel inn die Herberg trüg…", *Vita Christi*, 163.

teaching instruct."[78] This describes the gentleness of Christ's approach, demonstrated here in the image by Jesus being in the house with the wedding party and participating in the celebration. He is seated at the table to the right of the bride, facing the figure carving the fowl on the table. The wine jugs are at his feet, symbolic of the miracle he will perform. The miracle he performed here was not for his own glorification, but a blessing for the couple, some of his sheep.

Figure 6.6 Detail, The Marriage at Cana, *Vita Christi*, 1607

[78] "Wie gütiglich er mit den Sündern gehandelt/inn deme r inn ihre Häuser ist geganen/und mit ihnen gessen hat damit er sie mit seiner beywohnung und Conversation zur lieb bewegt/mit seinen Exempeln aufferbawet/mit seinen wolthaten bekehret/unnd mit seiner Lehr underwiese.", *Vita Christi*, 163-4.

Section V testifies that Christ's presence reinforces the sacrament of marriage. It states that Jesus and his Mother attended the wedding to reinforce the sacrament of marriage, and further that the couple would be blessed with and through children born of their holy union.[79] It continues by stating that Christ's presence there confirms the honourable state of the couple, and that marriage between two in such a state is worthy of blessing.[80] This underscores the Catholic doctrine of marriage a sacrament, supporting the confessional nature of this text through doctrinal instruction. The sacred nature of marriage is presented through the position of honour of the bride between Christ and Mary, attesting to the blessing on the covenant into which she has entered.

Section VII describes the joyous side of marriage, stating that not only were "Jesus and his Mother in attendance, but his disciples as well, in order to show that [the wedded couple] are not called to a miserable, burdensome harsh life, but rather to a joyous and sweet one."[81] The joyous nature of this union is shown clearly through the image. This is a feast, the table is set with food and wine, around the table is fellowship: joy is not only spiritual, but also physical.

In section IX, it explains the statement: "Woman what is that to me and you?"[82] The text asserts that this was not being disrespectful, but rather it explains that although he honoured her as his earthly Mother, it was his heavenly Father who gave him the power to work miracles.[83] It continues that his heavenly Father, not himself or Mary would determine the time when his miracles would be made public, explaining why so few people knew of the miracle of the wine. The clarification of the statement in the text is important, as the statement itself can be misinterpreted as being rude or disrespectful. By explaining this particular line, this text reinforces Jesus' respect and

---

[79] "Damit das Sacrament der Ehe durch ire heyligkeit und gegenwertigkeit geehret unnd geheiliget würd…dardurch solche Kinder ergeuget werden/die mit der benedictung deß Herren Jesus unnd seiner Mutter/für sich selbst selig werden/und ihren Eltern zu der Seligkeit verhülfflich sein…Sie wirt selig werden durch gebärung der Kinder.", *Vita Christi*,164-5.

[80] "Damit er anzeigt daß die Jungrawen ledigs stands/und Eheleut zugleich die göttliche gnad erlangen/und der gegenwertigkeit Christi unnd seiner Mutter wirdig werden.", *Vita Christi*,165.

[81] "Daß neben dem Herrn unnd seiner Mutter auch deß Herrn Junger dar gewest/anzuzeigen/daß die so Christo nachfolgen/nicht zu einem rauhen/beschwerlichen/armseligen leben/sondern zu einem frölichen und lieblichen gerufft werden.", *Vita Christi*,165.

[82] "Weib was hab ich mit dir zu schaffen", *Vita Christi*, 166.

[83] "…als ein Mensch ehre er seiner Mutter/als ein Gott aber ziehe er sich auff Gott den Vatter…Meine Mutter/den menschlichen Leib hab ich zwar von dir emphangen/aber die macht Wunderzeichen zu thun hat mir der himlisch Vatter gegeben…", *Vita Christi*, 166.

honour for his Mother. Continuing with this point, section X reasons that the reader must simply trust in God, taking a lesson from Jesus' patience and willingness to wait on God's direction.[84]

Section XII makes an essential point about the first miracle performed here, which is the turning the water into wine. It states that Mary interceded with Jesus on behalf of the newlyweds, although she knew her son "did not drink, which teaches us to never doubt God's help when we are performing his will."[85]

Section XIII confirms the intercessory role of Mary. It states that upon the request of his Mother, he began working miracles somewhat early, so that the reader would understand the value he held for his Mother's requests.[86] By performing this miracle at the wedding, Jesus advocates the sacrament of marriage, and accedes to the intercession of his mother. The emphasis on Jesus' support of these two elements further endorses the Catholic confessional nature of this text.

The final section, of this chapter ends with a discussion of the intercession of Mary, stating that it was "through his Mothers appeal, that he began his miracles", showing the reader that the "son honours his Mothers requests."[87] This underlines not only Jesus' respect for Mary, but also her position as an intermediary between humanity and her son. It also reinforces her role within the Catholic Church through his acquiescence to her request.

The prayer that brings this chapter to a close supports the major points, namely marriage as a holy sacrament, that the miracles of Christ are not limited, and the role of Mary as an intercessor.[88] This reinforces Catholic piety by underscoring significant points of Catholic dogma, and the direct link between them and Jesus, showing their divine sanction. The image captures these elements for the viewer/reader to meditate

---

[84] "Daß Christus alles zu seiner zeit thut nichts unordentlichs/damit du dir auch von seiner göttlichen fürsightigkeit angesetzt zeit mit gedult erwartest/unnd an der göttlichen Güte nit verzweiffelst.", *Vita Christi,* 166.

[85] "…dieweil sie iren Son nit tringt/…und uns lehret an Gottes hilff nimmermehr zu zweiffeln/wann wir nur seinen willen vollbringen.", *Vita Christi*, 167.

[86] "Daß Christus auff fürbitt seiner Mutter etwas desto früher angefangn wunderwerck zuthun/damit du sehest wie vil der Mutter bitten bey dem Sohn gelte.", *Vita Christi*, 167.

[87] "Daß Christus auff fürbitt seiner Mutter etwas desto früher angefange underwerck zuthun/damit du sehest wie vil der Mutter bitten bey dem Sohn gelte.", *Vita Christi*, 167.

[88] "O Süsser Jesu der du den H. Ehestandt…bestettigt uns auff anhalten und die fürbit deiner allerliebsten Mutter mit dem ersten wunderwerck verehret hast…", *Vita Christi*, 167.

upon. Jesus is the first figure the eyes light upon, as he is on the left side of the frame appearing larger than the other figures and is also identifiable by his radiating halo. He is shown participating in the wedding feast, not merely observing it, thus actively sanctioning the event. Mary holds a place of honour in the composition, being in the centre, though somewhat crowded by figures on either side. She is shown speaking directly to the bride, reassuring the bride, confirming her role as intercessor. The remainder of the figures are unaware of the miracle, though enjoying the food and drink.

The *Catechismus und Betböklin* stressed the choice between good, the true Church, by the acknowledged sacrament of marriage, as opposed to the path of evil, rejecting Christ's representative on earth. In contrast, the *Vita Christi* emphasises the sacred and blessed nature of the union of marriage, and its support by both Jesus and Mary. It also explains to the reader the nature of this sacrament, describing the state of matrimony. It additionally clarifies Jesus' statement to his mother upon her request that he assist the wedding couple, in order that they not be shamed for not providing for their guests. Thus the *Vita Christi* gives an explanation leading to understanding rather than merely a statement that aims at obedience. By emphasising and explaining Mary's request, and his acquiescence, the text justifies her intercessory role within the Catholic Church.

The Last Supper

Chapter twenty-three presents the Last supper between Jesus and his disciples. This chapter consists of seven sections ending, as with almost all of the chapters, with a prayer. Visually, figure 6.7, this is the moment where Christ has made the revelation of his betrayal, and the disciples speak amongst themselves, showing various expressions from surprise to consternation. The details of this composition are elucidated in the text, reinforcing the use of this image for visualization and contemplation.

Section I describes the event, "how the Lord sat at the table with his disciples, the Master with the students, the father with the children, the shepherd with his loving sheep" with an acknowledgment of the traitor in their midst, "among this herd the

usurping wolf and raving dog Judas."[89] The image is well known, the disciples crowd around a table, with Christ in the centre of both table and composition, John leans across his lap. Judas is easily recognized in the foreground with the money bag in his hand, he is portrayed hunched over, not sitting straight, visually indicating his weight of sin.

Figure 6.7 Detail, The Last Supper, *Vita Christi*, 1624

[89] "Wie der Herr zu Tisch gesessen bey den Knechten/der Meister bey den Jündern/der Vatter bey den Kindern/der Hirt bey deinen lieben Schäfflein/unnd wie sich under diese Heerd der reissend Wolff und sasend Hundt Judas auch eingemischt.", *Vita Christi*, 231.

The marginal text gives cross references in both the New and Old Testaments: Matthew 26, Mark 4, Luke 22, Proverbs 9, and Psalms 127. These references give further material to consider and meditate on beyond the text. The New Testament text relates to the teachings of Jesus, which describe situations in which faith and understanding are required. The Old Testament references function as foreshadowing of the Last Supper, for example, Psalm 127 asserts the blessings offered for those that fear the Lord, Haydock explains that this reference is for both spiritual and temporal blessings.[90] The text in the margin advises the reader of the sentiments of Christ: "Do good to everyone, pray for your enemy as well as your friend."[91] The marginal text both supports and furthers the text, reinforcing the nature of this work as a gentle guide to lead the reader towards piety through instruction and understanding.

Section II foretells the abandonment of Christ to his enemies' mere hours after this merry occasion. It states that "out of fear the disciples will flee, leaving their loyal shepherd alone with the wild grim wolves."[92] This continues the reference of Judas as the wolf this reference emphasised by his hunched slightly separated positioning in the composition.

Section III refers to the food set before the disciples, both physical and spiritual. This section is a particularly clear example of both the relationship between the image and the text, and the invitation to the reader to participate in the event itself, as advised by Ludolph of Saxony. Written in the first person, it asserts:

> How I would treasure in my spirit if I could have also taken part of this meal, to serve our saviour, to collect the crumbs that fell from his holy hands, to look upon his Godly face that the angels celebrated, and to hear from his mouth the eternal word, the word that is sweeter than honey.[93]

Through this text, the language amalgamates the physical and the spiritual, for example the crumbs being both physical and verbal. This is reflected in the image through the

---

[90] Hadock's Catholic Bible commentary, 1859, accessed February 26, 2013, http://haydock1859.tripod.com/id852.html.
[91] "Thu jeder man guts/bitt eben sowol für deine feind als für deine freunde.", *Vita Christi*, 232.
[92] "…auß forcht fliehen/und ewern lieben getreuwen Hirten mitten under den wilden grimmigen Wölffen stehen lassen.", *Vita Christi*, 232.
[93] "O wie wolt ich mich so selig schätzen/wann ich dieser Malzeit auch hett können beiwohnen/unserm Erlöser dienen/die Brösamlin auffsanmlen die von seinen H. Händen abfielen: diß H. göttliche Angesicht anschauwen/welches die Engeln begehren zu sehen/und auß dem Mund deß weigen worts Wort hören die ssüsser seyn als Honigkuchen.", *Vita Christi*, 232.

mixed emotions present on the faces of the disciples, and the comparison between the joy on John's face for being in the arms of the master, and the sorrow on Christ's face knowing he would be betrayed. The text then concludes that although the supplicant was not there physically, they may still participate "through the spiritual meal that was shared with the individual reader as well as the disciples."[94] The text is clarified through the image, where the sharing of the physical Eucharistic meal is displayed in the centre foreground of the table by the chalice and the paten.

The final section instructs how the follower should come to the Eucharistic meal in five steps of spiritual and practical instructions. Unlike the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* which reinforces the lineage of authority of Christ, tracing it from Melchisedech right to the successors of Peter, the *Vita Christi* focusses on the individual and their understanding of the sacrifice. The goal of the *Vita Christi* is to ensure comprehension of the purpose of the Eucharist and to visualize participation in both physical and spiritual modes. This highlights the difference in the confessional messages between that of assertive obedience from the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* and that of encouragement and reassurance of the *Vita Christi.* Further, whereas the *Catechismus und Betböklin* aimed to fortify the Catholic belief of the transubstantiation through direction to the supplicant to respect and honour the Eucharist, the *Vita Christi* persuades the supplicant through sympathy and instruction using descriptive and emotional language.

The Passion

The events of the Passion understandably take up the greater part of this work, from the Last Supper at page 231 to the Supper at Emmaus at page 583. What is most obvious with the greater allowance for text in the *Vita Christi* is the encouragement of the reader to participate in the events of the passion, to consider the humiliation and the physical suffering of Christ, and to meditate on the spiritual outcome of this humiliation. This depth of contemplation is something that is only briefly touched on in the *Catechismus und Betböklin*, and the anguish and torment of Christ is not examined, but rather his obedience is stressed.

[94] "…du hast mir so wol als deinen Jüngern eine geistliche Speiß mitgetheilt…", *Vita Christi*, 232.

The *Vita Christi* gives the reader an extensive list of the physical abuse suffered by Christ for meditation. An example of this is:

> He suffered with his entire body and all of his senses. His head was crowned with thorns, his eyes darkened with tears his eyes [ears] tormented with invective, his cheeks lashed, his face fouled with spit, his tongue embittered with gall and vinegar, his holy beard ripped out, his hands pierced with nails, his side split open with a spear, his shoulders flagellated, his feet impaled with hard nails, and his entire body bloody, wounded, wrenched and stretched upon the cross. So that we, all people, may participate in the wounds of his spiritual body.[95]

Another example of the text for contemplation and reflection: "how very bitter and indignant the martyrdom on the cross would have been for Christ."[96] This form of contemplation of the wounds of Christ, the agony, and the torment are very much aligned with the mediations on his suffering, compelling the reader, to participate in the suffering.

There are fourteen images between the Last Supper and the Resurrection, all of which were used previously in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* with the exception of the Crucifixion, which is a much smaller and cruder image, quite different from the rest of the series. These images all function with the text to invite the viewer/reader to partake in the torment and the agony of Christ. The images reflect the details presented in the text functioning as both meditational devices and emotional facilitators.

The *Vita Christi* not only stresses the agony of the cross, but also calls attention to the role of the Virgin upon viewing the misery of Christ, and considers her anguish as his mother: "The sorrow of the mother brought the Lord great grief, she felt the pain of her son, she witnessed the burden of his body as he hung from the two nails through his hands, arms outstretched, and his entire body forcefully stretched out, his head pierced by thorns, face contrite from the lashing, his whole body open from the wounds."[97] This

---

[95] "Er litt an allen seinen Gliedern unnd sinnligkeiten seines H. Leibs. Das Haupt ist gekrönt mit Dörnern/die Augen verfinstert mit Thränen/die Augen gepeinigt mit schmähung/die Wangen geschlagen mit backenstreichen/das Angesicht veruneinigt mit Speychel/die Zunge verbittert mit Gallen unnd Essig/seinen H. Bart zerrupfft/die Händ durchgraben mit Nägeln/die Seiten mit eim Speer eröffnet/die Achsel auff geschlagen mit geißlen/die Füß durchstochen mit harten Nägeln/unnd der gantze Leib geblutigt/verwundt/unnd von einander gebönt und gestreckt am Cruetz. Damit wie alle Glider seines geistlichen Leibs (alle Menschen) verwundt waren.", *Vita Christi*, 449-450.

[96] ….Wie sehr bitter und peinlich die marter deß Creutzes Christi gewesen sey…", *Vita Christi*, 451.

[97] Der Mutter schmertz bracht dem Herrn grosses leid/deß gleichen der smrtz (sic) deß Sons mehret der Mutter schmertzen uber alle maß/dann sie sahe den schweren last deß leibs/an den zweien Nägeln der Händ hangen/die Arm außgestreckt/und den gantzen Leib mit gewalt außgespannen/den Kopff mit Dörn

text emphasises the Marian devotions of the Seven Sorrows, encouraging the reader to relate to the Virgin and her experience as the mother of Jesus. Mary appears in three of the images, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, and the Deposition, though she is mentioned more often in the chapters. In all of these images she is easily spotted due to her central positioning in the composition. The images and text reinforce the intercessory role of Mary, and through this encourage the viewer/reader to join in her suffering as a mother, having to witness the agony of Jesus, her son. This emphasis on Mary supports the confessionalization strategy of Marian devotions that received such prominence in the confessionalization programs of all three of the prince-bishops looked at in this thesis.

The Doubting of Thomas

Chapter forty-eight describes the reappearance of Christ before his disciples in what is commonly known as the Doubting Thomas, or the Incredulity of Thomas, figure 6.8. Thomas was not present when Christ first appeared before his disciples. When told of Christ's appearance, he stated that he would be convinced only when permitted to touch his wounds to verify it was indeed Christ. This chapter consists of a relatively short eight sections, a rather dramatic reduction from the majority of the previous chapters of the Passion.

Section II clarifies the statement of doubt, alleviating Thomas of disbelief, and explaining his motivation. "The doubting of Thomas was more about his longing to see the Lord again than an absence of faith, if he had been totally unbelieving he would not have remained with the Apostles, or if he had not loved the Lord so much he would not have said aloud (as nearly none of the others would remain with the Lord) let us also go that we may die with him."[98] Thomas' is shown in an attitude of reverence, he is the only one in awe on his knees. Also, it is implied that he did not need to put his fingers into the wound, as it is Jesus' hand that holds and directs his fingers. Two figures indicate

---

durch stochen/das Angesicht von schlägen zerknitscht/den gantzen Leib von dem deisseln offen... ", *Vita Christi*, 499.

[98] "…der Unglaub Thomae ist mehr herkoimmen auß begier nach dem herrn als auß mangel deß Glaubens/dann wann er gantz unglaubig were gewesen/wer er bey den Aposteln nicht geblieben/oder wann er den Herrn nicht sehr geliebt/so hett er unlangst nit so unerschrocken herauß geredt (da der andern schier keiner beim Herren bleiben wolt/) laßt uns auch gehen/ daß wir mit im sterben.", *Vita Christi*, 594.

the miraculous nature of this event, one is Jesus, who looks into Thomas' face, and points to heaven with his left hand, and the second stands beside Jesus, pointing one hand to heaven and the other to the earth. Both of these gestures relate to the resurrection of Christ, that he has returned to the earth as promised.

Figure 6.8, Detail, The Doubting of Thomas, *Vita Christi*, 1624

Section III states that Christ, "the good shepherd was unwilling to let any of his sheep stray", returned for Thomas.[99] The impatience of the disciples with Thomas is displayed by their faces which are for the most part looking away from the action of the scene, unmoved by Thomas' experience. The figure to the right of Christ, with one hand

[99] "…aber der gute Hirt wolte diß eintzige Schaff nit verlassen.", *Vita Christi*, 594.

pointing up the other pointing down a common visual trope used to designate the spiritual and corporal realms, indicates the fulfillment of the promise with the sense of satisfaction. This gesture also suggests that Thomas should have had faith, rather than demanding his senses be satisfied. That Thomas is not scolded is certain, as it is Christ's own hand directs that of Thomas' to his wound. The text in the margin beside this section supports this, encouraging the reader with: "The great humbleness of the magnanimity of Christ", and "What the Lord will do to help only one Soul."[100] That Jesus himself holds Thomas' hand further supports the desire of Christ the shepherd to collect lost sheep, signifying he was not prepared to let Thomas go. This emphasis on the tenderness and compassion of Christ is typical of the encouragement of this text which leads the reader to a deeper understanding and faithfulness through reassurance.

Section V makes an important point, cross referencing the first verse of I John 1, affirming that, "the Lord wholly wished Thomas to touch him, so that afterwards the apostle John could state: what we heard, what we saw with our eyes and touched with our hands, from the word of life that we report to you."[101] This was a means of quelling any doubt and bolstering the faith of the reader through the image-text relationship, by simply stating and showing the earnestness of Jesus towards the collecting of his sheep.

Section VIII offers great encouragement for pastoral workers, stating that as Christ had such love and patience to help one Apostle overcome doubt, that the "pastoral workers should never have the thought that their work is thrown away, when through their work only one soul is helped."[102] Along this line is further support for those who feel their efforts go unnoticed, that "to serve God without finding comfort, which is difficult, but which is also meritorious, and is considered to be a great blessing in Heaven."[103] This encouragement comes noticeably in the image simply through Christ's

---

[100] "Ein grosse Demuth der hertzligkeit Christi", and "Was thut der Herr nur daß einer Seel geholffen werd.", *Vita Christi*, 594.
[101] "…der Herr gäntzlich gewolt daß ihn Thomas anrührte/und darnach sagen könte wie der Apostel Joannes: was wir gehört/was wir mit unsern Augen gesehen/und mit unsern Händen angetastet haben/vom wort deß Lebens/das verkünden wir euch.", *Vita Christi*, 595.
[102] "…auch die Seelsorger nit sollen gedencken ir arbeit sey vergebens/wann durch sie nur einer See list geholffen worden.", *Vita Christi*, 596.
[103] "Daß ohne trost Gott dienen/wie es ein schwer ding ist/also es auch sehr verdienstlich und im Himmel einer grossen Seligkeit sey.", *Vita Christi*, 596.

presence to reassure Thomas indicates his unwillingness to let any fall astray. The encouragement for serving God without immediate gratification is demonstrated as Christ stands patiently, with Thomas before him, pointing to heaven, indicating heavenly support that faith will bring.

Although both the *Catechismus und Betböklin* and the *Vita Christi* focus here on the returning of lost sheep, the former assigns blame on disbelief, and separation from the "true Church" necessitating return and penance, whereas the latter is more concerned with doubt, countering it with encouragement rather than penance. This again reinforces the deepening of piety with a more comforting language underscoring the new mode of confessionalization message.

The Assumption of the Virgin

Chapter fifty-two, the final chapter of the *Vita Christi,* consists of fifteen sections and focusses on the assumption of the Virgin, her reunification with Jesus, and her intercessory role. Contrary to expectations this is the final chapter of this book rather than the Last Judgment. Thus the *Vita Christi* ends, as it began, with the Virgin. That the Virgin plays an important role is obvious, as she held great significance for human salvation simply because she was fully human and through her obedience achieved an assured place in heaven. In this presentation she represents the hope of the *viator*, her bodily assumption is a clear indicator for all sinners that they too can be saved, and she stands as an example of the fully human individual's access to heaven.[104] The regard held for the Virgin reflects not only the political circumstances of the bishopric and the bishop himself through the promulgation of Marian devotion, but also the spiritual driving force of the Jesuits.

In figure 6.9 just as at the beginning of this work, she is presented as the eternal Virgin, indicated by her hair loosely flowing. Her halo is muted in comparison to those of the trinity. Jesus, though seated, reaches out his hands to welcome her, God the Father reaches out his right hand towards her elbow. The Holy Spirit as a dove creates the unity of the welcoming Godhead. These figures are surrounded by rejoicing cherubim.

[104] Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary,* 15.

vnd Mariæ. 619

Die LII. Betrachtung.

Von dem Absterben / Begräbnuß vnnd himmelfahrt der seligsten Jungfrawen Mariæ.

BEtracht 1. Daß die heilige Mutter Christi/ nach jhres Sohns auffahrt noch fünfftzehen Jahr (wie der mehrertheil vermeynet) auff Erden geblieben / vnnd biß inn die drey vnnd sechtzig Jahr

Figure 6.9 The Assumption of the Virgin, *Vita Christi*, 1624

Section I refers to Mary's death, the conventionally established time she remained on the Earth after the Assumption of Christ, and her role within the early formation of the Church. It states that it is generally accepted that she remained another

fifteen years, being sixty-three at her death. It continues by explaining that during her remaining time on the Earth, her role was extensive. To "comfort the Christians, by help and example, and that she could also instruct others in many of these things and to see to the beginning and the growth of the Christian church and add these things to her service to God."[105] This section concludes by pointing out that the Virgin witnessed a great many sorrows, such as the pain and deaths of martyrs, the cowardice of others, and many falling away [from the church]. These sorrows emphasize the motherly role of Mary, and accentuate her tender and protective nature. This in turn makes her more approachable and more comprehensible to humanity. She is pictured humble, honoured to be welcomed in heaven by her Son. This underscores the connection she has with her son, supporting the intercessory role of Mary on behalf of humanity. This visually assures the supplicant that Mary does indeed have the attention of her son.

A cross reference in the margin is 2 Corinthians 2, which is a Pauline epistle written as encouragement and correction to the Church at Corinth. The scriptural reference is particularly suitable as it addresses a number of the concerns of this first section, namely the comfort offered by the Virgin, but also obedience to authority for which the Virgin provides a model. This reinforces the confessional approach of the *Vita Christi* to seek the deepening of piety through encouragement and the comfort provided by the intercession of the Virgin on behalf of the reader.

Section IIII continues with the death of the Virgin, stating that she died in Jerusalem, because: "1.that is where her son died, and 2.she would be conducted directly from the Earthly Jerusalem to the Heavenly Jerusalem."[106] The earthly tomb of the Virgin is in Jerusalem, though the actual place of her death is not conclusively known. Her death positioned her to intercede directly on behalf of the petitioner with her son, thus creating the link from humanity to the divine as is alluded to here with the strong diagonal created by the figure placement and the connection of the figures through their hands and arms.

---

[105] "…unnd biß inn die drey unnd sechtzig Jahr erricht/den Christen zu trost/hülff und Exempel/und damit sie dieselbeigen von vielen sachen underwiese/ein anfang unnd ziembliches zunemmen der Christlichen Kirchen sehe/unnd ihre verdienst gegen Gott häuffete.", *Vita Christi*, 619.

[106] "Daß sie zu Jerusalem gestorben/1. Dieweil ihr Sohn daselbst gestorben. 2. Damit sie auß dem irrdischen Jerusalem gestracks zu dem himlischen Jerusalem gefürt würde.", *Vita Christi*, 622.

Section X considers how the Virgin ascended, and was "immediately welcomed by her son, whose great love rather than the angels sped her to heaven. It was by the son of God himself that she was brought into heaven with great triumph."[107] The action of this welcoming into heaven with great triumph is vibrantly presented here. Christ leans forward from his throne with hands extended to welcome the Virgin, and the cherubim surround the scene with joy, one in the foreground blowing the trumpet.

The final section, XV, supports her position as intercessor between the trinity and humanity. "To her is given power in heaven and on the earth, that God the Father, like the strength to tread upon the head of the snake, placed the moon under her feet." It continues: "The son (whom she clad in flesh) dressed her in the sun, the holy Spirit (with who's mercy she is filled) placed upon her head a crown of twelve stars worked with shining precious stones, the crown signifying all holy glory, and as the moon gives more light to the earth than all the stars, so the glory of the Mother of God outshines all other Saints."[108] This visual symbolism applied to the Virgin is taken directly from the book of Revelations 12:1, "And a great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars."[109] There is a certain amount of controversy as to exactly who John refers to here, but it is generally accepted to be either, or both, the Virgin Mary, and the body of the Church. The portrayal of Mary as the Queen of Heaven was strongly encouraged throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, additionally it linked Catholic-Reformation Marian devotions to the pre-Reformation church, through medieval imagery. Furthermore, the image of the triumphant Virgin clothed in the sun was an image of victory frequently used by Wittelsbach rulers becoming a symbol of dynastic authority and conquest. The glory and the veneration of the assumption of the Virgin referred not only to the Virgin's own exaltation, but also to the triumph of the Church she

[107] "…von Christo ihrem son gütig auffgenommen sey/und mit aller lieve erquicket und nicht von den H. Engeln/sondern vom Sohn gottes mit grossem triumph in den Himmel eingeführt sey.", *Vita Christi*, 624.
[108] "Der Sohn (den sie mit Fleisch bekleydet) had sie mit der Sonnen bekleydet/der heylige Geist (mit welches genaden sie erfüllt) hat ire in Kron von zwölff Sternen mit hellscheinenden Edelgesteinen underwerckt/auffgesetzt/durch welche Kron bedeutet wirdt aller Heyligen glory/dann wie der Mond der Erden mehr Liechts gibt als alle Sternen/also uberwindt die glory der Mutter Gottes aller Heiligen glory.", *Vita Christi*, 630-1.
[109] Revelations 12:1, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible*, 1841.

embodied.[110] The text goes on to state that the Virgin created a unity between the Old and New Testaments as she was surrounded by the apostles upon her death: "Through the number of twelve, it refers to the chosen twelve from both Testaments, the heads of the Old Testament known as the twelve patriarchs, in the new testament the twelve apostles."[111] This link created by Mary between the Old and New Testaments is further explained in the next sentence that this "fulfills the words of David which makes reference to the Queen in a golden robe, at His right hand, finding herself in all power."[112] The text reference to Psalm 44 in the margin concludes with, "They shall remember thy name throughout all generations. Therefore shall people praise thee forever; yea, for ever and ever."[113] By linking this text with the Virgin, it alludes to her veneration as likened to the Trinity. This veneration of the Virgin is very much a reflection of the Jesuit-influenced Marian devotions. As explained by Bridget Heal, "under the Jesuits' tutelage Marian piety was politicized as *demonstratio catholica*, as a way of delineating Catholic belief and practice."[114] Through Jesuit encouragement and fostering, Mary became a symbol of Catholic triumph and emblematic of the unblemished true church.[115] This reinforces the notion of the deepening of piety in this period, as the initial battle for Catholic confessionalization was perceived as victorious.

The images are the same blocks used in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, nothing on them has changed and the order remains the same, if truncated. The continuity of the Catholic Church is presented through the established iconography utilized in the compositions. However in the *Vita Christi* the relationship with the text and the message of the text is quite different. No longer militant, or making reference to the false path, or even to the true Church, the *Vita Christi* appeals not only to the emotional state and understanding of the reader, but also gives practical guidance on how to realize a deeper personal connection with God, on a daily and weekly basis. The

---

[110] Heal, "Mary "Triumphant over Demons and Also Heretics", 158.
[111] "Durch die zahl der zwölff warden bedeutet alle außerwehlten von beyden Testamenten/dann die Häupter deß alten Testaments werden genendt die zwölff Patriarchen/deß neuwen Testaments die zwölff Aposteln.", *Vita Christi*, 631.
[112] "Allda ist erfüllt worden was David geschrieben.die Königen ist zu deiner rechten handt gestanden inn einem vergüldtem Kelydt/…so in allen kräfften der Jungfrauewn sich befindt…", *Vita Christi*, 631.
[113] Psalm 44:18, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 773.
[114] Heal, "Mary "Triumphant over Demons and Also Heretics", 155.
[115] Heal, "Mary "Triumphant over Demons and Also Heretics", 154.

message of the value of piety, of prayer and of humility is unmistakeable, as is the emphasis of devotion and meditation. The Catholic Church is clearly assumed here through the reference of the enlightenment of error, the treasury of the saints and the veneration of the Virgin. In this work there is evidently no perceived need for clarification, and the combative tone used in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* is no longer necessary.

Chapter Seven

Images and text, maintaining Catholicism during war

Simply titled *Brautschatz* this devotional work was published for the purpose of guiding the Catholic reader in their faith and preparing them to reinforce it within the home.[1] The *Brautschatz* is a distinctly post-Tridentine work that like the *Vita Christi* harkens back to pre-Reformation rituals and traditions to create a sense of continuity with the late medieval Church. Like so many other titles of this genre it is an extensive educational tool that teaches the reader how to be a "Good Catholic" through instruction about personal and communal piety. The practical nature of this particular work differentiates it from the previous titles as there is much less call for meditation and contemplation but rather an emphasis on basic instruction for how to live out one's Catholic faith daily. What is most noticeable with this work is that it lays out the Catholic faith in a clearly written, direct and simple format for the reader to follow, without the suggestion of further study through external references.

The confessionalization program of Ferdinand von Bayern experienced a number of setbacks in implementation simply due to the unrest of war. His bishopric was often surrounded by unfriendly forces obliging Ferdinand von Bayern to shift the focus of his strategy. The confessionalization program of Ferdinand von Bayern was not pushed through devotional literature as much as it was actively pursued on the physical battlefield and in the figurative trenches to maintain his established religious borders. This strategy of maintaining what had been won back to the Catholic faith is visible through the basic "instructional manual" nature of the *Brautschatz*, as well as the often haphazard placement of images and at times lack of consideration for the image-text relationships. The inattention to the image-text relationship reveals this adjustment of the role of the devotional book within the larger confessionalization program reflecting the changeable and potentially volatile nature of the period of the Thirty Years War. In this work there is mention of the Catholic Church, but in the sense of protecting, preserving,

[1]Full title is: *Brautschatz Aller Gottergebenen Jungfrawen/Wie sie durch schöne Gebett/Betrachtung=und Ubungen vor und nach der Beicht/Communion/auch auff die fünembste Fest und Gezetten deß Jahrs Jesum Christum ihrem Bräutigam suchen/mit schönen Hymnis, Sequentien und Kirchen gesäng loben/lieben und preisen sollen. Zu Ehren und geistlichem Nutzen deß löblichen Jungfrawstands/auß approbierten Bettbüchern fleissig zusammen getragen.*

and understanding it rather than the militant confessionalization message of obedience found in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*.

Similar in tone to the *Vita Christi*, the message of the *Brautschatz* is primarily encouraging, imparting to the reader advice and direction, promoting gratitude by drawing attention to God's mercy and patience, and appealing for protection and security. It consists primarily of instruction and prayers, the prayers have intermittent and fully articulated references to scripture or early Church writers. However unlike the *Vita Christi,* this devotional text does not have the extra study function of marginal cross references, indicating its purpose is reading and recitation rather than meditation or a deeper study of the text.

The title suggests that the content is a trousseau, a spiritual hope chest for the maiden or bachelor who is looking towards marriage, whether physical or spiritual. Although this work was not solely intended for those considering marriage, it indicates the importance of a spiritual guide for the change of societal circumstance that marriage creates. This also points out the intended audience for this work, that young ladies were a definite part of the target readers, to instruct them so that they could be a model of piety and in turn teach it within the domestic sphere.

The *Brautschatz* was printed under the leadership of Prince-Bishop Ferdinand von Bayern, a Wittelsbach prince who supported numerous measures to reinstate, reinforce and strengthen the Catholic faith in his bishopric using the Catholic confessionalization from his native Bavaria as a guide.[2] Throughout his tenure he reinforced the Tridentine rulings by various measures, one being the encouragement of printing Catholic devotional books for the edification and teaching of the laity. The greatest obstacle faced by Ferdinand von Bayern in his confessionalization program was the Thirty Years War. Yet because the city of Münster itself was spared both pillage and siege it was possible to maintain, at least to some degree, the earlier initiated confessional program for the encouragement and deepening of Catholic piety throughout this period. Yet, the slowly developing spiritual apathy attendant with long periods of civil unrest and instability was noticeable through bishopric visitations.

[2] Holzem, *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802,* 161.

Although Münster came through the war relatively physically unscathed, it nonetheless made an impact on the religious life of the population. As Sigrun Haude points out, it had long been considered that a pious life was the way to end war, as war was considered even by seventeenth century European societies to be a punishment from God and a means to force the population to turn away from their sin and back to God.[3] However, Haude goes on to describe the frustration that war can impart upon the populace, which is most often powerless to affect a conclusion. She goes on to explore where the populace would find solace if their prayers and piety made no impact, determining that one such outlet was superstition, explaining that these types of practices which were already widespread, became exacerbated by the war.[4] Stemming the rise of these feelings and practices during a time of war proved difficult, simply due to death and the disruption of everyday life. Priests were often expected to cover many parishes due to abandonment by, or the loss of, colleagues to war, making it nearly impossible for them to supervise or regulate the beliefs of the parishioners.[5] This phenomenon could be seen throughout Germany, regardless of confession.

The *Brautschatz* was first printed in 1625. There are five known editions, by von Dale, and later Bernardt Raesfeldt from the Raesfeldt printing house. The *Brautschatz* consists of two parts, each having a slightly different focus. The first part is comprised of nine chapters instructing the reader on personal devotions. This includes prayers and teachings on how to comport oneself during Church services as well as the individual obligations within the faith, such as attendance at mass, confession, and taking the Eucharist. The second part consists of seventeen chapters of more general preparation and instruction for the individual within the greater Church body. This section provides instruction and prayers for the events throughout the liturgical year including feast and selected Saint's days. The text for all of the *Brautschatz* editions is the same. There are however two illustrated formats representing different price categories, one with woodcuts (consisting of two separate editions that contain separate sets of woodblocks)

---

[3] Sigrun Haude, "Religion Während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges (1618-1648)", *Frömmigkeit-Theologie-Frömmigkeitstheologie Contributions to European Church History: Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert, Roland Liebenberg, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 537.

[4] "Leichtfertigkeiten, Blasphemie und Aberglaube waren auch vor 1618 weit verbreitet, aber der Krieg mit seinem Elend und seiner Ungewissheit öffnete die Tür zu einem viel kompromissloseren Gebrauch dieser Praktiken", Haude, "Religion Während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges", 552.

[5] Haude, "Religion Während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges", 552.

and one with engravings.[6] The first woodcut edition was printed in 1625 and 1627, in which the woodcuts derive from two distinct groups of blocks one set of eight blocks with elaborate frames and slightly more complex designs, and a set of four blocks with simple framing and more simple designs. The second group of woodblocks is in the 1645 and 1659 editions with a single set of blocks, all of which are more intricate in their compositions, and more complex in their imagery. This change of images in 1645 coincides with the onset of the peace talks that would end the Thirty Years War. This more complicated, contemplative image series may represent a renewed focus on devotional literature as a tool for the confessionalization program and a reinstating of its use to further a renewed strategy rather than to simply maintain the established Catholic identity.

The intaglio edition of 1631, reprinted in 1659, employs a common set of printing plates. Both formats through all of the editions contain fifteen illustrations apart from the title pages, following the image placement pattern established in the first edition. The images consist of thirteen relief blocks, or twelve intaglio plates, with some repetition. The images themselves are familiar, and represent an established visual vocabulary. However, the image-text relationship through this work illustrates how the reading and understanding of the image can be guided by the text, and vice versa. A selection of chapters are presented illustrate how the confessional message of the *Brautschatz* differed from that of both the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* and the *Vita Christi.*[7]

The Title Page

Each *Brautschatz* begins with a title page, in two different variations depending on the date, a simple text page for the 1625 and 1627 editions, and the intaglio plate used from the1631 edition onwards in all further editions. The 1625/27 title pages are simply text in a mixture of fonts, font sizes, and black with red ink highlights. The intaglio version of the title page however has an exquisitely detailed image. It is difficult to say how many copies of the text were printed for each edition, but there were enough that the Raesfeldt printing house sold them both locally and also at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

[6] Known copies are 1625, Duke University (Jantz B.#2996 c.1); 1627, ULB Münster (Rara RD 876), 1631; Duke University (Jantz B.#2997 c.1), Depositum Regensburg- ULB Münster (0103), Diözesanbibliothek Münster (G 0326), ULB Münster (1E 3364), 1645; ULB Münster (Rara RD 877), 1659; Depositum Regensburg- ULB Münster, (0103A), (0103B), HAB (Xb 7899).
[7] For a full list of images see appendix III.

The title page, figures 7.1 and 7.2, establishes the tone and the purpose of this work, consisting of three registers, each following the same theme with different indicative elements. The upper register depicts Christ to the left of the frame, welcoming the “the bride of Christ”, visually depicted as a group of women, to the portal of heaven. Led by Mary wearing the crown are three other women with their hands on their chests in a gesture of humility, above them is pictured a lamb in the sky surrounded by a halo holding the banner of the risen Christ. Behind this first grouping of women is a large crowd of women, all holding palm branches, signifying martyrdom and the victory of the spirit over the flesh. Above the largest figure grouping are a number of angels in the sky holding victory wreaths above the heads of the figures.

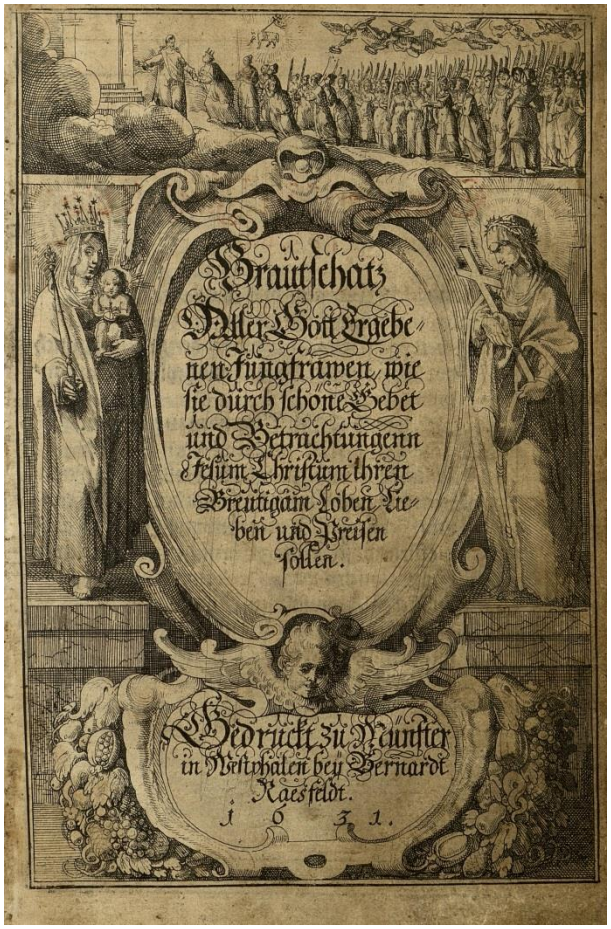

Figure 7.1 Title Page, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

Figure 7.2 Title Page, *Brautschatz,* 1659, DR-ULB

The second register has a cartouche with the title of the work surrounded by two figures. At the top of the cartouche is a decorative device of a shell containing a pearl.

The pearl is a visual indicator of the *Parable of the Pearl*, otherwise known as "the Pearl of great price" found in the gospel of Matthew: "Again the kingdom of heaven is like to a merchant seeking good pearls. Who when he had found one pearl of great price, went his way, and sold all that he had, and bought it."[8] The verse summarizes the contents of this text well as the *Brautschatz* itself is considered a pearl of wisdom and a guide to live a pious life. The pearl indicates the great value of Heaven, which it is not only sought after and precious, but also requires patience to find, and likewise effort to reveal. Also the pearl is formed within the heart of the oyster, and is perfect when revealed, not requiring cutting or polishing as with other precious stones. Another interpretation of this illustration is that Christ is the merchant found in the scriptures seeking the pearl, and the pearl is the Church, the bride of Christ. To the left of the cartouche is an image of the Virgin with the Christ child. She is shown wearing the crown of heaven and holding a sceptre, symbolizing spiritual rather than temporal authority. The Christ child is shown then holding the orb, or *Globus cruciger*, a traditional article of royal regalia and a symbol of authority. The cross above the orb refers to the dominion of Christ over the world, and foreshadows Christ as *Salvator Mundi*. To the right of the cartouche is a female figure that is symbolic of the passion of Christ. She is pictured holding in her hands a small version of the cross, and wears a crown of thorns over her veil. Reverence for the items is displayed through the gentle manner in which she holds them separating her skin from the articles.

The lower register contains another cartouche surrounded by fruit and topped with a cherubic winged head. Fruit is an often used symbol within Christianity representing any number of allegories, and in this case is a visual reminder of the fruit of the spirit found within both scripture and the Rosary. Pomegranates are a symbol of the fall of mankind through Adam and Eve, and the hope of redemption through Christ. Grapes are a symbol of the Eucharistic wine. Oranges and pears refer to the Virgin. Inside the cartouche is the information of the printer, including edition date which is the only thing altered for later printings. Comparison of the 1631 and 1659 editions show the

[8] Matthew 13:45-6, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1487.

altered date and the amount of wear of the copper plates obscuring the detail, even after re-working to give depth to the image.[9]

Following the title page is a summary of the first part of the work and the foreword. This introduction is addressed to the "engaged virgin" and uses excerpts from the Song of Songs to create an analogy expounding on Christ the bridegroom and her longing for him. The language used in this foreword is very much that of the lover or betrothed, such as her "fervid love, and fiery desire, remaining out of love, unsoiled and chaste even unto death."[10] It goes on to state that the bride "would know and have written that she was made and redeemed by God for such a purpose."[11] It continues with a description of how the bride shows her love for the bridegroom, "…pursuing her groom to the best of her human ability to obtain her heavenly treasure…[and] with the wise virgins, awaits patiently and in readiness for the heavenly marriage."[12] The foreword also encourages the reader to spend time with the book, not just reading from it once a week, or once a day, but throughout the day, "as the lark flies seven times through the day to fly and sing."[13] There is no credited author for the *Brautschatz* indicating it is not meant for the author to receive credit but rather for the reader to accrue understanding and grace. This anonymity also signals a modification of the role of the devotional book in the confessionalization program, the authorship has shifted from a contemplative work written by an identified theologically trained author to a simpler educational manual by an unacknowledged author. This change of the role of devotional literature within the confessionalization strategy is reflective of a need for basic maintenance of the Catholic identity.

This section is followed by a liturgical calendar divided by month with Saints' days and Holy days of obligation printed in black with red highlights, with accompanying

---

[9] Considering that a copper plate can print approximately 300 impressions before requiring reworking, the latter reworked images could represent anywhere from 500 to 800 with the poorer quality impressions.
[10] "Ein Gott verlobte Jungfraw soll neben hitziger Liebe unnd fewrigen Begierden zu ihrem Bräutigam Christo Jesu…welche biß in den Todt hinein keusche unnd unbefleckte Jungfrawen verharren." *Brautchatz,* 1645, foreword n.p. although the text in all editions is the same, all footnote references are taken from the 1645 edition, unless otherwise noted.
[11] "Dann sie vermerckte sehr wol/daß sie von GOTT zu solchem Ziel erschaffen/erlöset…" *Brautchatz,* foreword n.p.
[12] "Das ist/welche durch immerwährende Gebett unnd andächtige Betrachtung ihr Herzt…unnd ihrem Bräutigam so viel menschlich unnd möglich nacheylen/welche ihren Schatz im Himmel haben/unnd mit den weisen Jungfrawen der Himmlischen Hochzeit gedultig und in gutter Bereitschafft erwarten." *Brautchatz,* foreword n.p.
[13] "Und wie der Lerch sich täglich siebenmahl in Lufft erhebet und singet…", *Brautchatz,* foreword n.p.

vernacular names when available such as *Brachmonat* for June. The calendar is followed by a page that lists moveable feast days from 1624-1654. The calendars are followed by a summary table of contents that lists the chapters and headings for both parts of the book.

Morning and Evening Prayers

The first three illustrations in the text in all editions are in the first chapter of *Prayers for Mornings and Evenings*.[14] This chapter presents prayers and practical advice of how to meditate on specific subjects. An example of this combination of practical and meditative direction can be seen in one of the first suggested Morning Prayers which presents the choice of a prayer, or Psalm 62 providing the reader with eight of the twelve verses to read followed by instructions on what points to consider, eliminating the need to consult the scripture itself. The text then concludes with a vernacular translation of *Ave Maris Stella* (*Hail Star of the Sea)* a plainsong vesper hymn to Mary.

The prayers are simply titled, for example, the Mother of God, guardian angel, patron saint, Christ, and Holy Spirit. Additionally, they always give a short introduction to prepare the supplicant. The majority of the prayers refer directly to the specific intercessor, for grace, mercy and protection. The prayers infrequently make appeals for the Catholic Church, with such entreaties as "Preserve and perpetuate O Lord the Catholic Church…" and, "…Fatherly mercy and protection…to the whole Catholic Church."[15] The language is expansive, and encouraging with a focus on elevating the Catholic Church to inspire a deeper individual faith. The layout of the prayers assists the reader to organize their prayer-life. For example, one of the sub-titles directs the reader that:

> One can also go through the entire litany through the week, such as on Sunday the Holy Angel, on Monday the Patriarchs and Prophets, or Saints of the Old Testament, Tuesday the Apostles, Wednesday the martyrs, Thursday the bishops and confessors, Friday the monks, hermits and priests, Saturday appeal specifically to the virgins and penitents, and every day special encouragement for

[14] *Morgends und Abends Gebetter*
[15] "Erhalte auch und bewahre/O Herr/die Catholische Kirch und gantze Christenheit.." "…Vätterliche Gnad und Schutz…Der gantzen Catholischen Kirchen…", *Brautchatz,* 7, 9.

virtue and help in the service of God for discretion and to direct prayers.[16]

This kind of step-by-step instruction is typical of the *Brautschatz,* a tool that guides the reader through their day, week and month, to a deeper more effective and fruitful life through prayer and piety. The purpose is to be a better Christian, Godly servant and representative of God on the earth. Adherence to the Catholic faith is simply assumed. For example, one prayer asks for blessing through the things one does all the time, such as breathing, blinking and thinking, reading and writing are also specifically mentioned, clearly presuming at least a semi-literate audience with potential for writing.[17]

The images of the three woodcut editions differ. The 1625/27 and later intaglio editions show the trinity; the 1645 edition depicts Christ in judgement with the elements of temporal power, and finally the coronation of the Virgin from the 1659 exemplar. The trinity image in the 1625/27 editions, figure 7.3, is a familiar composition with Christ and God the Father seated, the Holy Spirit as a dove uniting the figures into a pyramidal composition. Christ holds a cross in his left hand, his right hand resting in his lap. The concept of salvation through the cross is emphasised by exposing Christ's wounds. God the Father is presented as a long haired, bearded elderly man, garbed in decorated robes. He holds a sceptre in his right hand, and rests his left hand on an orb. The image displays the spiritual authority of the trinity through the accoutrements that identify them. This composition reinforces the sense of authority of the trinity, encouraging the viewer to consider the greatness of the Godhead in heaven, separated from mankind as they are presented by the distinct separation by the clouds from the lower realms. This observation implies the authority of the Church, underscoring the necessity of the reader's obedience to the earthly arm of the Godhead.

---

[16] "Man kan auch durch die Litaney die gantze Woche gehen/als am Sontag die Heylige Engel/am Montag die Patriarchen und Propheten/oder Heyligen deß alten Testaments/Dienstag die Aposteln/Mittwoch die Märtyrer/Donnerstag die Bischoffen und Beichtiger/Freytag die Münnich/Einsidler unnd Priester/Sambstag die Jungfrawen und Büsserinnen besonderlich anruffen/unnd jeder Tag umb sonder Tugenden unnd Hülff im Dienst Gottes anhalten/nach eines jeden Gutdüncken/und darauff die Schußgebettlein richten." *Brautchatz,* 11.

[17] "Und so offt ich heut Athem schöpffen/Glieder meines Leibs bewegen/Augenblicken/uns so viel Buchstaben ich schreiben oder lessen werde/und alls was ich gedencken/reden oder würcken mag…" *Brautchatz,* 14.

1

Das erste Capittel.

Morgends vnnd Abends Gebett.

Am Morgen gleich im erwachen sprich:

EHr sey dem Vatter vnnd dem Sohn / vnd dem H. Geist / wie es war im Anfang / nun vñ zu ewigen Zeiten / Amen. Jesu / Jesu / Jesu mein Heyl / mein Liecht / mein Leben / erbarm dich meiner.

A Oder

Figure 7.3 Holy Trinity full page with text, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

Unlike the earlier image, the 1645 edition, figure 7.4, utilises both a different image series, and subject. This image creates three distinct tiers within the picture plane, visually establishing Heaven, Earth and Hell. Christ is placed in a position of power and judgement. He is pictured robed, standing on a globe, with a scepter in his right hand and a *Globus cruciger* in his left. Surrounding him are figures that represent all walks of life, in the foreground are represented spiritual and temporal authorities on

earth. Significantly, the Pope retains his staff of authority to Christ's right, whereas the Emperor on the left has dropped his sceptre on the ground, under the feet of Christ. In the foreground the earth gives way to reveal crowds of people in the flames of hell below. Pictured in the heavens is a great deal of imagery from the book of Revelations such as the sun and the moon, the seven stars, the angels descending on the clouds.[18]

Figure 7.4 Detail, Christ in Judgement, *Brautschatz,* 1645, ULB

Because the chapter presents morning and evening prayers, each of these images function to establish visually the authority of the Godhead, or Jesus. The images encourage the viewer/reader to consider the distinct division between the divine and humankind, encouraging submission and reverence. The prayers help direct and focus

[18] This is very reminiscent of the attributes associated with the woman of the apocalypse, as Mary is often portrayed, with her feet on the moon, the stars around her head, clothed in sun.

the reader to consider and meditate on their daily activities, and there are specific prayers addressed to each of the personages of the trinity. Thus the image-text relationship presented in these editions is both meditational and instructional in nature. Although the three persons of the trinity are specifically mentioned, the prayers are meant to direct the reader towards reflection and to be encouraged. Whereas this image does urge reflection, it does so through a negative message of judgement rather than grace which is reminiscent of the more aggressive confessional message of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*. Visually this message of judgement is presented through the apocalyptic elements, and the reality of mortality, one never knows how much time they have to repent.[19]

The image in the 1659 woodcut edition curiously does not follow the 1645 model and depicts the coronation of the Virgin, figure 7.5. The block experienced a great deal of damage in the ensuing fourteen years, including many obvious worm holes.[20] The image depicts the coronation of the Virgin by both Christ and God the Father who are on either side of her, both lowering the domed crown upon her head. The Holy Spirit as a dove is above all of the figures completing the trinity. The figure of Christ wears a robe over one shoulder, holding the banner often seen in resurrection scenes symbolizing the triumph over death. God the Father is depicted as an elderly man with the *Globus cruciger* in his left hand. Mary kneels humbly upon the cloud in an attitude of humility portrayed youthful here, in stark contrast to the aged Joseph who kneels below. As with previous images, the clouds create a visual barrier between the heavenly and the earthly realms. Below the clouds are the figures of Joseph and John the apostle, identified by their basket of woodworking tools and the poisoned chalice with the snake respectively. The composition reveals visually the intercessory role of Mary as she is placed between the figures on earth and those in heaven. Although a significant episode within the established iconography, the crowning of the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, it does not directly relate or connect with the following text. The placement of this image here displays a sense of carelessness.

---

[19] As pointed out by Dr. Frank Klaassen.

[20] It has been determined that these holes are in fact caused by wood boring beetles, and though called wormholes, are in fact carved by the adult insects rather than the worm-like larvae. These works from North Western Germany are also most likely the species *Anobium punctatum*, the common furniture beetle. S. Blair Hedges, “Wormholes record species history in space and time”, *Biology Letters*, (9, 2013), accessed March 17, 2013, http://rsbl.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/9/1/20120926.full.html#ref-list-1.

Figure 7.5 Detail, Coronation of the Virgin, *Brautschatz,* 1659, DR-ULB

The intaglio text editions are modeled on the 1625 edition. The image is the Holy Trinity surrounded by clouds, figure 7.6. The book of Daniel describes one "like the son of man" who is carried by clouds and presented to God the Father, who in turn gives the son "power, glory and a kingdom."[21] God the Father is pictured here as the *Ancient of Days*, likewise from Daniel, being described as having a "garment white as snow, and hair like clean wool."[22] The figures of Christ and God the Father are seated, while the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove visually creates a pyramidal composition. Both Jesus and God the Father are presented with objects of their authority. Both wear crowns, though that of God the father is domed, taller and more elaborate. Cherubs surround the Trinity in the clouds. This same plate is used in the later edition and shows obvious wear, and some reworking of the details to bring them out.

[21] Daniel 7:13-14, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1160.
[22] Daniel 7:9, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1159.

Figure 7.6 Holy Trinity, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

As with the earlier 1625 edition, this image reflects three of the figures that feature in this chapter. Additionally, the image of the Trinity in a traditional composition of spiritual authority sets the tone for the book. The chapter opens with a prayer, addressing all three persons of the trinity, with the simple instruction: “To be spoken in the morning, directly after awaking.”[23] The relationship between the image and text

[23] “Am Morgen gleich im erwachen sprich:”, *Brautchatz,* 2.

establishes the authority under which this book is written, presenting for the reader not only the religious path to follow, but detailed instructions as to how to walk it.

To the Mother of God

Also found in the first chapter is the image of Mary and the Christ child, which is associated with a portion of text that reads "To the Mother of God."[24] The image of the Virgin and Child standing within a mandorla is consistent through all the known editions of the *Brautschatz*. The three versions of this image are all visually similar to the first edition which set the subject and the image placement pattern for the later editions.

This section reinforces the role of the Virgin within the Catholic Church and defends Marian devotions. It also reaffirms the connection with pre-Reformation piety by reinforcing the unbroken tradition of the Catholic Church. The text begins with an acknowledgement of the Virgin's roles as both Queen of Heaven, and mother of Christ.[25] It goes on to quote from the gospels, requesting that the Virgin act as intercessor, and appealing that the heart of the supplicant be given to Christ, because "where one's treasure is, so also is their heart."[26] The prayer goes on to petition the protection of Mary from evil, physical, mental and emotional, and that she count the supplicant among her friends. As an alternative, there is a second prayer to the Virgin, a petition for her intercession with Christ, "the beloved bridegroom", requesting her divine assistance to remain faithful, devoted and a good servant. Marian devotions were an important strategy in the confessionalization programs of all three of the prince-bishops under consideration in this thesis.

The image in the 1625/27 edition, figure 7.7, is the simplest of all the editions. In this woodcut the Virgin is clearly shown standing on a crescent moon and wearing the crown of heaven, the twelve stars implied if not all shown thereon. She is presented as virginal, with loose flowing hair. In her right hand the sceptre in her left is Jesus, who in turn holds the *Globus cruciger* in his left hand. Together these symbols are indicative of the joint authority, divine and temporal. The glowing nimbus, or mandorla, surrounding the figures is in turn surrounded by clouds, another indicator of the divine nature of the

[24] "Zu der Mutter Gottes", *Brautchatz,* 9.
[25] "O Allerheyligste Jungfraw Maria/du Königin deß Himmels und Mutter Gottes", *Brautchatz,* 11.
[26] The text is found in two places in the Gospels, in Matthew 6:21, "For where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also." and Luke 12:34,"For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1474, 1576.

pair. Mary is presented here as the Queen of Heaven and intercessor for humanity, a figure with power, tempered by her loving maternity. Her human nature and willingness to intercede on behalf of humanity makes her more approachable than the Godhead. Additionally, she provides a role model of gentleness and obedience for female readers.

Figure 7.7 Detail, Virgin and Child in a Mandorla, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

The figure placement is reversed in the 1645 woodcut, figure 7.8, this same woodcut is used again in this position in the later 1659 woodcut edition, and though it shows wear and slight worm damage, was still in good condition. Mary holds the sceptre in her left hand, and Jesus in her right, who in turn holds the *Globus cruciger* in his right hand. The crown of the Virgin is domed with a cross on the top, similar to that of numerous western European coronation crowns. As with the previous image, the pair is standing on the crescent moon and surrounded by the glowing mandorla.

Figure 7.8 Detail, Virgin and Child in a Mandorla, *Brautschatz,* 1645, ULB

In addition to the flowers, are the sun and the moon in the upper corners of the image, and a star on the bottom left, indicating both the celestial nature of the divine, as well as providing reference to the Biblical scripture mentioned earlier. One major difference here is that instead of being surrounded by clouds, this holy pair is surrounded by flowers. Flowers are often associated with Mary, as they are both decorative and symbolic founded from a combination of tradition, writings of early church fathers, and legends. The encircling flowers are also visually representative of the Rosary. The relationship between Mary and flowers grew into the creation of Mary Gardens, which contain numerous flowers that give the visitor the opportunity to mediate on the sorrows of the Virgin and the beauty of creation. This connection between Mary and flowers is one that was well developed by the Middle Ages, and used to signify her virtues: virginity, fertility,

purity and piety, and her person, the mystic rose and the lily among thorns.[27] The most famous Marian prayer is named after a flower, the Rosary. The use of flowers in relation to the Virgin, as explained by Rachel Fulton, was understood by medieval writers as it played upon the association between flowers, bodies, fertility, imagination and prayer, and the beautiful yet ethereal image of the flower that appeals to a number of senses.[28] Many of the flowers in this image are identifiable and bear specific meanings.[29] Pansies, because of their leaf structure are symbolic of the trinity. Lilies are representative of both the humility and purity of the Virgin, but they are also associated with Easter and the sacrifice of Jesus. Carnations represent love, and life. Marigolds are indicative of both domesticity as well as being associated with the sorrows of the Virgin.[30] Poppies are representative of drops of blood, from the crucifixion of Christ, one of the Sorrows of the Virgin. Finally, St. John's Wort was also associated with the passion cycle as it was considered a healing plant, and named after St. John the Baptist. The use of the flowers in this image is a visual suggestion of the Rosary which is integral to Marian devotions, one of the strategies of the confessionalization program of Ferdinand von Bayern.

The intaglio edition of 1631 as shown in figure 7.9, repeats this theme with slightly different details. The same plate was used in the later, 1659 intaglio edition of the *Brautschatz*, and unsurprisingly shows a great deal of wear, through very little reworking. Mary is pictured holding Jesus in her left hand, and in her right she holds a Rosary, Jesus likewise holds a Rosary in his left hand. Both figures are shown wearing crowns. As previously, Mary is presented virginal, with her long hair loose. The pair is shown standing on the crescent, surrounded by the mandorla which is in turn surrounded by clouds. The prominent visual display of the Rosary encourages the viewer/reader to meditate upon of the sorrows of the Virgin as represented through the Rosary. This supports the confessionalization strategy of Marian devotions to encourage the viewer/reader in the Catholic faith. The Rosary symbolises a devotion to Mary, not only as the Mother of Jesus, but also as intercessor between humanity and her divine son.

---

[27] Rachel Fulton, "The Virgin in the Garden, or Why Flowers Make Better Prayers", *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality,* (4,1, Spring, 2004), 1.
[28] Fulton, "The Virgin in the Garden", 7.
[29] For further information on Mary Gardens and the representative features of the flowers, see John S. Stokes Jr., 1995, Http://www.ewtn.com/library/MARY/HISTPERS.HTM
[30] Fulton, "The Virgin in the Garden", 1.

Figure 7.9 Virgin and Child in Mandorla, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

The image-text relationship in this section on the Virgin and the images that show the Virgin and child within a mandorla serves as a reminder of the mercy and love of the Virgin as mother, resulting in her role as intercessor. The mandorla is a visual representation of the unity of the body and spirit, corporal and the divine, and symbolic of the spiritual power of the Christ child and the holy nature of his human mother. The iconography links Mary to the woman in the book of Revelations where it states; “A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of

twelve stars."[31] This image signifies the corporeal existence, as the moon is transitory moving from new to full, a reminder of the birth and death cycle of mortality. Thus the moon being under her feet shows that she has conquered it, and is above earthly things. The representation and reference to the flowers creates a link to pre-Reformation devotional practices and brings to this work a sense of continuity and comfort that the Catholic Church represents. These emotions are paramount for the maintenance of piety during a period of unrest, and help the lay reader to focus on the mercy of God, rather than on the judgement prevalent in the earlier *Catechismus Und Betböklin*.

The wellspring of the Redeemer

The first chapter also contains an image of the crucifixion used consistently through all the editions. A narrative preceding the image introduces it with a meditation which begins "Oh that I could contain water from the wellspring of the redeemer with the dishes of devotion /and acquire overflowing grace from his holy wounds."[32] This first person narrative encourages consideration of Christ's sacrifice, doing so often through the day, examining one's conscience and deeds. It harkens back to more stable time, to an unwavering understanding of how to live one's life correctly, and though short and subtle, provides a clear reference to pre-Reformation worship.

> To purpose the same diligence at appropriate times to the old spiritual Exercises, such as contemplation, prayer, listening to mass, reading, examining oneself, like that of the particular exam, and also in all things abide order, in both temporal and spiritual fellowship, maintaining this stance throughout the day.[33]

This contemplation then ends with concrete advice, stating that one should "with contrition lament to Christ, and reform with resolution."[34] The following prayer relates directly to the image as a prayer of gratitude for the sacrifice of Christ: "I praise and thank your unappreciated goodness, through your beloved son Jesus Christ, for all the priceless benefaction…for the distinct creation and Fatherly preservation, likewise for the deliverance sanctification and Fatherly calling to the Catholic faith, and inviolate

---

[31] Apocalypse 12:1b, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1474, 1841.
[32] "O Daß ich Wasser schöpffen köndte mit dem Geschirr der Andacht auß den Brunnen deß Seligmachers/unnd uberflüssige Gnad auß seinen heyligen Wunden Erlangen." *Brautchatz,* 16.
[33] "Ist gleicher Fleiß anzuwenden/daß alte Geistliche Ubungen zu rechter Zeit gehalten warden/als betrachten/betten/Meß hören/lessen/Examen zu halten/wie dann auch das Particular Examen/unnd also in allen ein rechte Ordnung/so whol in Leiblichen als in geistlichen Geselchäfften/durch den gantzen Tag gehalten werde." *Brautchatz,* 17.
[34] "…da etwas gefunden/mit Rew Christo klagen/und mit Vorsatz der Besserung." *Brautchatz,* 17.

ministry."[35] The specific reference to the Catholic Church is noteworthy, as there are few direct references to it in this devotional work. This statement reinforces Catholic identity through prayer.

Figure 7.10 Detail, Crucifixion of Christ, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

The 1625/27 woodcut image, figure 7.10 presents the crucified Christ with Mary and John the apostle. This is a traditional pyramidal composition, with Christ on the cross, identified by the initials INRI, Latin letters for *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum*, with his mother Mary to his right, and John the apostle to his left. The image represents John 19, "When Jesus therefore had seen his mother and the disciple standing whom he loved, he saith to his mother: Woman, behold thy son. After that, he saith to the disciple:

[35] "ich sage Lob unnd Danck deiner unaußsprechlichen Güte/durch Jesum Christi deinen geliebten Sohn/unsern Erlöser und Seligmacher/für alle unzahlbare Wolthaten…fürnemblich für die Erschaffung und Vätterliche Erhaltung/für die Erlösung/Heiligung/und Vätterliche Beruffung zum Catholischen Glauben/unnd reinem Jungfräwlichen Standt. ", *Brautchatz,* 17.

Behold thy mother. And from that hour, the disciple took her to his own."[36] Through this statement, Jesus was providing for his mother. She is depicted accepting this request, and John looks at Mary with his right hand upon his heart a gesture of agreement with this charge. In his left hand is a book, an indication of his role as one of the gospel writers as well as a writer of the book of Revelations. It is a simple yet effective image that clearly presents Jesus' concern for his Mothers welfare.

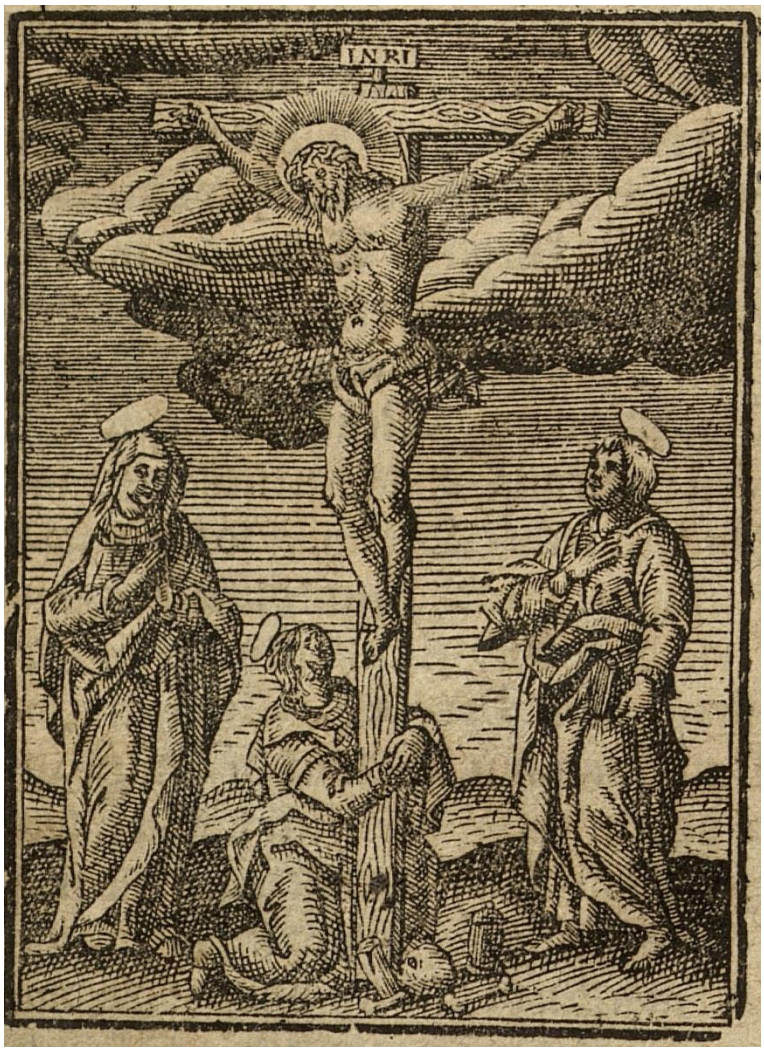

Figure 7.11 Detail, Crucifixion of Christ, *Brautschatz,* 1645, ULB

The crucifixion image from the 1645 edition, figure 7.11, is slightly more complex than that from 1625/27. It shows the figures of Jesus, Mary and John, at the same moment as previously. The figures are likewise in similar stances, Mary with her hands

[36] John 19:26-27, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1474, 1637.

in front of her, John holding a book, with hand over heart likewise a gesture of acceptance looking up at Jesus who in turn is looking at his mother. The only addition here is the figure of Mary Magdalene who is mentioned in three of the four gospels as having witnessed the crucifixion. Though there is no scriptural evidence for her embracing the cross, she has often been visually portrayed as being distraught. The image of the crucifixion encourages the viewer/reader to participate in the suffering of Christ, an aspect that is also fostered in the text. Mary is given particular emphasis here, as emphasised by Jesus making provision for her future regardless of his suffering on the cross. The same block was used in the later edition, but there shows a great deal of damage through wormholes as well as damage to the outer frame.

The intaglio edition, figure 7.12, shows both a more detailed image due to the intaglio technique, as well as a more complex narrative. In this image there are many more figures, including all three crosses. It also presents a number of details defining the action of more than one moment in the narrative described in the gospels. The event is taken from Matthew 27:45-55, Mark 15:37-41, Luke 23:44-49 and John 19:30-37. The account is fairly consistent, each contributing additional details. They all describe that there was darkness during the day, as the moon was in front of the sun, that the earth quaked and the rocks were rent, the graves were opened and bodies of the saints arose. The centurions who were at the crucifixion were afraid, though one pierced the side of Christ drawing blood and water from his side, to determine he was dead. A group of women followers watched all that happened. All of these elements are present in the image. Christ on the centre cross has his side pierced by Longinus' lance. Of the two thieves the one to Christ's right looks up to the sky, this clearly indicates the repentant thief. The sky is dark with flashes of lightning and clearly shows the moon crossing over the sun. On the hills in the background are figures with outstretched arms, representing the saints emerging from their graves. The people and soldiers in the foreground cower in fear, with the exception of two figures one at the foot of the cross, Mary, the mother of Jesus, and another by the right frame who reaches out his hands in supplication, representing those who having witnessed the events said: "Indeed this was the Son of God."[37]

[37] Matthew 27:54b, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1515.

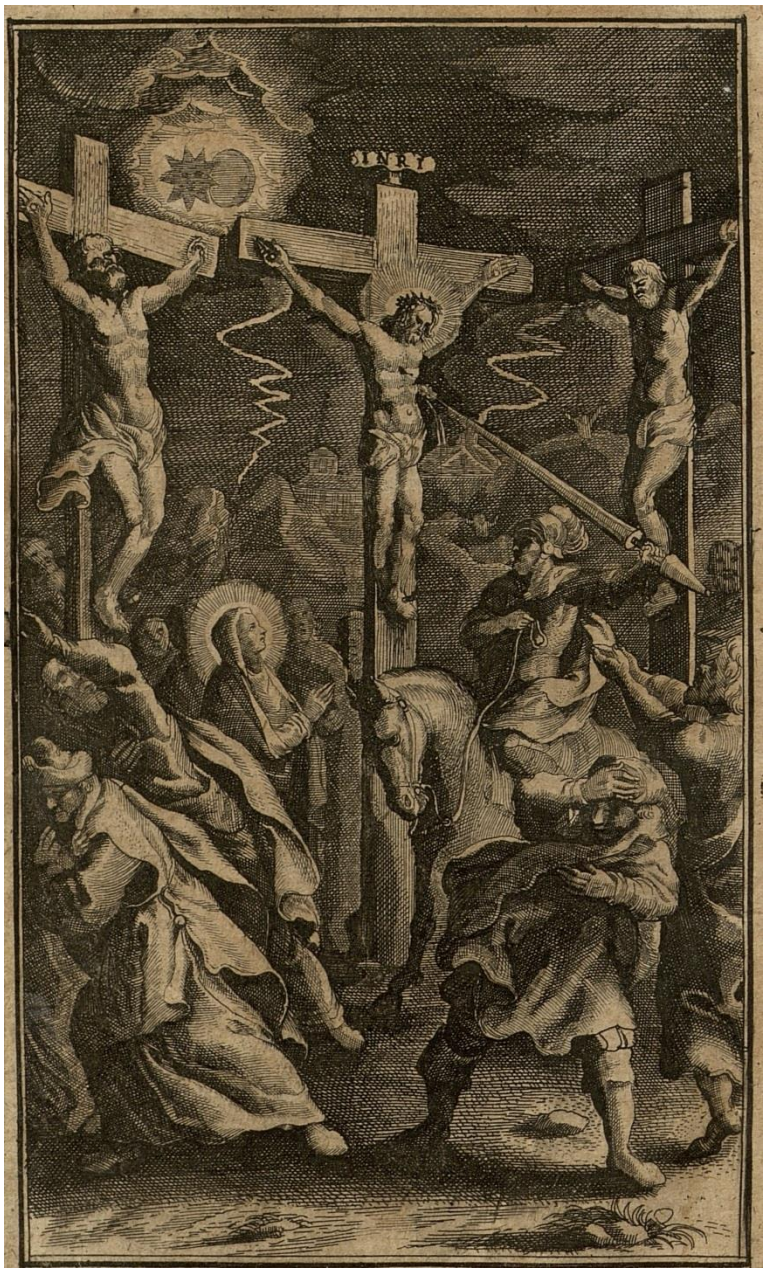

Figure 7.12 Crucifixion of Christ, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

The same plate is used in the later 1659 edition, however there has been a great deal of reworking, enhancing and even changing some of the details utilizing engraved lines to augment the original etched ones. The features of Christ's body, Longinus, and the figures in the foreground are more defined however less refined, and in the background the city has been sharpened and given more form, as have the graves from which the dead emerge.

The images of the crucifixion provide a visual device for the reader to focus their prayer and to visually take part in the suffering of Christ through meditation. The image-text relationship works to reinforce the instruction for the reader of how this event directly impacts their life. In contrast to the *Vita Christi* there is not the emphasis on meditation, but rather on practical and detailed instruction on what the image and the text mean, and how they are important for the reader. The purpose here is to encourage individual piety through guidance.

How one should conduct oneself during the Holy Mass

The illustration of the Consecration of the Host is found in chapter three, which gives spiritual and practical advice for the reader in preparation for Mass. The text effectively explains through five steps the aspects of the mass, for example: "From the Kyrie to the Evangelio considers the gestation and birth, along with the entire childhood of our beloved saviour Jesus Christ…"[38] It continues with prayers and more advice for the believer, such as: "at the Elevation, pray with deepest reverence and utmost love to your beloved saviour and groom, and see, how with outstretched arms he hung on the cross and is elevated."[39] After further prayers, the text goes on to explain that: "from the *Pater noster* on, which should be prayed in heartfelt devotion with the Priest, one should prepare oneself for spiritual Communion, and beseech Him, as the Canaanite woman did touch the hem of his garment."[40] This practical advice helps the reader to understand what occurs through the service, and also guides them through a visualization of the spiritual implications.

A further set of instructions in a series of seven steps is given for when the priest faces the altar, stating that one can use this time to visualize the suffering of Christ. The rather simple but lengthy instructions include such imagery as: "when the Priest goes before the Altar, visualize the distressed Christ in the garden of Gethsemane", or "when the priest bows…imagine Christ as he prayed with his face to the earth, and his bloody

---

[38] "Von dem Kyrie an biß zum Evangelio/betrachte die Menschwerdung und Geburt/sampt der gantzen Kindheit unsers geliebten Hylandts Jesu Christi/…" *Brautchatz,* 39.

[39] "Bey der Elevation bette an mit tieffester Reverentz und höchster Liebe deinen geliebten Erlöser und Bräutigam/und siehe/wie er mit außgestreckten Armen am Creutz gehangen/unnd erhebt ist." *Brautchatz,* 41.

[40] "Vom *Pater noster* an/wilches mit hertzlicher Andacht mit dem Priester soll gebettet warden/mad man sich bereiten zur geistlichen Communion/und mit dem Cananeischen Weiblein den Saum seines Kleyds berühren/und bitte mit ihr." *Brautchatz,* 44.

sweat."[41] These visualizations are quite similar to those found in the *Vita Christi,* utilizing not only a similar language but also a similar manner of meditation upon the event encouraging emotional participation. The illustration is at the outset of the chapter, and encapsulates it quite well. There are three different images used, the woodcut from the 1625/27 edition shows the Consecration of the Host at the altar. The second woodcut shows likewise the Eucharist, but in an abstract meditational manner of Christ bodily in a chalice within a mandorla surrounded by the instruments of the passion. The third image, from the intaglio series shows a detailed and complex image of the consecration of the Host at the altar.

The image from the 1625/7 edition, figure 7.13, shows an altar before which the priest stands consecrating the Host. On the altar is an image of the Mother and Child, a chalice and an open missal. Beside the priest is tall candle stand, the candle billowing smoke visually representing the transience of life. Behind the priest is a man kneeling ostensibly preparing himself for reception of the Host. In the background is another figure that appears to be walking away, indicating that perhaps after having examined himself, as advised in the text, is unworthy to participate in Holy Communion. The moment after the consecration, the Host was then was lifted up as a means of showing it to the people.[42] The action of the Elevation of the Host amassed a great deal of emotional value and was considered by the faithful to have virtue, a special merit that made this a definitive moment of the Mass.

This reinforces the preservation and understanding of the role of the Catholic Church, highlighting the particular confessionalization message of this text. The image and text work together to provide not only an explanation and instruction, but also presents visually the expectation of the communicant, showing the reverence one should feel approaching the altar. The text guides the reader through the entire procedure of the Eucharist to fully appreciate its purpose, and also to understand its origin and the unbroken connection between the Last Supper and the Eucharist through the successors of Peter, who are found only within the Catholic Church.

---

[41] "Betrachte/wann der Priester für den Altar gehet/den betübten Gang Christi deines Erlösers nach dem Garten Gethsemani", "Vann der Priester sich neiget…betrachte das demütig Gebett deß Herren/unnd wie er sich auff sein Angesicht auff die Erden nieder gelegt vor seinem Himmlischen Vatter: und seinen blutigen Schweiß", *Brautchatz,* 48.

[42] Herbert Thurston, "The Elevation." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 5. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), accessed March 14, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05380b.htm.

Figure 7.13 Detail, Consecration of the Host, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

In the 1645 edition, figure 7.14, below, functions the same but is abstract rather than narrative in presentation. The implication of the Eucharist is presented in a very physical way, focusing on the chalice with the presence of the body and the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation or the Real Presence is a central dogma of the Catholic Church, thus its presentation in this image is a clear statement on both the important role of the Eucharist, as well as displaying a clear Catholic statement for the pious to meditate upon.[43] The chalice is presented within the mandorla, symbolic of its spiritual power and emphasizing the unity of the corporal and the divine by showing the body of Christ within. The figure is not the crucified Christ but rather the risen Christ, displaying

[43] The dogma of the Real Presence as defined by the Council of Trent, session thirteen, Chapter one: "On the real presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist." *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Celebrated under Paul III. Julius III. And Pius IV. Bishops of Rome*. (London:T.Y., 1687), 49, accessed through Early English Books Online, http://gateway.proquest.com.cyber.usask.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:102311.

his wounds. Surrounding him are articles that represent the events of the passion, such as the pieces of silver, the cross, the whip, the sponge for the vinegar, the crown of thorns, the spear of Longinus, and the dice used to gamble for his robes. The entire image is framed by clouds and within the clouds are faces of cherubs with wings.

Figure 7.14 Detail, The Eucharist, *Brautschatz,* 1645, ULB

Unlike the earlier woodcut edition and the intaglio editions which show the priest at the altar, this image offers a symbolic contemplative image of what the act of receiving the Eucharist represents, the body and blood of Christ, as shown here with his corporal body placed within the chalice. This provides an effective meditative tool as the viewer must consider the various elements presented. The explanation behind the change in the imagery is not clear. It is possible this change in imagery signalled a different approach to the devotional text brought on by the initiation of the end of hostilities, as

the talks to end the Thirty Years War began in Münster in 1645. The 1659 woodcut edition uses the same woodblock, but much like the others from this later use of this series, it shows a great deal of damage from wormholes, as well as damage along the surrounding outside frame.

The intaglio edition printings (I give for comparison 1631 and 1659 versions, figures 7.15, and 7.16 respectively) follow the pattern set by the 1625/27 woodcut edition. The image shows the priest at the altar at the moment of consecration of the Host. As can be seen here the printing plate shows a great deal of wear for the 1659 printing, as well as somewhat unsuccessful reworking of the plate. The details of the faces are almost entirely gone, as are the details of the books, rosaries and even the figures themselves.

This image portrays the priest, Host in hand, before the altar on which is the chalice. Behind the priest is an altar boy holding the priest's garments and a bell. The Host is consecrated before a sculpture of the Crucified Christ, with lit candles on either side signifying the body and the light of Christ. Behind the sculpture of Christ is a sculpture of a female martyr, though which one is unclear. Numerous figures of the faithful hold rosaries in their hands, with fingers clasped in a gesture of humility and prayerfulness reinforcing the importance of the Virgin and the support of Marian Devotions. The sexes are segregated in this image, with the women in front of a barrier on benches or on their knees, while the men are shown standing behind the barrier.

The impact of the moment presented can be viewed through the figures; all of whom are looking towards the altar in anticipation in positions of reverence. Even the small children pay attention to what is occurring at the altar, and strangely enough, as does the dog laying in the foreground. Notable is that the men in the background standing at the rail almost all have books in their hands. The image-text relationship is clear, this image illustrates the presence of the Eucharist, as well as the attitudes of the faithful. This provides a visual clarification for the reader of how to approach the Eucharistic meal, and its purpose.

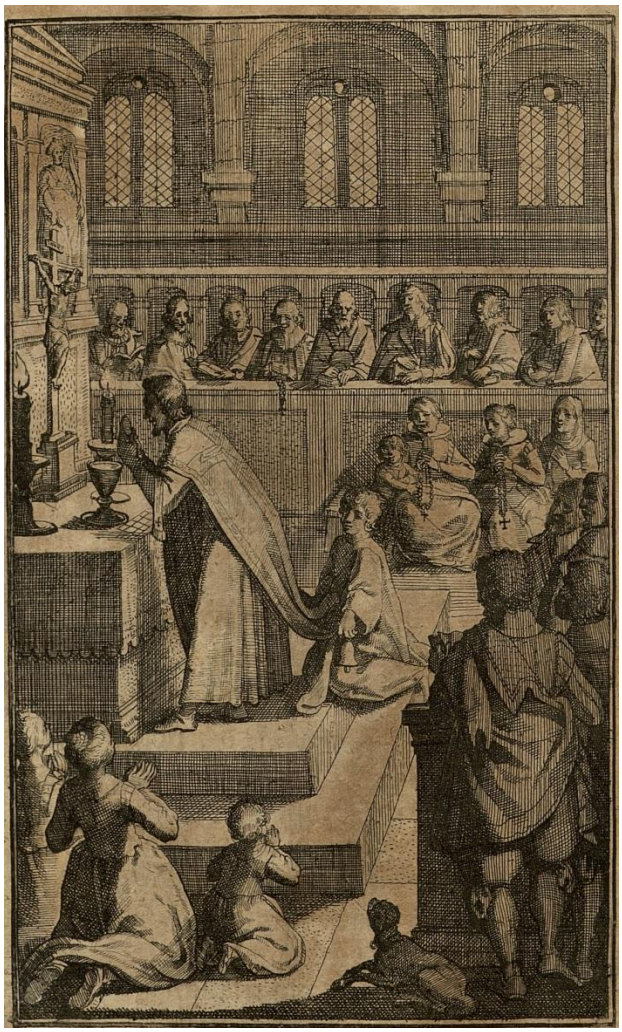

Figure 7.15 Consecration of the Host, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

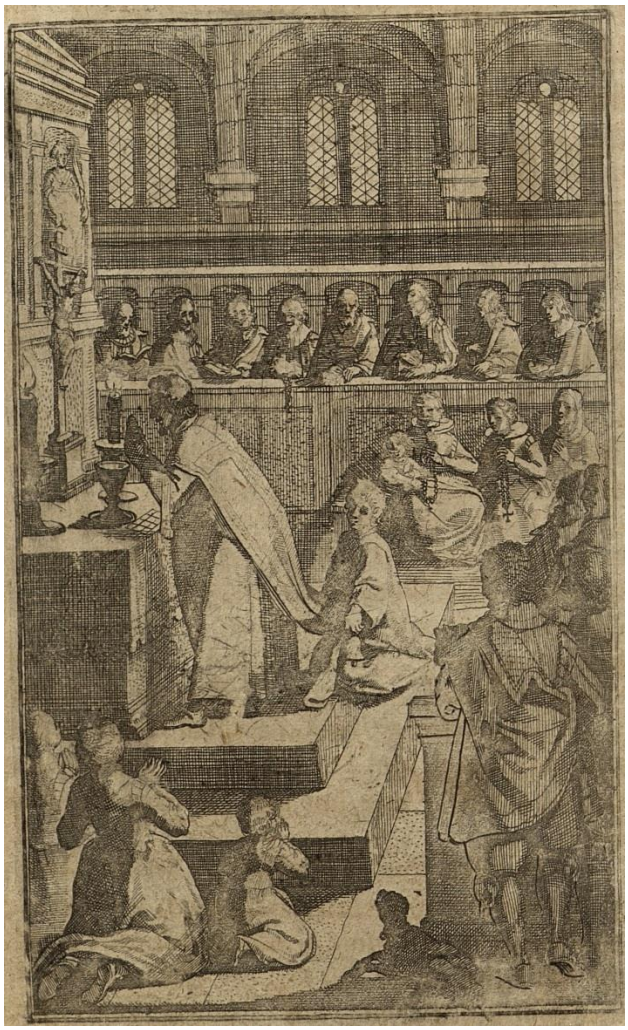

Figure 7.16 Consecration of the Host, *Brautschatz,* 1659, DR-ULB

The image-text relationship in this chapter reinforces the message of instruction and the encouragement of piety. Through clear steps for the reader, and clear visuals for both deportment and meditation, the image-text relationship guides the viewer/reader through the purpose and the significance of the Mass. This particular chapter shows the close image-text relationship supporting the confessional message that is haphazard in other places of this text.

Meditations and Prayers for before and after Communion

Chapter six presents a personal spiritual and emotional examination along with prayers for before and after communion. The images relate to the taking of communion, with two of the Last Supper and one that makes reference to the heart of Jesus and the

instruments of the Passion. Communion or the taking of the Eucharist is a sacrament, a physical act that acts as a reminder of the Last Supper. The act itself is found in all four of the canonical gospels, during the meal Christ said: "Jesus took bread; and blessing, broke, and gave to them and said: Take ye. This is my body. And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, he gave it to them. And they all drank of it."[44] The text provides practical instruction, as well as meditational prayers, alternating between narrative and prayers. The narrative describes one who will take part in communion and begins just after the supplicant has confessed, and spends the night in contemplation and examination of their thoughts and heart in preparation for communion. The narrative is periodically interrupted by prayers that promote contemplation and introspection. The narrative continues, describing how the communicant has woken up, prepares themselves for the day, but remains vigilant to retain a state of forgiveness by "allowing no worldly thing or fantasy to creep in."[45] When the narrative comes to the point of communion, it gives the reader practical information as to the purpose of the Eucharist, and how to approach the altar. The text continues with the Passion, encouraging the reader, through ten points, to visualize the way of the cross, from the prayer in the garden to the raising of the cross. Among more common expected appeals is one for *true belief*, strong hope, and love in unity.[46] This is indicative of the confessional language found in this work, as it is not the assertive confessionalization of the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* but rather a more encouraging language formulated to support and foster piety, to deepen the emotional connection to traditional Catholic ritual, and to maintain the established Catholic identity.

Highlighting the sacramental nature of Communion the text makes such statements as: "O you almighty Power in utmost majesty, you alone are the one who can reconcile the sinner, through this most holy Sacrament."[47] The narrative then continues with a "Discussion of a reverent soul with Christ prior to Communion."[48] The narrative is between Christ (Christus) and the Soul (die Seel), who Christ refers to as my daughter

---

[44] John 14:22b-23, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1543.
[45] "…undd lassen keine weltliche Ding oder Phataseyen eynschleichen." *Brautchatz,* 103.
[46] "…Gib mir/O HERR/einen wahren Glauben/eine starcke Hoffnung/unnd vollkommene Liebe/…" *Brautchatz,* 127.
[47] "O du alleroberste Krafft der hohen Majestät/der du allein die Sünder gerecht machen kanst/recht erkennen in diesem hochheiligen Sacrament/", *Brautchatz,* 149.
[48] "Gespräch einer andächtigen Seelen mit Christo vor der Communion", *Brautchatz,* 149.

(mein Tochter). Although there are few direct references throughout the text to the Catholic Church, an example of this emphasis is found in a prayer directed to Christ, stating: “I come to you, O Lord, a justified Catholic Christian, with undoubting belief, that you are found within your sacrament, with your holy living flesh and blood, together with your divinity. I beg, O loving Lord; that you through this great mystery of our holy faith, would uphold and sustain me until my end.”[49] This stresses not only the sacramental nature of Communion, but also underlines the rejection by the Protestants of transubstantiation. Specifying that Jesus is “found within” clearly identifies the Catholic belief of transubstantiation, thus reassuring the reader that this is indeed the case.

Figure 7.17 from the 1625/27 edition shows the Last Supper. This block is one of a distinct series of eight woodblocks found in this work which are grouped together for two main reasons, stylistic- a unique approach to decorative frames, and the woodcutters initial, a B, found on many of the images. It is a familiar composition, and has a number of similarities with the *Vita Christi* series, implying a similar visual influence. The apostles are seated around the table in a variety of attitudes. Jesus is in the centre at the back of the table framed by the two arched windows behind his head and with his left hand makes the signal of blessing. This is the moment after Jesus revealed that he would be betrayed and the attitudes of the disciples display the shock and questioning of themselves and each other. John seated to Jesus’ left, sprawls across the table with an attitude of despair. Peter, to Jesus’ right, points to himself with a gesture that reflects the text from Luke 22:33 when Peter said: “Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death.”[50] The rest of the disciples look to each other and to Jesus. In the foreground is a disciple pouring wine, presumably in preparation for the sharing of it. Judas appears to be the figure in the foreground to the left, with the purse hanging from his belt. Thus this image presents the first part of the narrative of communion. Unlike the *Vita Christi* series, there is no obvious chalice and paten upon the table. By presenting the Last Supper as a narrative, the viewer can participate in both the collegial atmosphere of a friendly dinner, as well as the more serious

[49] “Ich komme zu dir/O HERR.ein rechter Ctholischer Christ/mit ungezeweiffeltem Glauben/du seyest allhie in deinem Sacrament/mit deinem heiligen lebendigen Fleisch und Blut/mit sampt deiner Gottheit. Ich bitte/O lieber HERR/durch diß grosse Geheimnuß unsers heyligen Glaubens/du wöllest mich bestätigen und erhalten biß an mein End.” *Brautchatz,* 133.
[50] Luke 22:33, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1595.

repercussion of the betrayal. The image-text relationship is supportive of the participation of the viewer/reader in the Last Supper, as well as the implication of the bread and wine which are made at this meal.

Figure 7.17 Detail, Last Supper, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

The 1645 edition, figure 7.18, presents a deeply symbolic meditative image quite unlike the previous narrative image. This same woodblock was used again in the woodcut edition from 1659, showing a great deal of damage and boreholes from worms. This image represents the heart of Jesus and offers a contemplative device for the suffering and torment of the passion by presenting visually all of the implements. In the centre of this image is a heart, within which sits a youthful Christ on a cushion. He holds the *Globus cruciger* in his left hand and makes a gesture of blessing with his right.

Surrounding the heart are all of the symbols of the passion from the Last supper to the deposition. There is no obvious order to the instruments, and some appear more symbolic, others plainly obvious.

Figure 7.18 Detail, The Heart of Jesus and Instruments of the Passion, *Brautschatz,* 1645, ULB

To elucidate the value of this image for meditation, I will explain the devices clockwise from the left of the image. Framing the left side of the image, is the ladder used to bring the body of Jesus down from the cross, tied to it are a sword, with an ear on the blade, a hammer and a lantern. Peter's sword cut off the ear of the high priest's servant in the garden of Gethsemane at Christ's arrest. The lantern is likewise associated with the garden of Gethsemane, used to illuminate the figure of Jesus and is often portrayed as being held by the servant who lost his ear. The hammer drove the nails into Jesus' flesh. Hung on the cross from two pegs or nails are the branches and

whip used to beat the body of Jesus. Atop the cross is the crown of thorns, and the plaque with the initials I.N.R.I. Leaning crosswise against the cross are the spear of Longinus and the pole with a sponge on the end used to offer Jesus sour wine. Framing the right side of the image is a column to which Jesus was bound to the when he was beaten. Atop the column is a rooster that fulfilled Jesus' prophecy to Peter that the latter would deny him three times before the cock crowed. Tied to the column are further instruments of torture, a lit torch, pincers, the handle of a knife, a reed representing the scepter given to Jesus by the Roman soldiers and an upended bag that pours out its contents of coins representing the silver paid to Judas. In the foreground of the image, is a pile of cloth, representing the robes of Jesus, the dice used to gamble for said garments, a gauntlet, and the bowl or paten, and a jug. The gauntlet represents both the soldiers, who beat Jesus, and the kind of beating he received. The bowl represents both the paten for the bread of communion and the bowl in which Pilate washed his hands. The jug held the wine of communion as well as the water poured over the hands of Pilate.

This illustration gives the viewer much to meditate upon prior to partaking in the Eucharist. The symbolism in the image reflects upon the events of the passion, and the love of Christ to endure this, represented by the heart itself. This is strikingly similar to a devotional movement that at the point of printing has not yet been formally founded, that is the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, or the Sacred Heart. The devotional movement of the Sacred Heart though founded in the latter part of the seventeenth century reflected earlier medieval movements of Catholic mysticism.[51] The image closely aligns with the portion of the text that walks though the passion in ten numbered steps, from the prayer in the garden to the raising of the cross. Additionally, this image supports the prayers made specifically to the wounds of Christ, all named in the text. Like the *Eucharist* image from this same edition (figure 7.14), this presents an extremely effective meditational tool providing the viewer with a visual reflection of the passion where the believer must provide the narrative. The image-text relationship is intertwined here, with the image representing the various aspects of the text in the form of a mnemonic device.

[51] Jean Bainvel, "Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 7. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), accessed March 15, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07163a.htm.

Figure 7.19 Last Supper, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

The intaglio edition, figure 7.19, shows a narrative image of the Last Supper similar to that of the 1625/27 edition. This same plate was reused for the 1659 edition, but at that point shows a great deal of wear, primarily in areas that were quite faint or highlights. There are three different elements of the narrative displayed here. In the centre and most obvious is Jesus and the disciples at the table. The figure of Jesus is outlined by his large luminous halo, the two burning candles on the table suggests the trinity. Jesus has bread in his left hand but it is unclear what is in his right. The chalice is

placed on the table before him, along with the paten filled with the Eucharistic wafers. John is seated directly in front of Jesus, leaning on Jesus' breast. It is the moment where Jesus has revealed that he will be betrayed and the various reactions of the disciples reveal surprise, dismay, despair and denial. Two of the disciples present their hands palms up, questioning, another to the right of Jesus with hands clasped in a gesture of prayer, to Jesus' left one holds his right hand over his heart protesting innocence. In the foreground is Judas, identified by the bag of money held quite clearly in his right hand hidden from the view of the others.

The second element of the narrative is in the background to the left. It is another image of Judas, with a creature above his head framed by the doorway. This portrays the description from John 13:27 "And after the morsel, Satan entered into him. And Jesus said to him: That which thou dost, do quickly… He therefore having received the morsel, went out immediately. And it was night."[52] The image shows Judas with Satan in the form of a strange winged creature pictured above him, looking back into the room but with a sense of rushing away. The third and final element of the narrative is in the background to the right. It is a figure group moving towards a doorway, one of which is Jesus identified by the radiance surrounding his head. This is likely after the meal when Jesus and his disciples go to pray at the Mount of Olives, in the garden of Gethsemane.

Like the previous images, this renders a narrative that expands and visualises the accompanying text. Through the presentation of three separate events, the viewer/reader is encouraged to contemplate the Eucharist, and the events that both lead up to and more significantly followed the request of Jesus to partake of the sacrament. The text gives practical advice to the reader informing them on how to approach the Eucharist, and inviting them to participate through the narrative and the images, in the Last Supper. The instructional nature of this text provides the reader with material and understanding in order to deepen their personal piety, and also to share this information with others.

Prayers for the New Years' Feast

Chapter three of part two presents an illustration ostensibly for New Years. The images used are; *Offering at the temple*, in the 1625/7 and the intaglio editions, and

[52] John 13:27,30, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1628.

Christ teaching in the Temple in the 1645 and 1659 woodcut editions. The prayers, dedicated to the persons of the Trinity and Mary concentrate on gratitude for blessings, forgiveness and Christ's sacrifice. Additionally, all the prayers petition for a good year and protection through its entirety. For example: "My beloved Lord and God, I, a poor creature, and great sinner come to you the wellspring of compassion and love, and appeal to you for a Blessed and pleasing New Year, through the healing Holy Name of Jesus, before which all in heaven and earth shall kneel…"[53]

The choice of images displayed in this chapter is peculiar, as not one of them reflects the text, other than in a general way and it presents the images out of chronological order. This irregular placement of images betrays a lack of attention to detail that can be seen in other places of the *Brautschatz.* As mentioned earlier, this odd image choice may be a symptom of haste and a lack of consideration as to the image text relationship because of its function to maintain a Catholic identity through a period of instability created by war.

The image for the 1625/27 editions is the *Presentation and offering at the Temple* figure 7.20*.* Mary and Joseph present Jesus at the temple in obedience to Mosaic Law as stated: "Sanctify unto me every firstborn that openeth the womb among the children of Israel…for they are all mine."[54] This image is another of the series of eight identified by the decorative frame as well as the cutters mark, a B lying on its side on the hem of Mary's robe.[55] There are five figures presented here, Mary and Joseph, Simeon who holds Jesus, and the prophetess Anna who stands behind Mary. The significance of this event is that although an infant, both Simeon and Anna recognized the divinity of Jesus. However unlike the shepherds, they did not witness an angelic announcement. Both Simeon and Anna prophecy over Jesus, and refer to his role of redeemer, foreshadowing the passion and the sacrifice of Jesus as the sacrificial lamb. Noticeable is the positioning and lack of attention drawn to Mary which is understated here in comparison to the *Vita Christi* series where she is central to the composition.

---

[53] "Mein geliebter Herr und Gott/Ich arme Creatur unnd grosser Sünder kome zu dir dem Brunnen der Barmhertzigkeit und Liebe/und bitte umb ein Gottseliges dir wolgefälliges Newes Jahr/durch deinen heylsamen H. Namen Jesus/in dem sich alle Knie im Himmel unnd auff Erden biegen sollen." *Brautchatz,* 442.

[54] Exodus 13:2, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 95.

[55] Unfortunately, there is no further indicator of the either artist or cutter, making identification extremely unlikely.

Figure 7.20 Detail, Presentation and Offering at the Temple, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

The image presents the obedience of the holy family in attendance at the temple to present Jesus, providing a model of parenthood for the laity. As mentioned, the relationship between the image and text in this chapter reflects the sporadic haphazard image placement of the *Brautschatz.* Although this may be reflective of the larger political circumstances, it may also be indicative of a lack of attention to the work itself.

The 1645 and subsequent 1659 woodcut editions, in contrast to the offering and presentation in the temple, show *Jesus teaching in the temple,* figure 7.21. This image presents a youthful Jesus teaching in the temple left hand raised in a speaking gesture. Jesus is seated on a dais before a framing backdrop of fabric, with an open book on his lap. The doctors of the temple sit in various attitudes before him, both listening and discussing what has been said. This represents one of the few mentions in the gospels

of the youth of Christ. Mary is pictured here with a gesture of relief, head inclined forward, right hand over her heart. Joseph is shown directly beside her left hand out, questioning. To this Jesus responds: “How is it that you sought me? Did you not know, that I must be about my father’s business?”[56] As with the 1625/27 edition, Mary is less prominent than in the *Vita Christi* series, but she is still singled out moreso than Joseph, highlighting her intercessory role through her relationship with her son.

Figure 7.21 Detail, Jesus teaching in the temple, *Brautschatz,* 1645, ULB

Like the 1625/27 editions, the intaglio edition shows the *Presentation and Offering at the Temple,* figure 7.22. Unlike other plates of the series, the 1659 intaglio edition

[56] Luke 2:49b, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1554.

shows the plate to be in surprisingly good condition, revealing little wear and no reworking. The interior of the temple is pictured quite grand with the main focus framed by the architecture. Simeon holds the infant Jesus in an attitude of thoughtfulness.

Figure 7.22 Presentation and Offering at the temple, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

Mary is next to Simeon, at the head of Jesus. Joseph is kneeling in the foreground presenting the cage with the offering of birds. The high Priest is identified by his raiment and gestures a pronouncement over Jesus. Anna is shown to the right of the high Priest,

pronouncing her prophecy over the infant to the crowd behind her. Like the other editions, this one is difficult to draw the image-text relationship to create an intrinsic support, as they are seemingly unrelated. The image reinforces obedience to the Law of Moses, with the implication of obedience to the Catholic Church. The particular episode of the Offering at the Temple is not mentioned in the accompanying text

This chapter is in many ways, indicative of the *Brautschatz*, the text is clearly and simply written with basic instruction for the reader in preparation for the New Year and to lead the reader towards piety. The images provide objects of observation and contemplation, however do not offer the same kind of intrinsic relationship of other chapters, or the previous works, *Catechismus Und Betböklin* or the *Vita Christi*, demonstrating a less diligent approach to this work as a whole. This particular chapter, even the 1645 edition, which has a number of more complex meditative images, seem disjointed and not particularly conducive to deeper meditation on the material at hand lacking the connection with the text one would expect or hope to see.

Prayers for Easter

Chapter six is relatively short, focusing on Easter and the resurrection in an encouraging and expectant tone. The images clearly reflect the resurrection: the 1625/7 editions present *Noli me tangere*, as do the intaglio editions, and the 1645 and 1659 woodcut editions present an image of the *Risen Christ with the Sacred Heart*. The first sentence sets the tone: "Glory and honour to you O Lord Christ, you who have risen from the dead…and have slain death bringing us new life."[57] It continues with this joyous tone with such statements as: "With your resurrection, O Christ, Heaven and Earth rejoice" and "delight us in the joyous comfort of your resurrection as your Mother, the Magdalena, St. Peter, the women, and all your beloved disciples and friends have."[58] Specific mention is made of the [Catholic] Church in a prayer petitioning the intercession of the Virgin: "I pray also for all the adherents of the Christian Church, for our Pope and Bishop, for all in authority and their subjects, spiritual and temporal…"[59] By not specifying the *Catholic* Church, the text suggests that it is synonymous with Christianity

[57] "Glori und Her sey dir/O Herr Christe/der du vom Todt aufferstanden bist/…Hast den Tod getötet/unnd uns das Leben widergebracht…" *Brautchatz,* 550.
[58] "In deiner Urständ/O Christe/erfrewet sich Himmel und Erden…" *Brautchatz,* 552/7.
[59] "Ich bitte auch für das Anligender gantzen Christlichen Kirchen/für unseren Pabst und Bischoff/für alle Obrigkeit und Underthanen/Geistlich und Weltlich…" *Brautchatz,* 564.

and all other denominations lie outside of it. Written in a much smaller font, the chapter concludes with instruction on how one should maintain gratitude and humility through the ensuing period until Pentecost. The practical instruction found so often in this text reveals a desire not only to give direction for personal piety, but also to provide instruction in *Catholic* piety. The petitions to the Virgin also support Marian Devotions, highlighting the veneration of Mary within the Catholic Church. Both of these elements are part of the confessionalization programs of the prince-bishops, thus exposing this text and others like it, as tools within those programs.

Figure 7.23 Detail, Noli me tangere, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

The 1625/27 editions display the resurrected Christ as he first appears in the garden to Mary Magdalene, figure 7.23. This episode found in the gospel of John is

commonly referred to as *Noli me tangere*. This block is part of the woodcut series with the frame, and here the cutters mark a B can be clearly seen in the foreground beside Christ's foot. This is a typical and simple presentation of this scene, with Christ upright but in a motion of having stepped backwards right hand upraised pointing at Mary. He wears a robe, and holds a staff with a banner of the cross, symbols of his authority and his resurrection. Mary Magdalene is presented on her knees before him, hands raised. Most striking and significant however, is the vessel between them, the jar that contained the anointing oil put on his dead body, a symbol of death. The significance of the jar of oil is that he has overcome physical death, yet it is this that separates the two figures, as she too must endure a physical death before being fully reunited with him. John 20:17 reads "for I am not yet ascended to my Father", thus clarifying his is not a form to seize upon, as they will be reunited in Heaven in their true spiritual forms. This image supports the text, serving as a reminder for the faithful of Christ's resurrection and the fulfillment of the promise. It also implies that though physical death must still be faced by the individual, when one is right with God, a place awaits them in Heaven.

Contrasting with the other images, the 1645 edition, figure 7.24, presents the image of the *Risen Christ with the Sacred Heart*. The Sacred Heart is an image of the heart of Jesus surrounded by the crown of thorns, which is usually pictured with flames or a surrounding nimbus. It is an image that focuses on the representation of divine love pictured in a physical heart, the heart of Jesus. As mentioned earlier the devotion of the Sacred Heart did not become recognized as a public devotion with an office and feast day until 1670. Prior to this time the devotion of the Sacred Heart was considered more of a mystical movement that began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries propagated from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries primarily through monastic houses, passing into the domain of Christian asceticism in the sixteenth century.[60] The heart is a meditation upon the wounds of Christ with a focus on the pierced heart of Christ reflecting the wound in his side made by the spear of Longinus, the heart is described as glowing with "divine and uninterrupted fire."[61] The Sacred Heart was a devotion that was

[60] Bainvel, "Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus."
[61] *The devotion to the sacred heart of Jesus*. Fourth edition. (London, M,DCC,XCII. [1792]). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale. ECCO Consortium Germany, accessed March 16, 2013, http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=dfg_ecco&ta

also encouraged by Jesuits, and more specifically by Francis de Sales, and was used as imagery by them in both churches and publications.[62] This is an important link between the early use of the image of the Sacred Heart and the Jesuits, worthy of note in light of the connection between Jesuit writers in Münster and the cooperative Raesfeldt printing house. Its presence then is unsurprising, as a great deal of the locally written material printed by the Raesfeldt press was written by Jesuits.

Figure 7.24 Detail, Risen Christ with the Sacred Heart, *Brautschatz,* 1645, ULB

The image shows a young figure of Christ, holding on his left shoulder the cross, whip, spear column and the pole with the sponge, with his right hand he makes the

bID=T001&docId=CW118499401&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE.

[62] Bainvel, "Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus."

gesture of blessing. The figure stands on the initials IHS, the abbreviation of the name of Christ in Greek, below which is an image of the Sacred Heart, further below, the crowned initials MA and a crown for the Virgin Mary, Queen of Heaven. The figure and the heart are surrounded by a mandorla, with adoring angels in all four corners. Although the initials IHS were a standard abbreviation for Jesus throughout the Middle Ages, it was a symbol that came to be associated with the Jesuit's after Ignatius of Loyola took the monogram as the seal for the order. The image illustrates the risen Christ, having overcome death, carrying the instruments thereof on his shoulder. The light radiates all around, emphasizing the light of the risen Christ. The *Sacred Heart* serves as a reminder of Christ's sacrifice and love.

Figure 7.24, much like others from the 1645 edition, is particularly effective for the purpose of devotional meditation due to its lack of narrative structure. The image-text relationship with this particular series of images found in the 1645 edition is particularly complex. Figures 7.4, 7.14, 7.18, 7.24 and 7.27 present contemplative meditative images quite unlike the majority narrative images. This text clearly presents Catholic doctrine, underscoring its distinction from that of the Protestants. The practical and detailed instruction offered by this work, supports is use as a tool for the propagation of the Catholic faith. Also, the affiliation of at least the contemplative Sacred Heart imagery with the Jesuits supports its use a tool within the confessionalization program.

As previously, the intaglio editions 1631/59 follow the model of the 1625/27 editions presenting *Noli me tangere,* figure 7.25. The 1659 intaglio impression of this plate shows excessive wear, the impression also indicates damage to the plate. The manner of the damage however is difficult to determine. The image, like that of the Last Supper, shows three separate events from the Gospels of Matthew and John. Chronologically, the first is in the background to the right with Mary weeping before the empty tomb, where she sees "two angels in white, sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid." [63] In her sorrow, she simply focusses on the missing body of Jesus, so when she turns around and sees a man in the garden, she assumes him to be merely a gardener. This is the event in the foreground. She does not recognize the resurrected Christ when he approaches her. It is not until he calls her

[63] John 20:12, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1638.

name that she recognizes him. Mary is on her knees, hands raised in surprise, and her right reaching towards Christ. Wearing a hat and holding a spade in his right hand, his lifts his left hand in a gesture of denial, reflecting the gospel text of “don’t touch me.”

Figure 7.25 Noli me tangere, *Brautschatz*, 1631, ULB

The representation of Christ as a gardener is symbolic supporting the concept of Christ as the second Adam, and as Adam was responsible for the physical Garden of Eden, so Christ is responsible for the spiritual garden. This particular depiction of the event does

not have Christ physically shying away from Mary, but rather standing upright with a hand gesture to both ward off her touch and calm her. The presentation of Christ as the gardener is specific to Mary Magdalene as when shown again in the final portion of the narrative, in the background to the left, Christ appears to two women and clearly has neither hat nor spade. This final detail presents the two women on their knees, one with hands raised and clasped together in an attitude of praise, the other is bending over, reaching out to touch the feet of Christ.

The image-text relationship in this chapter is much clearer and stronger than others in this work. The images function to both visualize the narrative, and provide a contemplative device that supports and draws from the text, offering the reader a device to meditate on, and participate in, the event. The simple language supports the wider reading audience for this work, as does the measured and comprehensive instruction about both the event and how the reader should prepare themselves spiritually.

On the eve of Pentecost

The final chapter of the *Brautschatz* that I will examine deals with Pentecost. The image of Pentecost is reproduced in all of the editions, with the exception of the 1645 woodcut edition, which has a contemplative image reminiscent of others from that edition. The text begins with a Hymn of preparation for the baptism of the Holy Spirit, as received by Mary, the disciples, and others. The text continues with a prayer, which requests the light of understanding for the heart of the petitioner, and also to "secure enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, which now, through His mercy is born again."[64] Like earlier chapters in this second section, this one presents its message not only through prayers and petitions, but also through Hymns, sequences and antiphony. Reiteration of the events of Pentecost are represented with such passages as: "We pray to you Lord that the power of the Holy Spirit would be with us, through which both our hearts and bodies would be mercifully purified and protected from all offensiveness."[65] Reinforcing the imagery traditionally applied to this narrative the text exclaims: "Come Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of the believers and ignite in them a fire of your love, through which you have

[64] "…mit der Erleuchtung deß H. Geists befestige/welche jetzt durch deine Gnad wieder geboren seynd", *Brautchatz,* 583.
[65] "Wir bieten dich Herr/laß die Krafft deß heyligen Geists bey uns seyn/welche beyde unser Hertz und leib gnädiglich reinige/und vor aller Wiederwertigkeit behüte", *Brautchatz,* 589.

assembled and united the heathens through the multiplicity of tongues, in belief."[66] The text goes on to declare the relationship between the Holy Trinity by a simple request for "mercy from God, through the Holy Spirit, which was given to the Apostles at Pentecost through the Lord Christ."[67] There is also a noteworthy reference to the healing and unity of the Christian Church: "Almighty eternal God, through your spirit your entire Church will be [re]sanctified and ruled."[68] There is little direct reference to the Catholic Church, yet there is specific mention of the rift that exists between denominations.

Figure 7.26 Detail, Pentecost, *Brautschatz,* 1627, ULB

[66] "Komm heyliger Geist/erfülle die Hertzen deiner Glaubigen/und entzünde in ihnen das Fewer deiner Liebe/der du hast versamblet die Heyden durch manigfaltigkeit aller Zungen zur Einigkeit deß Glaubens", *Brautchatz,* 591.
[67]"O Allmächtiger ewiger Gott gib uns die Gnad deß H. Geists/welche du am H..Pfingstag demen Aposteln gesandt hast/durch Crhistum unsern Herrn", *Brautchatz,* 591.
[68] "Almächiger ewiger Gott/durch dessen Geist deine gantze Kirch geheyliget und regieret wird." *Brautchatz,* 601.

Figure 7.26 from the 1625/7 edition presents the moment of narrative as described in Acts relating the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples. The Holy Spirit is the "helper" promised by Jesus before he ascended into heaven and is present in the form of a dove in the centre of the composition above their heads. The scriptural account explains the appearance of the image stating: "And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them."[69] Mary is central in the composition, and appears to be the focal point of all those gathered. This focus on Mary supports the Catholic Church's emphasis on the Virgin and the intercessory role she plays between her son and humanity. The positioning of Mary here as comforter central to the disciples also implies support of Marian Devotions, one of the tools of the confessionalization programs in Münster. Furthermore, the image-text relationship also supports the Catholic confessional message by creating a direct link from this event, through the disciples to the Catholic Church, as indicated in the text through the call for unity.

In stark contrast to the 1625/7 editions, the 1645 edition, figure 7.27, has a much more symbolic and contemplative image titled *Crucified heart of Jesus* for convenience. Presented in this meditative image is the crucifixion with the instruments of the passion, visually similar to Figure 7.18, the *Heart of Jesus and Instruments of the Passion*. The composition presents three horizontal and three vertical divisions. The horizontal divisions create the notions of hell and death through the positioning of the sarcophagus, temporal life on earth represented by the majority of the background and the city that represents Jerusalem, and finally heaven, as represented by the sky. All three are joined by the central figure of the crucified Christ and his heart just as he rose from the grave, returned to earth, and ascended into heaven. The vertical divisions are created by the column to the left, the central figure of Christ and the ladder to the right. Like figure 7.18, the images of the Passion are arrayed around the heart, but rather than Christ being in the heart he is pictured crucified above it and within the heart is the bride of Christ. Arrayed around the heart and the crucified Christ are the instruments of the passion. On the left is the column to which Christ was bound, tied to the column are the whip, the branches, a large candle, the reeds, the crown of thorns and the sword of

[69] Acts 2:3, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1642.

Peter complete with the ear of the servant. The column is topped by the rooster that would signal the dawn. On the left side of the central figure is the ladder which helped lower Christ from the cross, bound to the ladder are further instruments of the Passion, the spear of Longinus, the pole with the sponge, a club, tongs for torture, the hammer, and an upended bag from which silver coins fall. On the sarcophagus in the foreground are the dice and the garments that were gambled for, a gauntlet and the ewer and basin from which Pilate washed his hands.

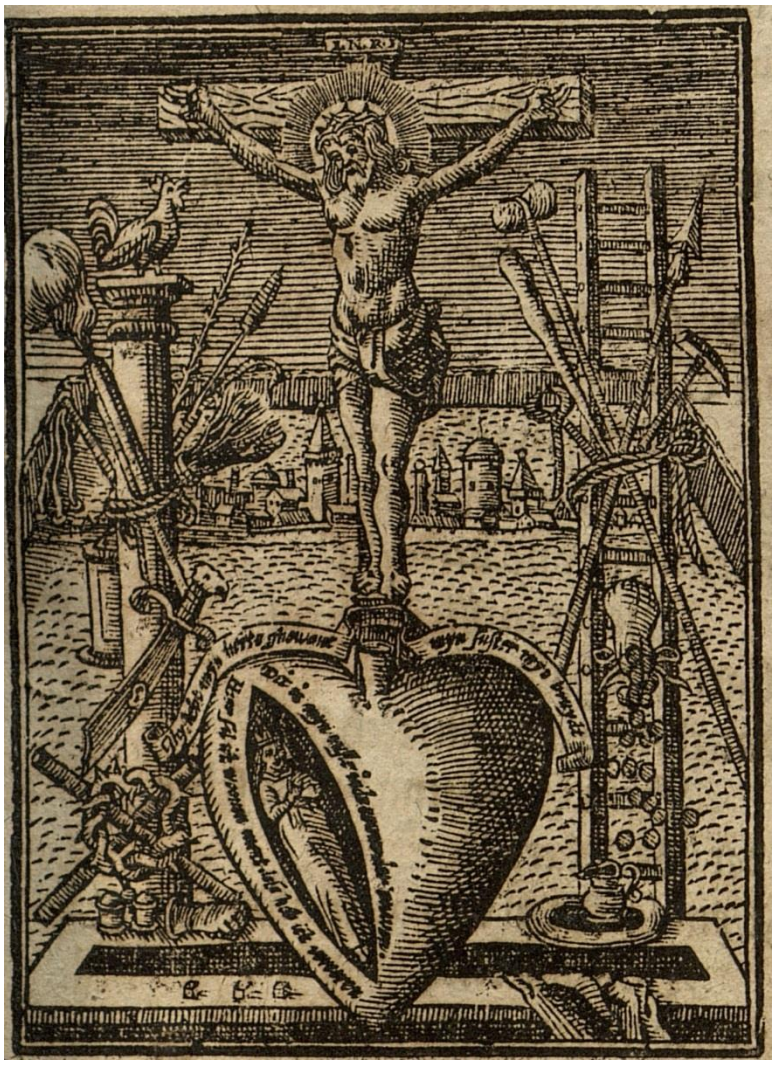

Figure 7.27 Detail, Crucified Heart of Jesus, *Brautschatz*, 1645, ULB

One of the main features of this image is the heart, which also presents contemplative figural imagery. The text on and above the heart is early seventeenth century Dutch, thus identifying the country of workmanship. The scroll above the heart is

taken from the Song of Songs, and reads “Thou hast wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse.”[70] In this often quoted love poetry from the Old Testament, the bride of Christ takes the place of the beloved in the love poem. As mentioned earlier, the devotion of the Sacred Heart meditates upon the wound in Christ’s heart, this text refers to that wound. The bride of Christ is pictured clearly within the heart of Christ and the text that surrounds the figure clarifies this. It reads “This is my rest for ever and ever: here will I dwell, for I have chosen it.”[71] The image shows that the bride has chosen a place nestled within the heart of Christ. It is however a play on the image as well, as Christ must live in the heart of the believer as well, thus creating a mutual relationship. This image provides a meditational tool that reflects the text, giving the reader an opportunity to engage deeper into devotion. The use of the literary image of the heart compliments the visual presentation of the heart. The image-text relationship for this image directs the reader to a deeper contemplation and understanding of the event, weaving in not only the passion of Christ, but also the ideal position of the believer within the heart of Christ.

The final image is figure 7.28 from the 1631 intaglio edition, which again is modeled on the 1625/27 editions. Both of the 1659 editions contain the intaglio images, though the reasoning for this choice is not clear. It does seem strange certainly that the woodcut edition uses this image as in 1659 the *Crucified Heart of Jesus* woodcut block was still in the inventory of the Raesfeldt press.[72] Both of the 1659 editions however

---

[70] Song of Songs, 4:9, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 903. The Dutch transliteration by Michael Auwers, reads “Ghy hebt myn herte ghewont myn suster myn bruydt” the text is taken from Canticle of Canticles 4:9 Ghy hebt mijn herte ghewont mijn suster mijn bruyt, *Den gheheelen Bybel, Inhoudende het oude ende nieuwe Testament, (*Leuvense: 1548), accessed March 20, 2013, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_ghe005gheh01_01/_ghe005gheh01_01_0785.php.

[71] Psalm 131:4, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 840. The Dutch transliteration by Michael Auwers, reads “Dit is myn ruste inde eeuw der eeuwen. Hier sal ick woonen want dez/se heb ick vercoren“ the text is taken from Psalm 131:14 "Dits mijn ruste inder eewicheyt der eewicheden hier sal ick woonen, want ick heb dese vercoren”, *Den gheheelen Bybel, Inhoudende het oude ende nieuwe Testament,* (Leuvense: 1548), accessed March 20, 2013, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_ghe005gheh01_01/_ghe005gheh01_01_0716.php.

[72] That it was still in their inventory is shown clearly by its use in later publications, such as the *Geistlicher Blumen Krantz Andechtigster Gebetter/Welche auß Gottseligen Catholischen Bett Büchern*, Münster: Bernardt Raeßfeldt, 1676, call number K 95 d, LWL. Certainly by this point it is in very poor condition. Even the publication in which this image was used from 1658, an earlier edition of the *Geistlicher Blumen Krantz* likewise in the LWL (K 95) shows a great deal of damage and the text within the image is already by this point nearly illegible. An even later printing of this block as well as the *Crucifixion* image with three figures at the base of the cross was used in 1813 as they are both found along with a motley collection of other woodcut images in the *Himmlischer Wegweiser oder Addächtig Katholischches Beth-Büchlein,* Münster: Köerdinck’s Erben, n.d., possibly 1844, but the date given in the dedication is “Monasterii die 25 Maji 1813”, 0154, 0154a, DR-ULB.

show that the quality of the intaglio printing plate had decreased greatly showing wear and reworking, as well as some kind of corrosion.

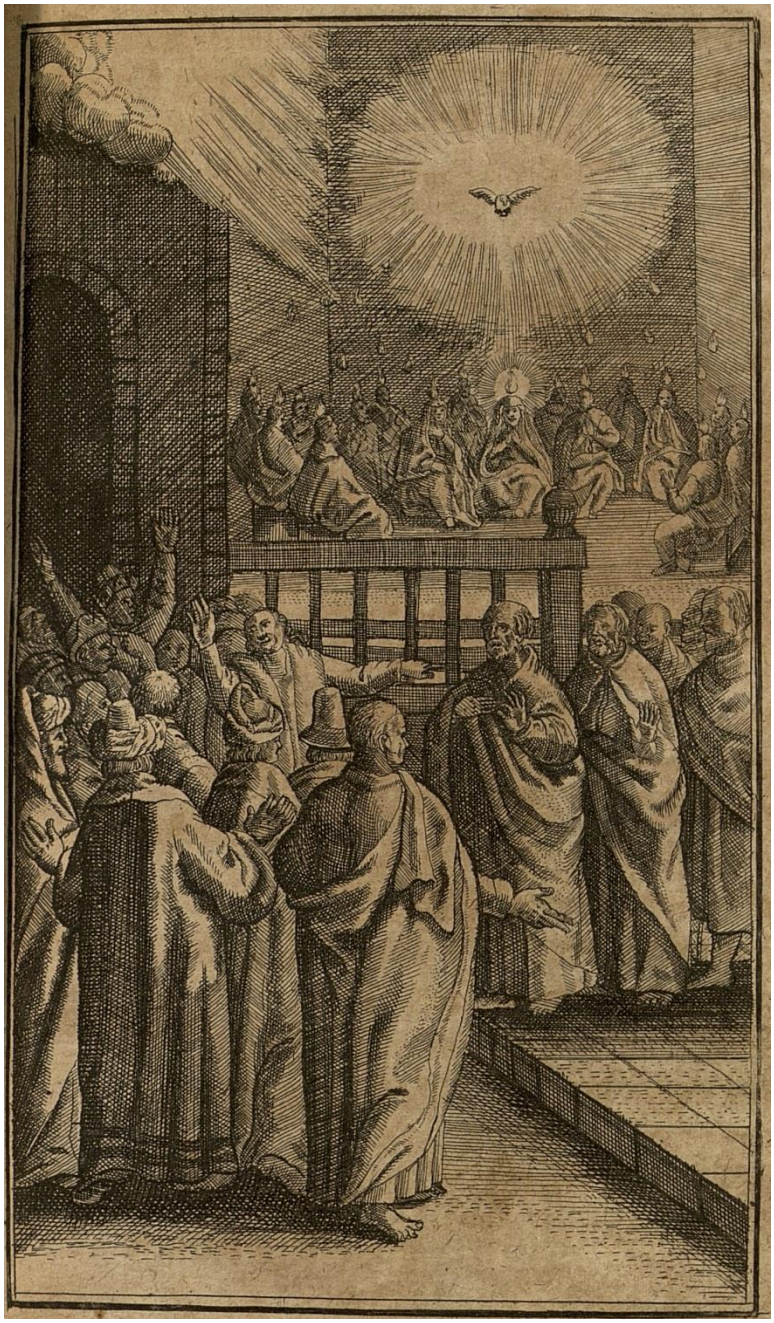

Figure 7.28 Pentecost, *Brautschatz,* 1631, ULB

The image depicts Pentecost, visually presenting two parts of the narrative, one in the background and the other in the foreground. In the background is the descent of the Holy Spirit as “tongues of fire” emanating from a dove upon those gathered as

described in the book of Acts. Central to this grouping is Mary, whose tongue of fire above her head is slightly larger and brighter than all others. The central position of Mary reinforces the Catholic confessional message of this text by supporting her presence at this event, something that is not clear from scripture. This in turn visually defends the venerated position of Mary, and Marian devotions as propagated by the Catholic Church, and importantly by the prince-bishops of Münster.

In the foreground is another narrative component, in Acts it describes that those filled with the Holy Spirit spoke with diverse tongues, "and they were all amazed, and wondered…"[73] The text goes on to describe the wonderment, but then counters with the cynicism and mocking of some onlookers, who stated "These men are full of new wine."[74] In the foreground to the left are figures with arms raised, displaying the sense of the joy from receiving the Holy Spirit so that they appeared as to be drunk. The figures directly in the foreground look on with distain, and two figures have their hands up with gestures of parody and derision. In the foreground to the right is the figure of Peter, who is explaining that they are not drunk, as it is too early in the day, but rather they represent a fulfillment of Prophecy. He goes on to quote from the book of Joel: "And it shall come to pass, in the last days, (saith the Lord,) I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams."[75] Peter is positioned directly below the Holy Spirit in the composition, visually indicating the divine inspiration of his words. The gestures of Peter also support his conviction, with his right hand he points to himself, but also towards his own heart, and his left hand is held in a gesture of both prudence and rebuke, the same gesture is repeated by the figure standing directly behind him. It is clearly meant to address the crowd of disbelievers not an attempt to quell the joy of the believers

This image functions to both illustrate the narrative and direct the viewer through a deeper contemplation of the event and its implications. By showing different parts of the narrative, this image helps to guide the viewer through the significance of the text, which in this case is not only the reception of the Holy Spirit but also that it is the

[73] Acts 2:7a, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1642.
[74] Acts 2:13b, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1643.
[75] Acts 2:17, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1643.

fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy. Additionally, this presentation underscores the believer's unabashed expression of joy, even in the face of doubt and distain thus serving as an encouragement for the reader.

The *Brautschatz* provides a window into a situation that was both typical and unique. Regional devotional literature such as the *Brautschatz* was quite typical, and often reflected the desires of the local bishops or the flavour of the region, all the while maintaining rather generic devotional fare. This work is obviously Catholic in its presentation, the use of the prayers to the saints and to the Virgin emphasises their intercessory position for the supplicant, and their veneration within the Catholic Church. The use of intercessors creates a middle way for the reader, assuring them the comfort of the Virgin as a mediator between the individual and the judgment of Christ. This same emphasis is given to the role of the saints both of which are rejected by the Protestant and Reformed denominations. These images represent a known and trusted visual vocabulary that linked the Catholic Church to the pre-Reformation Church and were effective partly because of their clarity and apparent simplicity, with a layered complexity decipherable through scriptural instruction. Although the images themselves could not really be misinterpreted, the depth of the minutiae could be missed. For the most part, these images did not carry the high degree of interpretive sophistication of, for example, Reformers' polemical images.[76]

However, the more chaotic nature of the placement of the images, and the sometimes seemingly awkwardly chosen images reflect the religious, cultural and political instability of the time in which it was first created. The haphazard placement of images and lack of consideration for the relationship between image and text, as some seem to be entirely unrelated, yet others show true strokes of brilliance in their placement indicates a shift of focus in the utilization of devotional material. The instability of the period is reflected in the confessionalization program which emphasises maintenance of the established Catholic identity, as indicated through the simple, straightforward instruction of the *Brautschatz* as opposed to the aggressive confessionalization program presented in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, or the complex message requiring meditation of the *Vita Christi*.

[76] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 111.

That the work was reissued numerous times attests to its popularity, as does the printing of two different versions offering different price categories. That the printing blocks are reused over longer periods of time does raise the question of the replacement value of the blocks and plates, as they were used until the images were quite disintegrated. A final consideration is the disparity between the obviously narrative images that illustrate points in the text yet also give consideration to contemplation, and the more esoteric images whose primary aim is a deliberated reflection but have seemingly little direct connection with accompanying text. This final point raises the question of whether the pan-European conflict, and its impending end, affected the contemplative devotional climate, propelling interest in more internal and personal forms of piety.

Chapter Eight

Illustration for re-enforcing Catholicism, Confessionalization-the second wave: Telgte Pilgrimage

The final book under consideration is the *Andächtige Gebett/Und Seelen Ubungen* which represents a "second wave" of Catholic confessionalization in the bishopric of Münster after the upheaval of war and civic unrest.[1] This "second wave" was part of the *process* of confessionalization that extended beyond the chronological period often assigned to confessionalization. The program of Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen advanced Catholic conformity in a bid to realize Catholic orthodoxy and solidify his power and strengthen his position as both ecclesiastical and secular authority over his bishopric. Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen recognized a traditional regional shrine and used the public expression of Catholic piety as a vehicle to forward his confessionalization program by supporting and encouraging the pilgrimage to it. The *Andächtige Gebett* was written to accompany this pilgrimage to the Marian shrine in Telgte. Through an examination of a selection of images and accompanying text, this chapter demonstrates how this title utilized an established visual vocabulary to assist the pilgrim along the route, acting not only as a visual guide, but also providing a model for prayers and meditations employing the images as devices to assist the pilgrim in their spiritual journey. Like the *Vita Christi,* the *Andächtige Gebett* establishes a link with medieval piety, reinforcing the unbroken lineage of the Catholic Church. The images represent an established iconography, utilizing the device of the swords to visually represent the individual Sorrows that link this pilgrimage to the tradition of the pre-Reformation Church. With the emphasis on an unbroken tradition it was no longer necessary to emphasize the Catholic Church as the true church as this would be presented clearly through the continuity.

Confessionalization was an effective strategy to deal with the religious languor following the Thirty Years War and the civil unrest of the mid-1550s. Waning of piety was not only to be found in Westfalen, but was a phenomenon observed by Church officials

[1] The full title is: *Andächtige Gebett/Und Seelen Ubungen/Bey den Schmertzhafften und Glorwürdigen Stationen, So zwischen Münster/und Telgt/Christo Iesu, Und seiner Junfräwlichen Mutter Mariae, Zu sonderen Ehren/Durch Andächtigen/beydes Geschlechts/Geist-und Weltlichen Standts Personen freygebige Kösten auffgerichtet/Nützlich zugebrauchen,* (Münster: Theodori Raesfeldi, 1660).

in other areas of Germany. Sigrun Haude noted that commonplace complaints of the early modern period were "fornication, impertinence, gluttony, drunkenness, profanity, blasphemy, and poor church attendance."[2] As with any extended period of unrest, the war proved to be a hindrance rather than an encouragement to a disciplined social and religious life. Haude goes on to describe the complaints of spiritual shepherds over the sins of their flock, and their despairing at how to bring the sheep back into the fold.[3] This disinterest or insensitivity on the part of the parishioners can be defended as caution or self-protection, certainly with the destruction and devastation of plundering armies, disrupted life was a relatively frequent occurrence. To combat this instability, von Galen's confessional program endeavoured to revitalize the spiritual life in his bishopric, rectifying what he perceived it had suffered through the Thirty years war.[4]

The pilgrimage to Telgte was one long honoured, and is still today considered the most popular Marian pilgrimage in Westfalen. It focusses on the Sorrows of the Virgin from Münster to Telgte, and the Joys of the Virgin on the return journey. The core of this pilgrimage is a poplar *Marienklage*, or Pieta sculpture, dated to 1370 by a small reliquary bundle found in her head.[5] The sculpture as an object of veneration has a longstanding tradition, first mentioned in the official town documents in 1455 by 1500 was considered to date back to the first half of the fifteenth century.[6] However, Telgte as a popular pilgrimage destination came about through the Jesuits who began the pilgrimage processions in the early seventeenth century.[7] Marian devotion was at the core of Galenic piety, and it was official encouragement from Köln that reinforced von Galen's

---

[2] Sigrun Haude, "Religion während des dreißigjährigen Krieges (1618-1648)", *Frömmigkeit-Theologie-Frömmigkeitstheologie contributions to European Church history; Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag*, Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert, Roland Liebenberg, Eds., (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 545.
[3] Haude, "Religion während des dreißigjährigen Krieges", 545.
[4] Rudolph Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation. Die Begründung der Telgter wallfahrt durch Christoph Bernhard von Galen", *Frömmigkeit-Theologie-Frömmigkeitstheologie contributions to European Church history; Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert, Roland Liebenberg, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 577.
[5] An examination was made of the sculpture in 1991, which revealed the reliquary bundle in an x-ray, as explained in a discussion with the director of the museum in Telgte, Dr. Thomas Ostendorff. The first written mention of it is in 1455. Though a confraternity of Mary existed from 1311, no direct link can be made between them and the image. The actual history of the sculpture is unclear, known only through legend. Karl-Ferdinand Beßelmann, *Stätten des Heils*, (Münster: Ardey, 1998), 93. In her earlier work, Doris Westhoff stated that the sculpture could not be earlier than 1348, but does not suggest a possible creation date or circumstance. Doris Westhoff, *Das Gnadenbild in Telgte,* (Telgte: Hansen, 1935), 7.
[6] Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation", 578.
[7] Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation",578-9.

desire to foster and support the honouring of the Virgin Mary within his bishopric.[8] As recorded in a report from 1660, von Galen proudly declared that the establishment of this official pilgrimage, with its stations, saw the reassertion and manifestation of Christian and Marian piety that had been disturbed through recent military conflicts.[9] The pilgrimage itself became official with a document signed by von Galen, which stated: "[He] has allowed and endorsed….from our two cities Münster and Warendorf to hold a procession to Telgte…"[10] Through this official act, not only was the pilgrimage procession given blessing, but also the object of this procession was "sanctified". As a result of the official recognition of the Pieta sculpture in Telgte, the Bishop raised a local image of devotion to an official pilgrimage destination, creating a connection between a long established pre-Reformation pilgrimage with that of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church.[11]

A visual indicator of von Galen's impact on this area is clearly indicated in a sculpture erected in 1902 near the original town gates, figure 8.1. It stands not only as a reminder of his sponsorship of the chapel and pilgrimage, but also that he personally attended the laying of the foundation. The statue, installed at an intersection near the chapel he endowed shows the two sides of von Galen. Known as both a spiritual and military leader, these attributes are realized through a combination of light armour and vestments on his person, and trappings of both war and spiritual authority on the plinth. Von Galen holds in his left hand the plans for the chapel, and his right hand placed over his heart a physical representation of his intentions as righteous, not military. The putti on either side hold accoutrements, to the left a book and quill, and to the right a Bishop's mitre and scepter. Level with the putti, in a haphazard but nicely laid pile is a banner, cannons, spears, a heraldic device and a crozier. Below, in bas relief is an image of the bishop offering up a model of the new chapel to the Pieta sculpture in Telgte which is pictured housed in her former meagre structure.

---

[8] Manfred Becker-Huberti, *Die Tridentinische Reform Im Bistum Münster Unter Fürstbischof Christoph Bernhard V. Galen 1650-1678*, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), 296.
[9] It is assumed here not only a reference to the Thirty Years War, but also the siege of Münster in 1657. Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation", 585.
[10] "…erlaubt Und zugelaßen haben,…auß Unseren beyden Stätten Münster undt Warendorp/nacher Telget eine procession zu halten…", Franziskanerarchiv Werl, A II, Nr. 13., Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation", 581.
[11] Freitag, *Folks-und Elitenfrömmigkeit,* 124.

Figure 8.1 Christoph Bernhard von Galen, Telgte

Only thirteen kilometres from Münster, the pilgrimage to Telgte was stimulated by the construction of a new chapel completed in 1657 to house the wooden Pieta sculpture. In addition to the chapel, von Galen ordered five stations to be made and trees planted along the route.[12] These stations are carved on both sides presenting the Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin, providing opportunities for prayer and contemplation in both directions. The final act of patronage for this pilgrimage was comissioning the book

[12] The stations are still visible today, located alongside a highway, Bundesstraße 51, between Lützowstraße and the Kiebitzpohl Straße.

Andächtige Gebett/Und Seelen Ubungen/Bey den Schmertzhafften und Glorwürdigen Stationen, So zwischen Münster/ Und Telgt in 1660.[13]

The pilgrimage book, *Andächtige Gebett,* although ostensibly anonymous, was written by the Jesuit Johannes Blankenfort, rector of the Jesuit College in Münster, and a staunch supporter of the Pieta sculpture and the pilgrimage in her honour. Blankenfort also commissioned the engravings to illustrate the text and was involved with the contracting of the five stations along the route.[14]

Beyond the contents of the *Andächtige Gebett* being "meant to honour both Christ and the Virgin Mary", it is intended to benefit a wide audience of "both genders", and finally "the spiritual and the worldly."[15] This confirms the inclusive intended readership. This work was first issued in Latin, under the title *Preces, et Praxes piae*, and then re-issued in German.[16] These two editions present a similar layout, and contain the same images, however the textual content differs; the Latin edition contains more liturgical text, whereas the German text contains more prayers. Also, the Latin text is a single text of 137 pages, whereas the German is in two parts, the Sorrows and the Joys, of 168 and 71 pages respectively. The foreword explains that the "vernacular edition, which had been previously released in Latin, was released in order to increase the availability and the benefit of the text to a larger audience."[17] The foreword also proposes that "this text is to be used for those who are otherwise unable to physically visit the stations, so they too may participate in the contemplation of the Seven Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin, through the whole year, whether in house or field, or whichever church."[18]

---

[13] As far as can be ascertained, there are two editions of the vernacular and they are to be found in the ULB Rara 2208, full text online; urn:nbn:de:hbz:6:1-29697,the DR ULB 0738 , and LWL Münster K 274, and an un-illustrated short text version as well as a Latin version (*Precis)*, of which only the images are known from the Heimatmuseum, now RELiGIO museum in Telgte.

[14] Freitag, "Fromme Deutungen der Heilsgeschichte",62, and Suntrup, "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation", 584.

[15] "Christo Iesu, Und seiner Jungfräwlichen Mutter Marieae, Zu sonderen Ehren/Durch Andächtigen/beydes Geschlechts/Geist-und Weltlichen Standts", *Andächtege Gebett*, titlepage.

[16] The full title is *Preces, et Praxes piae ex probatis auctoribus collectae, Atque ad Stationes Monasterium inter, et Telgetum, Christi, Virginisque matris honori erectas, devote usurpandae, Omnibus earundem stationum promotoribus, praesertim sumptuum in eas erogatorum, munificis largitoribus dedicatae, Et Colegij Societatis Jesu Monasterien[sis] Sodalibus Xenij loco oblatae; Ab aliquo eiusdem Colegij Sacerdote […]* Typis Theodori Raesfeldi, Münster 1660.

[17] "…etliche Teutsche Gebett und Ubungen/…alß im anfang dieses lauffenden Jahrs in Lateinischer Sprach/auch in dieser Truckerey geschehen scheint zuerforderen/ja solche vorlängst versprochen ist", *Andächtege Gebett,* 3.

[18] "…dieweil viele Alters/schwachheit/oder anderer verhindernussen halber diese Stationes nich alle/oder auch gar keine besuchen können: daß dannoch dieses Büchlein zu grösserer vermehrung der Ehr/und

The text continues making a connection with the Emperor Ferdinand II by naming him and referring to the piety of his wife Maria and her devotion to the Virgin which she instilled in her children. This statement is significant as it indicates that women were influential as both role model and teacher of piety within the home and implies the benefit they would have from reading this book. Additionally, the emphasis on this particular connection is significant, as Bridget Heal explains; a common font for Marian piety was the Bavarian noble house, which in turn influenced the bishopric of Münster.[19] She explained that the Wittelsbach's utilized rituals such as this to strengthen their ideological and political authority, as well as securing the spiritual welfare of those under their care.[20] Although not a Wittelsbach, von Galen's two predecessors were, and it was this very type of authority that Christoph Bernhard von Galen was attempting to reinforce in his bishopric, as was so clearly displayed through his spiritual and military endeavours. Public displays of piety were used to serve as demonstrations of political and confessional loyalty to Catholic states or monarchs.[21] This expression of loyalty and connection with the Catholic Bavarian house can be seen clearly in the foreword of the *Andächtege Gebett*. After describing the piety of the archduchess Maria (nee Wittelsbach), the text states "What more can I say to the Christian wanderer about this most proper example, than what is pronounced by the Eternal Wisdom: "Go forth, and do in like manner…"[22]

Pilgrimages, being a public and social activity, provided a means of utilizing social pressure to bolster social discipline and confessional conformity. In combination with directed imagery and supplementary teaching and tracts, pilgrimages emphasized the role and authority, both spiritual and secular, of the prince-bishop. Additional influence and encouragement for Marian devotions came of course from the Jesuits. The Jesuits fostered Marian piety through a number of means such as promotion of Marian

---

gedächtnuß der Sieben Schmertzen/und Frewden Mariae/das gantze jahr durch/zu Hauß/oder zu Feld/order in welchen Kirchen…", *Andächtege Gebett,* 3.

[19] Bridget Heal, "Mary "triumphant over demons and also heretics": religious symbols and confessional uniformity in Catholic Germany", *Diversity and Dissent: negotiating religious difference in central Europe,* ed. Howard Louthan, Gary Cohen, & Franz Szabo, (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 155.

[20] Heal, "Mary "triumphant over demons and also heretics"", 155.

[21] Heal, "Mary "triumphant over demons and also heretics"", 156.

[22] "Was kan ich alhie dem Cristlichem Wanderßsmann diesem Exempel gemeß bessers sagen/alß was die Ewige Weißheit selbst/gesagt hat: Gehe hin/und thue deßgleichen. Luc.10.v.37", *Andächtege Gebett,* 4.

pilgrimages, distributing Marian images, defending Marian doctrine, and founding Marian sodalities.[23]

The Marian piety promulgated by the Jesuits was polemical, the well-known German Jesuit Peter Canisius described Mary as "conqueror of devils and triumphant over demons and also heretics."[24] The devotion to Mary created a link between medieval piety and the post-Reformation Catholic Church. Mary was the intercessor between Christ and humanity, and she represented mercy as Christ represented judgement.[25] Because of the scanty scriptural evidence of the life of Mary, certain early but apocryphal texts compensate for this lack of information, and though not relied upon in theological arguments these texts have made a great impact on piety and devotion.[26] This lack of scriptural support for the sorrow or grieving of Mary makes the prophecy of Simeon all the more important. It is her humanity and her motherhood that creates an approachable, loving, comforting link to the judgement of the divine that accounts for her popularity.

The Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys of the Virgin were a longstanding devotional tradition that most likely came to Münster by way of neighboring Low Countries. According to Susie Speakman Sutch and Anne-Laure van Bruaene, the institution of the cult of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary was established in the Low Countries as a deliberate and political act in the early sixteenth century.[27] The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin was used as a political tool by von Galen in much the same way as in the example of the Burgundian-Habsburg, where it was used as a means to provide an avenue of comfort for a populous that had experienced the uncertainty and upheaval of civil unrest and difficult times. [28] Like his example, von Galen utilized the printing press for dissemination, and illustrating the work for the benefit of the viewer. The Sorrows of the Virgin provide solace and succor to a distressed populace by emphasising the Virgin's compassion.

---

[23] Heal, "Mary "triumphant over demons and also heretics"", 155.
[24] Heal, "Mary "triumphant over demons and also heretics"", 155.
[25] Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12.
[26] Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary,* 13.
[27] Susie Speakman Stutch, Anne-Laure van Bruaene, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary: Devotional Communication and politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Low Countries, c. 1490-1520", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61, (2010), 254-5.
[28] Speakman Sutch, van Bruaene, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary", 257.

Holy Sorrowful Journey: Title page

The first part of the text follows the pilgrimage from Münster to Telgte, identifying the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin. The second part of the text then follows the return journey, contemplating the Seven Joys of the Virgin. The text and the images are uniform in all exemplars; however none of the vernacular exemplars examined have a complete set of images. The images, being intaglio, were printed separately from the text and inserted during the binding process. Many of the images are hand numbered, and the text itself alerts the binder and reader as to where the images should be placed.[29] The most fully complete series of images is the *Preces,* in Telgte, which is missing only image fourteen. In the vernacular exemplars some of the images have obviously been removed from the books and some were never placed in the text, the reasons for this are unknown. In addition to the illustrated editions, there was a simple pilgrimage guide with only basic text and prayers for each of the stations; it is much shorter with only sixty-two pages of text, not illustrated and not bound, but merely with a paper cover.[30] This text is also found at the end of the illustrated, bound versions, as a separate booklet, not integrated with the preceding text. The images originally commissioned for the earlier Latin edition were reused for the vernacular, explaining the Latin text on each of the images.

The image facing the title page, figure 8.2, presents visually the first part of the text, the Sorrows of the Virgin. At the top of the image are two angels that hold the crown that Mary will obtain upon her entry to heaven. The text banderole below the crown is taken from the book of Tobias, 3:21b “if it be under trial, shall be crowned.” This relates to the Virgin, who as evidenced through her sorrow is under trial, and foreshadows the sacrifices of Christ, the cause of sorrow. The Virgin is in the centre of the work depicted within a heart, she is in turn holding a heart that displays seven

[29] This placement is done with simple sentences on the preceding page that says “See following image number, _”, “Besiehe folgendes Bild Num, _” This instruction gave the binder direction as to image placement, which was not always successful.

[30] This version is located in the Religio museum in Telgte, ED W TE 26. Similarly titled: *Andächtige Gebett/Und Seelen Ubungen/Welch emit beygefügten Gueten Meinungen/Täglich/Bey anhörung der H. Meß/vor und nach der H. Beycht/und Communion/bey den Jährlichen Processionen und Bittfarten/auch sonsten das gantze Jahr durch zu aller gelegenheit:Sonderlich aber/Auff dem Telgtschen Weg/Bey den hin=und her auffgerichteten Sationen, oder Bildsäulen/Zu Ehren JESU deß Manns der Schmertzen. Isa 53. Und seiner Schmertzlichen Jungfräwlichen Mutter Maria/Und anderen Heiligen Gottes zu Lob/auff offenem Feld/oder zu Hauß nützlich können gebraucht werden.*

wounds. Tears flow from her eyes, giving the sense of the depth of her sorrow. This central figure is surrounded by both a wreath of roses-a symbol of the rosary, as well as the crown of thorns-symbolic of the sacrifice that her son will ultimately make, and the cause of her sorrow. The heart that surrounds her is in turn pierced by swords, as predicted by Simeon upon the presentation of Jesus in the temple.

Figure 8.2 Title Page, *Preces* Raesfeldt, Münster, 1660, Religio Telgte

The swords are individually named for the event they represent, *Simeonis*- Simeon's prophecy, *Fugae*-the flight into Egypt, *Perditionis*- Jesus teaching in the temple, *Batulationis*- Jesus carrying the cross, *Stationis sub X.*- the crucifixion,

Depositionis- deposition from the cross, *Sepulturae*-internment. Each sword is held by angels who also hold crowns of thorns around each hilt. The lower banderole reads "the many swords of the Virgin."[31] Those on either side read: "The path from sword to crown", and "The lily among the thorns" from the Song of Songs 2:2a.[32] The first is a description of the following text, and the second is often used as a description of the Virgin. The image is framed by a collection of roses and lilies, both of which are symbolic of the Virgin Mary, and the roses which imply the Rosary. Finally the text below the image reads "An examination of the Sorrows of the Virgin", which further defines the first part of this devotional book.[33]

The title page for the first part of this book describes the pilgrimage, recommending that this short text be used not only for the pilgrimage itself, but throughout the week, and not be limited to the home. The text claims it is "… complete with important lessons, prayers and useful spiritual exercises."[34] The text insists upon its value as a devotional resource, allowing for multiple reading strategies, namely, from beginning ending as would be necessary for the pilgrimage or sections as is necessary through the week. Strangely though, the text makes some unusual suggestions; for those who do not have this book that they obtain a shorter version in order to partake in the most important and edifying parts, then finally, for those who cannot read, to follow the stations, reciting prayers that are then listed indicating a rote understanding of the text. This highlights literacy in this period, clearly if one is expected to be capable of reciting something written at the station, it implies they were capable of recognizing some text, at least often repeated prayers.

The next section of this work provides prayers and instructions in preparation for the journey, or day of the week. These prayers continue with various headings and focus. At the bottom of page 29 are instructions for the reader, that they should have now reached the point of the first station. On page 30 it states "this is where the image for the first station should be."[35]

---

[31] "Numero dolet impare Virgo"
[32] "Per gladios Iter ad Coronas", and "Sicut Lilium inter Spinas Cant.2."
[33] "Virginis Septem Cerne Dolores"
[34] "… und vorgehende nötige Unterichtung/umb folgende Gebett/und Seelen Ubungen nützlich zu gebrauchen.", *Andächtege Gebett,* 7.
[35] "auß dem Abriß der STATION hieben/Num. 2. Zusehen", *Andächtege Gebett,* 30.

Preparation for the journey

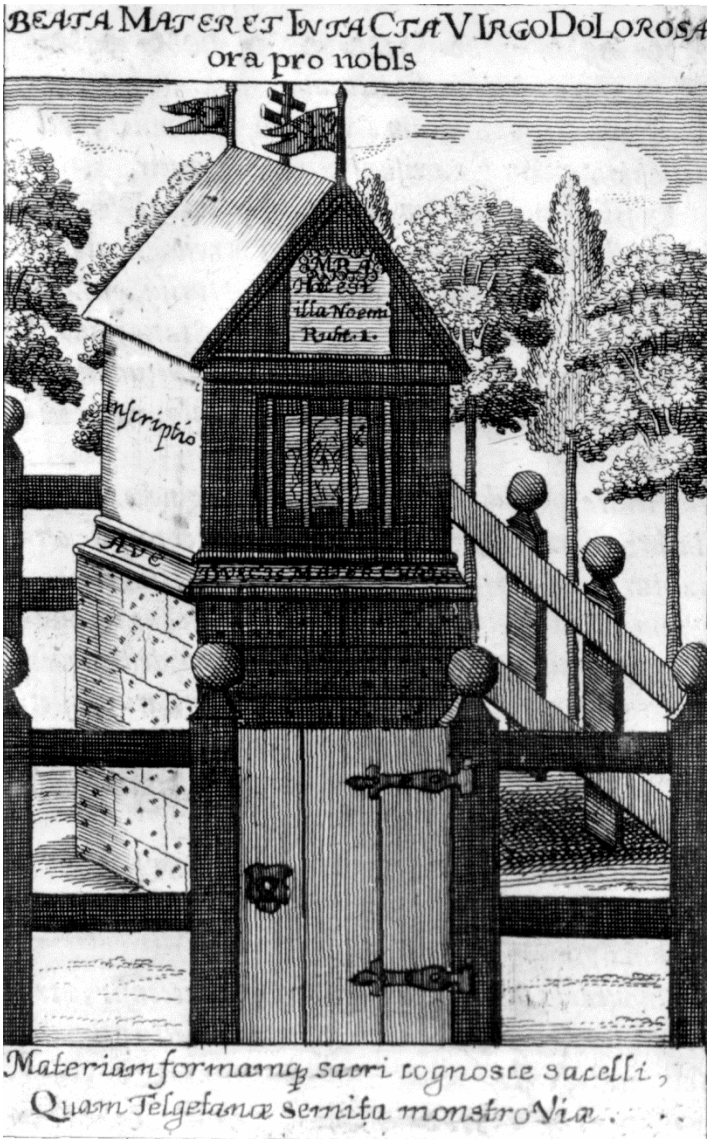

Figure 8.3 Preparation station, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

Because these images were printed separately with an image on the recto and text on the verso, then inserted into the text, the page number in the text does not count these pages but rather continue without interruption. This means that the images could also function as single sheet devotional images, raising the question of whether the images were also sold individually.[36] This chapter prepares the pilgrim for their journey, with instruction and prayers. This short chapter provides a brief history of the Caravaca

[36] Although entirely possible, and probable, there is no evidence that this is the case, as there are no known single sheet exemplars.

Cross, which is featured prominently on each of the stations, and a narrative of St. Helena finding of the true cross.

The text offers a prayer that the pilgrim should recite upon nearing the chapel, figure 8.3, that states the goal of the pilgrimage is that the petitioner could come to the Virgin, with all their good works and sins, that she would "guard and shield [the petitioner] with her loving son, mercifully granting access to him."[37] The roadside chapel pictured here listed as image two represents the small chapel along the route; the figure of the Virgin with a sword in her chest is visible through the window of both the chapel and the image. Once the pilgrim has reached this chapel, the text then invites the pilgrim to ready themselves for emotional participation in the Sorrows of the Virgin.

Entrance to the Seven Sorrows

Although the text states the third image should appear prior to page 33, the only exemplar with this image is the *Preces* as it is in none of the extant vernacular editions. Figure 8.4 presents a vision of all the Sorrows of the Virgin arrayed before her kneeling grieving figure. The Virgin and her vision are revealed to the viewer because an angel lifts up an otherwise obscuring curtain, making the viewer a voyeur of this intimate and poignant scene. Mary is kneeling surrounded by five angels. Her heart pierced by a sword, the scenes of the passion presenting the blood of Christ set out before her. In the upper right shows Jesus in the garden praying, with the angel that both comforts him, and carries the chalice. Below to the left is the flagellation of Jesus, and to the right the Crucifixion. Below these two scenes are; on the left the crowning of Jesus with the Crown of Thorns and to the right the carrying of the Cross.

As the text below the image is in Latin, the book provides a German translation for the reader, written in rhyme, stating "For the evil and sin of his people she found Jesus, wounded by lashing and in torment abound."[38] The text goes on to highlight the Sorrows of the Virgin, referring specifically to the hymn *Sabat Mater dolorosa*. The image of Mary as the *Mater Dolorosa* was popular through the later medieval period as it

[37] "…daß du mich bey deinem Lieben Sohn beschützen und beschirmen/auch mir einen gnädigen Zutritt zu ihm erhalten wollest.", *Andächtege Gebett,* 32.
[38] "Für seines Volks Ubel/und Sünd Jesum sie in Tormenten fund/Und mit Geißlen hart verwund." *Andächtege Gebett,* 33.

provided a loving mother figure to sinners.[39] Mary was the means of connecting with the divine through a loving and comforting mother, rather than a vengeful, judging father.

Figure 8.4 Vision of Mary, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

Mary's humanity was clearly shown through her sorrows which were given particularly visceral images. It was this human love and power to aid in human salvation that made Mary an object of such devotion.[40] The relationship between the image and text suggests that it is through the merit and intercession of Mary acting on behalf of the sinner that connects Christ's sacrifice to the Christian.

[39] Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary,* 18.
[40] Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary,* 19.

First Sorrowful station: The Temple in Jerusalem

The first station is the prophecy of Simeon, figure 8.5. This is a fundamental for the depiction of the Seven Sorrows of this pilgrimage, as the sword imagery used throughout these engravings stems from this prophecy. Simeon prophesied in Luke 2:34-35, that Jesus was destined "for the rise and fall of many in Israel", and that a "sword will pierce your soul also." This is very much a narrative image, Simeon holds the infant Jesus, pronouncing his prophecy shown above his head in a caption.
Anna, the prophetess sits in the foreground with her hands raised. Tears flow down Mary's face as she comprehends what is being spoken over her son, and it is this understanding that pierces her heart with the first sword. Joseph stands behind Mary holding the offering, identified by a simple halo as opposed to the radiating nimbus of the Holy Spirit, Mary and Jesus. The whole is surrounded by a garland of Roses, referencing the Rosary. The text begins with a description of the first Sorrow, followed by practical information of how to honour the Virgin with a prayer petitioning for guidance, and aid to support the seven virtues. There is then specific mention of prayer for upholding, "all the positions of the Church of God."[41] This specific attention to the positions of authority references the honour due to the clergy, Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen being the principle figure in the bishopric of Münster. Additionally is the line: "Almighty Eternal God, through whose Spirit reigns over your whole Church sanctifying it. Grant us as we humbly pray for all those in the Church in all positions that through the working of your mercy, they would serve your Church in truth."[42] Again, alluding to the prince-bishop, and the priests, that none may fall into error. The language used is more persuasive and comforting than combative, underscoring the difference between the earlier confessional movement of the late sixteenth century with the militant language of the *Catechismus und Betböklin* and this work which speaks to the Christian Church, rather than specifying the Catholic Church.

[41] "Und für allen Ständen der Kirchen Gottes.", *Andächtege Gebett,* 49.
[42] "Allmächtiger Ewiger Gott/durch dessen Geist dein gantze Kirch geheiliget/und regiert wird/ Erhöre uns/die wie für alle Ständt der Kirchen demütig bitten/daß durch die Gab deiner Gnaden/von allen Graden/und Ständen der Kirchen dir trewlich gedient werde.", *Andächtege Gebett,* 50.

Figure 8.5 Presentation and Offering at the temple, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

The stone stations present this same narrative as the text. Like the guide, the stations help the pilgrim to visualize Mary's Sorrows. Although some stations are somewhat overgrown, they still mark the pilgrimage route that is yet followed today. The stations consist of four visual elements. In the gable is the symbol of the Virgin or Christ in a symbolic sun (MRA and IHS respectively), below which is the Latin title. Under the title is the framed and inset bas relief image, underneath which is a vernacular prayer in relief. The stations representing the Sorrows are more weathered than the Joys, making the text of the Sorrows nearly illegible in places. The shape of the stations is reminiscent

of the illustrated “Preparation Station” engraving in the *Andächtege Gebett*, including the *Caravacakreuz* cross above the gable.[43]

Figure 8.6 First station *Prophecy of Simeon*, Marian Pilgrimage, Telgte

[43] The *Caravacakreuz* originates in the Spanish city of Caravaca de la Cruz, where the double cross-bar cross is recognized as miraculous and celebrated for the associated powers of healing. Use of this cross was particularly widespread through the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. This use creates a parallel between the Spanish “reconquista” and the Catholic confessionalization in the diocese of Münster.

The relief images on the stations were carved by the local Münster sculptor Gerhard Breda.[44] As can be seen in the first station, figure 8.6, the relief presents a very different composition to the engraving. In the centre of the composition Simeon holds the Christ Child and the Virgin is to the left of the image with a single sword protruding from her chest under her hand. As with the images in the book, Mary is shown here weeping reaching one hand towards her son, Joseph is beside her hands together in prayer.

Second Sorrowful station: The Misery of Egypt

The Second Sorrow of Mary is the flight into Egypt, figure 8.7. The opening prayer refers to the riders of the apocalypse with: "You son of God, release us from all evil, from pestilence, hunger, and war, Oh Jesus."[45] The text continues with practical advice, prayers and songs. Noteworthy is the use of scriptural references, with book, chapter and verse, to encourage the reader to cross reference with the Bible itself, inferring access to the scriptures. The prayers make reference to the flight into Egypt, stating that "the tyranny of Herod necessitated fleeing from your home and your fatherland", then requesting his guiding hand for the supplicant as with the Christ Child, to remain on the right path.[46] A curious and specific mention of the Catholic Church is given in a prayer for the sin of all the living and the dead, which states "for those who have died, for which the Catholic Church is to pray for daily, but specifically on Monday."[47]

This visual narrative of the flight into Egypt is familiar, yet there are details here specific to the Sorrows of the Virgin not commonly illustrated, the physical swords. They appear awkwardly giving a clear indicator as to the emotional nature of the image. Mary is depicted with tears running down her face also symbolic of the Sorrows of the Virgin. Joseph is wearing both a travellers cloak and hat, carrying a single sided serrated edged tool, indicative of his trade. He is presented on foot, guiding the donkey on which the Virgin and the infant Jesus are mounted, the type of vegetation indicating the journey to the land of Egypt and the water gourd attached to the donkey further symbolizing the

[44] Wolfgang Neinaber, ed., *Zeugnisse des Glaubens an Höfen und Wegen: Bildstöcke, Kapellen, Hof und Wegkreuze in Telgte*, (Telgte: Wallfahrtsgilde, 2011), 35.
[45] "Du Sohn Gottes: Von allem Ubel: Von Pestilentz/Hunger/und Krieg. Erlöse uns O Jesu!", *Andächtege Gebett,* 62.
[46] "…deß Herodis Tyranney zu entfliehen mit verlassung deiner Wohnung/und Vatterlandts…führe mich/O Jesu/jederzeit auff deine rechte Wege", *Andächtege Gebett,* 65.
[47] "…Für die Abgestorbene/für welche täglich die Catholische Kirch/sonderlich aber am Montag pflegt zu betten", *Andächtege Gebett,* 67.

long journey. The background displays the reason that necessitated the Holy Family's flight. It pictures the massacre of the innocents through a large crowd, with swords and figures on their knees. The angel in the clouds provides the warning for the Holy Family of this event.

Figure 8.7 Flight into Egypt, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

Fourth Sorrowful Station: The Mount of Calvary

The chapter begins with the theme of loyalty and not abandoning others during a time of trial or difficulty. The example described is Naomi and Ruth from the Old Testament. The specific reference is "Be not against me, to desire that I should leave

thee and depart: for whithersoever thou shalt go, I will go: and where thou shalt dwell, I also will dwell. Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God."[48] This speaks to the loyalty of Ruth, who even without the prospect of a future expected of a woman, meaning marriage and children, was steadfast in her loyalty to Naomi. Ruth's went so far as to give up her community, her "people", and even her belief system for the God of Naomi. Ultimately, Ruth was greatly blessed for her loyalty, being an ancestor of Jesus through the line of David. This same loyalty was displayed by Mary on the road to Calvary and through her presence at the crucifixion, where she remained with a handful of other faithful followers when Jesus was abandoned by almost everyone else. The text then describes the road Jesus walked, measured in paces as defined by sixteenth century writer Christian Kruik van Adrichem, or Adrichom/Adrichomij in the text. This designates the route of the Via Dolorosa, and how many steps Jesus took, when he fell and explains both the scriptural account and the tradition associated with this path. A further prayer is for the holy women who lamented over him on the way to Calvary, Jesus turned to them and said "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep over me but rather weep over yourselves."[49]

The image, figure 8.8, shows Jesus having stumbled to his knees bearing the cross. Veronica is pictured with the cloth used to wipe the sweat and blood from his face as he is being beaten with a cudgel. Mary is pictured to the left weeping, with four swords in her chest. Behind Mary is the young John the Apostle. In the background to the right one can see the hill of Golgotha with the remains of haphazardly placed crosses. The verso of the image encourages the pilgrim to consider the crucifixion, and the scriptures that describe the way of Calvary. There is also mention of honour for Veronica, traditionally named as one of the holy women who accompanied Jesus to Calvary along the Via Dolorosa. The text explains that it is thought that the tradition of her presence arises from the Latin term "vera icon" the "true image" and that popular imagination attached this term to a person.[50]

---

[48] Ruth 1, 16, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 371. "Red mir nit ein/daß ich dich verlassen solt; wo du hingehst/da will ich auch hingehen: Wo du pleibst/da pleibe ich auch; dein Volck/ist mein Volck; und dein Gott/ist mein Gott." *Andächtege Gebett,* 92.

[49] "Ihr Töchter von Jerusalem/weinet nicht uber mich/sonder weinet uber Euch selbst", *Andächtege Gebett,* 111.

[50] A. Dégert, "St. Veronica", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15362a.htm, retrieved March 25, 2013.

Figure 8.8 The Way to Calvary, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

The image brings the emotional experience of the figures visually to the viewer/reader, allowing participation in this event as the pilgrim physically walks the path of the Virgin's sorrow on the route described in the text. Furthermore, the pilgrim witnesses visually and is guided textually through the torment of Christ along the Via Dolorosa.

Fifth Sorrowful Station: Under the shadow of the Cross

The Fifth Sorrow of the Virgin is the Crucifixion. The image, figure 8.9, represents the moment when Jesus recommends his mother to John as depicted on the image.

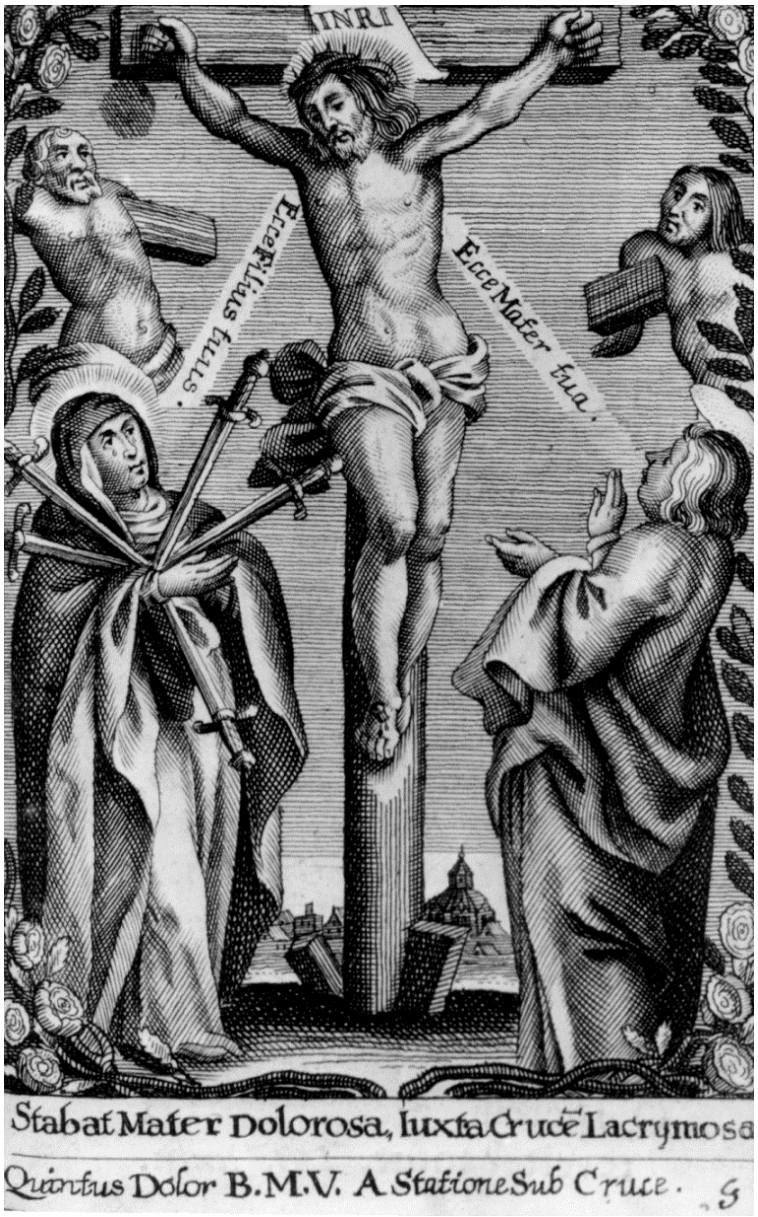

Figure 8.9 Crucifixion of Jesus, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

Behind the figures are the two thieves, but only their torso's are visible. The thief to Jesus' right looks in his direction and upwards indicating the repentant thief, while the thief to the left of Jesus looks down towards the ground denoting the unrepentant thief. Mary is shown with five swords in her chest, weeping, her right hand gesturing to John acknowledging her son's request, and her left hand is held to her heart. John looks up to Jesus, one hand gesturing to Mary, the other up towards Jesus, likewise in acceptance. In the background is a city with a dome, although it presumably represents Jerusalem, the dome is strikingly similar in design to that of the chapel commissioned by Prince-

Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen for Telgte. Surrounding the image on three sides is a garland of roses, there is nothing at the top of the frame, as there is then nothing to separate Jesus from his Father in heaven. The text on the back of the image begins with a visualization for the reader to remain standing under the shadow of the Cross, continuing with a word play on shadow, that in the shadow of the cross, one need not fear the shadow of death.[51]

The text through the chapter leads the pilgrim through the darkest moments of the Crucifixion, the language impressing upon the reader the depth of the sorrow of the Virgin with such statements as: "the hour that the Mother was wounded deeply in her heart, near the cross, weeping tears falling to the ground as she saw her son hang."[52] The text continues in this tone, stating that Mary wept through the night, the tears flowing down her cheeks, with no-one to console her. The text continues with prayers, hymns and practical information, such as the distance from this station to the next in Telgte. The texts ends with advice to the pilgrim to re-read the previous twenty eight pages, which may be a typo meant to read 128 pages to return to the beginning, as opposed to the middle of a previous chapter. The text then instructs the binder to insert both images 9 the chapel, and 10 the image of the Pieta sculpture itself, which it explains is then the sixth Sorrow.

As described for the first Sorrow, the bas reliefs on the stations are reminiscent, if not copies of the engravings. The relief of the fifth station, figure 8.10, presents clearly the image of Mary to the right of Jesus, oddly though, rather than having an image of John as is more common and reflective of the accompanying book, the other figure at the foot of the cross is female in an attitude of emotional distress. The cross is positioned on a slight rise, the skull at its base indicating the hill of Golgotha. The engraving shows the thieves as hung differently than Christ on the cross, their arms stretch behind the cross-bar, here in the bas relief, the thieves are likewise shown as not nailed to the cross, but rather tied, both hands and feet. The thieves are shown, as in the engraving, with one looking to Jesus the other looking away. Unfortunately, because of

[51] "Bistu abgemattet/unnd suchest woe in Schattens der Schatten des Crutzes ist am heylsambsten. Mit diesem Uberschattet Wirstu den Schatten des Todts nicht förchten…", *Andächtege Gebett,* ill. 8 V.
[52] "Die Mutter stundt/hertzlich verwundt/Nah beym Creutz/und weint von grund/Da sie ihren Sohn sah hangen.", *Andächtege Gebett,* 117.

the weathering of the stone, the detail is difficult to see. The text of the prayer below the image is likewise weatherworn and difficult to read.

Figure 8.10 The fifth station, the Crucifixion, Marian Pilgrimage, Telgte

Sixth Sorrowful Station: The Chapel in Telgte

This particular chapter has two images, the Telgte Chapel, figure 8.11, and the Pieta sculpture, figure 8.13. In the only vernacular copy that has both images they are placed facing one another. The sixth sorrow of the Virgin is the deposition from the cross, shown as the pieta, with Mary holding the body of her dead son in her lap. This chapter heading tells the pilgrim directly to use the time before the statue to consider the comfort in the loving lap of Mary. It also encourages the pilgrim upon entering the chapel and approaching the altar to meditate upon the sacrifice of Christ. The text continues promoting the intercessory role of Mary as the comforter of the afflicted. It stresses that her love for her son, who she both held in her lap as a child and now as an adult, is the same love that intercedes with him for humanity. The emphasis of the comforting and

intercessory role of Mary is the focus of the confessional message of this text, reinforcing links with the pre-Reformation Church through this longstanding pilgrimage.

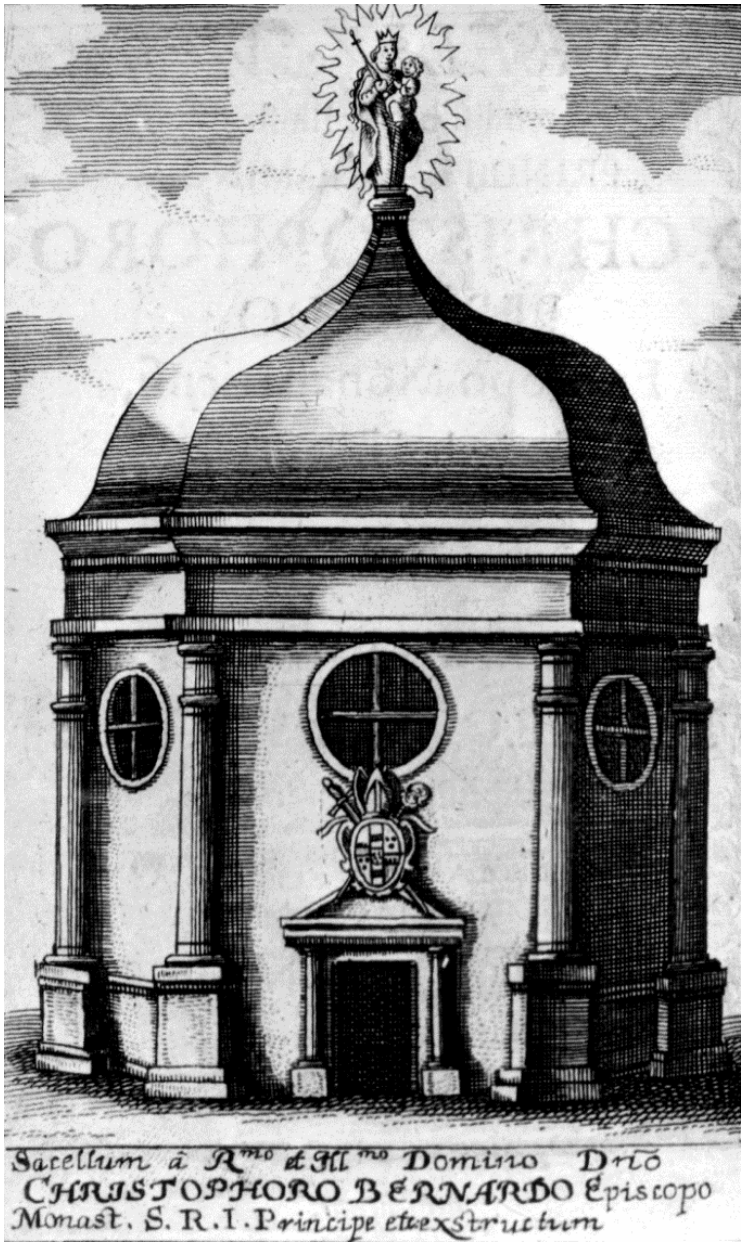

Figure 8.11 Chapel in Telgte, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

Additionally, by placing the image of the Chapel that houses the Pieta figure here, it highlights, through both text and his coat of arms above the door, that Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen championed this pilgrimage. On the front of the image,

the chapel is clearly indicated in the text as being donated by Christoph Bernhard von Galen, the verso of the image also acknowledges the role of the Bishop.[53]

Figure 8.12 Chapel of the Maria Gnadenbild, Telgte

The chapel in the engraving is clearly modelled on the physical structure of the chapel commissioned by von Galen, figure 8.12. This modern photograph shows the opposite side of the structure from the engraving, showing a slightly different doorway. The chapel has experienced remodelling since it was first constructed, and now has an extension on the side not visible in this photograph.

The text on the back of the image states that “this new chapel was erected for the purpose of honouring the Sorrows of the mother of Jesus and the miracles of this very

[53] “Dem Hochwürdigsten/Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren/H. Christoff Bernahrd/Bischoffen zu Münster/Deß H. Röm. Reichs Fürsten/Burggraffen zum Stromberg/und Herrn zu Borckeloh/xc. .”, *Andächtege Gebett,* ill. 9 V.

old Pieta image in the city of Telgte through his princely mercy, dedicated July 2, 1657."[54] It distinctly recognizes that though the chapel is new, the sculpture contained therein is one that has been revered for a long time, an "ancient" *uhralten* image, stressing the long established nature of this pilgrimage. This reinforces the connection to pre-Reformation piety, impressing and clarifying the role of this image and pilgrimage as part of a Catholic confessionalization program.

Figure 8.13 Pieta, *Preces*, Religio Telgte

[54] "Zu Ehren der Schmertzlichen Mutter IESV, Und deß WunderthAtigen Uhralten Vesper Bildts/in der Statt Telgt/Vom newen auffgebawet/und von Deroselben Hoch Fürstlichen Ganden Anno 1657. Auff der Allerseligsten Mutter Gottes Heimbsuchuns Festag/Den 2. Julij solenniter dedicirt/und geweyhet.", *Andächtege Gebett,* ill. 9 V.

The following image is the sculpture of the Pieta, figure 8.13, modeled on the traditional sculpture itself, which is claimed as one of the earliest still extant in Northern Europe. The Virgin is presented holding the rather stiff body of Jesus in her lap, his wounds in his hands and side clearly visible, the crown of thorns is still on his head. The background of this image clearly locates the sculpture in Telgte, visible are the church of St. Clement to the left and chapel in which the sculpture is housed to the right. The sculpture is pictured here with a crown and jewelry around her neck. The medallions and the crown are a continuation of an early custom of nailing offertory gifts to the figure itself. This custom is now no longer continued, in the interest of preservation of the sculpture.[55] The chapter contains hymns, prayers and practical advice to meditate upon when sitting before the image of the Pieta. This chapter also includes a prayer for "our Holy founder Igantius", as well as for the College of the Society of Jesus.[56] The text was written by a Jesuit, and this inclusion reinforces the connection between the Jesuits and their encouragement of this particular pilgrimage. Included as well are the Kyrie Eleison, and a prayerful litany. In the section that is meant for those using this as a prayer book rather than pilgrimage book, this chapter is meant for Friday and states that "if one cannot go to Telgte to view the Pieta, they should go instead to a church, or consider going to the Liebfrauen Uberwasser church (which is in Münster), to pray and meditate on the Pieta image there."[57] This confirms the regional nature of this devotional work, given that although one could meditate before any image of the Pieta, it is assumed that if one was not in Telgte, they would be in Münster.

This combination of chapel, sculpture, image and text all within this atmosphere of pilgrimage produced an environment of directed Catholic unity and fellowship. The public and social activity that this pilgrimage offered through the organization and support of pilgrims on the pilgrimage route and the printing of the *Andächtege Gebett*,

---

[55] In the nineteenth century the mountings for the garments and offertory objects were removed and are no longer kept on the statue, but rather a selection of offertory objects and garments are on display in cases on the chapel walls facing the sculpture. A further alteration was the arm of the figure of Christ was raised to his lap in the eighteenth century, as it showed a great deal of wear from the touches of the faithful. The statue underwent intensive physical analysis for the purpose of preservation in 1973, and again in 1991 which revealed the compartment in her head with the reliquary, see footnote 4.

[56] "Gebettlein unsers H. Stiffters Ignatij…und sonderliche Hülff von Gott dadurch gespüret/und im Collegio Societatis IESV zu Caesaraugusta wird auff behalten." *Andächtege Gebett,* 139.

[57] "Und wan einer nicht kan gar auff Telgt gehen/solche nützlich gebrauchen kan bey alle Schmertzliche Vesper Bilder/die schier in allen Kirchen/und Clausen vorhanden/Sonderlich aber in Unser L.frawen Kirchen alhie zu Uberwasser…" *Andächtege Gebett,* 150.

was managed by the Jesuits under the confessionalization program of the prince-bishop. They were able to utilize the inherent social pressure and social discipline of the activity to achieve confessional conformity.

Sorrows of the Virgin sundial

Figure 8.14 Virgin of Sorrows Sundial, sculpture, Religio, Telgte

The next section of the text directs the reader to the return journey, at the point of the sundial of the Sorrows of the Virgin. The text refers to the sundial as being on the church of St. Clements, which is mere paces from the chapel; however, the original sundial of the Sorrows was destroyed in 1860.[58] A replica of the sundial, figure 8.14 was commissioned by Dr. Paul Engelmeier in 1935 and sculpted by Münster sculptor Alois

[58] The *Andächtege Gebett* states this sun dial is on the church of St. Clements in Telgte, where it remained until the tower was destroyed in 1860. The replica is located near the chapel on the former Heimathaus museum, now Religo Museum in Telgte.

Roehr, to be placed on the newly founded Pilgrimage museum directly beside the chapel as a symbol not only for pilgrims but also for Catholicism in the wake of a wave of new paganism emerging in the 1930s.[59] This action reinforces the success of this pilgrimage in the confessionalization program of Christoph Bernhard von Galen, creating a link between the seventeenth century program and its result in the early twentieth century.

Figure 8.15 Sundial of the Sorrows of the Virgin, *Preces*, Religio, Telgte

[59] As explained by Dr. Thomas Ostendorff by email, 03/04/2013, he continued by stating that Dr. Engelmeier received a great deal of criticism for this commission.

In both the sculpture and the engraving, figures 8.14 and 8.15, the eighteen hours of sunlight are named in German and Latin respectively, presenting the elements of the suffering of Christ, from the Crown of Thorns, to the reprieve of Barabbas. On the verso of figure 8.15 is a description of the image, stating that it presents what the Virgin witnessed on the last day and night of her son's life. Additionally, it lists the events of the Passion, translating into the vernacular what is in Latin on the image. After reflection upon what the Virgin witnessed of her son's suffering, the text then directs the reader to continue to the next station beginning the Joys of the Virgin, on the return journey to Münster.

From the Seven Joys of the Virgin title page

The second part of this work represents the Joys of the Virgin. The title-page emphasises that this section is "for the inner comfort of all Catholic pilgrims" and is "distinctly for those who, from the comforter of the afflicted, return from Telgte to Münster."[60] A point of note is the misspelling of the word Glorious, *Glorwürdigen*, it is missing the first 'r' in all the copies, but all have the letter handwritten above the word, in the same ink, ostensibly by the printer. The language in this portion begins on a lighter note than the previous section, reflecting the joy of its contents. The first page of text does point out after having meditated upon the five wounds of Christ that this is the return journey from the Seven Sorrows. Like the first section of the book, this one too states it is not only meant for the pilgrimage itself, but also for "every day of the week, and to every time of the year, though specifically for Easter until Pentecost, also for the Advent season, to be considered at home or in the field."[61]

The text in this portion of the book is overall shorter, in addition to having a much lighter tone. Rather than extensive text, the Joys are accompanied by short points with scriptural references. There are prayers in flowing prose, yet many are presented in numbered point form. As previously noted, there are relatively few mentions of the

[60] "…zum innerlichen Trost aller Catholischen Wanders-Leut…", "…So von der Trösterinnen der Betrübten von Telgt auff Münster widerkehren…", *Andächtege Gebett,*title page part two.
[61] "…Auff jeden Tag in der Wochen abgetheilet/und zu jederzeit deß Jahres/aber sonderlich vom H. Osterfest/biß Pfingsten/auch so gar biß zu dem H. Advent zu Hauß/oder zu Feld anzustellen", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 1.

Catholic Church throughout this text, but when done so, it is in such a manner as to illustrate the unbroken continuity of the Catholic Church through teaching and tradition.

Figure 8.16 Part two Title Page, *Preces*, Religio, Telgte

The complex title page image, figure 8.16, draws attention to the four *Dotes corporis Gloriosi*, or properties of the glorified body, referring here to the Virgin though they are not hers exclusively. These dotes, *claritas, agilits, subtilitas* and *impassibilitas*, refer to a glorified state wherein the body remains material, retaining the ability to

embrace loved ones, and yet live in the celestial court.[62] The final state described is that of *immortalitas*, or eternal life. The four dotes are illustrated in such a manner as to give a clearer explanation of the properties themselves, light, impassibility, subtlety and agility, which are the endowments of the blessed. Agility is pictured as bolts of lighting, light as the sun, subtlety as the candle before a mirror, and impassibility (or indestructability) as the three Jews, Meshach, Shadrach and Abednego, in the fire. The final state, immortality is depicted as an angel with a palm frond in its left hand, with its foot placed on the back of death who is face down on the ground, spear and scythe broken. Between the young men in the fire and the triumph over death is a small image of a city, where the church is most prominent, thus visually directing the reader on the path to be taken. The centre of the image places the Virgin as Queen of Heaven, seated on clouds, crowned, radiating with light. Her hair is flowing down her back, symbolizing her virginity. She holds a scepter in her hand with angels on either side playing instruments. She is surrounded by a heart formed on the right by a lily which is also a symbol of her virginity and chastity, and on the left by a palm frond, symbol of triumph often used to indicate martyrdom.

The foreword after the title page begins with a reference to the Old Testament in Ecclesiastes, stating that "All things have their time, crying has its time, laughing has its time…" establishing an allowance for joy to follow sorrow.[63] The text stresses the need to honour the five wounds of Christ, but also to understand there is joy to be found as well. It then follows with practical instruction, by giving an example of how to use this book with the stations: "From Easter to the Ascension of Christ reflect on the first, with great consideration and extensive prayer as written below; then say an 'Our Father' and an 'Ave Maria' or contemplate on the Rosary or another way of short prayer."[64] The text continues with prayers as in previous sections, including specific prayers for two pre-Reformation popes, St. Clement and St. Silvester, and a prayer dedicated to the Church

[62] Christine de Pisan explained this for a specifically feminine audience in her *Épistre de la prison de vie humaine (1418),* Marion Taylor, Anne Choi, Eds., *Handbook of Women Biblical Interpreters: A Historical and Biographical Guide,* (Ada: Baker Academic, 2012)

[63] "Alle ding haben ihre Zeit. Weynen hat seine Zeit; Lachen hat seine Zeit.", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 2.

[64] "Exemple weiß. Vom Ostertag biß Himmelfahrt CHRISTI, besuche nur die Erste/mit grösserer Andacht/und längerem Gebett/wie unten gesetzet; an den ubrigen sprich nu rein Vatter unser/und Ave MARIA, ode rein Gesetzt aus dem Rosenkrantz/oder brauche nur die erste kurtze weiß zu betten.", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 3.

"…for all the shepherds of the Catholic Church", again reinforcing the unbroken continuity of the Catholic Church.[65] The text resumes with prayers to repeat while continuing on the journey from Telgte to the first station with points of reflection prior to arrival. The text makes an aside in smaller font, explaining that in the absence of spiritual instruction that the text itself will expound on verses for the Joys of the Virgin written by St. Thomas of Canterbury, martyr.[66] The Joys are then listed as the Seven Joys of the Virgin on the Earth, followed by the Seven Joys of the Virgin in heaven. It further reveals that St. Thomas wrote these verses in Latin, and that the original Latin text could be found in the Latin *Preces* version of this text.[67] After this aside, the text continues with "let us now continue [on the pilgrimage route]."[68] The text impresses the confessionalization program of the prince-bishop through the veneration of the Virgin, and also through the numerous connections in the text with pre-Reformation figures, all martyrs, confirming the sacrifices made for the Church, namely the unbroken line of the Church that the Catholic Church represents.

First Joyous station: the Resurrection of Christ

This station reflects upon the Resurrection of Christ. These stations are not the traditional earthly Joys of the Virgin, but rather a combination of the earthly and heavenly Joys of the Virgin, all chronologically after the point of the last Sorrowful station. The text points out the resurrection of Christ as the first Joy of the Virgin after having witnessed the suffering of the Virgin, as the pilgrim has also participated in this process.

The image, figure 8.17, presents a number of different parts of the narrative after the resurrection of Christ and his appearance on the earth. In the centre of the image Christ appears triumphant standing on the clouds, his wounds visible, holding a banner of the cross. He raises his right hand in a gesture of reassurance. Mary is shown in an attitude of humility and piety, having just been kneeling before a book placed on an altar.

---

[65] "Sprich auch ein kurtzes Kirchen Gebett für bem Allgemeinen Hirten der gantzen Catholischen Kirchen.", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 7.
[66] "Ehe du weiter furtschreitest…mueß ich Dir/Geliebter Wanderßman/am platz einer Geistlichen Unterichtung/das jenig alhte mittheilen/welches im Leben deß H. Thomae Martyrers/und Bischoffen zu Cantuarien in Engelend…von den doppelten Siebenfaltigen frewden Mariae im Himmel/und auff Erden zufinden…", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 10-11.
[67] "…auch in den Lateinischen Stations Bettbüchlein außfürlich getrückt sein", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 13.
[68] "Lasset uns weiters furtschreiten", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 13.

Figure 8.17 Resurrection of Christ, *Andächtege Gebett,* ULB

To the left in a small image Christ appears before Mary Magdalene as the gardener fully clothed, holding a spade in the episode known as *Noli me tangere*. To the right in a small image are three figures, the two disciples and Christ on the way to Emmaus with the city shown in the background. The sun shines clearly in all of the images, physically relating the time as the dawning of resurrection day, the light also symbolically represents Christ being the light. This depiction of these events stresses that Mary recognized Christ immediately, as opposed to the other two events, where the figures needed to hear his voice before they recognized him. This underscores the relationship

between Mary and her son further validating her role as intercessor for humanity through her unique connection to Christ. Furthermore, Mary presents the pious model for women to follow, reading in an attitude of devotion and reverence. This particular image, as one of the vernacular images, clearly shows the hand numbering in the lower right corner.

The back of the image speaks with jubilant language about the event, and that the pilgrim should approach the station humbly, but with joy. It continues by advising the reader to use the events in the image as a model, "if one feels they have come against adverse circumstances, to use the example of the penitent Magdalene, who encountered Jesus, the gardener."[69] It also references the way to Emmaus, advising the pilgrim that if they feel off course, to return to Jerusalem, citing Luke 24.[70] This references the discussion of the disciples on the way to Emmaus when speaking of the crucifixion, when Christ asks them what they are discussing, Cleophas answered: "Art thou only a stranger to Jerusalem, and hast not known the things that have been done there in these days?"[71] The advice then for the pilgrim is if they feel as they have deviated from the path, to simply recollect the crucifixion and the sacrifice of Christ which resulted in the joy of the resurrection.

The text maintains the triumphant message, pointing out that Christ proved his resurrection by showing the disciples his wounds so they could take part in the wonder that had transpired. There are a number of scriptural references given, with book and chapter, suggesting that many readers would have access to a Bible. The text also clarifies the presence of Christ before Mary after the resurrection, explaining that the gospels state he appeared to many, and although it does not specify the Virgin, one can assume that because of their relationship, this would likely have also been the case.[72] Furthermore, in this chapter is another reference to the *Spiritual Exercises*, of St. Ignatius, "our Holy Founder."[73] This portion of text emphasizes both the Jesuit support of

---

[69] "Bistu vielleicht auff dem weg der Ungerechtigkeit gefallen? Stehe wider auff nach dem Exempel der büsserinnen Magdalena; der Weg ist dier gebahnet zu den Füssen/Iesu deß Gärtners." *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, figure 18 V.
[70] "Bistu auch abgewichen in Emmaus? Kehre wieder cu rück/aber nach (Ierusalem zu Eyte/dan es wird abent Luc. 24.) daß rathet dire Iesus der fembdling.", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, figure 18 V.
[71] Luke 24:18, Douay-Rheims trans., *Bible,* 1600.
[72] "…dieweil die H. Schriff sagt/daß er sey vielen erschienen. Dan ob zwar diese Erscheinung nicht außtrücklich in H. Schrifft beschrieben/dannoch haltet sie uns solches ungezweiffelt vor/alß denen die Verstandt haben/auff daß wir sonsten int hören müessen." *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 19.
[73] "…unser H. Stiffter/und Vatter Ignatius", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 18.

Marian devotions, and specifically proves the connection between the Jesuits and this pilgrimage. This Jesuit support of Marian devotions in turn confirms the use of this book as a tool in the confessionalization program of Christoph Bernhard von Galen.

Second Joyous station: on the Mount of Olives the Ascension

The Second Joy after the Sorrows is the triumphant Jesus ascending to the throne of heaven presented in the text through New Testament references. The image, figure 8.18, is a familiar rendering of this event. The disciples are shown in various motions of praise, St. James the greater is the only one easily identified in the foreground on the left by his pilgrim gear, hat and gourd, with the cockle shell pinned to his cloak. The identification of James as a saint of pilgrims and his positioning in the composition directly in the foreground supports the greater theme of this text. The cloud into which Christ is ascending is clear, as are the rays of light that are representative of the light of both Christ and the Father. He is being escorted by angels on either side that carry banderoles with the scriptural reference from the book of Acts that describes this event. Footprints are visible on the rock from which Christ has just ascended. This is in accordance with tradition of the stone that bears the imprint of the feet of Christ located on the Mount of the Ascension. A basilica was erected over this stone initially in 614, though since destroyed and rebuilt, it is now a martyrium style oratory known as the Chapel of the Ascension in Jerusalem. Mary is placed in the foreground and is the only female in the image. Although it is not stated in the Bible that she was present, it is traditionally accepted in both Catholic and Orthodox Churches, as she was mentioned earlier in Acts. As this is a Joyous event, her countenance is depicted almost smiling, with no tears. Unlike the images of the Sorrows with the swords, there is no specific indicator for her Joys.

The verso of this image gives scriptural references for the various elements presented here. Of the footprints of Christ made upon his ascension, it states they show where he stood before being taken up in glory. The text encourages the reader to hear the Angels who herald the arrival of Christ in heaven and ends with an encouragement that the "pilgrim follow in the footprints that Christ has left behind him."[74]

[74] "Nun gehe fort/geliebter Wandersman, dein allerliebster Iesus, hat den Wegh/mit seinen fußstapffen gezeichnet." *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, figure 19 V.

Figure 8.18 The Ascension of Christ, *Preces*, Religio, Telgte

The main body of the text goes on to suggest this station can also be used as a daily meditation "as the Catholic Church holds for the light midday when Christ ascended into heaven."[75] As previously noted, there are relatively few mentions of the Catholic Church throughout this text, but when done so, it is in such a manner as to reflect the unbroken continuity of the Church through teaching and tradition, for example the prayer of the pre-Reformation pope, Gregory the Great. On the following page in the smaller font used to speak directly to the reader, the text offers a prayer for the "Holy

[75] "…wie die Catholische Kirch dafür haltet/umb den hellen Mittage/Christus auffgefahren ist gen Himmel." *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 24.

Roman Emperor, that the Lord and God would help him to overcome all Barbarian peoples to our eternal freedom", continuing with an acknowledgement that all power is in God's hand, requesting that he be "merciful to the Roman Empire, and its people, who count on him", ending by requesting "prayer too for the Catholic Church."[76] These statements underscore the encouraging, but confessional message of this work by specifying the Emperor, as he was traditionally staunchly Catholic.

Unexpected however, yet highly indicative of the Catholic confessionalization found in the first work the *Catechismus und Betböklin* is a sentence that reads: "Almighty Eternal God! Who bless all people equally, and would that no one is lost; look mercifully upon the souls, who have been deceived by evil treachery, that they would be removed from all heretical error and malice, and wish to return to the unity of your true Church."[77] There is no need here to specify the true Church as it is clearly assumed.

Through the combination of image and text, this station supports the confessionalization program of the prince-bishop. The presence of Mary at this event was promulgated by the Catholic Church and its appearance as one of the Joys of the Virgin for this pilgrimage reinforces her veneration and her role as intercessor with Christ. Mary is one of the few figures in this composition with a direct visual line to Christ as the others are blocked by the banderoles of text. The text furthers this message through the prayers and specific, if unusual in this text, reference of turning back to the Catholic Church of those who have fallen into error.

Third Joyous station: on Mount Zion

The Third Joyous station is Pentecost, the sending of the helper-the Holy Spirit. This short chapter opens with an emphasis on gratitude for the coming of the "comforter"-the Holy Spirit. It continues with a prayer for the Virgin which refers to the Sorrows, but emphasises the Joy of Pentecost. The text continues with prayers to the Virgin, the Holy Spirit, and the name of Jesus. There is also a "prayer for the heathens

[76] "Lasset uns auch betten/für dem Aller Christlichstem Käyser N. daß unser Herr/und Gott ihme unterwürfflich mache alle Barbarische Völckern zu unserem Ewigen frieden", "Siehe gnädich an das Römische Reich/auff daß die Völcker/ welche auff ihre Grawsamkeit sich verlassen", "Bette auch alhie mit der Catholischen Kirchen", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 26.

[77] "Allmächtiger Ewiger Gott! Der du alle Menschen zugleich seligst/und wilt nicht/das jemand verderbe; siehe gnädiglich auff die Seelen/so vom Teufflischem List betrogen seind/auff daß sie von allem Ketzerischem Irrthumb/und Boßheit abstehen/und zur Einigkeit deiner wahren Kirchen wiederkehren mögen." *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 27.

and unbelievers", which appeals for God to "take mercy and save the heathens from their idolatrous service and assemble them to his holy Church."[78] This particular prayer further accentuates the use of this work as a tool within the confessionalization program to bring back to the Church those who have fallen into error.

Figure 8.19 Pentecost, *Preces*, Religio, Telgte

[78] "Gebett für die Heyden/und Unglaubigen", "…nim auff gnädich unser Gebett/und errette die Heyden von ihrem Abgöttischem Dienst/und versamble sie zu deiner heiligen Kirchen", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 33.

The image, figure 8.19, displays the gathered disciples in various attitudes of awe and worship. In the centre is the Virgin, pictured demure and reading, humbly seated with a book in her hand providing the model of the pious female. Significantly, as this is after the events of the Sorrows, she is pictured here virginal with her hair uncovered; the divine favour bestowed upon her is shown by her radiating halo. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove is at the top of the image raining down the tongues of fire as stated in the book of Acts and on the image in Latin around the dove. Of all the disciples, John stands directly beside the Virgin in his role of caring for her as assigned by Jesus. In addition to the book held by the Virgin, there are open books in the foreground, demonstrating the importance of the written word. The appearance of the Virgin here, as previously, in a position of honour in the centre of the composition, reinforces the veneration of Mary, and through the positioning of the Holy Spirit directly above her head, her intercessory role. Mary is also presented as a model of female behaviour, shown modestly seated reading, reinforcing that women were encouraged to read such edifying works as this pilgrimage book.

The text on the reverse of the engraving encourages the pilgrim to rest at the station and to reflect upon the blessing of the Holy Spirit, followed by specific scriptural references which both foreshadow and refer to Pentecost. Thus again this chapter reinforces the encouragement of the individual to draw close to the Church, and through prayer for heathens and unbelievers, strengthens the confessional message of the prince-bishop.

The composition of the visual elements on the Joyous stations, figure 8.20, are identical to those of the Sorrows, however the symbol in the gable is the IHS of Christ. The Joys of the stations display much less weathering than the Sorrows shown clearly here through the retention of detail. As with all the other stations, the image is the central focus in bas relief, with accompanying text below to help guide the pilgrim. The simple composition maintains the focus on the central figures, the Holy Spirit as a dove, and the Virgin who sits directly below. The relief image shows many similarities in composition to the engraving, the major differences being the absence of books, and the Virgin here has her hair covered.

Figure 8.20 The Third Pilgrimage Station, *Pentecost*, Marian Pilgrimage, Telgte

The vernacular text on the station is also found in the *Andächtige Gebett.* It is a short rhyming prayer preceded in the text by the statement: “Afterwards speak the following

verses carved in the stone."[79] The prayer appeals to the Holy Spirit to bestow the gifts of the spirit upon those who have faith and believe.[80] It ends in both the engraving and on the station with an "Our Father" and "Ave Maria". The prayer being found in both the book and on the station emphasises the connected nature of these diverse elements in reinforcing a particular confessional goal. Finally, the inclusion of the "Ave Maria" underlines the role of the Virgin as intercessor.

Sixth Joyous station: the Conclusion and the End

The last station of the pilgrimage reflects upon the wounds of Christ, and acts as a conclusion for all the Sorrowful and Joyous stations. There are three narratives on this work; in the centre foreground is a figure holding a banner with the wounds of Christ, and in the background to the left is the scene of the Incredulity of Thomas and in the background to the right is a noble figure holding the banner that the angel holds in one hand and a sword in the other.

The image, figure 8.21, illustrates the wounds in an unusual manner. In the centre is an angel, who presents the wounds of Christ on a fabric banner, on which are written the words in Latin, "our peace", and a passage from the gospel of Luke referring to the wounds. The individual wounds are presented; hands with nails in them, feet likewise with nails and a heart with a spear tip in it. The scene with the disciples and Thomas takes place to the left, under an archway that serves to visually separate the narrative. It shows Christ with wounds on display, guiding the hand of Thomas, pictured on his knees in front of Christ. The disciples are depicted behind Thomas. This scene highlights both the resurrection and the wounds of Christ, supporting the culmination of the Sorrows and the Joys. The figure to the right of the angel is one of authority, with a crown and wearing a cape of ermine, which like the crown, is a traditional symbol of temporal rule. In his right hand he holds a banner with the same design as the angel, and in its left is a sword. The man stands on another figure that lies face down; a position of obvious defeat as the sword in its right hand is likewise lying on the ground. The figure is likely an image of the Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen

[79] "Darnach sprich folgende in den Stein außgehawene Versen", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 31.
[80] "Komm heiliger Geist, usw./Gib allen hie Glauben an dich/Und dir vertrauwen hertziglich/Deine Gaben Siebenfallig" *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 31.

portrayed here in recognition of his support of the pilgrimage and his commissioning of the stations. The presentation of his image in this book also reinforces his promulgation of Marian Devotions, and provides yet another link between the confessionalization program of von Galen and this pilgrimage.

Figure 8.21, the Wounds of Christ, *Preces*, Religio, Telgte

The reverse of the image begins with a prayer from St. Ignatius, then continues with and exhortation to the reader encouraging travel to the stations, with the ultimate goal of honouring the Pieta in Telgte. It also points out that this guided pilgrimage was

made possible through these stations and the newly erected chapel in Telgte, which present the Sorrows and the Joys of the Virgin for the pilgrim. Thus this short text acknowledges the program instituted by the prince-bishop, and reinforces the relationship between this traditional shrine, and the revitalized Catholic movement fostered by Him.

The main text of the chapter points out that the goal of this doleful life and the Seven Swords of the Virgin are all for one end, which is that the reader may steadfastly walk in right standing with God and with one's fellow man.[81] It continues with prayers for the supplicant to reflect upon the wounds of Christ, followed by prayers for mercy, comfort and protection. There follows another prayer from St. Ignatius, "our founder", which mentions the wounds of Christ, and the stations, again reinforcing the relationship between the Jesuits and this Pilgrimage.[82]

There are two sections in the text that highlight the confessional nature of this pilgrimage and place it into a greater context of the confessionalization program for the reader to reflect upon. "But you, Christian pilgrim, come, and go into the Ark, the door is open for all: listen to what the truth says" and, "I have one dove, one Ark of Noah, one God, One Baptism, One Church, One Faith….Like the only Ark of Noah; it is an example, [for] one single Church, in my peaceful possession and there the Catholic Church has lived for hundreds of years, unlike all others, and will remain through the Mercy of God."[83] This text connects the pilgrimage with the Old Testament Ark of Noah, reinforcing the continuity of the Catholic Church, highlighting in turn the confessionalization program of von Galen. Further is a petition which states: "Oh Lord, guard your people, among whom are your holy apostles Peter and Paul (Ludgeri,

---

[81] "…dan/daß das Zeil und End alles Streitens/aller Trübseligkeiten dieses Lebens/und der Sieben Schmertzlichen Schwerter sey/der Fried mit Gott/mit ihm selbsten/und mit dem Neben Menschen", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 51-52.

[82] "Danach sprich das Gebett/Vom H. Stiffter Ignatio offt gebraucht/in welchem der kurtze begriff ist Vom bittern Leyden/und den HH. 5. Wunden ChristiJesu/und in dieser Stations außgehauenen Taffel zu lesen.", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 57.

[83] "Aber du/O Christlicher Wanderßmann! Komm auch/und gehe herein in diese Arch/allen stehet die Thüer offen: höre doch was die Warheit spricht", "Ein ist mein Taube/Ein Arch Noe/Ein Gott/Ein Tauff/Ein Kirch/Ein Glaub…..Eintzige Arche Noe/das Vorbild gewesen/Einer Eintzigen Kirchen/In dero rühigem Besitz/und Wohnung wir Catholischen von einem Hunderstem Jahr/zu dem anderen seyn/und verpleiben durch die Gnad Gottes.", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 53.

Swibert, Ewald, and other fathers) who you trust…"[84] This underscores the link between the apostles appointed by Christ, and the authorities of the Church to which the Catholic Church claims an unbroken lineage. This chapter concludes where the pilgrimage began, at the church yard of St. Moritz in Münster. The final section of text resolves the pilgrimage and councils the reader to reflect upon the pilgrimage, not only in the moment, but to take time every day to contemplate on the stations of both Sorrow and Joy.

Resolution

The last section of the text gives advice to the reader to continue to honour the wounds of Christ, and the Sorrows and Joys of his mother. To help the reader understand the necessity of honouring these things and the intercession of the Virgin, the text offers an example of her intercession when petitioned by a weeping woman. The text then ends with practical information, describing in detail about the procession route through the city of Münster; and when it should take place.

Although the back side of the last page is technically blank, an image, figure 8.22, has been pasted in the ULB exemplar. The image stylistically reflects the previous series and is too close to not belong somehow to the set of images. Yet to the author's knowledge, this image is found only in this exemplar. It is an image of the Virgin Misericordia, or the Virgin of Mercy, and provides a visual summation of the pilgrimage. Its use extends back to the Middle Ages. It depicts a large group of figures finding solace, comfort and protection under the cloak of the Virgin. This presents Mary as the great mediator and intercessor, showing that she will protect all those who come to her.

This is of course a Catholic image, rejected by the greater portion of Protestants for its elevation of the Virgin. The Virgin is standing tall, hair long and flowing wearing the crown of the Queen of Heaven, holding a scepter, both objects indicating her authority. Under her cloak is a mass of figures all on their knees, to her right are figures that represent spiritual authority on the earth, namely a pope, cardinal and bishop, surrounded by a crowd, and to her left are representatives of temporal authority on the earth, an emperor, king, and other figures, likewise with a crowd behind them.

[84] "O Herr/beschütze dein Volck/welches sich auff die Fürbitt der heiligen Apostolen Petri und Pauli (Lüdgeri/Swiberti/Ewaldorum/und anderer Patronen) vertrawet…", *Andächtege Gebett,*second part, 60.

Figure 8.22 Virgin Miseracordia, *Andächtege Gebett,* ULB

On either side of her head are angels in the clouds who rain down a shower of flowers comprised of roses and lilies both flowers associated with the Virgin. The text at the bottom of the image written in Latin is from an early hymn dedicated to Mary mother of God, Theotokos, titled “Beneath thy protection”. It is a traditional hymn from the earlier part of the Middle Ages, for which this image provides a visual counterpart. This image provides a visual summation of the pilgrimage presented in this text portraying the elevated and venerated role of the Virgin, supporting visually and textually the use of

Marian Devotions in the service of the confessionalization program of Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen.

This work was meant to benefit all those who would partake in the pilgrimage, as indicated in the introduction when it referred to both genders the clergy and laity. Also, its particular use for a female audience was emphasised through the introduction with the mention of Maria, the wife of the Emperor, who provided an example of piety to her children, implying that the female reader would also provide such an example. That it was intended for the semi-literate and literate is revealed through the numerous references to scripture, and the indications of the book and chapter, so the reader could read further in the Bible. Although earlier texts such as the *Vita Christi* also had scriptural references, they were given in marginal notes in small script, with only book and chapter reference. The inclusion of the reference within the body of the text creates a different dynamic and expectation of some readers to have access to a Bible or at least a familiarity to the references. Yet the expectation of a semi-literate or illiterate audience was also indicated by the simple language used, and the simple concepts presented through both the text and the image-text relationship that drew upon the images within the text, but also the stations along the pilgrimage route, and the sculpture within the chapel in Telgte.

The relationship between the images and text in the *Andächtege Gebett* is exemplary. This type of relationship is described by Alfred Pollard as images not being present purely for their decorative value, but rather as one portion, the other being text, that are planned in such a way as to form a harmonious whole.[85] The planning of the *Andächtege Gebett* with image and text is clear through the inclusion of specific instructions of where the images are to be placed. The examples of chapters where the images are missing in various exemplars make the reliance on the relationship between the image and text all the more evident, as there is nothing for the reader to refer to when directed by the text, and when attempting to visualize and focus on the event being described. Unlike the other titles considered in this thesis, the images for the *Andächtege Gebett* were specifically commissioned for this pilgrimage. Throughout this book that guides the pilgrim, the images are additionally complimented by the stations to

[85] Alfred Pollard, *Early Illustrated Books*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. London, 1893, vi.

which the reader is also directed, creating a marriage between the visual and the textual on levels that expand beyond the book itself.

Finally, throughout this work is the consistent reinforcement of the longstanding tradition of the Marian pilgrimage. Within the text in both the *Andächtege Gebett* and on the stations there are numerous references to the continuity of the Church. Through this pilgrimage, it is made clear that although it is Christ whose sacrifice saves the Christian, it is Mary who intercedes on their behalf with Christ and the salvation he provides. This highlights the importance of Marian Devotions within the Catholic Church. Although gentle, the *Andächtege Gebett* and the pilgrimage to the Marian shrine in Telgte provides a confessional message that typifies this second wave of confessionalization in the bishopric of Münster under Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen, encouraging Catholic orthodoxy under his rule.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

My survey of the history of Münster established the crucial events that directly informed the confessionalization programs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A strong sense of civic independence grew out of the German Peasants' War, resulting in resistance from the citizens of Münster against their secular and ecclesiastical leader the prince-bishop. The subsequent treaty known as the *Dülmener Vertrag*, granted choice of religion to the citizens in return for acknowledging the prince-bishop's secular authority. At this point, Münster might have become Protestant. Unlike other German cities Münster then became the site of the ill-fated Anabaptist *Kingdom of Zion*. The resultant civic unease and religious fatigue of this violent episode had long-term consequences for the religious development of the bishopric. Although the Anabaptist episode resulted in the legislating of Catholicism as the only legitimate faith, it would not be until near the end of the sixteenth century that a strong reforming prince-bishop would initiate a confessionalization program to make this a living reality and to create a bastion of Catholicism which endured into the twenty-first century. Prince-Bishop Ernst von Bayern, followed by two more reforming prince-bishops, Ferdinand von Bayern and Christoph Bernhard von Galen, implemented Tridentine decrees and put into place Catholic reforms buttressing the Catholic faith and cementing religious orthodoxy. These confessionalization strategies though varied, all present the use of religious conformity to consolidate authority, which in the case of Münster is represented in the ecclesiastical and secular leadership of the prince-bishop. Although conventional wisdom suggest that printed images in books played a minor role in such programs, images were crucial elements in the communication of Catholic orthodoxy. The lasting effects of these confessionalization programs are still visible in Münster's Catholic character through the cliché of its Catholic identity, to the continued significance of the Telgte Pilgrimage.

The use of devotional literature to direct Catholic belief was a common element in the confessionalization programs of these three prince-bishops. The success of the confessionalization strategies of the prince-bishops through this medium resulted from three contributing factors. The first factor was the Raesfeldt printing house, which printed

and disseminated these works under guarantees of protection from piracy from all three of the prince-bishops. The second factor was the Jesuits, who were responsible for education and indoctrination in Münster, and shaped a significant portion of this literature in their own fashion. The third factor was the readers, among whom female readers figured prominently, who bought, read, and exchanged the books, and were a group with a relatively wide spectrum of abilities in literacy. Women readers took up their message, wound it into their devotional lives, and strove to perpetuate Catholic piety within the home.

The Raesfeldt press was invited to Münster by Prince-Bishop Ernst von Bayern for the express purpose of printing Catholic books. The founder of the printing house, Lambert Raesfeldt leveraged this privileged position until he held not only a printing monopoly, but the right to censor and confiscate what he deemed as “heretical” printed material entering Münster. The Catholic agenda of this printing house was clear from the outset through the concentration of Catholic confessional material, and the business relationships both within Münster and further afield such as those with known Catholic printing houses in Köln. The close ties with the cathedral in Münster were further demonstrated by the location of the business in the former Jesuit school within the cathedral immunity zone, placing the printer under the jurisdictional aegis of the cathedral rather than the city of Münster. Additionally, the monopoly held by the Raesfeldt printing house made it the exclusive printer for the schools and the Jesuit material within Münster, which is reflected in the extensive library of Jesuit-authored works it produced.

Like Lambert Raesfeldt, the Jesuits were also invited to Münster by Prince-Bishop Ernst von Bayern to further institute Catholic education with the ultimate goal of establishing religious conformity. The two subsequent bishops continued to support the Jesuit presence and their activities. The Jesuits utilized education as a tool for Catholic confessionalization by instilling their values through formal education in the classroom, and also through their educational, polemical and devotional writings that were regionally and nationally distributed. This instructional approach is clear through the writing and presentation of the two Jesuit-authored works among the four regional devotional works examined the *Vita Christi* and the *Andächtige Gebett*. The Jesuit

confessional strategy of the encouragement of Marian devotions was also displayed throughout these texts.

This thesis argued for a broader understanding of literacy in the early modern period, maintaining that it was more widespread than commonly assumed because reading included a variety of semi-literate reading strategies such as reading by rote or aural engagement which allowed for a greater exposure of the written word to the semi-literate or even illiterate. These strategies combined with the established iconographic visual vocabulary that was utilized in the imagery which populated these books no doubt facilitated the diffusion of the Catholic message in these devotional texts to a wider "reading" public. The extent of the intended audience is revealed through the dedications in the books analyzed, from the "simple folk" as described in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, to the Church referred to as the "virgin engaged to God" in the *Brautschatz*, to the inclusion of "both genders" in the *Andächtige Gebett*.

Among known readers of this literature, women were particularly important, an unsurprising fact given connections between reading and female piety. The Virgin Mary, as well as other female saints such as Saint Anne, had long been recommended as a model of female virtue, obedience and behaviour, qualities often represented by her reverently holding a book, reading. This establishes a model of devotion and motherhood intimately connected with the act of reading. In addition, the mother was expected to be a spiritual role model and primary educator within the home. Thus "approved" titles were made available for women, such as catechisms, prayer books, books of virtuous examples, and childrearing manuals that would help them become better homemakers and wives. In this way, by reading these edifying works, women would model piety as demonstrated by the Virgin and influence their household, thus furthering the confessionalization program. This expectation was modeled by a more worldly example in the preface in the *Andächtige Gebett*, which was dedicated in part to Maria Anna of Bavaria because of her reputed piety, and furthermore, because she instilled her devotion in her children.

Because of their responsibility as teachers of piety and virtuous role models women were ideal targets for the Catholic confessionalization message presented in these books. Moreover, evidence suggests the strategy worked. Female ownership of these books is revealed through inscriptions within the books themselves and probate

documents. Among a handful of female inscriptions in devotional books was Christina Elisabet Wilting's within a copy of the *Brautschatz* indicating her personal ownership of the title. Additionally, the local probate documents for Catharina Heimans revealed numerous devotional and edifying titles that she bequeathed to other women indicating the personal value she placed on these works.

Images such as those of the Virgin have long been utilized as devotional tools and have proven particularly effective for directing the semi-literate and illiterate viewers. The visual representations presented in these works were neither new, nor necessarily explicitly Catholic, but rather embodied traditional iconography. These images communicate an established visual vocabulary, and it was precisely their familiarity that made them particularly effective for visually conveying the legitimacy of the Catholic Church by emphasising the bond between the post-Tridentine Catholic Church and pre-Reformation Church. Although the images are "conventional" or "stock images" the accompanying text directed the viewing experience. When combined with text, formerly general visual messages could be given a particular Catholic objective encouraging the reader to see and understand the image in a specific way. An example of this is an image of *The Wedding at Cana*, in the *Vita Christi.* When presented by itself, it is an image of Christ, his mother Mary, the bride and wedding guests at the table, signifying the first miracle, changing the water into wine. Yet, the accompanying text stresses the role of the Virgin as intercessor with her son on behalf of the bridal couple. This emphasis on the intercessory role of the Virgin underscores a distinctly Catholic reading of the image, supporting Catholic doctrine as set forth by the council of Trent.

A complex and mutually reinforcing relationship exists between the images and texts in these books, a relationship which made the combined images and text greater than the sum of their parts. This was a conscious strategy on the part of the Raesfeldt printing house. The choice and placement of the images within the texts also suggests the authors' familiarity with the image stock, an acquaintance explained by the physical location of the printing house and their responsibility for the printed matter in Münster through their printing monopoly. There is no question as to the choice, and deliberate placement of the images in these texts, indicating a planned relationship between the two elements. All of the images were included with the text during the printing process,

prior to binding with the exception of the *Andächtige Gebett*, which includes clear instructions within the text as to specific image placement.

These devotional titles represent a distinct trajectory of the re-establishment of the Catholic identity of Münster through the various confessionalization strategies all of which supported the authority, both ecclesiastic and secular, of the prince-bishop. The first title, *Catechismus Und Betböklin,* utilized minimal text to present an aggressive anti-Protestant stance, employing a strategy of meditation on biblical text in conjunction with traditional presentation of events in the life of Christ to reinforce the legitimacy of the Catholic Church. The second title, *Vita Christi*, reinforced the traditional visual vocabulary by re-using the images from the first title, but with a confessionalization strategy that focussed on the deepening of Catholic piety through extensive text guiding the reader through doctrine as presented by the Church Fathers and Catholic authors. The third title, *Brautschatz*, printed in numerous editions throughout the Thirty Years War presented a focus on simply maintaining a Catholic identity with basic practical instruction having less emphasis on meditation, but rather providing a how-to-manual for the rituals and doctrine of the Catholic faith. The final title, *Andächtige Gebett* represents yet a further use of a confessionalization strategy to reinstate and invigorate a Catholic identity by reinforcing a traditional outlet of piety that emphasised the uninterrupted lineage of the Catholic Church.

The *Catechismus Und Betböklin* was among the first devotional texts printed by the newly established Catholic printing house of Raesfeldt. Printed during the first wave of Catholic confessionalization initiated by Prince-Bishop Ernst von Bayern, the text reflects his strategy of combating heresy and establishing Catholic teaching through assertive anti-Protestant language and the unbroken tradition offered by the Catholic Church. The foreword specifies that the role of the bishop was to enforce the holy council of Trent, and bring the people back to the centuries old peaceful accord of the “only true Catholic faith”. This demonstrates the goal of this text was to collect those who have fallen into error, and stresses the sanctuary that unity in the enduring Catholic Church embodies. The specific use of such terms as “proper appointed”, and “proper successor”, establishes for the reader the uninterrupted line of authority of the Catholic Church as instigated by Christ.

Overall the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* gives instruction in the Catholic faith, with an emphasis on obedience and to a certain extent fear, directing the reader along the "true path" as opposed to that of error. This was accomplished through two specific steps: through the interaction between the image and the accompanying biblical text on the same page and through the text on the facing page, which offered a conventional Catholic interpretation. Each of the fifty-one images from the life of Christ is presented with a prophetic verse from the Old Testament above, and an indication of the fulfillment of the prophecy from the New Testament below. This use of scripture confirmed the biblical truth of the image encouraging meditation. Together the images and texts communicated a consistent message regarding the sole legitimacy of the Catholic Church by first presenting infallible truths from the Bible then directing the reader through a Catholic interpretation with the accompanying prayer. The emphasis of the security and tradition of the Catholic Church and the reinforcement of Marian devotions reflect the nature of Ernst von Bayern's confessionalization program, which sought to re-establish a solid foundation of the Catholic Church within his diocese.

The *Vita Christi* was printed nearly two decades later when the initial confessionalization strategies of Ernst von Bayern had witnessed success and there was confidence about the reassertion of the Catholic faith. It re-used a selection of images from the woodcut series used in the *Catechismus Und Betböklin*, but the accompanying text was much more extensive and the resulting image-text relationship reflected the change in the confessionalization strategy of the prince-bishop. The focus of the *Vita Christi* is the deepening of piety, and encouragement within the Catholic faith through meditation and instruction. The text guides the reader through the articles of faith, urging meditation through extensive prayers and providing cross references to biblical texts and the writings of the Church Fathers. Written by local Jesuit author Matthäus Tympe, the format of the *Vita Christi* was based on the earlier pre-Reformation *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony.

The images in the *Vita Christi* serve as mnemonic devices for contemplation which is directed by the text. The use of images as meditational mnemonic devices links the *Vita Christi* to earlier medieval texts such as the *Biblia Pauperum* that utilized images in much the same way. The re-use of the images from the *Catechismus Und Betböklin* underscores the continuity of the Catholic Church through the employment of familiar

representations of the events of the life of Christ. This presentation of a conventional and traditional visual vocabulary reinforced the legitimacy of the Catholic Church as unlike the Protestants, it did not have to establish a new visual vocabulary to assert its validity. The text also emphasises the bond with the pre-Reformation Church by highlighting the inheritance of familiar traditions such as the veneration of the Virgin by the Catholic Church. It furthermore reveals the change in the confessionalization message to one of meditation and deepening piety implicitly addressed to a Catholic audience.

The *Brautschatz*, like the *Vita Christi*, offers extensive text, yet differs in its approach providing direct and practical instruction for the reader about personal and communal piety and teaching on how to live one's faith rather than encouraging deeper meditation. A distinct difference between the *Brautschatz* and the other three titles is the irregular and seemingly indiscriminate placement of some of the images, creating at times a disparate and difficult image-text relationship. There is little to suggest the reason behind this apparent inattention. This inconsistent attention to image placement suggests a change in the role of devotional literature within the confessionalization program. The priority for devotional literature in the confessionalization program through the Thirty Years War was on practical and basic guidance to maintain the established Catholic identity rather than an active program of promoting conversion and recruitment. The contemplative function of the previous devotional texts was not recalled, at least to some extent, until the more abstract and complex meditational images of the 1645 edition, the use of which coincided with the peace negotiations of the *Westfälischer Friede.*

The *Brautschatz* was printed in two separate formats representing two different price categories, one with relief images and one with intaglio images. Although the text remains the same throughout, the images are not consistent, creating a very different image-text relationship dynamic. The images were deliberately placed by the printer, but reveal a strategy that dictates the Catholic path for the reader, rather than attempting to convince the reader of the correct one. The greatest change witnessed in the various editions of the *Brautschatz* is with the 1645 edition that introduces a new series of woodcuts that are much more abstract and contemplative in nature, altering the image-text relationship to something more like the earlier texts. There is no explanation for the

change in the imagery, but the complexity of the new blocks introduces a different viewing/reading strategy.

The *Andächtige Gebett Und Seelen Ubungen* was written to support a pilgrimage championed by Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen for the purpose of re-establishing and revitalizing Catholic identity after war and civic dispute. He declared that the patrimonial belief had been shaken, and his main concern was the restoration and consolidation of piety. This title represents one facet within a larger visual and textual program that included a Latin text for the clergy, a newly constructed chapel to house the Pieta sculpture, and newly constructed stations along the pilgrimage route. The established pilgrimage to the nearby Marian shrine in Telgte was reinvigorated by the Jesuits. Jesuit Johannes Blankenfort, rector of the Jesuit College in Münster was responsible for the text and commissioning of the engravings for the *Andächtige Gebett.* Blankenfort and also assisted with contracting the five stations along the pilgrimage route. The second wave of Catholic confessionalization instigated by Christoph Bernhard von Galen was different than that of Ernst von Bayern, as it focused on the continuity and physical practice of the Catholic faith, linking with pre-Reformation piety and tradition to reassert its influence rather than actively combating error.

The image-text relationship in the *Andächtige Gebett* is unique among the four texts, as these represent the only purpose-made images. The prominent use of physical swords to represent the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, a convention also used on the stations, was drawn from the prophecy of Simeon who stated that swords would pierce Mary's soul. This visceral presentation of the Sorrows of the Virgin is supported by the text which encourages visualization of and identification with her sorrows, much like the text of the *Vita Christi* encouraged visualization of the suffering of Christ. The meditation encouraged with the *Andächtige Gebett* harkens back to a traditional approach to image and text such as that in the *Biblia Pauperum*, reinforcing the unbroken lineage of the Catholic Church with the pre-Reformation Church though both the use of an established visual vocabulary, and meditational strategies. This pilgrimage was used as a means of reinforcing Catholic identity through popular piety and association with a longstanding tradition, underscoring the nature of von Galen's confessionalization program.

As a whole this analysis reveals how images were an equal partner in the conveyance of a nuanced religious message. The relationships between the images and

texts were manipulated to present a specific Catholic viewing and reading experience. Although some of the images studied present a particularly Catholic composition such as the central positioning of the Virgin, the majority of the images do not carry an intrinsic Catholic message but rather present an established traditional iconography. This strategy reinforced the basic message of continuity with the truths of an aged and venerable institution over the newly developed, and at times iconoclastic, visual vocabulary of Protestantism. The iconography exploited in these devotional texts was visible in many different mediums in the churches, and it was this very familiarity that inclined the viewer/reader to the Catholic message contained in the text. Through prompts in the accompanying text these images take on a particular Catholic reading and flavour. The image-text relationships were also altered to match various confessional strategies, from the reinforcement of a particularly judgemental message condemning heresy, to that of the comfort and reassurance offered by the intercession of the Virgin. The confessionalization strategies reflect in turn the changing religious and political climate. This modification of the confessionalization strategies was particularly evident where the images were re-used in a later text, displaying a different image-text relationship.

Books and the images they contained were important tools in the confessionalization programs of the prince-bishops in Münster from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Contrary to the conventional wisdom that there was little graphic Catholic response to the Protestant graphic polemic, this study has shown that the Catholic response though perhaps delayed and presented in book format rather than in single sheets, was certainly deliberate and carefully planned. The images arguably formed a spine of conventional iconography and supported the book less as an addition or afterthought than as a consistent reference back to tradition. Certainly these books make clear that images did far more than merely support the text. Rather, the message of these books subsists in the image-text relationship and they cannot be understood, nor their purposed identified, without understanding this fact.

This study confirms the consumption of these regional devotional books by women, reinforcing current literature that focusses on literacy of women in the early modern period by considering devotional literature aimed at a female readership, and reflecting upon the female reading network in Münster. It also suggests two major

amendments in our understanding of the function of devotional books, a reassessment of the role of devotional literature in the larger social framework, and the role of images within them. As a distinctly regional literature, these devotional works reveal localized Catholic response to Protestant polemic and give valuable insight into regional devotional practices. This revelation encourages reconsideration of the role of devotional literature as an effective tool within *regional* confessionalization programs. This analysis has shown the potential for the use of images to illustrate text, but also to form a deeper multi-faceted relationship that encourages meditation. Recognizing the complexity of this relationship encourages a re-evaluation of the role of images within devotional books. Through this relationship, the viewer can be directed by the text on how to interpret the image. The image can also reinforce the emotional content of the text. By working together these two elements can direct the viewer response reinforcing a specific confessional agenda.

The field of investigation into image-text relationships is one that is currently expanding, however there remains a great deal yet to be explored. There has been little research into the role of devotional literature as a tool for confessionalization leaving the influential potential of this literature unrecognized. This study compliments the scholarship on image-text relationship, giving specific insight into the use of images within devotional books. Furthermore, it illuminates how devotional literature was used as a tool to support a regional confessionalization strategy, with its surrounding and at times volatile political circumstances, and how the Catholic Church directed local piety from above.

This study prompts a number of questions for further research. It is crucial to determine if Münster was a special case phenomenon in the utilization of devotional texts as a confessionalization strategy, or if this same approach can be noted in other Catholic centres where confessionalization programs were in effect. This raises the further question of Protestant devotional literature, if it too had a regional emphasis or if it was more centralized in its confessional approach. Additional consideration should be made as to the use of devotional literature in a bi-confessional area to determine if in that setting devotional literature was confessional or supra-confessional. Finally, to further study of devotional texts in order to shed light on regional devotional practices, it is important to discover the extent of the surviving works. To this end a database or

catalogue of extant works not only in public but also private collections would be of great benefit. Furthermore, as an intrinsically interdisciplinary topic, further investigation of the contributions of cognitive psychology might offer a better understanding of image-text relationships and how the viewer negotiates the meaning of images, delving into how this relationship directs the viewer-reader experience, why it is effective, and what is the role of the impressionability of the viewer-reader.[1]

The images in these texts were integral parts of devotional literature and assisted in the formation of the Catholic confessionalization message, providing the standard recurring theme around which the message of the text is fashioned. These images provided the continuity of the message of the pre-Reformation Church, to be supplemented by the confessional direction provided by the text. Through the images, the readers were offered a conventional, simple, uniform and timeless message that transcended the text. It was this traditional presentation that made these images effective, the text guides the reader through the enduring truths of the Catholic Church as presented visually through these traditional and familiar images.

[1] An example of this is furthering Stuart Hall's work on the viewer's decoding of messages and dominant meanings of images. "Encoding, Decoding" *The Cultural Studies Reader*, Simon During, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Appendix I

Images and placement order in the *Catechismus Und Betboeklin*
(Section/page-when present)

Crucifixion image facing title page	n.p.
Crucifixion image facing title page for the Passional section (woodcut not part of series, smaller)	n.p.
Creation of Eve	I/a iiii
Expulsion from the Garden	II/a v
Annunciation	III/n.p.
Visitation	IIII/a vi
Nativity	V/n.p.
Circumcision	VI/n.p.
Visit of the three Kings	VII/a v
Offering at the temple	VIII/n.p.
Massacre of the innocents	IX/n.p.
Flight into Egypt	X/b
Christ teaching in the temple	XI/b ii
Baptism of Christ	XII/b iii
Temptation of Christ	XIII/n.p.
Choosing of the twelve	XIIII/b v
Marriage at Cana	XV/b vi
Jesus preaching to the poor and the lame	XVI/n.p.
Magdalene washing the feet of Christ	XVII/n.p.
Samaritan woman at the well	XVIII/n.p.
Canaanite woman taken in adultery	XIX/n.p.
Triumphal entry	XX/n.p.
Judas receives the silver	XXI/n.p.
Christ washing the feet of disciples	XXII/c
Last supper (Eucharist)	XXIII/c ii
Garden of Gethsemane	XXIIII/c iii
Betrayal	XXV/c 4
Christ before Ananias	XXVI/c v
Christ before Caiaphas	XXVII/c vi
In the courtyard outside the high priests palace	XXVIII/n.p.
Christ before Pilate	XXIX/n.p.
Beating of Christ on the pillar	XXX/n.p.
Crowning of Christ	XXXI/n.p.
Ecce homo	XXXII/n.p.
Pilate washing his hands	XXXIII/n.p.
Carrying the cross	XXXIIII/d
Stripping of Christ	XXXV/d ii
Nailing Christ to the cross	XXXVI/d iii
Crucifixion (same as opposite main title page)	XXXVII/d iiii
Deposition	XXXVIII/d v
Internment	XXXIX/d vi
Breaking the gates of hell	XL/n.p.

Resurrection	XLI/n.p.
Angel appears before the group of mourning women	XLII/n.p.
Supper at the house in Emmaus	XLIII/n.p.
Doubting Thomas	XLIIII/n.p.
Noli me tangere	XLV/n.p.
Ascension of Christ	XLVI/e
Pentecost	XLVII/e ii
Dispersion of the twelve to spread the gospel	XLVIII/e iii
Assumption of Mary	XLIX/n.p.
Christ in majesty with Mary and John the Baptist	L/n.p.

Appendix II

Images and placement order in the *Vita Christi* (1607/1624)
(Chapter/page number)

Annunciation	II/21
Visitation	III/41
Nativity	IIII/62
Circumcision	V/75
Visit of the three Kings	VI/81
Offering at the temple	VII/97
Flight into Egypt	VIII/115
Massacre of the innocents	IX/121
Christ teaching in the temple	X/135
Baptism of Christ	XI/152
Temptation of Christ	XII/155
Marriage at Cana	XIII/158
Samaritan woman at the well	XIV/169
Magdalene washing the feet of Christ	XV/175
Canaanite woman taken in adultery	XVII/190
Triumphal entry	XX/203
Last supper (Eucharist)	XXIII/231
Christ washing the feet of disciples	XXIIII/237
Garden of Gethsemane	XXVI/270
Betrayal	XXVII/295
Christ before Ananias	XXVIII/315
Christ before Caiaphas	XXIX/325
Christ before Pilate	XXXI/359
Beating of Christ on the pillar	XXXII/384
Crowning of Christ	XXXIII/397
Ecce homo	XXXIV/403
Carrying the cross	XXXVI/423
Crucifixion (not part of original woodcut series)	XXXVII/441
Breaking the gates of hell	XXXIX/480
Deposition	XLI/551
Internment	XLII/557
Resurrection	XLIV/568
Supper at the house in Emmaus	XLVI/583
Doubting Thomas	XLVIII/593
Ascension of Christ	L/606
Pentecost	LI/611
Assumption of Mary	LII/619

Appendix III

Images and placement order in the *Brautschatz*

(Chapter- Same for all editions/Page number)

1625/1627 woodcut

Title Page woodcut	
Trinity	1/1
Virgin and Child	1/9
Crucifixion	1/17
Elevation of the Host	3/35
Trinity	4/50
Last supper	6/97
Crucifixion	7/195
Part Two	
Triumphal entry	1/369
Nativity	2/391
Offering at the temple	3/433
Three Kings	4/462
Crucifixion	5/471
Noli me tangere	6/548
Ascension	7/563
Pentecost	8/580

1631/1659 intaglio

Title page intaglio	
Trinity	1
Virgin and Child	10
Crucifixion	18
Elevation of the Host	38
Trinity	52
Last supper	99
Crucifixion	197
Part Two	
Triumphal entry	369
Nativity	392
Offering at the temple	435
Three Kings	464
Crucifixion	474
Noli me tangere	551
Ascension	567
Pentecost	585

1645 woodcut

Title page intaglio	
Trinity	1
Virgin and Child with flowers	10
Crucifixion	18
Christ in Chalice	38
Coronation of Virgin	52
Christ in heart/ instruments of passion	99
Risen Christ IHS	197
Part Two	
Annunciation	369
Nativity	392
Christ teaching as a youth	435
Risen Christ IHS	464
Garden of Gethsemane	474
Risen Christ IHS	551
Christ Ruler of the World	567
Crucified Christ/instruments of Passion	585

1659 woodcut

Title page intaglio	
Coronation of the Virgin	1
Virgin and Child with flowers	10
Crucifixion	18
Christ in Chalice	38
Coronation of Virgin	52
Christ in heart/ instruments of passion	99
Crucifixion	197
Part Two	
Annunciation	369
Nativity	392
Christ teaching as a youth	435
Risen Christ IHS	464
Crucifixion	474
Garden of Gethsemane	551
Ascension (intaglio)	567
Pentecost (intaglio)	582

Appendix IV

Images and placement order in the *Andechtige Gebett*

(Page number)

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Alciato, Andrea. *Viri clarissimi D. Andree Alciati iurisconsultiss. Mediol ... emblematum liber.* Augsburg: Steyner, 1531.

Andächtige Gebett/Und Seelen Ubungen/Bey den Schmertzhafften und Glorwürdigen Stationen, So zwischen Münster/und Telgt/Christo Iesu, Und seiner Junfräwlichen Mutter Mariae, Zu sonderen Ehren/Durch Andächtigen/beydes Geschlechts/Geist-und Weltlichen Standts Personen freygebige Kösten auffgerichtet/Nützlich zugebrauche. Münster: Theodori Raesfeldi, 1660.

Augustine, St. *Enchiridion: On Faith, Hope and Love,* translated by Albert C. Outler. Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1955.

Ausserlesene/Catholische Geistliche kirchen=Gesang. Münster: Wittiben Raessfeldt, 1682

Bernhardo, S. abt zu Clarevall. *Weise recht zu leben.* Münster: Raßfeldt, 1605.

Brautschatz Aller Gottergebenen Jungfrawen/Wie sie durch schöne Gebett/Betrachtung=und Ubungen vor und nach der Beicht/Communion/auch auff die fünembste Fest und Gezetten deß Jahrs Jesum Christum ihrem Bräutigam suchen/mit schönen Hymnis, Sequentien und Kirchen gesäng loben/lieben und preisen sollen. Zu Ehren und geistlichem Nutzen deß löblichen Jungfrawstands/auß approbierten Bettbüchern fleissig zusammen getragen. Münster: Michael vonDale, 1625/1627.

Brautschatz Aller Gottergebenen Jungfrawen. Münster: Bernardt Raesfeldt, 1631/1645/1659.

Canisius, Petrus. *Der kleine Katechismus: Catechismus in korte fragen und antwordt gestalt.Vor die gemeine Leyen und jung Kinder sehr deinlick.* Münster: Michael von Dale, 1627.

Catholische Geistliche kirchen=Gesäng/so man bey den Processionen und Christlicher kinder=Lehr im Stiffe Münster zu singen pflegt. Münster: Wittiben Raessfeldt, 1682.

Contarini, Gasparo. *Catechesis Oder Kurtze Summa der Lehre der heiligen christlichen Kirche fuer die Kinder und Einfältigen*, translated by Stephan August Agricola. Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1560.

Custos, Domenicos. "Atrium heroicum Caesarum, regum, [...] imaginibus [...] illustr[atum]. Pars 1-4." Mateo. 1600-1602. Accessed April 12, 2013, http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/desbillons/eico.html.

De Lisle Hours, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS G.50, fol. 17t.

Dietenberger, J. editor, *Bibell*. Köln: Quentel, Johann (Erben), 1556.

Dörhoff, Bernard (Bernardum), editor. *Spiegel Der Jungrawen und Witwen.* Münster: Michael von Dale,1627.

Geistlicher Blumen Krantz Andechtigster Gebetter/Welche auß Gottseligen Catholischen Bett Büchern. Münster: Bernardt Raeßfeldt, 1658.

Geistlicher Blumen Krantz Andechtigster Gebetter/Welche auß Gottseligen Catholischen Bett Büchern, Münster:Deitherich Raeßfeldt, 1676.

Granada, Luis de. *Gülden memorial, oder Denckbüchlein : darin kürtzlich verfasset, was einem Christen zu wahrer Gottseligkeit, oder recht und wol zuleben, zubeten unnd zubetrachten vonnöthen ist,* , translated and corrected by Matthaeus Tympe. Cölln: Henning unnd Raßfeldt, 1612.

Gülden Kunst Christliche seelen zu wäschen uns auffzuschmücken. Münster: Lambert Raßfeldt, 1602.

Hart, John. *A methode or comfortable beginning for all vnlearned, whereby they may be taught to read English*. London: Henrie Denham, 1570.

Himmlischer Wegweiser oder Andächtig Katholisches Beth=Büchlein, Münster:Köerdinck's Erben, n.d.

Itinerarium Burdigalense: Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, translated by Aubrey Stewart. London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Cornell University Library digitized version: http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924028534158.

Michaelem, Petrum S.J. *Catechismus*, Cöln: Calenium/und die Erben Johan Quentels, 1589.

Nagell, Rudolph*, Münsterisch Gesangbuch/ : Auff alle Fest vnd Zeiten dess gantzen Jahrs/ in der Kirchen bey dem Ampt der H. Meß/ vor - vnd nach der Predig/ auch in Processionen vnd Bittfahrten/ in Geistlichen Bruderschafften vnd Versamblungen/ auch in der Christlichen Lehr/ vnd in den Schulen/ wie auch zu Hauß/ oder im Felde/ beym Reisen oder arbeiten gar nützlich zu gebrauchen.* Münster: Detherich Raeßfeldt, 1677.

Preces, et Praxes piae ex probatis auctoribus collectae, Atque ad Stationes Monasterium inter, et Telgetum, Christi, Virginisque matris honori erectas, devote usurpandae, Omnibus earundem stationum promotoribus, praesertim sumptuum in eas erogatorum, munificis largitoribus dedicatae, Et Colegij Societatis Jesu Monasterien[sis] Sodalibus Xenij loco oblatae; Ab aliquo eiusdem Colegij Sacerdote […]. Münster:Theodori Raesfeldi, 1660.

Puente, Luis de la. *Betrachtungen Ludovici De Ponte der Societet Iesu Priestern, in sech Theil getheilet.* Münster: Michael von Dale, 1627.

Repgow, Eike von. *Sachsenspiegel, Landrecht, erstes Buch.* Rastede, 1336, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Digitalisierung historischen Kulturguts – Sachsenspiegel_online, http://www.sachsenspiegel-online.de/export/index.html.

—. *Sachsenspiegel, Landrecht, erstes Buch.* Rastede, 1336, [40] 19(r-v), Oldenburg Landesbibliohek Online edition: urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-3571.

Rupertum, Michaelem. *Catechismus Und Betboeklin Mit heylsamen Be-tragunge[n] vnd Gebetlin/vermehret vnd gebettert./Mit bygefögtem korten Jnhalde der gantzen Biblie[n]/ ader Passionalböklin ... Mit schönen Figuren vnd Spräcken Aldes/vnd Nyggen Testaments verzyret.* Münster: Raßfeldt, 1596.

—. *Leich trost und busspredigen.* Munster in Westphale: Raesfeld, 1613.

Scribani, Carolus. *Politico-Christianus.* Münster: Michaelem Dalium, 1625.

Testamentum der Catharinen Heiman [sic] Publicat. Anno 1658 den 20: Maij, Stadtarchiv Münster, Testamente II Ne. 247 fol. 38-40v.

The devotion to the sacred heart of Jesus. Fourth edition. (London, M,DCC,XCII. [1792]). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale. ECCO Consortium Germany, accessed March 16, 2013, http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=dfg_ecco&tabID=T001&docId=CW118499401&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE.

Tympe, Matthaeus, *Braut der Gottesfoerchtigen*, Münster: Lambert Raessfeldt, 1601.

—. *Der ceremonien Warumb.* Münster: Lambert Rassfeldt, 1609.

—. *Kinderzucht oder kurtzer Bericht von der Eltern Sorg und Fürsichtigkeit in Aufferziehung ihrer lieben Kinder zu Gottes Ehr und dem Vatterlandt und Gemeinem Wesen zum besten.* Münster: Raesfeldt, 1597 (1610).

—. *Rahtsfrag Welchen Glauben man annemmen/oder/Zu welcher Religion man Treten soll*. Münster: L. Rassfeldt, 1610.

—, editor, translator. *Vita Christi, das Leben unsers Erlösers und Seligmachers ¬Iesv [Jesu] Christi und seiner gebenedeyten Mutter Mariae.* Münster: Michael von Dale, 1624.

van der Sijs, Nicoline, editor. Den gheheelen Bybel, Inhoudende het oude ende nieuwe Testament, Leuvens bijbel. Leuven: Barholomeus van Graue, 1548. Accessed March 20, 2013, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_ghe005gheh01_01/_ghe005gheh01_01_0785.php.

Wicilium, Georgium. *Catechismus Ecclesie : lere vnnd Handlung des heiligen Christenthums, auss der warheyt Göttliches worts, kurtz vnnd lieblich beschryben.* [s.n.]: [S.l.], 1536.

—. *Christlichs Betebüchlin fur Alt und Jung : Von newem gemehret und gebessert. Sampt den Collecten oder Kyrchbiete der Sontagen durchs gantze Jar, und Quadragesimal Fasten.* Coln: Quentell, 1548.

Secondary Sources

Ahldén, Robert. *Die Kölner Bibel-Frühdrucke: Enststehungsgeschichte Stellung im Niederdeutschen Schrifttum.* Lund, 1937.

Albisser, Hermann. "Die Ursulinen zu Luzern: Geschichte und Werk des ersten Konventes1659-1798." In *Teil 1, Der Geschichtsfreund: Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Zentralschweitz, 91*. Historischer Verein Zentralschweiz, 1936.

Alfing, Sabine, Christine Schedensack. *Frauenalltag im Frühneuzeitlichen Münster.* Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1994.

Amt für Stadtentwicklung Stadtpanung Verkerhsplanung . n.d. http://www.muenster.de/stadt/stadtplanung/pdf/Jahres-Statistik_2011_Bevoelkerung.pdf (accessed April 9, 2013).

Areford, David. *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe.* Surrey: Ashgate, 2010.

Asch, Ronald G. *The Thirty Years War: the Holy Roman Empire and Eurpoe, 1618-48.* N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Bangert, William.V. Thomas M. McCoog. *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507-1580.* Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992.

Bahlmann, Paul. *Deutschlands Katholische Katechismen bis zum Ende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Münster: Regensbergischen Buchhandlung, 1894.

Bainvel, Jean. "Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 7. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910. Accessed March 15, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07163a.htm.

Banning, Knud. "Biblia Pauperum and the Wall Paintings in the Church of Bellinge. The Book and the Church Wall." *Medieval Iconography and Narrative A Symposium*. Odense: Odense University Press, 1980.

Barkin, K.D. "From Uniformity to Pluralism: German Historical Writing since World War I." *German Life and Letters*. (1981): 234-247.

Bast, Robert. *Honor Your Fathers Catechisms and the emergence of a Patriarchal ideology in Germany 1400-1600.* Leiden: Bril, 1997.

Bath, Michael, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture*. London: Longman Group, 1994.

Becker-Huberti, Manfred. *Die Tridentinische Reform Im Bistum Münster Unter Fürstbischof Christoph Bernhard V. Galen 1650-1678*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1978.

Behr, Hans-Joachim. "Waldeck, von Franz." *Internet Portal „Westfälische Geschichte“.* n.d. http://www.westfaelische-geschichte.de/per227 (accessed January 20, 2011).

Beissel, Stephan. "Zur Geschichte der Gebetbücher"*, Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, 77.* Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1909.

Berger, Stefan. "The German tradition of historiography, 1800-1995.", *German History since 1800,* edited by Mary Fulbrook. New York: Arnold, 1997.

Beßelmann, Karl-Ferdinand. *Stätten des Heils Westfälische Wallfahrtsorte des Mittelalters.* Münster: Ardey, 1998.

Bireley, Robert, S.J. "Early Modern Germany." In *Catholicism in Early Modern History :A Guide to Research, Vol. 2*, edited by John W. O'Malley. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988.

—. "Redefining Catholicism: Trent and beyond." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity Reform and Expansion 1500-1660*, edited by Ron Hsia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Black, Christopher. "Review of 'The Religion of the Poor. Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c. 1500-1800, by Louis Châtellier'." *The English Historical Review.* (1999): 442-443.

Blackbourn, David and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Oxford University Press, 1984.

Boer, Witse de. *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan.* Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Bodenstedt, Sister Mary Immaculate S.N.D. "Praying the Life of Christ. First English Translation of the Prayers Concluding the 181 Chapters of the Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Cathusian: The Quintessence of His Devout Meditations on the Life of Christ", *Analecta Cartusiana*. Salzburg: Universität Salzburg,15,(1973).

Boettcher, Susan et al. *H-german Forum.* n.d. http://www.h-net.org/~german/discuss/Confessionalization/Confess_index.htm#intro (accessed April 12, 2013).

Bollmann, Anne. "Lesekult und Leseskepsis in den Frauengemeinschaften der Devotio moderna." In *Die lessened Frau*, edited by Gabriela Signori. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009.

Bossy, John. "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe." *Past and Present*, (1970): 51-70.

Boureau, Alain. "Books of Emblems on the Public Stage: Côté jardin and côté cour." In *The Cutlture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Roger Chartier. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Brady, Thomas A. Jr. "Settlements: The Holy Roman Empire." In *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation,* edited by. Thomas A.Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D.Tracy. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Brayman Hackel, Heidi. *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Braubach, Max. *Ernst, Herzog von Bayern: Neue Deutsche Biographie, Band 4.* Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959.

Broomhall, Susan. *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Brückner, Wolfgang. "'Zum Wandel der religiösen Kultur im 18. Jahrhundert. Einkreisungsversuche des "Barockfrommen" zwischen Mittelalter und Massenmissionierung." In *Sozialer und kultureller Wandel in der ländlichen Welt des 18. Jahunderts*, eidited by Ernst Hinrichs and Günter Wiegelmann. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 1982.

Brusati, Celest, Karl Enenkel, Walter Melion, editors, *Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Burke, Peter. "Popular Piety." *Catholicism in Early Modern History : A Guide to Research, Vol. 2*, edited by John W. O'Malley. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988.

Carter, Karen E. *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011.

Cerretti, B. *Legate.* n.d. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09118a.htm (accessed February 17, 2013).

Challoner, Richard. editor. *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims trans. Challoner revised Edition.* Douay-Rheims, 1749-52.

Châtellier, Louis. *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*, translated by Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Chipps Smith, Jeffrey.. "The Art of Salvation in Bavaria", *The Jesuits Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, edited by Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T.Frank Kennedy S.J., John W. O'Malley S.J. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

"Clemens August Graf von Galen, Biography", The Holy See Website, accessed April 11, 2013, http://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/ns_lit_doc_20051009_von-galen_en.html.

Cole, Richard G. "Pamphlet Woodcuts in the Communication Process of Reformation Germany." In *Pietas et Societas*; Vol IV Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, edited by Kyle Bebb, Phillip Sessions, 103-122. Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1985.

—. "The Use of Reformation Woodcuts by Sixteenth-Century Printers as a Mediator between the Elite and Popular Culture." *The Journal of Popular Culture*, (1987), Vol 21 Issue 3: 111-130.

Comerford, Kathleen. "Clerical Education, Catechesis, and Catholic Confessionalism: Teaching Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Early Modern Catholicism; Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.* , edited by Kathleen Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Conway, Charles A. Jr. "The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centred on the Incarnation: A descriptive analysis", *Analecta Cartusiana*, edited by Dr. James Hogg. Salzburg: Institute für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1976.

Corbett, John, "Biblia Pauperum" *The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 2*. New Advent. 1907. accessed June 16, 2009, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02547a.htm.

Cressy, David. *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Daum, Andreas. "Wissenschaft and knowledge." In *Germany 1800-1870*, edited by Jonathan Sperber, 137-161. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

De Hamel, Christopher. *The Book: A History of the Bible.* London: Phaidon Press, 2001.

De Pisan Christine. "Épistre de la prison de vie humaine (1418)" in *Handbook of Women Biblical Interpreters: A Historical and Biographical Guide,* edited by Marion Taylor, Ann Choi. Ada: Baker Academic, 2012.

De Simone, Daniel, editor, *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books, Illustrated books purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald at the sale of the Library of C.W. Dyson Perrins.* New York: George Braziller, Inc, 2004.

Delumeau, Jean. *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation*. London: Burns & Oates, 1977.

Denkler, Markus. 'Niederdeutsche Schriftlichkeit in Münster und im Münsterland nach 1600', In *Plattdeutsch macht Geschichte: Niederdeutsche Schriftlichkeit in Münster und im Münsterland im Wandel der Jahrhunderte,* edited by Robert Peters, Friedel Roolfs. Münster: Aschendorff, 2009.

Dethlefs, Gerd. "Christoph Bernhard von Galen." In *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster*. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1991.

—. "Galen, von Christoph Bernhard." *Internet-Portal "Westfälische Geschichte".* n.d. http://www.lwl.org/westfaelische-geschichte/portal/Internet/finde/langDatensatz.php?urlID=537&url_tabelle=tab_person (accessed November 15, 2012).

—. "Katalog." In *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster Ausstellung im Stadtmuseum Münster*. Münster: Regensberg Verlag, 1991.

—. "Knipperdollinck, Bernd." *Internet Portal „Westfälische Geschichte.* n.d. http://www.westfaelische-geschichte.de/per1103 (accessed January 15, 2011).

Didron, Adolphe Napoleon, *Christian Iconography, or, the History of Christian art in the Middle Ages*, translated by E.J. Millington. New York: Ungar Pub. Co., 1965.

Dimler, G. Richard, S.J., *The Jesuit Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Literature with Select Commentary and Descriptions.* New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2005.

—. *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 2007.

Dobson, Austin. "The Dance of Death." *Project Gutenberg .* Scott-Thaw Company, Heintzemann Press, Boson, 1903. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21790/21790-h/21790-h.htm#h2H_4_0005 (accessed August 20, 2011).

Dolan, Frances. "Reading, writing, and other crimes." In *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging subjects*, edited by Valerie Traub, M.Lindsay Kaplan, Dympna Callaghan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Domel, Georg. "Aus der Buchführung der Quentelschen Druckerei in Köln in den Jahren 1577 bis 1585." *Deutscher Buch-Und Steindrucker*, Bd. 19 1912.

"Domkapitel, Protokoll. 12 Bl. 63 vom 7.6. 1617." *Staatsarchiv Münster.*

Dondi, Christine. "The European Printing Revolution." In *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, edited by H.R. Woudhuysen and Michael Suarez S.J. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Donnelly Joseph P. S.J. "New Religious Orders for Men." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity Reform and Expansion 1500-1660*, edited by Ronnie Hsia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

—. "Peter Canisius 1521-1597." In *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560-1600*, edited by Jill Raitt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

Driedger, Michael. "The Intensification of Religious commitment: Jews, Anabaptists, Radical Reform, and Confessionalization." In *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in 16th Century Germany*, edited by Dean Phillip Bell, and Stephen G. Burnett. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Duffy, Eamon. *What Catholics Believe about Mary.* London: Catholic Truth Society, 1989.
Duchhardt, Heinz. “Protestanten und “Sektierer” im Sozial- und Verfassungsleben der Bischofsstadt im konfessionellen Zeitalter“. In *Geschichte der Stadt Münster,* Bd. 1, edited by Franz-Josef Jakobi. Münster: Aschendorff, 1994.
Eisenstein, Elisabeth. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
Eiynch, Andreas. *Coesfeld 1197-1997 Beitrage zu 800 Jahren Stadtischer Geschichte.* Münster: Ardey, 1999.
Emblematica Online Resources for Emblem Studies. Accessed August 30, 2013, http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/.
Enenkel, Karl, and Wolfgang Neuber, editors, *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period.* Leiden: Brill, 2004.
Erler, Mary C. *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
Evennett, H. Outram, and John Bossy, editors. *The Spirit of the counter-Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
Eybl, Franz, “Predigt/Erbauungsliteratur”, *Die Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Albert Meier. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1999.
Febvre, Lucien, Henri-Jean Martin. *The Coming of the Book The Impact of Printing 1450-1800.* London: NLB, 1976.
Fertig-Möller, Heidelore. "Der “Werner Bund” von 1253; presentation." *Historischen Arbeitskreis des Westfälischen Hansebundes in Schwerte.* September 2, 2006. accessed January 19, 2011. http://www.kreis-herford.de/media/custom/395_5371_1.PDF.
Field, Richard. "Early Woodcuts: The Known and the Unknown." In *Origins of European Printmaking; Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, edited by Peter Parshall and Ranier Schoch. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
Fletcher, Roger. "Recent Developments in West German Historiography: The Bielefeld School and Its Critics." *German Studies Review.* 1984: 451-480.
Forster, Marc. "Catholic Confessionalism in Germany after 1650’, Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700 Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan." By H. Hillerbrand and A. Papalas Eds. J. Headley. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
—. *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
—. "Review of The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770 by R. Po-Chia Hsia." *Central European History*, 1999: 234-235.
—. *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
“Four Sermons in Defiance of the Nazis Preached During 1941 by Bischop (sic) von Galen of Münster”, accessed April 11, 2013, http://kirchensite.de/fileadmin/red/pdf_downloads/aktuelles/Predigt_Galen_Englisch.pdf.
Franklin, Julian H. *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Abosolutist Theory*. London: Cambridge at the University press, 1973.

Friedman, John B. *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995.
Freitag, Werner. "Fromme Deutungen der Heilsgeschichte. Wallfahrtsbuilder in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit." In *Pilger und Wallfahrtsstätten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, edited by Michael Matheus. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1999.
—. "Religiöse volkskultur auf dem Lande. Aspekte katholischer Konfessionalisierung in Nordwestdeutschland." *Jahrbuch Für Volkskunde*, vol 25 Würtzburg, 2002.
—. *Volks—und Elitenfrömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit Marienwalfahrten im Fürstbistum Münster.* Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1991.
Frymire, John. M. *The Primacy of the Postils; Catholics, Protestants and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany.* Leiden: Brill, 2010.
Fulton, Rachel. “The Virgin in the Garden, or Why Flowers Make Better Prayers”, *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality,* 4, Spring, (2004).
Füssel, Stephan. *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing.* Hampshire: Aldershot, 2005.
Ganss. "Constitutions." In *The First Jesuits*, by John W. O'Malley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
Gillier, Anke , Alicia C. Montoya and Suzan.van Dijk, editors. *Women Writing Back/Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era.* Leiden: Brill, 2010.
Gippert, Jost. "Physiologus. Die Verarbeitung antiker Naturmythen in einem frühchristlichen Text." *Studia Iranica, Mesopotamica et Anatolica*, 1997.
Gleason, Eisabeth. "Catholic Reformation, Counterreformation and Papal Reform in the Sixteenth Century." In *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, edited by Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman and James D. Tracy. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
Gribble, Richard, C.S.C. *The History and Devotion of the Rosary.* Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., 1992.
Griffin, Larry and Marcel van der Linden, editors. *New Methods for Social History.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
Groag Bell, Susan. "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbitors of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture." *Signs*, 7 (1982).
Grundmann, Andreas, interview by Sandra Herron. *Images* (August 17, 2011).
Halkon, Peter. "A Roman Relief Depicting Victory from Bolton, East Yorkshire." *Britannia*, Vol. 29 1998.
Hall, Stuart, “Encoding, Decoding”, *The Cultural Studies Reader*, edited by Simon During. New York: Routledge, 1993.
Haller, Bertram. "500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster – ein historischer Überblick." In *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster; Eine Ausstellung des Stadtmuseums Münster in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universitätsbibliothek Münster*. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1991.
—. *Der Buchdruck Münsters 1485 bis 1583: Eine Bibliographie .* Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1986.
—. “Geistliche Betrachtungen” in *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster: Eine Ausstellung des Stadtmuseums Münster in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universitätsbibliothek Münster*. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1991.

—. "Köln und die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Westfalen." In *Köln und Westfalen 1180-1980, Bd. 4, Katalog der Ausstellung des Westfälischen Landesmuseums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster*. Lengerich: Kleins Druck- un Verlagsanstalt, 1980.

—.“Michael von Dale”, *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster: Eine Ausstellung des Stadtmuseums Münster in Zusammenarbeit mit der Universitätsbibliothek Münster*. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1991.

Hariton, Silviu PhD candidate. "State-/Nation-building and Confessionalization in SEE: Nationalism and Religion in Nineteenth Century Romania." *CEU GRACEH 2007.* n.d. http://www.hist.ceu.hu/conferences/graceh/abstracts/hariton_silviu.pdf (accessed May 15, 2010).

Harms, Wolfgang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts,* 5 volumes. Tübingen, Niemeyer,1983-1997.

Haude, Sigrun. “Religion Während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges (1618-1648)”, In *Frömmigkeit-Theologie-Frömmigkeitstheologie Contributions to European Church History: Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert, Roland Liebenberg. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Haydock. *Haydock’s Catholic Bible Commentary 1859 edition.* n.d. in Arthur. G Dickens. *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966.

—. http://haydock1859.tripod.com/id117.html (accessed February 15, 2013).

—. *Psalm 118.* n.d. http://haydock1859.tripod.com/id843.html (accessed February 12, 2013).

Headly, John M., John B. Tomaro, editors. *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century.* Washington: Folger Books, 1988.

Bridget Heal, “Mary “triumphant over demons and also heretics”: Religious Symbols and Confessional Uniformity in Catholic Germany”, *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe.* Edited by Howard Louthan, Gary Cohen, & Franz Szabo. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011.

—. *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Hedges, S. Blair "Wormholes record species history in space and time", *Biology Letters*, 9, (2013), accessed March 17, 2013, http://rsbl.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/9/1/20120926.full.html#ref-list-1.

Heimann, Adelheid. "Review Biblia Pauperum by Elizabeth Soltesz." The *Burlington Magazine,* 94, February (1969).

Henry, Avril. *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimilie and Edition.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Hobsbawm, Eric, J. "The Crisis of The 17th Century: II." *Past and Present,* (1954): 44-65.

—. "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century: I." *Past and Present*, (1954): 33-53.

Holweck, Frederick. *The Feast of the Assumption.* n.d. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02006b.htm (accessed February 17, 2013).

Holzem, Andreas. *Der Konfessionsstaat 1555-1802, Geschichte des Bistums Münster, Bd. 4. .* Münster: Dialogverlag, 1998.
—. "Konfessionalisierung als Bildungsbewegung, Glaubenswissen und Glaubenspraxis in Münsterländischen Dörfern nach dem Westfälischen Frieden." In *Die Kirchen und der Westfälische Friede*, edited by Josef Alfers and Thomas Sternberg. Münster: Verlag der Akademie Franz Hitze Haus, 1999.
Honemann, Volker and Friedel Helga Roolfs. "Volkssparachige Literature des Mittelalters aus Münster und dem Münsterland." In *Plattdeutsch macht Geschichte: Niederdeutsche Schriftlichkeit in Münster und im Münsterland im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, edited by Friedel Helga Roolfs, and Robert Peters. Münster: Aschendorff, 2009.
Honselmann, Klemens. "Matthaeus Pontanus in Münster und Paderborn Die Anfänger des Paderborner Buchdrucks." In *Ex officina literaria Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens*, edited by Joseph Prinz. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1968.
Hooker, Richard. "Typology." *World Civilizations An Internet classroom and Anthology at Washington State University*. 1996. accessed June 23, 2009, http://www.wsu.edu/~dee/GLOSSARY/TYPE.HTM.
Hörnemann, Daniel. *Das Coesfelder Kreutz.* Münster: Dialogverlag, 2000.
Houston, Robert A. *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800.* N.Y.: Longman, 1988.
Hsia, Ron Po-Chia, editor. *The German People and the Reformation*. London: Cornell University Press, 1988.
—. “Münster and the Anabaptists”, *The German People and the German Reformation,* Editor, Ron Po-chia Hsia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
—. *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750.* London: Routledge, 1989.
—. *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
—. "The Myth of the Commune: Recent Historiography on City and Reformation in Germany." *Central European History*, Vol. 20, No. 3-4, Sep – Dec 1987.
—. *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
Iggers, Georg G. "The Political Function of Historical Scholarship in Germany in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." *German Life and Letters.* (1981): 223-233.
Jarausch, Konrad. "The institutionalization of History in 18th century Germany.", *Auflkarung und Geschichte: Studien zur deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Hans Erich Bodeker. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
Jeay, Madeleine, Kathleen Garay, “’To Promote God’s Praise and her Neighbour’s Salvation’. Strategies of Authorship and Readership among Mystic Women in the Later Middle Ages” in *Women Writing Back/Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era,* edited by , Anke Gillier, Alicia C. Montoya and Suzan.van Dijk. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Jedin, Hubert. *A History of the Council of Trent.* London: T. Nelson, 1957.
— and John Dolan, *Reformation and Counter-Reformation, History of the Church*. London: Burns and Oates, 1980.
Jensen, De Lamar. *Renaissance Europe Age of Recovery and Reconciliation.* Lexinton: Heath and Co., 1992.
Jouhaud, Christian. "Readability and Persuasion: Political Handbills." In *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Roger Chartier. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
Kaplan, Benjamin. *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2007.
Kautzsch, Rudolf, editor. *Die Kölner Bibel: 1478/1479 Kommentarbd. Zum Faksimile 1979 der Kölner Bibel 1478/1479: Studien zur Entstehung und Illustreierung der ersten niederdeutschen Bibel.* Amsterdam: Buijten& Schipperhejn, 1981.
Kelly, G. E. "Francis Coster." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 4. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908. Accessed February 21, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04419a.htm.
Kerssenbrock, Hermann von. *Narrative of the Anabaptist Madness: The Overthrow of Münster, the Famous Metropolis of Westphalia (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions; 132)* translation by Christopher. S. Mackay. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
Kirchhoff, Karl Heinz. *Die Täufer in Münster 1534/35 Untersuchungen zum Umfang und zur Sozialstruktur der Bewegung.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1973.
—. "Die Belagerung und Eroberung Münsters 1534/35 Militärische Maßnahmen und politische Verhandlungen des Fürstbischofs Franz von Waldeck." *Westfaelische Zeitschrift*, 112, (1962).
—. " »In platea montana commorans« Zur Geschichte der Tzwivelschen Druckerei an der Bergstraße in Münster." In *Ex officinal literaria: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens*, edited by Joseph Prinz. Münster: Verlag Regesnberg, 1968.
Kirsch, Johann Peter. "Council of Trent." *The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 15. New York: Robert Appleton Company.* 1912. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15030c.htm\ (accessed March 3, 2011).
Klenke, Dietmar. *Schwarz - Münster - Paderborn ein antikatholisches Klischeebild.* Münster: Waxmann, 2008.
Klueting, Harm. "Westfalia catholica im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert." *Westfälische Forschungen*, 56 (2006).
Koch, Robert. "The Sculptures of the Church of Saint-Maruice at Vienne, the Biblia Pauperum and the Speculum Humanae Salvationis." *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 2 (June 1950): 151-155.
Kohle, Maria. ""Getruckt tho Paderborn bey Matthaeo Pontano" Die Paderborner Druckerei des Matthaeus Pontanus seit 1597 im Dienst der Katholischen Reform." In *400 Jahre Buchdruck in Paderborn 1597-1997*, edited by Karl Hengst. Paderborn: Erzbischöflichen Akademischen Bibliothek Pade, 1997.
Kolvenbach, Peter-Hans. "An Interview with Peter-Hans Kolvenbach." *America*, September, 29, (1990).
Koninklijke Bibliotheek - National Library of the Netherlands. n.d., accessed June 16, 2009. http://www.kb.nl/galerie/100hoogtepunten/015-en.html.

Kossmann, Ernst, Eric Hobsbawm, Jack Hexter, Roland Mousnier, John Elliott, Lawrence Stone, Hugh Trevor-Roper. “Symposium: Trevor-Roper’s ‘General Crisis’”, *Past and Present*, (1960): 8-42.

Kreitzer, Beth. *Reforming Mary Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Krieken, Robert van. "Social Discipline and State Formation: Weber and Oestreich on the historical sociology of subjectivity." *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift, 17(1)*, (1990).

Kühnel, Harry. "'Werbung’, Wunder und Wallfahrt." In *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, International round-table. Wien: Verlag der Österrichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992.

Labriola, Albert, and John W. Smeltz. *The Bible of the Poor [Biblia Pauperum] A Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 d.2*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1990.

Lahrkamp, Helmut. *Das Drama der »Wiedertäufer«.* Münster: Aschendorff, 2004.

—. "Münsters Verteidigung 1633/34: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges im Münsterland." In *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Münster, Bd. 11*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1990's.

Landau, David and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Daniela Laube, “The Stylistic development of German Book Illustration, 1460-1511.” *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books, Illustrated books purchased by Lessing J. Rosenwald at the sale of the Library of C.W. Dyson Perrins,* edited by Daniel De Simone. New York: George Braziller, Inc, 2004.

Laven, Mary. "Encountering the Counter-Reformation: Recent Trends in the Study of Christianity in Sixteenth-Century Europe." *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59, (2006).

Lenhart, John. "The Latest Works on Block Books." *The Catholic Historical Review* 15, no. 1 April (1929): 71-74.

Lotz-Heumann, Ute and Matthias Pohlig “Confessionalization and Literature in the Empire, 1555-1700”, *Central European History,* 40 (2007): 44-45.

Lowden, John. "The Holkham Bible Picture Book and the Bible Moralisée." In *The Medieval Book Glosses from Friends & Colleagues of Christopher De Hamel*, edited by Richard A.Linenthal, James H. Marrow and William Noel. Houten: Hes & De Graaf Publishers, 2010.

Luebke, David. "Customs of Confession: Managing Religious Diversity in Late Sixteenth-and Early Seventeenth-Century Westphalia." In *Diversity and Dissent: Negotiating Religious Difference in Central Europe, 1500-1800*, edited by Gary Cohen, Howard Louthan, Franz Szabo. New York: Berghan Books, 2011.

Lucas, Bernhard. *Der Buchdrucker Lambert Raesfeldt Ein Beitrag zur Buchdruckereigeschichte Münsters im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert .* Münster: Regensbergsche Verlagsbuchandlung, 1929.

Lutterbach, Hubertus. *Das Täuferreich von Münster Wurzeln und Eigenarten eines religiösen Aufbruchs.* Münster: Aschendorff, 2008.

Maag, Karen. “Education and works of religious instruction in French”, In *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, edited by Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Philip Conner. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.

Maas, Anthony. "Types in Scripture." *The Catholic Encyclopedia. New Advent. 1912*. accessed June 24, 2009, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15107a.htm.
Macraild, Donald, Avaram Taylor. *Social Theory and Social History.* New York: Palgrave, 2004.
McHugh, John, and Charles J. Callan, translators. *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests.* New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1947.
Melion, Walter. "The fine style as Marian Devotion in Wierix's *Maria*". In *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, edited by Walter Melion, Celeste Brusati and Karl A.E. Enenkel. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
Melion, Walter, Celeste. Brusati & Karl A.E. Enenkel. "Introduction: Scriptural authority in word & Image." In *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, edited by Walter Melion, Celeste Brusati and Karl A.E. Enenkel. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
Mellon, Joelle. *The Virgin Mary in the Perceptions of Women: Mother, Protector and Queen Since the Middle Ages.* Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2008.
Moeller, Bernd. *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.
—. *Reichsstadt und Reformation*. Gütersloh:Gütersloher Verlagshaus, G. Mohn, 1962.
Mommsen, Wolfgang. "The Return to the Western Tradition: German Historiogrpahy since 1945." *German Historical Institute*, Occasional Paper No. 4, (1991): 1-21.
Moscherosch, H.M. *Insomnis Cura Parentum (Abdruck der ersten Ausgabe 1643).* Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer, 1893.
Mougel, Ambrose. 'Ludolph of Saxony', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908. Accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09416b.htm.
Moxey, Keith. *Peasants, Warriors and Wives, Popular imagery in the Reformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
Mullett, Michael. *The Catholic Reformation*. London: Routledge, 1999.
Münch, Birgit, *Geteiltes Leid: Die Passion Christi in Bildern und Texten der Konfessionalisierung. Druckgraphik von der Reformation bis zu den jesuitischen Großprojekten um 1600.* Regensburg: Schnell Steiner, 2009.
Myers, David. *"Poor, Sinning Folk" Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.
Neff, Amy. "The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross ." *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 80, No. 2, June (1998).
Niekus Moore, Cornelia. *The Maiden's Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987.
Neinaber, Wolfgang, editor. *Zeugnisse des Glaubens an Höfen und Wegen: Bildstöcke, Kapellen, Hof und Wegkreuze in Telgte*. Telgte: Wallfahrtsgilde, 2011
Nellhaus, Tobin. "Mementos of Things to Come: Orality, Literacy, and Typology in the Biblia Pauperum." *Printing the Written Word The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520*, edited by Sandra Hindman. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
Nischan, Bodo. "Review of Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland – Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation" by Heinz Schilling." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Summer 1988.

O'Connor, John B. "Ven. Louis of Granada." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 9. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), accessed February 21, 2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09385b.htm.

Ogilvie, Sheilagh. "Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis.", *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century, 2nd ed.* , by eds. Geoffrey Parker and Lesley Smith, 57-86. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.

O'Malley, John. *Trent and all that; Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.

—, editor. *Catholicism in Early Modern History 1500-1700: A Guide to Research, Reformation Guides to Research, Vol. 2.* St. Louis: Centre for Reformation Research, 1988.

—. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Olin, John. *Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits Essays on the Outreach of Humanism.* New York: Fordham University, 1994.

Ostendorf, Dr. Thomas, interview by Sandra Herron. *Telgte Gnadenbild* (October 2010).

Ostovich, Helen, Elizabeth Sauer, editors. *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700.* N.Y.: Routledge, 2004.

Ozment, Steven. *A Mighty Fortress; A new History of the German People*. London: Granta Books, 2005.

—. *The Age of Reform 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

Parshall, Peter and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Pastor, Ludwig von. *The history of the popes: from the close of the Middle Ages/Drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican and other original sources* . London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1957.

—, and F. I. Antrobus editors. *The History of the popes: from the close of the Middle Ages*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1957.

Penketh, Sandra. "Women and Books of Hours", in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, edited by Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor. London: The British Library, 1997

Peters, Robert and Friedel Roolfs, editors. *Plattdeutsch macht Geschichte: Niederdeutsche Schriftlichkeit in Münster und im Münsterland im Wandel der Jahrhunderte.* Münster: Aschendorff, 2009.

Pettegree, Andrew. *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press , 2005.

Pleij, Herman. "What and How did Lay Persons Read, or: Did the Laity Actually Read? Literature, Printing and Public in the Low Countries between the Middle Ages and Modern Times." In *Laienlektüre und Buchmarkt im späten Mittelalter*, edited by Thomas Kock and Rita Schlusemann. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997.

Pollard, Alfred. *Early Illustrated Books.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1893.

Prinz, Joseph. " Der Verleger und Buchdrucker Laurentius Bornemann in Münster, 1498 (?) bis 1511." In *Ex officina Literaria: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens*, edited by Joseph Prinz. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1968.

Rabb, Theodore, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.
Reck-Malleczewen, Friederich. *A History of the Münster Anabaptists Inner Emigration and the Third Reich, transl. Critical ed.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
Reinhard, Wolfgang. "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung ? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 68 (1977).
—. "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State a Reassessment." *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol 75, No. 3, July (1989).
—. "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters." *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 10 (1983).
Reitz, Hildegard. *Die Illustrationen der „Kölner Bibel .* Düsseldorf: Zentral-Verlag für Dissertationen Triltsch, 1959.
Repgen, K. "Der Bishof zwischen Reformation, katholischer Reform und Konfessionsbuldung (1515-1650)." In *Der Bischof in seiner Zeit. Bischofstypus und Bischofsideal im Spiegel der Kölner Kirche. Festgabe für Joseph Kardinal Höffner, Erzbischof von Köln*, edited by P. Berglar, O. Engels. Köln: Kölner Metropolitankapitels, 1986.
Roerkohl, Anne, “Der Kulturkampf in Westfalen”, Münster 1992, accessed August 13, 2013, http://www.lwl.org/westfaelischeschichte/portal/Internet/input_felder/seite1_westf_bild.php?urlID=348.
Rupprich, H. *Geschichte der deutschen Literature IV/1, Vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock. Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Humanismus und Renaissance, 1370-1520.* Münich, 1970.
Saenger, Paul. "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages." In *The Culture of Print: Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Roger Chartier. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
Sager, Jason. "François de Sales and Catholic Reform in Seventeenth-Century France." In *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*, eidted by Wim Janse and Barbara Pitkin. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
Saunders, Alison. "The sixteenth-century French emblem book as a form of religious literature." In *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, edited by Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Philip Conner. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
Schibanoff, Susan. "Taking the Gold Out of Egypt: The Art of Reading as a Women." In *Gender and Reading: Essays on Readers, Texts and Contexts*, edited by Elizabeth A. Flynn and Patrocinio P. Schwieckhart. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
Schilling, Heinz. "The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter (1983).
—. "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft." In *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, edited by Heinz Schilling, Wolfgang Reinhard. Münster: Aschendorff, 1995.
—. "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620." *Historische Zeitschrift*, 246 (1988).

—. *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe.* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1981.

—. "The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1983).

Schleif, Corine. "Men on the Right-Women on the Left: (A)symmetrical spaces and Gendered Places." In *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, edited by Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.

Schmidt, Heinrich R. "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalizierungsforschung." *Historische Zeitschrift*, 265 (1997).

Schmidt, Josef. "Review of Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century: Preaching: Rhetoric, Spirituality, and Reform by John O'Malley", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, (1995): 420-421.

Schmidt, Peter. *Gedruckte Bilder in Handgeschriebenen Büchern Zum Gebrauch von Druckgraphik im 15. Jahrhundert*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2003.

—."The Multiple Image: The Beginnings of Printmaking, between Old Theories and New Approaches." In *Origins of European Printmaking; Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, edited by Peter Parshall and Ranier Schoch. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Schmitz, Wolfgang. *Die Überlieferung Deutscher Texte im Kölner Buchdruck des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts.* Köln: Habilitationsschrift Universität zu Köln, 1990.

—. "Familie Quentel (1479-1639), Kölner Drucker- und Verlegerdynastie." *Rheinische-geschichte.* n.d. http://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/persoenlichkeiten/Q/Seiten/FamilieQuentel.aspx (accessed August 4, 2012).

Schoeps, Karl Heinz. "'Conservative Opposition: Friedrich Reck-Malleczewen's Antifascist Novel Bockelson" A History of Mass Hysteria." *A Flight of Fantasy: New Perspectives on Inner Emigration in German Literature 1933-1945*, edited by Neil Donahue, Doris Kirchner. New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2001.

Schöller, Bernadette. Kölner Druckgraphik der Gegenreformation. Köln: Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 1992.

Schreiber, Christian. *Wallfahrten durchs deutsche Land Eine Pilgerfahrt zu Deutschlands heiligen Stätten.* Berlin: Sankt Augustinius Verlag, 1928.

Schreiber, Wilhelm L. *Der Formschnitt seine Geschichte, Abarten, Technik, Entwicklung und seine ikonologische Grundlagen.* Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1929.

Schreiner, Karen. "Laienbildung als Herausforderung für Kirche und Gesellschaft." *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, Duncker & Humbolt, Berlin (1984), 11: 257-354.

Schreiner, Klaus. "Die lessende und schreibende Maria als Symbolgestalt religiöser Frauenbildung." In *Die lesende Frau*, edited by Gabriela Signori. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009.

—. "Volkssprache als Element gesellschaftlicher Integration und Ursache sozialer Konflikte: Formen und Funktionen volkssprachlicher Wisssensverbreitung um 1500." In *Europa 1500 Integrationsprozesse im Widerstreit: Staaten, Regionen, Personenverbände, Christenheit*, edited by Winfried Eberhard and Ferdinand Seibt. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987.

Schröer, Alois. *Brauchtum und Geschichte im Bereich der Kirche von Münster.* Münster: Aschendorff, 2000.

—. *Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die katholische Reform im Bistum Münster.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1974.

—. *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1555-1648), Bd. 1 Die Katholische Reform in den geistlichen Landesherrschaften.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1986.

—. *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1585-1648), Bd. II: Die Gegenreformation in den geistlichen Landesherrschaften.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1987.

—. editor, *Die Korrespondenz des Münsterer Fürstbischofs Christoph Bernhard von Glen mit dem Heiligen Stuhl (1650-1678).* Münster: Aschendorff, 1972.

—. *Die Reformation in Westfalen Der Glaubenskampf einer Landschaft, Bd. 2.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1979.

—. "Galen an Alexander VII., Wolbeck 1660 Nov. 3, nr. 109, (Statusrelation)." In *Die Korrespondenz des Münsterer Fürstbischofs Christoph Bernhard v. Galen mit dem Heiligen Stuhl (1650-1678)*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1972.

Schutz, Alexander H. *Vernacular books in Parisian private libraries of the sixteenth century according to the notarial inventories.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 1955.

Scott, Alan. "The Date of the Physiologus." *Vigiliae Christianae*, November, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1998).

Scott-Stokes, Charity. *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected texts.* Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006

Scribner, Robert. *For the Sake of Simple Folk; Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

—. *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany.* London: Hambledon Press, 1987.

Shore Paul. "The *Vita Christi* of Ludoph of Saxony and its influence on *The Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola", *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*. St. Louis: 30/1,(1998).

Signori, Gabriela. »*Heiliges Westfalen« Heilige, Reliquien, Wallfahrt und Wunder im Mittelalter.* Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2003.

Silver, Larry. *Marketing Maximilian the Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Soergel, Peter. "Afterword." In *Early Modern Prose Fiction : The Cultural Politics of Reading*, edited by Naomi Liebler. New York: Routledge, 2007.

—. "The art of Salvation in Bavaria". In *The Jesuits Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773,* edited by Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T.Frank Kennedy S.J., John W. O'Malley S.J.. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

—. *Wondrous in His Saints, Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
Soltész, Elizabeh, introduction, notes and subtitles, Lili Halápy, translator. *Biblia Pauperum : facsimile edition of the forty-leaf blockbook in the library of the Eszergom Cathedral.* Budapest: Corvina, 1967.
Sommerville, Johann P. “Absolutism and royalism”, *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450–1700*, edited by James H. Burns, Mark Goldie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Sonnet, Martine. "A Daughter to Educate." In *A History of Women in the West: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, edited by Arlette Farge, Natalie Zemon Davis. Cambridge: Belkap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993.
Speakman Stutch,Susie. Anne-Laure van Bruaene. "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary: Devotional Communication and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Low Countries, c. 1490-1520." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History ,* Volume 61, 02, April (2010).
Spufford, Margaret. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
“Statistik 2012”, Amt für Stadtentwicklung, Stadtplanung,Verkehrsplanung Münster, accessed August 13, 2013, http://www.muenster.de/stadt/stadtplanung/pdf/Jahres-Statistik_2012_Bevoelkerung.pdf.
Stayer, James. *Anabaptists and the Sword, 2nd ed.* Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1976.
—. *The German Peasants’ War and Anabaptist Community of Goods.* Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991.
Steffen, Ruth. "Unbekannte Drucke Gottfried Tzwivels." In *Ex officina literaria: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens*, edited by Joseph Prinz. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1968.
Steinberg, Sigfrid H. *Five Hundred Years of Printing.* London: Faber and Faber, 1957.
Stupperich, Robert. *Die Schriften des münsterischen Täufer und ihrer Gegner, 1 teil.* Münster: Achendorff, 1970.
Steinbicker, Clemens, “Die Buchdruckerfamilie Tzwivel in Münster”, Joseph Prinz, ed, *Ex officina Literaria: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Westfälischen Buchwesens,* Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1968.
Suntrup, Rudolf. "Frömmigkeit im Dienste der Gegenreformation. Die Begründung der Telgter wallfahrt durch Christoph Bernhard von Galen." In *Frömmigkeit-Theologie-Frömmigkeitstheologie contributions to European Church history; Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60.Geburtstag*, edited by Berndt Hamm, Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert, Roland Liebenberg. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
Tarbell, F.B. "The Palm of Victory." *Classical Philology*, July Vol. 3, No. 3, (1908).
The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Celebrated under Paul III. Julius III. And Pius IV. Bishops of Rome. English translation, London:T.Y., 1687 accessed through Early English Books Online, http://gateway.proquest.com.cyber.usask.ca/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:102311.

Thiekötter, Hans. "375 Jahre Raesfeld-Koerdinck-Regensber." In *Ex officinal literaria*, edited by Joseph Prinz. Münster: Verlag Regensberg, 1968.
—. *Münster-Stadt des Buches.* Münster: Werbe-u. Verkehrsamt, 1954.
Thurston, Herbert. "Hail Mary." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 7. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910, accessed October 21, 2013 from New Advent: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07110b.htm.
—. "The Elevation." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 5. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909, accessed March 14,2013, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05380b.htm.
Tierney, John. "Abel*". The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909, accessed August 15, 2011, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01035c.htm.
—. "Feast of the Circumcision." *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* Vol. 3. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908, accessed September 14, 2011, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03779a.htm.
Tóth, Istvan. *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe.* N.Y.: Central European University Press, 2000.
Trevor-Roper, Hugh R. "'The General Crisis of the 17th Century." *Past and Present*, (1959): 31-64.
Tyson, Gerald, Wagonheim, Sylvia, editors. *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986.
Uitz, Erika. *The Legend of Good Women: Medieval Women in Towns & Cities.* Mount Kisco, New York: Moyer Bell Limited, 1990.
van Zanden, Jan Luiten and Eltjo Buringh. "Book Production as a Mirror of the Emerging Medieval Knowledge Economy, 500-1500." In *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution: The European Economy in a Global Perspective, 1000-1800*, edited by Eltjo Buringh and Jan Luiten van Zanden. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
Vierhaus, Rudolf, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism*, translated by Jonathan Knudsen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Vivo, Filippo de. *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
von Habsburg, Maximilian. *Catholic and Protestant Translation of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
Walsh Milton. '"To always be thinking somehow about Jesus" The Prologue of Ludoph's Vita Christi', *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits.* St. Louis 43/1, (2011).
Warner, Marina. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary.* New York: Vintage Books, 1983.
Weemans, Michel. "The Earthly Paradise: Herri Met de Bles's visual exegesis of Genesis 1-3." In *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, edited by Walter Melion, Celeste Brusati and Karl A.E. Enenkel. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
Wegmann, Suzanne. "Die Sichtbarkeit der Gnade – Bildtheorie und Ganadenvermittlung auf den lutherischen Altären." In *Medialität, Unmittelbarkeit, Präsenz: Die Nähe des Heils im Verständnis der Reformation*, edited by Bernd Hamm and Johanna Haberer. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

Weidenhiller, P. Egino. *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters.* München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965.
Westhoff, Doris. *Das Gnadenbild in Telgte*. Telgte: Hansen, 1935.
Whitehead, Barbara. "Introduction." In *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500-1800*, by editor Barbara Whitehead. New York: Garland Publishing, 1999.
Widmann, Simon P. *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer zu Münster in Westfalen Aus einer lateinischen Handschrift des Hermann von Kerssenbroick übersetzt. Originalgetreue Wiedergabe des Erstruckes von 1771, mit einer Einleitung und mit neuen Bildern ausgestattet.* Münster: Aschendorff, 1929.
Wieck, Roger S. *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*. London: Sotheby's Publications, 1988.
Wilken, Robert. "Lutheran Pietism and Catholic Piety." In *The Catholicity of the Reformation*, edited by Carl Braaten and Robert Jenson. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996.
Wilson, Adrian, Joyce Lancaster Wilson. *A Medieval Mirror Speculum humanae salvationis 1324-1500.* Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1984.
Winn, Mary Beth. "Illustrations in Parisian Books of Hours." In *Incunabula and Their Readers; Printing, Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Kristian Jensen. London: British Library, 2003.
Winston-Allen, Anne. *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages.* Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
Wriedt, Markus. ""Founding a New Church..." The Early Ecclesiology of Martin Luther in the Light of the Debate about Confessionalization." In *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, edited by John M. Headley, Hans Joachim Hillerbrand and Anthony J. Papalas. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
Zardin, Danilo. "Relaunching Confraternities in the Tridentine Era: Shaping Consciences and Christianizing Society in Milan and Lombardy." In *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, by N. Terpstra Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Zeeden, Ernst. W. *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen: Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Weitalter der Glaubenskämpfe.* München-Wien: R. Oldenbourg, 1964.
Ziegler, Donald. *Great Debates of the Reformation.* New York: Random House, 1969.