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Metamorphoses of Corpus Christi: Eucharistic Processions & Clashes in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Vienna

Abstract: Metamorphoses of Corpus Christi: Eucharistic Processions & Clashes in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Vienna

Through analysing the processional veneration of the Eucharist in Vienna, this study re-assesses and differentiates the existing theories on the socio-cultural roles of Central European Corpus Christi processions in the context of one of the most significant residential and capital cities of the Holy Roman Empire. After presenting a historiographical and methodological contextualisation the study scrutinizes Viennese Eucharistic marches in a longue durée approach, i.e. reaching from the thirteenth until the sixteenth century. As shown through a qualitative sequence of case studies, the form of Eucharistic processions in Vienna was neither an act of unity, nor a value-free tool of religious thoughts. On the contrary, the regulations and orders of marches always involved acts of power from external authorities (clerical, archducal, academic and so on) imposing their political, social and cultural agenda on non-individualized groups of people. In this sense, the way of celebrating the feast in festive trains was actually in itself continuously compromising the original medieval mission of the cult and so became a perfect tool of early modern Catholic reform.

Key words: Vienna – cult of Corpus Christi – theophanic processions – Eucharistic brotherhoods – ostensio reliquiarum – religion and politics – social and cultural history – medieval piety – Reformation – Catholic Reform – Habsburg dynasty – pietas Austriaca

According to the ecclesiastical historiography of the city of Vienna, the highly grandiose Eucharistic procession in 1549 was outragedly dishonoured through an ignominious event.[1] On the solemn Corpus Christi day of 27th June the festive procession was marching through the representative Graben square (see Figure 1) when out of the blue a violent incident suddenly stopped the march. A baker apprentice

from Franconia running out of a tinsmith's house furiously attacked the celebrating priest. After having wrested the monstrance from his hand he smashed it together with the Host to the ground with the following comment: "*das euch Gott schennt, was thut ir eurem Gott fir ain Er, auff das Ir inn also herumtragt in dem Koth*". As a consequence of his scandalous act the desecrator was sentenced to death and the violent event received an architectural memento at the afore-mentioned house.[2]

The above-described scene became in the early modern Viennese Catholic confessional canon one of the key elements of a sequence of re-occurring Protestant violations to the Eucharist throughout the sixteenth century. In the discursive context of ceremonial motion the timing, the location and the scandalous incident in itself present the most relevant features violating the clerical and secular participants of the festive train. Yet, regarding the content of the text attributed to the desecrator, not simply the Host but the processional form of its veneration made the Franconian man commit the audacious attack. Therefore, in the framework of this narrative the Eucharistic march in itself became a line of partition between a group and an individual.[3] Surprisingly enough, a rather similar dividing line can be seen in the most relevant historiographical interpretations on the integrating and/or dividing role of Eucharistic processions in late medieval and early modern European cities.[4]

It is beyond any discussion, that in the thirteenth century both the spiritual origins and the processional form of the cult of Corpus Christi originates from the north-western

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2   Martin SCHEUTZ, „*hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät der Päbstliche Nuncius, Königl. Spanischer und Venetianischer Abgesandter*". *Hof und Stadt bei den Fronleichnamsprozessionen im frühneuzeit-lichen Wien*, in: Richard Bösel et al. (Hg.), Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16. – 18. Jahrhundert), Wien 2006, p. 181 and footnote 56. Quotes: Theodor WIEDEMANN, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegen-reformation*, Band 2, Prag 1880, pp. 59–60. This author is referencing Hartmann-Joseph ZEIBIG, *Aufzeichnungen der Klosterneuburger Stiftsdechante in der ersten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Notizenblatt, Beilage zum Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen No. 14, 1854, p. 316. Concerning the architectural memory policy after the event see: "*Zu einem Zeichen hat man ein klainn Hietl dahin gepautt, als noch heudt zu tag noch da steth.*"
3   This study examines the socio-cultural role of Corpus Christi marches in general and Eucharistic processions in Vienna, in particular. For some partly different yet relevant recent processional approaches see Rita TEKIPPE, *Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlations of Meaning, Practice, and Effects*, in: Sarah Blick – Rita Tekippe (eds.), Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles, Texts, Leiden 2005, pp. 693–751.
4   For further processional studies see Noël COULET, *Processions et jeux de la Fête-Dieu en Occident (XIVe–XVe siècle)*, in: Nicole Bériou – Béatrice Caseau – Dominique Rigaux (éd.), Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge), Volume I, L'institution, Turnhout 2009, pp. 497–518; Pascal COLLOMB, *Écrire la performance processionnelle dans les villes de l'Occident medieval*, in: Katja Gvozdeva – Hans Rudolf Velten (Hg.), Medialität der Prozession. Performanz ritueller Bewegung in Texten und Bildern der Vormoderne / Médialité de la procession. Performance du mouvement rituel en textes et en images à l'époque pré-moderne, Heidelberg 2011, pp. 105–125.

regions of the Holy Roman Empire. Regarding the celebration of the feast, as an answer to an episcopal ordinance, the earliest recorded ceremony was organised in St Martin's church of Liège (Lüttich) in 1247. As early as two decades later in the Chapter of St Gereon in Cologne the first Eucharistic procession was orchestrated by the members of the latter ecclesiastical body, whose march stayed inside the boundaries of the Chapter. Starting with the initiating bull of pope Urban IV (1261–1264) and the later commitment of popes Clement V (1305–1314) and John XXII (1316–1334) the festive status and liturgical acknowledgement of the cult became established by the 1310s. Nevertheless, none of these leaders of Latin Christianity ordered and even mentioned in their supportive charters and bulls any Eucharistic marches. A straightforward papal support for this particular veneration form came as late as in 1429 through the generous processional indulgences of Martin V (1417–1431).[5]

By this time, in the vast majority of European urban communities even beyond the German-speaking territories Eucharistic marches on the day and in the octave of Corpus Christi became one of the most important urban religious celebrations. The above-mentioned earliest known Corpus Christi procession involved as a clerical initiative (see later e.g. in Quedlinburg, Eichstätt and Mainz) only the members of the St Gereon Chapter. Nevertheless, by the 1300s especially in the Holy Roman Empire a mushrooming number of such festive trains was initiated, organised and controlled dominantly by civic authorities (e.g. in Augsburg, Nuremberg and so on). Accordingly, both the cult of the Host and its processional veneration was established as an ecclesiastical initiative, where the originally both socially and spatially exclusively clerical marches experienced at least two significant transformations. On the one hand, alongside strengthening secular civic interference they at least partially went under secular control. On the other, by the late 1420s the official policy of the papacy offered explicit support for the general processional veneration of the Host.[6]

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5   Theodor SCHNITZLER, *Die erste Fronleichnamsprozession. Datum und Charakter*, Münchener theologische Zeitschrift 24, 1973, pp. 352–362; Peter BROWE, *Die Ausbreitung des Fronleichnamfestes*, Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft 8, 1928, pp. 107–143 and Peter BROWE, *Die Entstehung der Sakramentsprozessionen*, Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge 8, 1931, pp. 97–117; Alois MITTERWIESER, *Geschichte der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern*, München 1930, pp. 9–26; Xaver HAIMERL, *Das Prozessionswesen des Bistums Bamberg im Mittelalter*, München 1937, pp. 30–61 and Andrea LÖTHER, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten. Politische Partizipation, obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, städtische Einheit*, Köln 1999, pp. 56–63.

6   See Rommuald BAUERREISS, *Zur Entstehung der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern*, in: Adolf Wilhelm Ziegler (Hg.), Eucharistische Frömmigkeit in Bayern, München 1963, pp. 101–108; Peter BRUDER, *Die Fronleichnamsfeier zu Mainz um das Jahr 1400*, Der Katholik 81, 1901, pp. 489–507; Johann GÜNTNER, *Die Fronleichnamsprozession in Regensburg*, München 1992, pp. 8–16 and Károly

How should we then interpret the socio-cultural role of these late medieval Eucharistic marches in the context of urban communities? One of the heydays of such investigations was without doubt the era of the 1980s and the 1990s, especially in a Central European context. Instead of naming all relevant examples the common methodological characteristic of almost all of these studies was the either explicit or implicit influence of social anthropology, especially the culturally structuralist approaches of the early twentieth century and later symbolic and interpretative ones after the 1950s. Leaving behind the quantitative decades of post second-world-war socio-cultural history these new ideas proved to be at the first glance, though their structuralist frameworks, very inspiring and even productive in the field of processional studies.[7]

Still, as Miri Rubin stated in more than one of her publications, the processional mode of the Eucharistic veneration should not necessarily reflect consensus within a particular urban community. Although she suggested to read the procession as "*an exercise in self-portrayal, which juxtaposes symbols articulating one of many possible and competing visions of that community*" the latter festive mode has been seen instead of "*construction of images of the world*" as an act of unity, which strengthened order and reinforced social hierarchy. Her empirical and inductive methodological advice that "*We must remember and consider that processions, like all rituals, can mean different things to different people*" was neglected especially by key German-speaking scholarship of and on Central Europe.[8]

According to e.g. the rather theoretically deductive investigations of Andrea Löther on German cities in general and Nuremberg and Erfurt, in particular, processions – including Eucharistic ones – were specific forms of practice (i.e. joint religious beliefs and collective ritual activities), which constituted the city as a sacred community. Accordingly, either the entire urban population or the representatives of the political leadership embodied an urban social community, created social bonds and expressed a self-

GODA, *Buda Festiva: Urban Society and Processional Culture in a Medieval Capital City*, Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities, Historica 2/2011, pp. 60–64.

7 For some historical applications of the ideas of e.g. Émile Durkheim, Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz see Robert W. SCRIBNER, *Reformation, carnival and the world turned upside-down*, in: Robert W. Scribner, Popular culture and popular movements in Reformation Germany, London 1987, pp. 71–101; Charles ZIKA, *Hosts, processions and pilgrimages in fifteenth-century Germany*, Past and Present 118, 1988, pp. 25–64 and Robert W. SCRIBNER, *Reformation and Desacralisation: From Sacramental World to Moralised Universe*, in: R. Po-chia Hsia – Robert W. Scribner (Hg.), Problems in the historical anthropology of early modern Europe, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 75–92.

8 Miri RUBIN, *Corpus Christi fraternities and late medieval lay piety*, Studies in church history 23, 1986, pp. 97–107; Miri RUBIN, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1991, esp. pp. 245–253, 264–267 (for the quotations see here); Miri RUBIN, *Symbolwert und Bedeutung von Fronleichnamsprozessionen*, in: Klaus Schreiner (Hg.), Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter. Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge, Oldenbourg 1992, pp. 309–318.

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interpretation as a sacred community.[9] As her thesis goes, only the era of the Reformation could break this interpretation, when the processions ceased to express a sacred community and turned to be a sign of confessional identity. Although analysing a high number of case studies, Löther simply ignored that even medieval processions could cause instability and produce not only disputes but disorder or even riots.[10]

Notwithstanding their controversial nature, such considerations still show some popularity. For example Sabine von Heusinger analysed the processions of the Alsatian city of Strasbourg along these methodological lines. This research tradition even presumes that performance and ritual not only show socio-cultural phenomena but they even have the power to create social realities. Nevertheless, e.g. Franz-Josef Arlinghaus' investigative paper on Brunswick in Lower Saxony critically examined the assumption that "*religious processions and other rituals were successful tools for the construction of a unified urban identity*". According to him processions should be rather interpreted as functional communicative tools of religion, which could create both diversity (i.e. specific interests of groups, quarters and so on) and unity (i.e. certain cohesion). Thus, the historiographical tradition offers us at least two, rather distinctive evaluations. Through analysing the processional veneration of the Eucharist in Vienna, this study intends to re-assess and differentiate the latter approaches in the context of one of the most significant residential and capital cities of the Holy Roman Empire.[11]

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9   On the concept of the city as a sacral community see e.g. Heinz Dieter HEIMANN, *Städtische Feste und Feiern. Manifestationen der Sakralgemeinschaft im gesellschaftlichen Wandel*, in: Ferdinand Seibt – Gudrun Gleba (Hg.), Vergessene Zeiten – Mittelalter im Ruhrgebiet. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Ruhrlandmuseum Essen, 26. September 1990 bis 6. Januar 1991, Essen 1990, pp. 171–176; Thomas ZOTZ, *Die Stadtgesellschaft und ihre Feste*, in: Detlef Altenburg – Jörg Jarnut – Hans-Hugo Steinhoff (Hg.), Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter, Sigmaringen 1991, pp. 201–213.

10 A. LÖTHER, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, esp. pp. 300–337. For a special case study devoted to the context of processions and confessions see Sabine REICHERT, *Prozessionen als Merkmal konfessioneller Zugehörigkeit. Die Osnabrücker Gegenreformation im Spiegel der Chronik des Rudolf von Bellinckhausen*, Osnabrücker Mitteilungen Band 114, 2009, pp. 31–48. For some of the most recent studies partly reflecting Löther's ideas see the papers of these conferences: *Säkulare Prozessionen. Zur religiösen Grundierung von Umzügen, Einzügen und Aufmärschen*, Tübingen, 21st–24th July 2014 and *Prozessionen und ihre Gesänge in der mittelalterlichen Stadt. Gestalt – Hermeneutik – Repräsentation*, Regensburg, 24th–25th July 2014.

11 For the uses of festive forms see Harry KÜHNEL, *Spätmittelalterliche Festkultur im Dienste religiöser, politischer und sozialer Dienste*, in: Detlef Altenburg (Hg.), Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter, Sigma-ringen 1991, pp. 73–85; Sabine von HEUSINGER, *„Cruzgang" und „umblauf" – Symbolische Kommu-nikation im Stadtraum am Beispiel von Prozessionen*, in: Jörg Oberste (Hg.), Kommunikation in mittelalterlichen Städten, Regensburg 2007, pp. 141–155; Josef ARLINGHAUS, *The Myth of Urban Unity: Religion and Social Perfomance in Late Medieval Braunschweig*, in: Caroline Goodson – Anne E. Lester – Carol Symes (eds.), Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400–1500. Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space, Farnham 2010, pp. 215–232, for the quotation see p. 216.

Corpus Christi in Medieval Vienna: Clerics, Dukes and Citizens

In the mid-fifteenth century urban context of ca. three thousand towns and cities within the Holy Roman Empire Vienna played a special role in many senses. It belonged to the oldest urban layer of Central Europe and with a fifteenth-century population of over twenty thousand souls the city was a member of the tiny minority (twenty-six cities with over ten thousand inhabitants) of the Empire's largest civic communities representing 0,5 % of the polity's entire urban landscape.[12] Unlike e.g. in France and England in the Holy Roman Empire a plurality of capitals characterized the Middle Ages and the early modern times. Accordingly, in different chronological time spans Frankfurt am Main functioned as a place of royal elections, Aachen as coronation town and temporal residence, Nuremberg as place of court meetings and guardian of the imperial insignia, whereas the imperial diets were hold in Regensburg and the court of the imperial chamber seated first in Speyer and later in Wetzlar. Vienna played an important role in this circle especially from the fifteenth century as a residence of the Habsburg emperors and home of the imperial chancellery and court council.[13]

Considering its demographical and political weight the city occupied well before the Habsburg era a special position in the urbanisation of the present-day Austrian lands. As early as the twelfth century it functioned as a city of regional trade and international economic exchange with a population comparable only to the south German ecclesiastical and/or commercial centres (e.g. Regensburg, Augsburg and Nuremberg).[14] Concerning the sphere of politics, already in the last decades of the Babenberg ruling dynasty of Austria (976–1246) Vienna outweighed the other regional centres (e.g. Melk, Gars and Tulln), from which only Klosterneuburg kept its relative significance for a comparably

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12   Eberhard ISENMANN, *Die Deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter. 1250–1500. Stadtgestalt, Recht, Stadt-regiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*, Stuttgart 1988, pp. 19–32; Hektor AMMAN, *Wie groß war die mittelalterliche Stadt? (1956)*, in: Carl Haase (Hg.), Die Stadt des Mittelalters, 1. Band, Darmstadt 1969, pp. 415–422; Peter JOHANEK, Imperial and Free Towns of the Holy Roman Empire. City-States in Pre-Modern Germany?, in: Werner Freitag – Mechthild Siekmann (Hg.), Europäische Stadtgeschichte. Ausgewählte Beiträge von Peter Johanek, Wien 2012, pp. 252–287.

13   Evamaria ENGEL – Karen LAMBRECHT, *Hauptstadt – Residenz – Residenzstadt – Metropole – Zentraler Ort. Probleme ihrer Definition und Charakterisierung*, in: Evamaria Engel – Karen Lambrecht – Hanna Nogossek (Hg.), Metropolen im Wandel. Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa, Berlin 1995, pp. 11–31, esp. pp. 18–19.

14   Karl GUTKAS, *Das österreichische Städtewesen im Mittelalter*, in: Heinz Stoob (Hg.), Die mittel-alterliche Städtebildung im südöstlichen Europa, Köln – Wien 1977, pp. 134–163; Herbert KNITTLER, *Städtelandschaften in Österreich im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit*, in: Holger Th. Gräf – Katrin Keller (Hg.), Städtelandschaft, réseau urbain, urban network. Städte im regionalen Kontext in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Köln 2004, pp. 111–133.

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longer time. The former family even attempted to create for its duchy a bishopric in Vienna, which ambition the Habsburgs embraced from the late thirteenth century on. Still, in the ecclesiastical sense the city named "*civitas metropolitana*" as early as in 1172 belonged to the Passau diocese (province of Salzburg) as long as an exempt city-bishopric was established in 1469.[15]

Moreover, Vienna formed a single parochial unit first attached to the originally Carolingian St Ruprecht's (see Figure 1, No. 37), and after a bishopric initiative in 1147 – when the worship houses of the pre-1200 St Ruprecht's and the eleventh-century St Peter's (No. 39) lost their actual functions – to the newly consecrated St Stephen's (No. 17) church outside the Roman and early medieval fortifications. The patronage over the parish went over from the bishops of Passau (patrons since 1137) to the Babenberg dukes (lords of the city since 1137) as late as the first half of the thirteenth century. Still, especially through the mid-eleventh century foundation of Mary at the Shore (Maria am Gestade; No. 31), as the court church of the bishop's representative, the external ecclesiastical presence maintained even in the later Middle Ages.[16] Although in ca. 1221 a second (No. 7: at St Michael's, for the area of the present districts of 6, 7 and 8) and later a third (No. 1: *Schottenstift*, for the area of the present district 9) parish church (Schottish Church/Schottenkirche) appeared also during the thirteenth century, neither of these questioned the dominance of St Stephen's. The third parochial centre was connected to the first Viennese monastery (Benedictine abbey at the *Schotten*), which was an initiative of margrave and later duke Heinrich II (1141–1156, 1156–1177) in 1155 and became part of the fortified city around 1200.[17]

The latter ruler also established a permanent residence for the Babenbergers at the square Am Hof (see Figure 1). In the last decade of the reign of duke Leopold VI (1198–1230) the Viennese ecclesiastical landscape (see Figure 1) experienced a significant

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15   Karl VOCELKA, *Du bist die port und zir alzeit, befestigung der christenheit – Wien zwischen Grenz-festung und Residenzstadt im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, in: E. Engel – K. Lambrecht – H. Nogossek (Hg.), Metropolen im Wandel, pp. 263–275 esp. pp. 263–265, 268; Andrea PÜHRINGER, *Die landesfürstlichen Städte ob und unter der Enns. Funktionale Städtelandschaften?*, in: H. Th. Gräf – K. Keller (Hg.), Städtelandschaft, réseau urbain, urban network, pp. 135–154.

16   Ferdinand OPLL, *Wien*, in: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Stadt-geschichtsforschung (Hg.), Österreichischer Städteatlas, Wien, 1. Lieferung, Wien 1982, commentaries to the atlas and the maps: *Grenzen im Wiener Raum. Stadt und engeres Umland von der Römerzeit bis in die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* and *Wachstumsphasen von Wien*. For the topographical references see Figure 1.

17   See previous footnote and Kurt ANDERMANN, *Sakrale Funktionen der Hauptstadt*, in: Marina Dmitrieva – Karen Lambrecht (Hg.), Krakau, Prag und Wien. Funktionen von Metropolen im frühmodernen Staat, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 13–25, esp. pp. 21–23 and for further aspects see the next footnote. On the Viennese churches in general see Richard PERGER – Walther BRAUNEIS, *Die mittelalterlichen Kirchen und Klöster Wiens*, Wien 1977, pp. 17–88, 95–257.

transformation with the foundations of the Franciscan (No. 2: 1224), Dominican (No. 20: 226), St Mary Magdalene (No. 43: 1225, outside the Schottentor; after ca. 1470/1480 a *Chorfrauenkloster*) and Cistercian St Mary (No. 40: 1228, later St Nicholas: outside the Stubentor) monasteries. Still in the first decades of this century new centres of civic and commercial activity came to light in the form of the squares (see Figure 1) of Graben, Hoher Markt and Neuer Markt. While new ecclesiastical institutions were enriching the suburban landscape (e.g. No. 41: Holy Spirit Hospital next to the Kärntner Tor, No. 43: monastery of St Mary Magdalene next to Schottentor) the Teutonic Knights (No. 18) and the Knights of the Order of St John (No. 11) established their downtown sites and at the end of the century the Habsburg dukes created a new residence for themselves in form of the Hofburg (No. 4). The new lords of the city initiated in the following decades a number of own ecclesiastical foundations, e.g. the monasteries of the Poor Clares (No. 10; 1305), and the Augustines (No. 6; since 1327), the court hospital St Martin before the Widmertor (No. 44; before 1339) and the roots of the monastery of St Theobald in form of a hospital (No. 45; 1343/1348). The civic community existing since the previous century also contributed to the new urban landscape with two new landmarks, namely the town hall in the Salvatorgasse (No. 32; 1316) and the Schranne (No. 35 and later No. 36), i.e. the building of the urban jurisdiction at the Hoher Markt (1325; 1437). Accordingly, the city experienced considerable architectural, functional and cultural developments just in the decades preceding the arrival of the cult of Corpus Christi to the Austrian territories.[18]

Although the latter regions were part of the Holy Roman Empire, i.e. the birthplace of the new feast, the widespread arrival of the cult and the Eucharist's processional veneration in this region dates back to the 1320s. The ecclesiastical celebration combined with a festive march appeared as a custom e.g. in the St Gereon church of Cologne already before 1278 and in the Benedictine Abbey of St Godehard in Hildesheim around 1301. Regarding the present-day Austrian territories, in the province of Salzburg (before 1324) and bishopric of Passau (shortly after 1338) the introduction took place some decades later. The exact appearance of the feast could of course vary in each individual case. In the Styrian monastery of St Lambrecht the new festivity was celebrated prior to 1285, whereas in *Stift* Klosterneuburg the feast and procession was allegedly present as early as 1288. In the Upper Styrian diocese of Seckau the *festum* arrived in 1320, whereas in the Upper Austrian town of Gleink procession and feast was introduced eight years later. One of the first Eucharistic marches in these regions took place around 1324 in the

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18 Richard PERGER, *Der organisatorische und wirtschafliche Rahmen*, in: Peter Csendes – Ferdinand Opll (Hg.), Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. Band 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Ersten Wiener Türkenbelagerung (1529), Wien 2001, pp. 199–246, esp. pp. 232–236 and see previous footnote.

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monastic context of the Styrian Vorau as it is documented in an explicitly detailed description of the procession. Concerning the Eucharistic brotherhoods, the first ones in the Empire came to light still in the fourteenth century with some of the earliest ones in the southeast, i.e. in the Austrian regions.[19]

According to the preserved sources, in the context of Vienna a priest from the diocese of Constance, namely Heinrich of Lucerne introduced the cult of Corpus Christi with an altar foundation on 15th June 1334. Heinrich officiated as the parish priest of St Stephen's church (1323–1336) and he served even the duke of Austria being an "*obrister Schreiber*". The donator ordered the organisation of a yearly Corpus Christi procession with a precious picture of the Holy Virgin for the entire Viennese secular and monastic clergy starting from this very altar. As immediate as on 17th June the same year the Habsburg dukes, Albrecht (1330–1358) and Otto (1330–1339) confirmed the foundation and took it under their special protection. For the approval of the bishop of Passau one had to wait not for two days but two years (21th July 1336). Another two years later an eternal light foundation was addressed to this altar and in 1339 its chaplain ordered a generous donation.[20] In 1341 Perchtold Gewchramer, church warden at St Stephen's, acquired in Rome a bishopric indulgence of forty days for those who donated, among others, "*ad opus noun choir et noun tabernacle, in quo corpus Christi portraiture*".[21] The first known data (testamentary

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19   Gerhard MATERN, *Zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Fronleichnamsfeier besonders im Spanien. Studien zur Volksfrömmigkeit des Mittelalters und den beginnenden Neuzeit*, Münster 1962, esp. pp. 71–75 and 92–109; Anton KERN, *Das Offizium "De corpore Christi" in österreichischen Bibliotheken*, Revue bénédictine 1954, 1/2, pp. 46–67, esp. pp. 46–48, 54–56; Joseph von BAUER, *Das Bruder-schaftswesen in Niederösterreich. Ein Beitrag zur Rechts- und Culturgeschichte Niederösterreichs*, Blätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich 19, 1885, pp. 201–223, esp. pp. 209–212. See page 212: A certain Amon Pilgram, building master of St Stephen's, allegedly raised the brotherhood and the mass at the Corpus Christi altar; Adalbert HORAWITZ, *Die Klosterneuburger Bruderschaften. Ein Beitrag zur Sittengeschichte Oesterreichs*, Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien 9, 1866, pp. 34–48; Ludwig RUMPL, *Die Corporis-Christi-Bruderschaft der Stadtpfarre Linz*, Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz, 1961, pp. 57–95.

20   Wilhelm Anton NEUMANN, *Der Priesterchor in St. Stephan*, Wiener Dombauvereins-Blatt 13, No. 26 and No. 27, 1893, pp. 101–105, esp. p. 105; Ernst TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs. 1. Teil Altertum und Mittelalter*, Innsbruck – Wien – München 1935, pp. 343–344; Annemarie FENZL, *Stiftsbrief des Heinrich von Luzern für einen Gottsleichnamsaltar*, in: 850 Jahre St. Stephan. 226. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, Wien 1997, pp. 87–88. For the charter see also p. 11, footnote 13: Archives of the Diocese of Vienna (DAW), Bestand Dompropstei, Handschrift 1: tenor Privilegorum et literarum, fol. 13 v. For the role of the St Stephen's church see Renate KOHN, *Stadtpfarrkirche und landesfürstlicher Dom. Der Interpretationsdualismus der Wiener Stephanskirche im 14. Jahrhundert*, in: Werner Paravicini – Jörg Wettlaufer (Hg.), Der Hof und die Stadt. Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Ostfildern 2006, pp. 183–203.

21   On the bishopric indulgence on 28th March 1341 see Anton MAYER (red.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*. IV. Band, Wien 1901, p. 113, No. 3977.

donation) on the existence of a Corpus Christi brotherhood (*Gottsleichnamszeche bei St. Stephan*) here dates back to 1347,[22] but there is scarcely any trace of its activities until its *renovatio* in the second half of the fifteenth century.[23]

Concerning the second parish centre of Vienna, the St Michael's church, the processional foundation of 1334 commissioned also for its clergy the obligatory participation, which means that this house of worship performed no separate march on Corpus Christi day. Konrad, the parish priest of Radkersburg, established here as early as 1350 a beneficiate of the Holy Sacrament, which carried out documented economic activities in 1445 and received mass foundations in the 1480s. A Eucharistic brotherhood was active not only at St Stephen's, but also at this parish church. The association was attached to the Corpus Christi altar under the tower either since 1357 or 1402. According to a transcript in 1512 attested by three witnesses, a yearly financial donation to the brothers of the confraternity was granted in 1357 in order to maintain an eternal light at the altar named after the Holy Sacrament. The second possible year of foundation could also indicate the donation of (new) statutes for the *confraternitas*, which was lending money to the emperor in the late 1560s and received new indulgences in the late 1580s. In the mid-fifteenth century at least some of the brotherhood's masters belonged to the civic political elite (i.e. city councillors) of Vienna but even king (and later emperor) Friedrich III (1440/1452–1493) was named as a member of this association.[24]

Two decades after the founding act of Heinrich of Lucerne, archduke Rudolf IV (1358–1365) introduced in 1359 a number of political and religious initiatives in order to transform the St Stephen`s church into the *sanctum* of his state. Additionally, the abbot of Melk gave his promise to deliver the first high mass on Corpus Christi day in this church. In the following year on Corpus Christi day (4th June 1360) Rudolf donated a considerable number of relics in reliquaries to the above mentioned *ecclesia*. In his

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22   Johann WEISSENSTEINER, *Do uns dann nach zeittlicher ableibung nichts dan die guten werich hülfflichen sein. Bruderschaften, Wallfahrten und Prozessionen an der Domkirche St Stephan*, in: 850 Jahre St. Stephan, pp. 28–30; Ferdinand OPLL, *Heiligenfest und Feiertag. Untersuchungen zum Stellenwert und zur Bedeutung der Tage im Jahreszyklus des spätmittelalterlichen Wien*, Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 54, 1998, pp. 127–214, esp. pp. 139–140.

23   On the history of the Corpus Christi brotherhood around 1500 see among others Ernst TOMEK, *Familiennamen, Gesellschaft und Gewerbe in Wien zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, Neue Folge 21/3-4, 1928, pp. 140–152 and R. PERGER – W. BRAUNEIS, *Die mittelalterlichen Kirchen und Klöster Wiens*, p. 71.

24   Richard PERGER, *Pfarrgemeinde, Stiftungen und Bruderschaften bis 1626* and *Baugeschichte und Ausstattung bis 1626 nach schriftlichen Quellen*, in: St. Michael. Stadtpfarrkirche und Künstlerpfarre von Wien 1288-1988. 113. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, Wien 1988, pp. 25–35, esp. p. 29 and pp. 74–105, esp. p. 97; Karl SCHÜTZ, *Musikpflege an St. Michael in Wien*, Wien 1980, esp. pp. 11–12, 20, 54; Johann WEIßENSTEINER, *Die Pfarre St. Michael im Rahmen des Bistums Wien*, in: St. Michael, pp. 35–46, esp. pp. 36, 41–44.

order of ecclesiastical services in this church he commissioned for Corpus Christi day a procession with all the available relics. As a result, the celebration and procession received a highly detailed regulation from the archduke himself. As ordered on 28th March 1363, on the feast day of Corpus Christi all the relics should have left the intimacy of the church with flags, baldachins, candles and so on participating in the march through the city with the obligatory presence of all parishes, all monasteries, all chaplains and clerics together with the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of St John, the Holy Spirit, and the downtown and suburban hospitals. The listed clerics were supposed to first process to the St Stephen's church and then take part in the festive train starting from here. As part of this regulation the duke precisely named each obligatorily participating ecclesiastical bodies, namely the Benedictines [at the *Schotten*], Knights of St John, Teutonic Knights, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites (No. 27), the Holy Spirit Hospital and Hospitallers and all the secular and non-secular clergy of Vienna and its suburbs. In the same year the master of the Holy Spirit Hospital promised the participation at the procession in the name of his brothers.[25]

Two years later, in 1365, with the foundation of the Viennese university (No. 21) new regulations came even in this sense.[26] The rector of the *universitas* together with all the masters, students, pupils and so on were obliged to join and, in addition, provide an appropriate decorum for the celebrations. Accordingly, some days after the creation of the university the founding privilege (16th March 1365) of the All Soul's Collegiate Chapter of St Stephen's church expressed, on the one hand, the ruler's motivations to establish not only a political but also a pious donation and religious *memoria* for him and his dynasty. On the other, the *Rudolphinum* was also meant to support the archducal intention with its presence in the processional landscape and even soundscape. During the second founding phase under archduke Albrecht III (1365–1395) the statutes not

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25   Joseph OGESSER, *Beschreibung der Metropolitankirche zu St. Stephan in Wien*, Wien 1779, pp. 284–289 and Anhang pp. 78–83; Ernst TOMEK, *Spaziergänge durch Alt-Wien*, Graz – Wien 1927, pp. 162–183, esp. pp. 166–172; *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien*, 103. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, Wien 1987, pp. 64–69; E. TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs. 1. Teil*, pp. 259–262, on the processions (p. 261): "*…auch gen sand Stefan gen und mit der egenen process umbgen in aller der mazz als vorbescheiden ist…*".; Johann WEIßENSTEINER, *Mehr wert als Edelgestein und köstlicher als pures Gold. Aus der Geschichte des Reliquienschatzes der Domkirche St. Stephan*, in: 850 Jahre St. Stephan, pp. 24–27; Lukas WOLFINGER, *Die Stephanskirche zu Wien als Bühne und Medium fürstlicher Selbstdarstellung unter Herzog Rudolf IV. von Österreich (1358–1365)*, in: Eva Doležalová – Robert Šimůnek (Hg.), Ecclesia als Kommunikationsraum in Mitteleuropa (13.–16. Jahrhundert), München 2011, pp. 119–145, esp. pp. 134–136.

26   Frank REXROTH, *Deutsche Universitätsstiftungen von Prag bis Köln. Die Intentionen des Stifters und die Wege und Chancen ihrer Verwirklichung im spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaat*, Köln 1992, pp. 108–146; Karen LAMBRECHT, *Die Funktion der Universitäten. Prag, Krakau und Wien im werdenden Staat*, in: M. Dmitrieva – K. Lambrecht (Hg.), Krakau, Prag und Wien, pp. 205–222.

only defined the old and new processional obligations of his *Albertinum* even in the founding charter of 1384, but they commissioned also the desired hierarchical sequence of the academic *membra* presented towards the non-university world. In this stage the processional discourse received additional contents through the rivalry of the different faculties and subgroups. Due to the regulation in the *Inrotulationsordnung* in 1388 an inner university hierarchy was integrated into the Eucharistic message of a specific spatial sequence, which caused a series of clashes inside the *universitas* in the following decades.[27]

In this era the Viennese Eucharistic marches on Corpus Christi day received further propagation under Boniface IX (1389–1404). The pope granted on 2nd June 1399 special indulgences to the feast and its octave. He issued for all the people who "…*an des heiligen Fronleichnams tag andechtigklich seind bei dem umbgang Allen antlas der zu allen kirchen und Clostern in der Stat Wienn an allen hochzeitlichen tegen des gantzen jars gegeben ist…*". Special indulgence was given also to those who got involved on the eight day of the feast in the solemn processions marching with the Holy Sacrament and a number of relics through the streets and squares of Vienna. This additional papal support might also contribute to the popularity of such festive trains.[28]

As we emphasized earlier, the processional form in itself, especially with ordinances of obligatory marching orders, inherently incorporated a huge potential of fierce debates and conflicts. As early as in 1389, just a year after the *Inrotulationsordnung*, the rector called for a university assembly in order to clarify the Eucharistic processional order. As a result, the hierarchy of faculties (arts, medicine, law and theology) was re-stated and the *baccallarii* were supposed to be followed by the deans, *magistri*, *licentiati* and doctors of each faculty closing the festive train of academia with the rector. This visualization of academic prestige in a Eucharistic form led to serious conflicts especially between the Faculties of Medicine and Law exploding two decades later in the 1410s. The solution of the conflict brought with archducal support the success of the medical doctors in 1417. Yet, three years earlier, in 1414, as an escalation of the dispute their

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27 Rudolf KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien… II.*, Wien 1854, pp. 24–25, 89–93; E. TOMEK, *Spaziergänge*, pp. 166–172. For the conflicts see Joseph ASCHBACH, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität im ersten Jahrhunderte ihres Bestehens. Bd. 1.*, Wien 1865, pp. 129, 211, 314–317; Paul UIBLEIN, *Die Universität Wien im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, in: Günther Hamman – Kurt Mühlberger – Franz Skacel (Hg.), Das Alte Universitätsviertel in Wien, 1385–1985, Wien 1985, pp. 17–36, esp. pp. 20–21 and on the foundation in comparison with Freiburg see Frank REXROTH, *Städtisches Bürgertum und landesherrliche Universitätsstiftung in Wien und Freiburg*, in: Heinz Duchhardt (Hg.), Stadt und Universität, München – Wien 1993, pp. 13–31.

28 On the papal indulgence see A. MAYER (red.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, p. 123, No. 4016 and Ernst TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs. 2. Teil, Humanismus, Reformation und Gegenreformation*, Innsbruck – Wien 1949, p. 187.

faculty even prohibited its *membra* – in Vienna exclusively authorised to deliver medical service – under the fine of twenty guldens to treat a sick doctor or *licentiatus* of the Faculty of Law and even members of other faculties supporting the latter's cause. Still, these disturbances were focused mainly on the marching sequence and not at all questioned the mere participation in or legitimacy of the processional veneration of the Eucharist.[29]

Besides the university and the clergy of the city the different craftsmen's guilds also enjoyed the right to actively join the Corpus Christi festive marches. The first written pieces of evidence on this custom originate from the fifteenth-century. In this sense, the civic inhabitants of Vienna could take part in the celebration and procession as members of craftsmen`s guilds and confraternities carrying corporation flags and banners.[30] This corporative, i.e. non-individual participation form could theoretically even in itself cause some discontent. Still, the existence of an order similar to the one in the *Inrotulationsordnung* might indicate further socio-cultural tensions in the processional form, this time in the context of not the university *membra* but the craftsmen. In the fifteenth-century paper-made Book of Orders of the Viennese Craftsmen a special parchment sheet from the year 1463 indicates the processional sequence, in which the guilds followed or rather were supposed to follow each other. The hierarchical position of each of the sixty-one craftsman guilds was indicated in a stratigraphic sequence of prestige ending with the butchers, chandlers, furriers, coiners, goldsmiths and their apprentices as the artisan groups closest to the Eucharist. This list could be interpreted as a visualization of actual and/or wished or even forced order.[31]

The latter possible option might not evidently be an over-interpretation since the early 1460s brought relatively turbulent times to the city. In the fight between the

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29 J. ASCHBACH, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, pp. 314–317. On the role of the university see Christian LACKNER, *Wissen für den Hof. Die Universität Wien und der Hof der österreichischen Herzoge im späten 14. und frühen 15. Jahrhundert* and Meta NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, *Die Stimme der Universität Wien im mehrstimmigen Satz des Wissenskonzertes im ausgehenden 15. und beginnenden 16. Jahrhundert*, in: Kurt Mühlberger – Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (Hg.), Die Universität Wien im Konzert europäischer Bildungszentren. 14.-16. Jahrhundert, Wien – München 2010, pp. 37–51 and 113–140.

30 Such a flag, which might be used even in the grand processions on the day of Corpus Christi is now in the possession of the Historical Museum of the City of Vienna. See Robert WAISSENBERGER, *Schausammlung. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien*, Wien 1984, pp. 39–40, 41: "Kat. Nr. 1/76, Bürgerfahne, 1465".

31 E. TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs 2. Teil*, pp. 176–178; Ferdinand OPLL, *Leben im mittelalterlichen Wien*, Wien 1998, p. 131 and footnote 58; M. SCHEUTZ, „*hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät*", pp. 173–204, esp. pp. 179, 186–187. For the original document see: Municipal Archives of the City of Vienna (WStLA Wien), 3.4.A.97: Eid- und Handwerksordnungsbuch der Stadt Wien, 1364-1533, fol. 233.

Habsburg brothers Friedrich III and Albrecht VI (1457–1463) the groups of Viennese burghers changed sides several times. During the local lordship of Albrecht (December 1462 – December 1463) Friedrich's supporters organized in April 1463 a failed coup d'état. As a consequence, Albrecht, who successfully asked during the fight for crucial military help from the majority of craftsmen, took a violent revenge and ordered a number of imprisonments, torturing and executions including even the mayor of the city. As a consequence, in the newly created civic leadership the artisans represented now a majority with e.g. four furriers, and one-one carpenter, chandler, baker and butcher. As a vivid background, this context of conflicts and violence sheds a special light on the wording of the above-mentioned regulation. As the title explicitly indicates, one has to notice ("*vermerkcht*") this order of all the Viennese artisanship on how they should after each other march ("*nacheinvnder geen sullen*") in the procession on the day of Corpus Christi. Unlike in the case of the university in the late 1380s and 1410s, there was no documented protest against this regulation. Presumably for those who might show unsatisfaction and were not fully aware of the meaning and possible consequences of the word "*sullen*" the events in April 1463 could serve as a threatening reminder.[32]

At the end of this decade in 1469 the Viennese processional landscape became even more complex with the creation of the city-bishopric in Vienna. According to the papal bull, the new institution's small territory included three urban parishes and fourteen regional ones in the direct vicinity, and, as a fulfilment of the wishes of Friedrich III, the secular patron of the bishopric was from now on the archduke. Nevertheless, due to fierce opposition of the Passau diocese the new ecclesiastical institution commenced to functionally exist only in 1480, while the first regular Viennese bishop was introduced into his office as late as 1513. The latter process meant significant changes also for St Stephen's church. After the Rudolphian creation of a Collegiate Chapter (a community of lay clerics) with a head and twenty-four members with papal consent in 1365 the leader of this institution, also functioning as the chancellor of the university, exercised here the parish rights. In 1480 the most important Viennese centre of Christian worship became a cathedral, where the bishop or in the first years of trouble and vacancy the administrator was entitled to inherit the former authorities. Why do these details matter in the Eucharistic context?[33]

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32   Peter ZAUNER, *Zur Datierung der Absetzung des kaisertreuen Rates in Wien und zum Zug Kaiser Friedrichs III. in die Stadt im August 1462*, Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien 54, 1998, pp. 247–270; Richard PERGER, *Die politische Rolle der Wiener Handwerker im Spätmittelalter*, Wiener Geschichtsblätter 38, 1983, pp. 1–36, esp. pp. 22–25; Ferdinand OPLL – Richard PERGER, *Kaiser Friedrich III. und die Wiener 1483–1485*, Wien 1993, esp. pp. 10–12.

33   R. PERGER, *Der organisatorische und wirtschafliche Rahmen*, pp. 232–234; Karl VOCELKA, *Kirchengeschichte*, in: Peter Csendes – Ferdinand Opll (Hg.), Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. Karl Vocelka –

Because one of the highly relevant sources on late medieval Eucharistic marches in Vienna is an undated processional ordinance naming the latter dignitary (indeed in plural: "*Bischöfe*") as one of the most prominent participants of the festive train. The text with the title "*Ordo processionis in die corporis Christi*" originates therefore most probably from the second half of the fifteenth century and gives a comprehensive sequential vision on the groups of participants. Since the exact context of the birth of this list is unknown, it is uncertain whether similar external circumstances and forces inscribed their agenda into this list as it became apparent for the rolls from the late 1380s and early 1460s. The usage of the imperative is though very telling not only in the general introduction ("*sic teneatur*") but also in the general *should* sense of the entire regulation. According to the ordinance, the entire artisanship (i.e. the craftsmen guilds: "*czeche*") with its candles is meant to lead the way followed by the university *membra* marching with flags. In this part each unit of the festive train of young scholars, students and magisters should march after a single special magister. These groups were positioned right to the reliquaries, which were carried by various ecclesiastical bodies of the Viennese clerics, priests and monks.[34]

Here there is, besides the earlier imperative academic and artisan regulations of hierarchy, a new "*ordo*", this time for the clergy. This part of the Viennese inhabitants together with the university *membra* was in the first line responsible for the soundscape during such festive acts.[35] Bearing in mind that the list ends with a special presentation of the Eucharist (here: "*Celum cum tabernaculo nostro*"), the Carmelites, Augustines, Franciscans, Dominicans, the Holy Spirit Hospital, the Teutonic Knights, the Knights of St John and the Benedictines ("*Scoti*") received the less prestigious places. Following the chaplains and hospitallers reliquaries of Sts Jerome, Philip, Rupert, Peter and Jacob

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Anita Traninger (Hg.): Band 2: Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert), Wien 2003, p. 311.

34   Johann WEISSENSTEINER, *Die Geistlichkeit in der österreichischen Stadt des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stadt Wien*, in: Peter Csendes – Johannes Seidl (Red.), Stadt und Prosopographie. Zur quellenmäßigen Erforschung von Personen und sozialen Gruppen in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Linz 2002, pp. 81–90; Susana ZAPKE, *Zum 650-jährigen Jubiläum der öffentlichen Begehung der Fronleichnamsprozession in Wien (1363–2013). Ein Vorbericht*, Codices Manuscripti & Impressi, Zeitschrift für Buchgeschichte 91/92, December 2013, pp. 33–37, esp. pp. 33–35. For the original document see: Austrian National Library (ÖNB), Cod. 4712, Fol. 109r.

35   On medieval Viennese music in the clerical scene see *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien*, Wien 1987, pp. 17–87. For the concrete musical role of the Viennese university, in general, and the soundcape in the city during the procession e.g. in 1507, in particular, see Theophil ANTONICEK, *Musik- und Theaterleben an der alten Universität*, in: G. Hamman – K. Mühlberger – F. Skacel (Hg.), Das Alte Universitätsviertel in Wien, pp. 161–176 and Melitta EBENBAUER, *850 Jahre Musik am Stephansdom im Überblick*, in: 850 Jahre St. Stephan, pp. 408–422, esp. p. 413 and footnote 39.

processed after them.[36] It is clear from the ordinance, that the parish centre of St Michael received a less prestigious role since the members of the St Stephen's church were closing the line with the "*praelati*" and "*episcopi*" just in front of the city's cross and the cathedral's tabernacle both objects being carried under baldachins.[37]

This detailed prescriptive description could evoke a consensual, even harmonic concept of Christian urban unity and solidarity, which could indeed be a slightly misleading idea. On the one hand, as the earlier demonstrations highlighted, ordinances were in many cases answers for situations of conflicts or at least uncertainties. On the other, even if the proper background of this text is missing the imperative forms and an additional reminder at naming the St Michael's church, that the guild members ("*czechani*") should not be let mingle with the procession are strong hints. The wording shows that the "voice" of the regulation originates from the context of the St Stephen's church and the above-mentioned concern most probably arose from earlier events and eventual disputes on one's position in the Eucharistic train.[38]

Such potential turbulences causing even material damages can be deciphered from the financial records of the cathedral custody of St Stephen. According to these notes (available from 1421 until 1522) after the Corpus Christi procession and *ostensio reliquiarum* through the city in 1454 some reparation works were necessary on the reliquary "*nach dem durcheinander, der in der proces geschach*".[39] The examples from the contexts of the university, artisan guilds and ecclesiastical bodies all indicated certain

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36 On the specific role of the so-called civic hospital, *Bürgerspital* (from the thirteenth century in front of the Kärntner Tor and after 1530 at the earlier monastery of St Clare) in the Corpus Christi day processions see: Brigitte POHL-RESL, *Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit. Das Wiener Bürgerspital im Mittelalter*, Wien – München 1996, pp. 120–124. The hospital participated in the march through sending from its own circle four priests, who were processing with "*des spitals heiltumb*". Sometimes additional priests were hired in order to fulfil the obligations on this festive day. In the fifteenth century, since the mid-1450s, the latest, even weekly Corpus Christi processions were organised at this hospital (cf. footnotes 283, 284, 299–303).

37 See the previous footnotes and for futher musical aspects of the Viennese Corpus Christi processions, especially while administering the sacrament to the sick in the 1440s see K. SCHÜTZ, *Musikpflege*, pp. 15–16, footnote 10; B. POHL-RESL, *Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit*, s. 120 and Peter WRIGHT, *Polyphony for Corpus Christi in an Unknown Fragmentary Source from Mid-Fifteenth-Century Central Europe: An Interim Report*, in: M. J. Bloxam – G. Filocamo – L. Holford-Strevens (eds.), Uno gentile et subtile ingenio. Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn, Turnhout 2009, pp. 271–282, esp. pp. 279–282.

38 For the dangers of the idea of a harmonic unity see Franz-Josef ARLINGHAUS, *Einheit der Stadt? Religion und Performanz im spätmittelalterlichen Braunschweig*, in: Werner Freitag (Hg.), Die Pfarre in der Stadt. Siedlungskern – Bürgerkirche – Urbanes Zentrum, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2011, pp. 77–96.

39 J. WEISSENSTEINER, *Mehr wert als Edelgestein*, pp. 24–27, esp. footnote 20 and 21. For the original documents see Archives of the Diocese of Vienna (DAW), Domkapitel, Custos Raittungen, Nr. B/1/b, fol. 3v and Nr. B/1/f, fol. 10r.

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socio-cultural tensions in the processional veneration of the Eucharist, however, in most of the cases they questioned only the hierarchy inside the procession and not the mere concept and legitimacy of the festive march itself. In this sense the sixteenth century opened a qualitatively new chapter in the history of Corpus Christi processions.

Marching With the Eucharist in an Age of Conflicts

Veneration of the Host in the Era of the Latin War

As discussed above, as early as in the foundation decades in the late fourteenth century the university *membra* were required to contribute to the honour, prestige and sound-scape of the Viennese Eucharistic trains. Moreover, during religious festivities such as Corpus Christi processions the three divisions of the fellows of the city's school were also ordered to appear "*in corpore*", where the cohorts of the youngest, then the middle group and at last the oldest were marching behind their leaders. The hierarchical sequence though, as demonstrated earlier, caused re-occurring turbulences. However, most of these conflicts never threatened with the absence of some key participants. One of the first known cases of a potential boycott of the Eucharistic procession came from the academic body of the *universitas*. During the fifteenth century not only individual faculties but even the university itself could use the Eucharistic discourse in order to maintain and even propagate its own interests. In 1447 e.g. after a student of theology was, as a threat to public order, imprisoned by the city judge neither the rector, nor the *consistorium* could help him to be released. Finally, the university then, in accordance with its papal privilege, excommunicated the judge and prohibited all university members to participate in the prospective Corpus Christi processions until the former citizen was not moved from his position and the student released from prison. The blackmailing strategy brought success and the urban government could find a convenient agreement with the university.[40]

Of course, in this case the absence remained only a threat but around and after 1500 social tensions and differences in cultural concepts culminating at and in Corpus Christi became much more significant, especially in the relations of the university *membra* with the Viennese civic population. On the one hand, the students engaged in developing

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40   *Conspectus historiae universitatis Viennensis… promotore R.P. Josepho Reichenau*, I., Viennae 1722, pp. 157–158; J. ASCHBACH, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität*, p. 211; Peter CSENDES (Hg.), *Die Rechtsquellen der Stadt Wien*, Wien 1986, p. 229; Kurt MÜHLBERGER, *Schule und Unterricht*, in: Peter Csendes – Ferdinand Opll (Hg.), Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. Band 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Ersten Wiener Türkenbelagerung (1529), Wien 2001, pp. 291–318, esp. p. 301.

their own ways to use and even abuse the Eucharistic feast. As early as in 1499 the Faculty of Arts took preparatory steps for new statutes of the faculty with the clear intention of prohibiting students from performing Swiss-like military parades as "*lanceatores*" on the *antefestum* and during the octave of Corpus Christi. The day before the feast was regularly free of teaching at this faculty, which could additionally encourage the students to organize their own special celebrations including such military marches with weapons.[41] Few years later during the gathering of the university in the Corpus Christi march in 1505 a fellow of the latter institution and at the same time member of the Collegiate Chapter at the cathedral was caught by the students, who took him in a violent manner to the prison of the *universitas*. As a response, the ecclesiastical body at St Stephen's church threatened with a boycott of the Eucharistic procession. The arrested *licentiatus* was later released and the two institutions could find a *modus vivendi* for solving the troubles. This incident also demonstrated the potentially explosive nature of Eucharistic marches and their social and cultural contexts.[42]

Even more, some eight years later in 1513 Corpus Christi day brought in Vienna actually the direct opposite of what was envisioned in the bull of pope Urban IV, namely celebrating the feast of the sacrament as a memory of God's love. Instead of such pious contents the *festum* witnessed conflict, fight and even violent death, which together with the aftermaths in the following year was soon after named as *Bellum Latinum* (Latin War). In a *tumultus* on 26th May in the outskirt in front of the Widmertor (see Figure 1) next to a *domus meritoria* (brothel) a *seditio* (fight) between students and vineyard workers (*ligonistae* or *solifossores*) took place. As a consequence, two persons (a civic inhabitant and a magister of the Faculty of Arts, Quirinus Teininger) were killed and many others were wounded.[43] The conflict was fuelled by an obligatory *cingulum* (belt)

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41   Thomas MAISEL, „*Bellum Latinum*". *Eine studentische Rebellion des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Wien*, in: Kurt Mühlberger – Thomas Maisel (Hg.), Aspekte der Bildungs- und Universitätsgeschichte 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert, Wien 1993, pp. 191–231, esp. pp. 205–206 and footnote 61. For the original source quoted by Maisel see University Archives of Vienna (UAW), Cod. Ph 9, Acta Facultatis Artium IV, fol. 10v (1499): "*Precipimus et inhibemus seriose, ne studentes nostri more lanceatorum et elvetiorum in profesto corporis Christi neque in octava eiusdem pro frondibus exeant cum bombardis, cuspidibus et lanceis ac tunicis acurtatis sub pena retardationis perpetuo ad gradum.*"

42   For the case in 1505 see *Conspectus historiae universitatis Viennensis… promotore R.P. Josepho Reichenau*, II., Viennae 1724, p. 70 and for additional information on the event: T. MAISEL, „*Bellum Latinum*", pp. 205–206. For the original source quoted by Maisel see University Archives of Vienna (UAW), Cod. Ph 9, Acta Facultatis Artium IV, fol. 42r (1505).

43   Kurt MÜHLBERGER, *Universität und Stadt im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Wiens. Wesentliche Grundlagen und ausgewählte Szenen einer „konfliktbeladenen Harmonie"*, in: K. Mühlberger – M. Niederkorn-Bruck (Hg.), Die Universität Wien, pp. 53–83, esp. p. 76 and Thomas MAISEL, *Der „Lateinische Krieg". Eine studentische Revolte des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Wien*, Historische Anthropologie 3, 1995, pp. 389–411.

for the *scholares* (students) of the arts marking them as undergraduate members of the university. Most probably the *ligonistae* or *solifossores* mocked the students for this obligatory piece of outfit. Although the fight could be stopped after the arrival of the city judge and other Viennese citizens, in the following month the fierce debates on the *cingulum* continued. Still, the fact that the tensions culminated on Corpus Christi day was most probably not at all a mere coincidence and in the summer of 1514, when the conflict re-occurred, several hundreds of students were expelled from the university as a direct consequence.[44]

While the latter cases show social conflicts intruding the idealistic veneration of the Host, in the first decades of the sixteenth-century even the feast's cultural connotations and interpretations were changing. In the decade of the Latin War rather unorthodox ideas on the non-Corpus Christi day Eucharistic marches were spreading in various strata (including the *clerici*) of the Viennese population. Namely, if in the weekly sequence of minor Eucharistic processions the Thursday falls on the start of new moon the festive march with the Host ought to be celebrated with especially great pomp and solemnity. In this case the university could add a both professional and self-legitimizing contribution to the Eucharistic discourse, since in order to avoid the popularization of such potentially heretic ideas emperor Maximilian I (1508–1519) asked in a letter (Nuremberg, 10th February 1512) for an educated opinion and evaluation from the academic body.[45]

The university, namely the rector, the theology professors and the "*magistri collegiales*" gave a detailed report in order to fulfil the ruler's wishes and expectations. Furthermore, in a long analysis they emphasized the Jewish and partly even pagan origins of the custom. In addition, they firmly stated that the latter tradition had been already eradicated without any protest. Finally, they not at all missed this opportunity to praise the ruler's efforts in keeping the purity of Christian faith.[46] As demonstrated with

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44 T. MAISEL, „*Bellum Latinum*", pp. 191–231, esp. pp. 194–199 and for some of the sources see University Archives of Vienna (UAW), Cod. Ph 9, Acta Facultatis Artium IV fol. 83v, while especially on the events in 1514 see Hermann WIESFLECKER, *Wien vor der Reformation. Eine Studentenrevolte im Jahre 1514*, in: Karl Amon et al. (ed.), Ecclesia peregrinans. Josef Lenzenweger zum 70. Geburtstag, Wien 1986, pp. 161–167.

45 For the described case see Joseph Ritter von ASCHBACH, *Die Wiener Universität und ihre Humanisten im Zeitalter Kaiser Maximilians I*, II. Band, Wien 1877, p. 113 and for the publications of the letters on the weekly processional sequence and potentially heretic custom see *Conspectus historiae universitatis II.*, pp. 75–81.

46 See previous footnote and for the university as a centre of humanistic knowledge and intellectual services for the court see Paul UIBLEIN, *Die Wiener Universität, ihre Magister und Studenten zur Zeit Regiomontans*, in: Günther Hamann (Hg.), Regiomontanus-Studien, Wien 1980, pp. 393–443 and Helmuth GRÖSSING, *Die Wiener Universität im Zeitalter des Humanismus von der Mitte des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: G. Hamman – K. Mühlberger – F. Skacel (Hg.), Das Alte Universitätsviertel in Wien, pp. 37 ff.

the cases in the decades around 1500, the notions attached to the Eucharistic feast and its processional celebration experienced relevant social and cultural transformations at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These phenomena can be interpreted as the first signs of those metamorphoses of Corpus Christi, which led in the following decades of the sixteenth century towards the Protestant discourse of the complete denial of the Host's processional veneration.

Solemn Processions and Protestant Host Desecrations

In the Vienna of the 1520s the socio-cultural tide was clearly turning and the new ideas of the Reformation on the real presence of Christ in the Host (e.g. questioning the mere sense of Eucharistic processions) were gaining more and more sympathizers, followers and even their first martyrs. Without doubt, in these processes the weaknesses of the local ecclesiastical structures played a significant role. The bishopric e.g. was governed for several decades by administrators and the first bishop, who actually resided in Vienna (Georg Slatkonia, 1513–1522) took his seat under the reign of Maximilan I. Although archduke Ferdinand I (1521–1564) initiated a number of educational reforms from 1524 on, a relatively weak pastoral system and the university as a catalyst and communicator of new ideas also contributed to the birth of a new atmosphere. In 1520 even bishop Slatkonia showed explicitly non-negative attitudes towards the ideas of Martin Luther and his followers. Three years later the first known Viennese student entered the university of Wittenberg and in 1524 the Protestant movement embraced his first martyr tortured, beheaded and burnt in the Austrian city. Caspar Tauber, a former member of the Corpus Christi brotherhood at St Stephen's church, after circa seven years of membership left the Eucharistic confraternity in 1522 and before his execution in 1524 he became as a preacher and pamphlet writer one of the first propagators of Luther's ideas in Austria.[47]

Bishop Johann Faber (1530–1541), an advisor of Ferdinand I since 1522, showed an openly hostile attitude towards Wittenberg. Yet, a series of bans on Protestant books and preachers in the 1530s, a number of open-air executions, and the Lower Austrian prohibition on visiting Protestant universities in 1544 clearly demonstrate the growing success of the reform thoughts. Nevertheless, the Lower Austrian regulation for craftsmen ("*Policeyordnung*") in 1527 still decreed the obligatory participation of all artisans

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47 Grete MECENSEFFY, *Wien im Zeitalter der Reformation des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wiener Geschichtsblätter 29, 1974, pp. 228–239, esp. pp. 228–232; Karl VOCELKA, *Die kulturelle Bedeutung Wiens im 16. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Geschichtsblätter, 29, 1974, pp. 239–251, esp. on the archducal reforms of the educational system see p. 245; Franz LOIDL, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Wien*, Wien 1983, p. 9; K. VOCELKA, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 311–320.

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in the procession on Corpus Christi day and, indeed, from the 1530s there are pieces of evidence available on Eucharistic processions (e.g. in 1535) and other religious plays.[48] Moreover, Catholics formed a majority in the city council even in the following decade. The tide was, however, just too strong to turn back, at least in the mid-sixteenth century. The number of communions (e.g. at the St Michael's parish church) was drastically sinking, the university of Vienna propagated Protestant intellectual tendencies and bishop Friedrich Nausea (1541–1551) decided to show at least some compromises towards the new ideas spreading not only among the Lower and Upper Austrian nobility but also in Vienna's civic and clerical population. According to later accounts, when a Polish visitor to Vienna (the Jesuit Stanislaw Kostka) was desperately looking for spiritual help he encountered a lot of Protestant clerics, but none Catholic who was willing to offer him the Eucharist. This might sound as an extreme example but in these decades the Catholic *ecclesia* was turning to exist as a minority in the city.[49]

After and during such socio-cultural transformations the first known Protestant Host desecration within the processional context of the Eucharist occurred in 1549. As mentioned in the introduction, the attributes of the violator, Johann Hayn, characterize him as an outsider. He came from the far away region of Franconia and worked in Vienna as a bakery apprentice. According to the 1463 list, the former artisan group enjoyed a relatively convenient position in the processional hierarchy (in front of the tailors, butchers, chandlers and so on, furriers, coiners and goldsmiths), but Hayn was neither a full guild member nor a local citizen. This case might be characterized as a single act of a marginal stranger, who originated from a different territory and enjoyed no actual socio-cultural embeddedness in Vienna itself. The harsh punishment after his arrest and the dramatic torture, however, could indicate a show-case *exemplum* to the born and bred Viennese public. The open-air execution with the tongue cut out, hands cut off at the place of the desecration (corner of the Graben square and St Dorotheergasse: see Figure 1) and body burnt alive at Erdberg (No. 47) might be deciphered as a demonstration

48   See the following footnote and specifically for Eucharistic festivities in the 1530s: Karl UHLIRZ, *Die Rechnungen des Kirchenmeisteramtes von St. Stephan zu Wien*, Wien 1902, pp. 477–495 and E. TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs 2. Teil*, pp. 256, 293, 450, 604: e.g. in Graz the Corpus Christi marches paused between 1550 and 1572 because of lack of interest and/or fear. In 1601 the procession was again celebrated publicly with the participation of the archduke and so on. For some details see Hans PIRCHEGGER, *Geschichte der Steiermark 1282–1740*, Graz 1931, p. 408.

49   See previous footnote and Max KRATOCHWILL, *Wien im 16. Jahrhundert*, in: Wilhelm Rausch (Hg.), Die Stadt an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, Linz/Donau 1980, pp. 75–92, esp. pp. 80–84 and Kurt MÜHLBERGER, *Zwischen Reform und Tradition. Die Universität Wien in der Zeit des Renaissance-Humanismus und der Reformation*, Mitteilungen der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschafts-geschichte 15, 1995, pp. 13–42, esp. pp. 25–29. On the "*Policeyordnung*" in 1527 see M. SCHEUTZ, „*hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät*", p. 180 and footnote 47.

to the eventually sympathizing spectators on what could happen to explicit and pro-active critics of such public ceremonies. In order to guarantee the subsistence of the *exemplum*, as emphasized earlier, a commemorative column was erected at the site of the Host violation.[50]

One of the few contemporary reports on the event originates from the notices of the so-called "*Stifts-Dechantes*" of the ecclesiastical foundation in the neighbouring town of Klosterneuburg. According to this account, after the violent act the baker apprentice was first only arrested and the execution took place as late as in November. The description provided here confirms the possibility that his public torture was meant to suppress further unorthodox critics on Eucharistic marches. In a special terrifying procession "*ist er geführt worden auf einem wagen darauff ein Pinn mit laden, ist er darauff gewesen…*". As the chariot taking him reached the place of the Host violation the hangman, namely master Gallus, cut out half of his tongue and chopped off his hands. Being still alive they took him to the Stubentor (see Figure 1), where at the stake he was "*in auf der Gemsswayd verprennt zu einen aschen…*" on 12th November 1549.[51] Thus, this record not only supports the idea of making an *exemplum*, but the processional form of the horrors and the way and location of the acts of mutilation are clear references to his sins. Namely, as the report goes, beyond attacking the priest and the Host with his hands he also opened his mouth and loudly questioned the sheer legitimacy of the processional veneration of the Eucharist. Although these shocking scenes might have produced an immediate terrifying impact, the further initiatives and deeds of the Habsburg archdukes, Viennese bishops and other Catholic authorities indicate that Johann Hayn was not the one and only unorthodox soul in mid-sixteenth century Vienna.[52]

Although the Jesuits were invited to the city two years later, the late 1550s and the 1560s brought increasing Protestant influences.[53] Throughout the whole era the key centres of these thoughts were the landed properties and castles of the nobility, however,

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50   Moritz SMETS, *Wien im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Wien 1969, p. 49; Walter STURMINGER, *Der Milchkrieg zu Wien am Fronleichnamstag 1578*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 53, 1950, p. 614; Martin SCHEUTZ, *Kaiser und Fleischhackerknecht. Städtische Fronleichnamsprozessionen und öffentlicher Raum in Niederösterreich/Wien während der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Thomas Aigner (Hg.), Aspekte der Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit, St. Pölten 2003, pp. 62–125, esp. p. 68.

51   See previous footnote and H.-J. ZEIBIG, *Aufzeichnungen der Klosterneuburger*, p. 316.

52   On the wider context see M. SCHEUTZ, „*hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät*", pp. 173–204, esp. p. 181.

53   On the role of the Jesuits see Gernot HEISS, *Die Wiener Jesuiten und das Studium der Theologie und der Artes an der Universität und im Kolleg im ersten Jahrzehnt nach ihrer Berufung (1551)*, in: K. Mühlberger – M. Niederkorn-Bruck (Hg.), Die Universität Wien, pp. 245–268. On their impact in the second half of the century: Elaine FULTON, *Mutual Aid: The Jesuits and the Courtier in Sixteenth-Century*

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in the person of Sebastian Huetstocker (†1557) Vienna was governed in this period by a mayor belonging to the Lutheran confession. Moreover, in 1564 and a decade later (1576–1578) Protestant schools existed inside the city in noble palaces. In the 1560s even the bishopric administrator and strong advocate of the Catholic reformation, Urban from Gurk (1563–1568) had to make some confessional compromises until he at last, as a disappointed man, returned to Gurk in 1568. The second well-known Protestant host desecration took place two years later in 1570 in the above described cultural atmosphere. Again a baker apprentice (Conrad Haußner) this time from Württemberg attacked the Host. According to the subsequent Catholic historiography of Vienna, he was imme-diately taken into the air by the devil (see Figure 2) and after an exhausting flight he fall back to the ground and landed with serious injuries. As the story goes, he was found afterwards in a speechless, half-dead condition. It is not recorded whether Haußner could earn any sympathy with his act, since the Catholic discoursive tradition presented the affair in a fairly unambiguous way. In this textual framework the devil as a device of God's wrath executes a similar job as master Gallus performed in 1549. The prospective baker was taken both of the abilities (speech and motion) he (mis)used by scoffing at the Eucharistic march.[54] In the latter two cases the Protestant scepsis on the validity of such festive trains was represented explicitly by only two individuals, whereas eight years after the second incident not the tortured bodies of the violators but the Host itself faced to fall on the ground amidst a turbulent tumult.

Veneration of the Host and the Milk War

In contrast with the violent Host attack in 1570, the second half of this decade under the aegis of archducal, Jesuit and bishopric co-operation brought new energies for the Catholic cause in Vienna. In 1578 emperor Rudolf II (1576–1612) ordered the closure of the short-lived second attempt of a Protestant school on noble soil inside the city and in this and the previous year he issued a ban on public religious and educational services of the latter confessional group in Vienna. The last two and a half decades of the sixteenth century brought new structural and personal strength to the Jesuits' Viennese presence and the era of bishop Johann Caspar Neuböck (1574–1594) meant a re-orga-nisation and re-vitalization of the bishopric institution in general and in 1577 the Eucha-ristic confraternal life, in particular, in the spirit of Catholic reform. In this atmosphere

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Vienna, in: Maria Crăciun – Elaine Fulton (eds.), Communities of Devotion. Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800, Farnham 2011, pp. 171–196.

54 Matthias FUHRMANN, *Alt- und Neues Wien* […], Anderter Teil, Wien 1739, p. 807; W. STUR-MINGER, *Der Milchkrieg*, pp. 614–615; K. VOCELKA, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 325–355; M. SCHEUTZ, „*hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät*", pp. 181–182. For the depiction see Figure 2.

the above mentioned united forces felt themselves strong enough to organize a pompous Eucharistic march for Corpus Christi day in 1578 hosting not only the recent propagator of the Catholic cause, emperor Rudolf II, but also his brothers Ernst and Maximilian, and even the Bavarian prince Ferdinand with all of their knights and escorts.[55]

After a number of years without grand festive trains with the Host for the 29th May Rudolf returned from his new residence in Prague and the processional route (see Figure 1: 1578 Corpus Christi Day) starting from the St Stephen's church (No. 17) included the Kärntner Strasse, the church of the Civic Hospital (No. 10; *Bürgerspitalkirche*), the foreground of the St Michael's (No. 7) cemetery and the squares of the Kohlmarkt and Graben. At the last significant stage before the solemn train's return to the cathedral an unprecedented event happened after which the Spanish and the Italian knights drew their swords, high-ranking secular baldachin-bearers abandoned their duties and a number of clerics threw away the precious crosses, monstrances and candles running for their lives towards the neighbouring houses and St Stephen's. The ultimate Catholic display of the Eucharistic veneration virtually exploded in a chaotic scene. The festive procession was broken, the participants were fleeing and the sacral heart of the solemn march entered into a phase of dissolution. What kind of event (see Figure 3) caused such a panic among the Catholic confessional group and why was this frightening turbulence labelled later as milk war?

News on the chaos on Corpus Christi day spread out in all points of the compass. The furthermost immediate corner was most probably a forest at Pedreno in Bulgaria, where Stephan Gerlach, the secretary of the imperial envoy to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul commemorated the events in his diaries on 22nd June. Interestingly enough, one hundred years later with the publication of his records this version turned to be the first one reaching a wider public in a printed form and this account was reproduced even after in other works. Therefore, Gerlach's confessionally biased notice on the *tumultus* largely contributed to the prospective general reception of the event. This author categorized the Corpus Christi celebration in a Protestant spirit as a papal feast and he reports on the deep fear and great anxiety of the papists marching in the presence of high secular dignitaries. In his account these feelings caused that participants of the train broke some benches originally meant for spectators. The minor accidents raised a hue and cry, which again made the Italian and Spanish escorts expecting a Lutheran provocation.

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55 E. FULTON, *Mutual Aid*, esp. pp. 188–196; K. VOCELKA, *Kirchengeschichte*, esp. pp. 316–326, 355–356; E. TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs 2. Teil*, esp. pp. 390–411.

While the secular participants of the procession including the emperor pulled out their weapons, the clerical marchers let the baldachin, monstrances, candles and so on fall and they all ran to the cathedral as if the devil had been chasing them. As Gerlach's report goes, an unknown clerical outed "*nun heute Pfaff und morgen nimmer*", while the chaplain of the Bavarian duke gave away his fine coat in order to flee more easily. As the diary comments, the papal delegate had literarily lost control over his body and "*hab aus Furcht in die Hosen…*", while the Venetian envoy ran up to a bastion and promised half of his fortune to his servant for not revealing his hide. Finally, everybody soon realized that there was actually neither a verbal insult nor a physical attack going on. As Gerlach ends his report, eight days later neither the emperor took part in the procession, nor the Viennese citizens and craftsmen were meant to participate in the festivity since "*sie der mehrer Theil lutherisch sind*".[56]

Besides this document, there are some more contemporary letters describing the above mentioned scandal. On the day after Corpus Christi Dr Georg Eder informed the Bavarian duke Albrecht V (1550–1579). This text already used as one of the earliest reports the expression "*Milchkrieg*". Two further short contemporary accounts on the *tumultus* are an Italian letter in the Austrian National Library (Fugger reports) and the early-July memo of the Viennese bishop (Johann Kaspar Neuböck) to his friend (Professor Jodochus Lorichius) in Freiburg im Breisgau. Finally, a Swiss correspondence in the Central Library in Zurich dating from 12th June contributes to the existing pieces of information on this particular sequence of events. This report emphasized the already apparent mistrust between the two confessional groups, which caused a tumult. This description, however, gives a different explanation for the outbreak of the panic. Accordingly, the soldiers making way for the procession rather aggressively ("*mit ungebürlicher unbschaidenhait*") pulled away the people, which act led to having broken jars of milk, eggs and butter all around. The owners of these products started to complain about their loss in a loud manner, and the sudden change in the festive soundscape was immediately interpreted at the other side of the square as a sign of "*ein verrätherey oder angesteltes mord*". People started to flee in a large number and turbulent manner, which also contributed to the chaos causing young and old falling on each other leaving behind the impression of a natural catastrophe as if "*ein windsturm vber ein kornfeld gangen wäre*". Since the clerics started to run leaving behind all the festive objects, the secular participants promptly decided to grab for their arms. The Italian and Spanish guards drew their swords and ran towards the falling torches and candles since they feared that

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56   For Gerlach's report see W. STURMINGER, *Der Milchkrieg*, pp. 614–624, esp. pp. 623–624. For the depiction of the event see Figure 3.

the "*Luterschen*" were planning a violent act against the emperor and the bishop. As the report goes, there were no casualties and during the procession in the octave the ones who did not wish for participation could stay at home and no regular commercial activities took place on the market.[57]

Dr Eder's letter describes the perspective of an active participant marching just next to the baldachin. As he writes, when the procession was approaching from the "*Kolmarckht*" towards the Graben square one could hear a threatening screaming ("*ain greiliches geschray*") of women and see a running mass of eventually hundreds from which nobody knew who might be a friend and who a foe. Members of the ecclesiastical bodies, some soldiers but also armed citizens decided to flee in a chaotic manner. As described earlier, the highest dignitaries prepared themselves for the worst, but then all soon realized the lack of any potential danger and their misunderstanding of the situation. However, Eder mentions that the fear was not without any reason since no such a procession, this time even with imperial presence, took place for fifteen years and rumours were spreading prior to the ceremony that a tumult might happen. Before writing his letter Eder carried out after the events some investigations, which results he gladly communicated towards the Bavarian duke Albrecht V.[58]

Accordingly, the place of conflict at Graben was originally occupied by a lot of farmers, among others women selling their "*victualia*". While the procession was moving ahead the food sellers' jars broke, children fell on the streets which acts culminated in a frightening female outcry. Eder and the other participants were expecting a bloodshed going on but, as a relief to all of them, nobody was actually murdered or even wounded. In Eder's view the Lutherans ran away the fastest, while he and others continued the procession in a singing march. They even listened to an evangelium at the memento of the baker apprentice's Host desecration before returning to the cathedral. As Eder puts it, the whole "*mülichkrieg*" would be a ridiculous story hadn't it happened on the feast of Corpus Christi in the presence of the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire.[59]

In a second letter on 15th June Eder informed the Bavarian duke Albrecht V on the events of the feast's octave. As he describes, this procession in the presence of three dukes

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57 See previous footnote and regarding the general atmosphere: M. SCHEUTZ, „*hinter Ihrer Käyser-lichen Majestät*", pp. 173–204.

58 On the person of Georg Eder see E. FULTON, *Mutual Aid*, esp. pp. 188–196 and for the report see previous footnotes.

59 See previous footnote and for other cases including the role of the old and new Corpus Christi confraternities in an Austrian context: Willibald KATZINGER, *Die Bruderschaften in den Städten Oberösterreichs als Hilfsmittel der Gegenreformation und Ausdruck barocker Frömmigkeit*, in: Jürgen Sydow (Hg.), Bürgerschaft und Kirche, Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 97–112 and M. SCHEUTZ, *Kaiser und Fleischhackerknecht*, pp. 62–125.

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went very well with the participation (cf. the report of Gerlach) of the emperor. The Italian letter from the Fugger reports in the Austrian National Library written on 31st May releases a slightly important further detail. In the still turbulent and panicking phase of the tumult some even feared that similar events might happen as in France during the St Bartholomew's day massacre some years earlier. This time, we should add, the other way round, i.e. the Protestants planning a bloodshed among the Catholics marching in a solemn Eucharistic train. The report of the Viennese bishop, Johann Kaspar Neuböck sent to Freiburg im Breisgau to his friend, Professor Jodochus Lorichius was written circa five weeks after the *tumultus* and basically concludes the pieces of information already mentioned by the above quoted memos and letters. Further narrative sources in the form of correspondence or other ways also reflected the unexpected turbulences. Still, the most important arguments have been already summarized in the above sources. How could one then conclude these events attached to the processional veneration of the Host?[60]

Without doubt, there was a festive Eucharistic train with clerics, citizens, prominent guests and even high-ranking dignitaries marching through downtown Vienna. This idea of feast and celebration on Corpus Christi day was, however, not at all shared by the entire population of the city. One might say, some discontent in form of rumours was spreading, however, the events of the day itself are much more telling. Namely, a significant division of the Viennese public did not celebrate at all: at the both representative and commercially significant Graben square a regular market day was taking place, where e.g. agricultural goods (among others milk) were on sale. At least for those who were at that moment working and shopping at this place such a Eucharistic march had already lost its legitimization in their own religious life. Such a public situation would have been unimaginable earlier taking into consideration how this feast was celebrated in Vienna not only in the fifteenth but also in the first half of the sixteenth century. On the level of events, the aggressivity of the soldiers clearing the way for the procession might be the trigger of the forthcoming sequence. Thus, the milk whitening the ground became name-giving by eyewitnesses and later commenters.

Still, the second part of the label, namely "*war*" tells much more about the atmosphere in which such an otherwise ridiculous panic situation took place. Namely, the Catholic participants might have thought that they were culturally speaking not necessarily on home soil. It is not without any reason that the possibility of a Protestant attack activated geographically far away (Paris) but timely very recent (1572) memories on Catholics

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60 For the role of bishop Neuböck: E. TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs 2. Teil*, esp. pp. 390–411 and K. VOCELKA, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 311–338, 355–356 and concerning the sources: W. STUR-MINGER, *Der Milchkrieg*, pp. 614–624, esp. pp. 621–623.

massacring thousands of Protestants. The processing persons were in a mental condition that loud screaming, falling of candles and ornaments and a running crowd lacking orientation was enough to set them on highest alarm. No matter how many Protestants were actually present the processional veneration of the Eucharist did not belong anymore to the all-consensual expressions of Christian religious beliefs in Vienna.

This does not mean, of course, that such celebrations were not possible anymore. As mentioned above, in the octave of Corpus Christi a second procession took place, this time without any interruption. Nonetheless, the regulations and circumstances clearly indicate the lack of a general consensus on such a celebration. After some planning a new route (see Figure 1: 1578 Octave of Corpus Christi) was set and the train processed this time along the *Seitzerhof* (No. 38) through the fish market (Hoher Markt) towards St Lawrence (No. 26; Fleischmarkt) and the Untere Bäckerstrasse. Furthermore, a regulation declared that nobody should be forced to be a spectator and no market activities were allowed on this day. Finally, all who were not willing to watch the march were ordered to stay in their houses until the event ends. Each and every regulatory step indicates the lack of public consent on whether the processional celebration of Corpus Christi is an adequate way of Christian devotion or not. Moreover, the lost credibility of the form might mean, at least by some, the questioning of the sole concept of the Eucharistic idea itself. These doubts, at least in Vienna, became explicit targets of all forms of Catholic reform in the forthcoming four decades.[61]

The Corpus Christi day of 1578 in Vienna brought unexpected turbulences, however, this year can still be interpreted as the overture of the next decisive wave of Catholic reforms in the city, at the Habsburg court and in the Austrian territories. Explicitly Protestant court dignitaries began losing their positions and similar tendencies became apparent also at the university. As e.g. rector Johannes Schwarzentaler declined to participate in the above described procession because of his religious beliefs, emperor Rudolf II dismissed him shorthand and nominated a new, Catholic rector. After some structural and personal difficulties the educational and cultural role of the Jesuits was rising again. After 1581 no one should have been accepted as a lecturer or graduating doctor of the university without avowing himself to the Catholic church. Thus, these

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61 On the regulations from the early 1580s see Johannes Evangelist SCHLAGER, *Wiener Skizzen aus dem Mittelalter*, 2. Reihe, Wien 1836, pp. 27–28 and for 1578: W. STURMINGER, *Der Milchkrieg*, pp. 615–616.

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transformations culminated in the fusion of the *universitas* with the college of the Jesuits in 1623.[62]

In the sphere of the Vienna bishopric, the processes starting in 1574 with the episcopal entry of Johann Caspar Neuböck reached their peak at the turn of the century with the wide-ranging and formative ecclesiastical authority of bishop Melchior Klesl (1598–1630). The latter was born as the son of a, what an irony of destiny, Viennese Lutheran baker master. Being turned by the Jesuits he first as university chancellor (since 1579), later as rector (after 1591), and finally as bishop (1598) and cardinal (1616) contributed intensively to the confessional purge at the university and in the city. For sure, this was a process with several complex steps. A significant portion of the Viennese civic population was for example still under strong Protestant influences. In the following year of the Corpus Christi *tumultus* several thousand citizens openly but still in a humble way were asking the imperial regent, archduke Ernst for religious tolerance. Their explicit confessional coming-out led only to a number of arrests and the strengthening of book censorship in 1580.[63] The Catholic reform expressed its agenda also through re-conquering the public space for its processional landscape. From the following year a list of the processional altars preserved, which enables us to reconstruct the route (see Figure 1). The first of them was located at the house of a certain Hieronymus, while the second was erected in the Kärntner Strasse next to the mother house of the cathedral's provost (Melchior Klesl). The third and the fourth altars were placed in the church of the so-called civic hospital (No. 10; *Bürgerspital*) and at the gate of the cemetery of St Michael's church (No. 7), respectively. Finally, the fifth was installed at the Graben square "*beÿ deß herrn Oxels selig hauß*". The regulation also named the location of the altars in the octave and described how the march should be organised inside the cathedral in case of unfavourable weather conditions. The tide was clearly

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62 Arno STROHMEYER, Metropole und frühmoderne Staatsbildung: Die katholische Konfessionalisierung in Wien und Graz im Vergleich (1564–1637), in: M. Dmitrieva – K. Lambrecht (Hg.), Krakau, Prag und Wien, pp. 27–44, esp. pp. 41-44 and K. VOCELKA, Kirchengeschichte, pp. 325–335.

63 See previous footnotes and for the general festive culture at the Habsburg court in this era see Andreas GUGLER, *Feiern und feiern lassen. Festkultur am Wiener Hof in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. und der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Anhang II: Bibliographie. Feste des Wiener Hofs von der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Frühneuzeit-Info 11, 2000, pp. 90–176 and Karl VOCELKA, *Höfische Feste als Phänomene sozialer Integration und internationaler Kommunikation. Studien zur Transferfunktion habsburgischer Feste im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Andrea Langer – Georg Michels (Hg.), Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert. Prag – Krakau – Danzig – Wien, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 141–150. On similar processes and the success of Catholic reform in the late 1580s in Salzburg and in the 1600s in e.g. Carinthia and especially Klagenfurt see: E. TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs 2. Teil*, pp. 606, 638.

turning again and the processional veneration of the Eucharist was reintroduced as one of the purest expressions of Catholic confession.[64]

The socio-cultural transformations including Klesl's and emperor Ferdinand II's (1619–1637) religious and political initiatives turned Vienna into one of the most prominent stages of the re-invented Catholic Eucharistic processional practice of the Habsburgs, the *pietas Austriaca* (see Figure 4). The members of the dynasty, on the one hand, became keen on not to miss any opportunity to leave their pompous chariots and knee in a humble way, when they happened to see a priest taking the Eucharist to a person suffering death. On the other, they solemnly marched in every Corpus Christi festive train in an obligatory manner in the immediate vicinity of the Host.[65] Thus, through this metamorphosis the processional veneration form in Vienna received a new, dominantly dynastical content with wide-ranging consequences for the cultural history of this city, the Austrian territories and their people in the early modern and even modern era.[66]

Conclusion: Moving the Host towards Unity or Division?

In this paper a comprehensive analysis put under intensive scrutiny the festive celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi, in general, and its processional veneration, in particular, in late medieval and sixteenth-century Vienna. Accordingly, as a key goal the

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64 For the list with the altars see: Austrian State Archives, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (ÖStA, HHStA), XV, W 50: 100. (ad 122, Unt.-Ob.-Inneröst.) Franz Paul Edler von SMITMER, *Collectanea historica Austriaca*, Pap. XVIII. 14 B. 13 Fol. 1. 4o., 13. Band, 338 Bl., 111a-116b: *Literae Originales Apostolicarum Gratiarum pro Fraternitate Corporis Christi. Viennae in Ecclesia Cathedrali (cum introductione)* 1581, No 7. *Ex Protocollo Episcopatus Viennensis de anno 1581* et seqq. pag. 103. An. 1581 and Archives of the Diocese of Vienna (DAW), Handschriften, Wiener Protokolle 7, 229v–230r and J. E. SCHLAGER, *Wiener Skizzen*, pp. 27–28; E. TOMEK, *Kirchengeschichte Österreichs 2. Teil*, p. 639.

65 On the pietas Austriaca in general: Anna CORETH, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, 2. Auflage, Wien 1982, esp. pp. 18–32. On early modern religious and secular ceremonies in Vienna in particular: M. SCHEUTZ, „*hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät*", pp. 173–204 and Herbert KARNER, *Der Kaiser und seine Stadt. Identität und stadträumliche Semantik im barocken Wien*, in: Jan Hirschbiegel – Werner Paravicini – Jörg Wettlaufer (Hg.), Städtisches Bürgertum und Hofgesellschaft. Kulturen integrativer und konkurrierender Beziehungen in Residenz- und Hauptstädten vom 14. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert, Ostfildern 2012, pp. 141–160 and see previous footnotes. For the depiction of the *pietas Austriaca* see Figure 4.

66 For further aspects on early modern and modern Vienna see e.g. Karl VOCELKA, *Religiöse Zeremonien in der Öffentlichkeit am Beispiel des barocken Wien*, in: Irmgard Christa Becker (Hg.), Die Stadt als Kommunikationsraum. Reden, Schreiben und Schauen in Großstädten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Ostfildern 2011, pp. 91–100 and Christian STADELMANN, *Die Demonstration des politischen Katholizismus. Fronleichnam in Wien 1919–1938*, in: Olaf Bockhorn (Hg.), Urbane Welten. Referate der Österreichischen Volkskundetagung 1998 in Linz, Wien 1999, pp. 377–401.

study focused on the socio-cultural meanings of the above mentioned cult and especially the solemn marches honouring the Host. Without doubt, both the ceremonial feast (Liège, 1247) of Corpus Christi and its processional veneration (Cologne, 1260s) was born after an episcopal order in the monastic context of the north-western regions of the Holy Roman Empire in the thirteenth century. Furthermore, by the 1300s the feast and its festive marches left the monastic soil and in a high number of cities, especially in the Holy Roman Empire they went under the partial or full control (organisation, financing and management) of secular authorities representing in many cases the power of local civic elites.

Yet, in the most cited Western and Central European historiography on this field two approaches offer significantly different interpretations on the socio-cultural meaning of such Eucharistic marches. As discussed above, the first model bears the implicit or explicit footprint of the structuralist and/or symbolic-interpretative social and cultural anthropology. In accordance, Corpus Christi processions within a particular urban community should be read as acts of unity, i.e. the reflection of consensus strengthening order and reinforcing social hierarchy. Correspondingly, the Eucharistic march of the urban public and/or the representatives of the political elite expressed the self-interpretation of the city as a sacral community. In this sense socio-cultural realities (e.g. harmony, unity, consensus and so on) were created through the festive trains, which ended with the advent of the Reformation transforming Eucharistic processions into declarations of confessional identity. According to the other approach, Eucharistic marches were neither the ultimate expressions of harmony and coherence nor the best form to communicate any such kind of ideas in a particular community. These inter-pretations emphasize that even in the late medieval context a competition of visions and ideas characterized the cult of Corpus Christi. Moreover, the processional form itself might cause instability, conflict or even violent tumults. Therefore, such Eucharistic marches ought to be evaluated as value-free and open-end functional communicative tools of religious ideas.

The longue durée analysis of the feast and its processional veneration in fourteenth- and sixteenth-century Vienna could re-assess and differentiate these interpretations in a complex archducal, commercial and episcopal urban context. As we saw, in this particular urban setting the cult and procession was introduced in 1334 through an altar foundation of a donator, who was coming from the diocese of Constance and officiated in Vienna both as a parish priest of St Stephen's and as a clerk at the archducal court. As the immediate confirmation and protection of the Habsburg archdukes de-monstrated, the Eucharistic initiative was after this point, the latest, a clerical and secular one. Yet, the circle of the active participants of the yearly Corpus Christi processions

involved only the Viennese secular and monastic clergy, who were meant to march with a picture of the Holy Virgin. Regarding the issue of confraternities, Eucharistic brotherhoods existed at both of the oldest parish churches of the city, namely at St Stephen's (ca. since 1347) and at St Michael's (ca. since 1357). The early history of the first one is barely known until the second half of the fifteenth century, when it was re-established and became a socially highly inclusive body organising, among others, festive Corpus Christi plays around 1500. Concerning the second, besides pious acts this organisation functioned throughout its history also as money-lender and in the mid-fifteenth century some of the brotherhood's masters officiated as city councillors.

The first significant change of the feast and processional veneration came as early as in the 1360s due to the political and religious initiatives of archduke Rudolf IV. The ruler commissioned in 1363 for Corpus Christi a procession, which took all the relics of St Stephen's church and left the intimacy of this house of worship and its surroundings. Participating became an obligation for all the clerical members of local parishes, monasteries, hospitals and military orders, who were supposed to march first to St Stephen's and then to join the grand Eucharistic train through the city starting from this point. After the foundation of the Vienna university in 1365 Rudolf IV ordered all the university *membra* to contribute to the decorum and soundscape of the Eucharistic train with their active presence. Accordingly, being part of the procession became a compulsory requirement towards all of these slightly different bodies, who were forced to follow each other in a prescribed order of sequence. This is the point, which could already question the first interpretation of the socio-cultural role of the processional form of the Host's veneration. Namely, the historical sources in the context of Vienna sharply contradict to the concept of seeing these marches as indicators and/or creators of a harmonious and united sacral community. Moreover, dividing social and cultural conflicts exploding in the processional form occurred in Vienna well before the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

As early as in the 1380s, right after the second foundation phase of the university (1384) Rudolf IV's successor, Albrecht III regulated the sequence of the different faculties and academic subgroups in the *Inrotulationsordnung* in 1388. This order of the archducal authority created in the following decades fierce debates and violent conflicts, which showed nothing in common with the original message of the Eucharistic feast. In 1389 e.g. the rector was made to act as a peace-maker in the processional visualization of academic prestige in a Eucharistic form. Nevertheless, in 1414 the Faculty of Medicine in order to receive a better processional position, prohibited its *membra* to treat doctors and *licentiati* of the Faculty of Law and even other university members supporting the latter's cause.

Some decades later in 1463 the sixty-one artisan guilds of Vienna also received a processional ordinance of sequence imposed on them. Taking into account the war between the Habsburg brothers Friedrich and Albrecht and the violent events of this and the previous year, this non-individualized and authoritative regulation of stratigraphic sequence could also be interpreted as a forced order, which was not necessarily in line with the original pious ideas of the cult of Corpus Christi. A similar list this time defining the marching line of firstly the artisans, secondly the university *membra* and thirdly the Viennese clergy from the second half of the same century offers another sequential vision on the groups of participants. The employment of the imperative both in the introduction and in the general sense of the text is a clear indication of an external authority on corporational groups of people. An additional reminder at naming the St Michael's church showed a straightforward reference to previous debates and even conflicts, which e.g. in 1454 could lead to damaging the reliquaries. So, the processional form could actually cause serious troubles, but the afore mentioned disturbances were focused mainly on the marching sequence and they were not at all questioning the sole participation in or legitimacy of the processional veneration of the Eucharist.

Yet, as demonstrated earlier, such tendencies started in Vienna as early as in the 1440s, which definitely discredits the first interpretation on the role of the processional form as a general model. In 1447 e.g. the university activated this occasion to blackmail the city and prohibited all its members to participate in the prospective Corpus Christi march until the city of Vienna fulfils its requests. Moreover, in harsh contrast with the feast's original message, around 1500 students of the latter institution were performing Swiss-like military parades on the *antefestum* and during the octave of the yearly grand train with the Host. In addition, in 1505 the Chapter of the St Stephen's cathedral threatened with a boycott of the great Eucharistic march unless the university acts according to its demands. Furthermore, in 1513 the day of Corpus Christi brought instead of a solemn, festive and peaceful celebration a clash between university students and vineyard workers, which led to conflict, fight and bloodshed with two casualties and many injured. Finally, in the same decade not only social conflicts were charging with their agendas the processional form, but even its cultural interpretation was changing. The unorthodox views spreading in these years in the Viennese population included e.g. especially pompous Corpus Christi weekly processions on Thursdays falling on the start of new moon. Accordingly, even some ideas of the second interpretation of processions, namely evaluating Eucharistic marches as value-free and open-end communication tools of religious ideas could be questioned through analysing the Viennese examples.

The latter potential point of view could be discredited especially through the cases of Host desecration in early modern Vienna. Without doubt, by this time the processional

veneration of the Eucharist became a sign of confessional identity. In this particular case, however, this meant basically a duplication of its potential conflict creating nature. On the one hand, the internal hierarchical sequence kept its relevance in conflict generation even after the Reformation. On the other, the Eucharistic marches became potential targets from the outside through critics, who propagated the complete denial of the Host's processional veneration. In the form of regulations (e.g. 1527, "*Policey-ordnung*"), and partly in practice of the mid-1530s marches with the Host officially including artisans and so on could first keep at least some of their earlier significance. In the 1520s, however, a former long-year member of the Eucharistic confraternity at St Stephen's became a Protestant preacher, pamphlet writer and one of the first martyrs of Luther's ideas in Austria. By the late 1540s it became clear that the grand processions on Corpus Christi day lost even their theoretical potential of being all-inclusively integrating and/or creating unity and harmony.

The violent act and following theatrical execution of the Franconian baker apprentice, who attacked the Eucharistic train and desecrated the Host in 1549, vividly demonstrated the socio-cultural changes attached to such processions. The harsh punishment was orchestrated as an exemplum to the born and bred Viennese public. Thus, in the mid-sixteenth century even more violence contributed to the gradual repression of the original values connected to the feast of Corpus Christi. The show-case torture showed the potential fate of explicit and pro-active critics of such public ceremonies. Moreover, the erection of a commemorative column at the crime scene was meant to prolong the endurance of the exemplum with a materialized memento. The anecdotal story of the second well-known Viennese Host desecration in the context of a Eucharistic march in 1570 could strengthen the former argument. The baker apprentice, this time from Württemberg, received at least symbolically almost the same punishment (losing the abilities of speech and motion), this time delivered by the devil, as his Franconian predecessor. In these cases the processional form was criticized by single, non-Viennese individuals and eventually a potentially sympathizing public, which was addressed by the authorities through the acts of punishment and torture.

The last analysed example, this time from 1578, highlighted the potentially devastating consequences of the processional veneration of the Host in a context, where a significant part of the population did not celebrate at all. At least for some of them holding a regular market day such a Eucharistic march had already lost its legitimization in their own religious life. Concerning the marchers, the hearts and minds of at least some of these were full of fear being set on immediate high alarm by loud female screaming, falling down of festive candles and a running chaotic crowd lacking any orientation. The possibility of a Protestant attack might have activated in them memories

(Paris, 1572) on Catholics massacring thousands of Protestants and now they were fearing revenge. No matter how many Protestants were actually present the processional veneration of the Eucharist was not anymore an all-consensual expression of Christian religious beliefs in Vienna. The loosing of confidence in the form at least by some might mean the deep criticism towards the sole concept of the Eucharistic idea itself. The next, decisive wave of Catholic reforms in the city, at the Habsburg court and in the Austrian territories initiated through the acts of the emperors (e.g. Rudolf II, Ferdinand II), the Jesuits and the Viennese bishops (e.g. Johann Caspar Neuböck, Melchior Klesl) could reach significant success partly with the contribution of the processional form of honouring the Host. Single individuals who denied their participation were promptly dismissed from their offices, the leaders of openly Protestant citizens were arrested and the Catholic reform expressed its agenda also through re-conquering the public space for its processional landscape. Finally, by the early seventeenth century the enthusiastic support of and the demonstratively active participation in festive Eucharistic trains became a corner stone of the religious self-legitimization of the Habsburg dynasty. From this time on this so-called *pietas Austriaca* functioned as relevant point of identification for the ruling family, the inhabitants of Vienna and even the people of the Austrian lands.

One might further conclude, that the form of Eucharistic processions in the Viennese context was neither an act of unity reflecting and/or creating harmony and consensus, nor a value-free and open-end tool of religious thoughts. On the contrary, the regulations and orders of marches always involved acts of power from external authorities (clerical, archducal, academic and so on) imposing their political, social and cultural agenda on non-individualized groups of people. In this sense, the way of celebrating the feast in festive trains, which became popular all around Western and Central Europe due to the intentions of secular elites, was actually in itself continuously compromising the original mission of the cult. The sequential form, on the one hand, was introduced as an act of force from above in the way of an obligatory regulation dividing fellow Christians into groups of less and more value reflected in the closeness to the monstrance with the Eucharist. On the other, the creation of a concretely visualized processing hierarchy caused, among others, rivalry, blackmailing, threats, material damage, military show-offs, and ultimately homicide and even murder.

These potential contents were all part of the processional honouring form even before the Reformation. Interestingly enough, the Viennese protagonists of the latter socio-cultural transformation might be trying to question and even deny the Host's processional veneration partly because of the afore-mentioned collateral damages. Therefore, the Eucharistic marches in Vienna, instead of expressing unity or harmony of an idealistic

sacral community, functioned as secular power tools in a religious context. We should not forget, the festive trains were not at all mentioned in the original papal bulls and they became wide-spread only several decades later allowing secular hierarchies to inscribe their agenda into the cult of Corpus Christi. In this sense Eucharistic marches could truly mean the expression of confessional identity for the Catholic reform, which was strongly propagating rather similar secular power interests in the form of religious symbolism. One might say, the processional form actually brought into the cult of Corpus Christi an inherent content of creating hierarchies and conflicts. Although this phenomenon violated the original Eucharistic message, the different persons and/or groups of authorities could not withstand to support their political or socio-cultural interests through the opportunities given by the hierarchical nature of these specific festive marches. The power of the form was just too hard to resist for the archdukes, university faculties, ecclesiastical dignitaries and so on. As the story of such Eucharistic trains in Vienna demonstrated, by the first half of the sixteenth century the devotional practice of honouring the Host this way, on the one hand, discredited in the eyes of many not only the relevance of such marches but even the legitimacy of venerating the Eucharist itself. On the other, especially this hierarchical and confrontational nature of these festive trains was their attractive value making them highly exploitable for the goals of the Catholic reform, which was commissioned to create a unity of Habsburg politics and Christian devotion in the form of Catholic confessional identity. One might say, the history of the metamorphoses of Corpus Christi processions in fourteenth- and sixteenth century Vienna is actually a story on the inherent content of the form.

Summary

Metamorphoses of Corpus Christi: Eucharistic Processions & Clashes
in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Vienna

In this research study a comprehensive analysis put under intensive scrutiny the festive celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi in general and its processional veneration, in particular, in late medieval and sixteenth-century Vienna. In the most cited Western and Central European historiography on this particular academic field two approaches offer significantly different interpretations on the socio-cultural meaning of such Eucharistic marches. In accordance with the first model, Corpus Christi processions within a particular urban community should be read as acts of unity, i.e. the reflection of consensus strengthening order and reinforcing social hierarchy. In sense of the other approach, such Eucharistic marches ought to be evaluated as value-free and open-end functional communicative tools of religious ideas. The longue durée analysis of the feast and its processional veneration in fourteenth- and sixteenth-century Vienna could reassess and differentiate these interpretations in a complex archducal, commercial and episcopal urban context.

As we saw, in this particular urban setting the cult and procession was introduced in 1334 through an altar foundation of a clerical donator, who was coming from the diocese of Constance and officiated in Vienna both as a parish priest of St Stephen's and as a clerk at the archducal court. The first significant change of the feast and processional veneration came as early as in the 1360s due to the political and religious initiatives of archduke Rudolf IV. The historical sources in the context of Vienna sharply contradict to the concept of seeing these marches as indicators and/or creators of a harmonious and united sacral community. Moreover, dividing social and cultural conflicts exploding in the processional form occurred in Vienna well before the Reformation in the sixteenth century. As the case studies from the contexts of the university, craftsmen and clerics indicated, the processional form could actually cause serious troubles, but the above mentioned early disturbances were focused mainly on the marching sequence and they were not at all questioning the mere participation in or legitimacy of the processional veneration of the Eucharist. Nevertheless, even some ideas of the second interpretation of processions, namely evaluating Eucharistic marches as value-free and open-end tools of religious ideas, could be questioned through analysing the Viennese examples. This potential point of view could be discredited especially through the cases of host desecration in early modern Vienna.

Without doubt, by this time the processional veneration of the Eucharist became a sign of confessional identity. In this particular case, however, this meant basically a duplication of its potential conflict creating nature. On the one hand, the internal hierarchical sequence kept its relevance in conflict generation even afterwards. On the other, the Eucharistic marches became potential targets from the outside through critics, who propagated the complete denial of the Host's processional veneration. The last analysed example this time from 1578 highlighted the potentially devastating consequences of the processional veneration of the Host in a context, where a significant part of the population did not celebrate at all. Concerning the marchers, the hearts and minds of at least some of these were full of

worries. The possibility of a Protestant attack might have activated in them memories (Paris, 1572) on Catholics massacring thousands of Protestants and now they were fearing revenge.

The next, decisive wave of Catholic reforms in the city, at the Habsburg court and in the Austrian territories at the end of the sixteenth century could reach significant success partly with the contribution of the processional form of honouring the Host. Finally, by the early seventeenth century the enthusiastic support of and the demonstratively active participation in festive Eucharistic trains became a corner stone of the religious self-legitimization of the Habsburg dynasty, the so-called *pietas Austriaca*. Therefore, the Eucharistic marches in Vienna, instead of expressing unity or harmony of an idealistic sacral community, functioned as secular power tools in a religious context. One might say, the processional form actually brought into the cult of Corpus Christi an inherent content of creating hierarchies and conflicts. Although this phenomenon violated the original Eucharistic message, the different persons and/or groups of authorities could not withstand to propagate their political or socio-cultural interests through the opportunities given by the hierarchical nature of these specific festive marches.

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Legend:

1. Schottenkloster (1155) und Schottenkirche
2. Minoritenkloster (1224?, 1247/1251)
3. Landhaus (after 1513)
4. Hofburg (late 13th c.)
5. Burgkapelle (1296)
6. Augustinerkloster (1327)
7. St. Michaelkirche (1221?, before 1252)
8. St. Paulkirche (1480?) / Stallburg (1558–1565)
9. Dorotheenkloster (1353, before 1404)
10. Clarissenkloster St. Clara (1305) / Bürgerspital (after 1530/1539)
11. Johanniter (1207/1217)
12. Pilgrimhaus zu St. Anna (1415) / Jesuiten (1582)
13. Himmelpfortkloster (1267)
14. Büßerinnenhaus St. Hieronymus (1383) / Franziskanerkloster (from 1589)
15. Nikolaikloster (1272)
16. Jakoberkloster (1236)
17. St. Stephanskirche (1147, 1220)
18. Deutschordenskommende (1222?, 1244)
19. Virgilkapelle (2nd quarter of the 13th c.) / Maria-Magdalena Kirche (1338)
20. Dominikanerkloster (ca. 1225)
21. University (1365/1384)
22. Regensburger Hof (late 14th c.)
23. Kölner Hof (late 13th c.)
24. Heiligenkreuzer Hof (12th/13th c.)
25. Jesuitenstift St. Barbara (1573)
26. Laurenzerkloster (1293/1302)
27. Babenbergerpfalz (ca. 1155) / Karmelitenkloster (1365) / Jesuiten (1568)
28. St. Pankraz (1237)
29. first Ghetto (around 1200)
30. second Ghetto (late 13th c. – 1421)
31. Maria am Gestade (before 1200, or already in 1137)
32. Rathaus (1316)
33. Liebfrauenkapelle (before 1292) / St. Salvator (1519)
34. Berghof (late 13th c.)
35. Schranne (1325)
36. Schranne (1437)
37. St. Ruprechtskirche (before 1200, probably 9th or 11th c.)
38. Seitzerhof
39. St. Peterskirche (11th c.)
40. Zisterzienserinnenkloster St. Niklas (12th c.)
41. Heiligengeistspital (before 1208)
42. Bürgerspital (13th c.)
43. St. Maria Magdalena-Kloster (13th c.)
44. Hofspital St. Martin (before 1339)
45. Kloster St. Theobald (1343/1348)
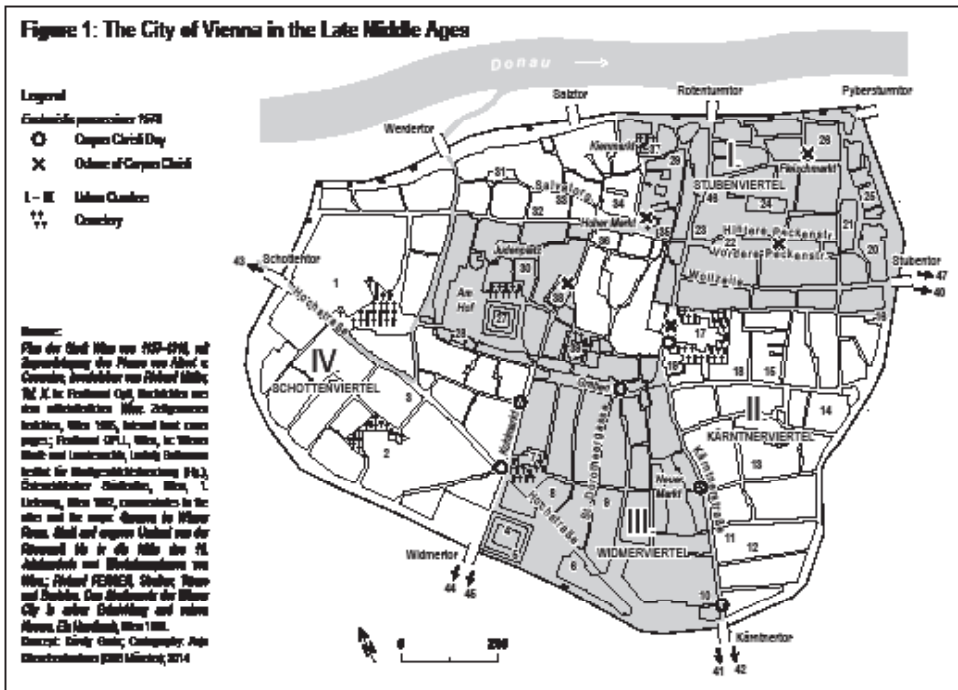46. St. Philip- und Jakobskapelle (1289)
47. Enlberg

Figure 1: The City of Vienna in the Late Middle Ages

Figure 2: *„Der aergerliche Laesterer des Hochheiligisten Sacraments vom Teuffel in die Lüfft geführt"*

Previous publications: Matthias FUHRMANN, *Alt- und Neues Wien* […], Anderter Teil, Wien 1739, p. 807; Walter STURMINGER, *Der Milchkrieg zu Wien am Fronleichnamstag 1578*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 53, 1950, p. 617; Martin SCHEUTZ, *„hinter Ihrer Käyserlichen Majestät der Päbstliche Nuncius, Königl. Spanischer und Venetianischer Abgesandter". Hof und Stadt bei den Fronleichnamsprozessionen im frühneuzeitlichen Wien*, in: Richard Bösel et al. (Hg.), Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16. – 18. Jahrhundert), Wien 2006, p. 182.

Figure 3: *"Der milch krieg zů wien, an dese Herren Fron lÿchnams Tag"*

For the original see: Zentralbibliothek Zürich, „Wickiana", PAS II 15, p. 18.
Previous publications: Walter STURMINGER, *Der Milchkrieg zu Wien am*
Fronleichnamstag 1578, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische
Geschichtsforschung 53, 1950, p. 616; Martin SCHEUTZ, *Kaiser und Fleisch-*
hackerknecht. Städtische Fronleichnamsprozessionen und öffentlicher Raum in
Niederösterreich/Wien während der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Thomas Aigner (Hg.),
Aspekte der Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit, St. Pölten 2003, p. 64; Karl
VOCELKA, *Kirchengeschichte*, in: Peter Csendes – Ferdinand Opll (Hg.), Wien.
Geschichte einer Stadt. Karl Vocelka – Anita Traninger (Hg.): Band 2:
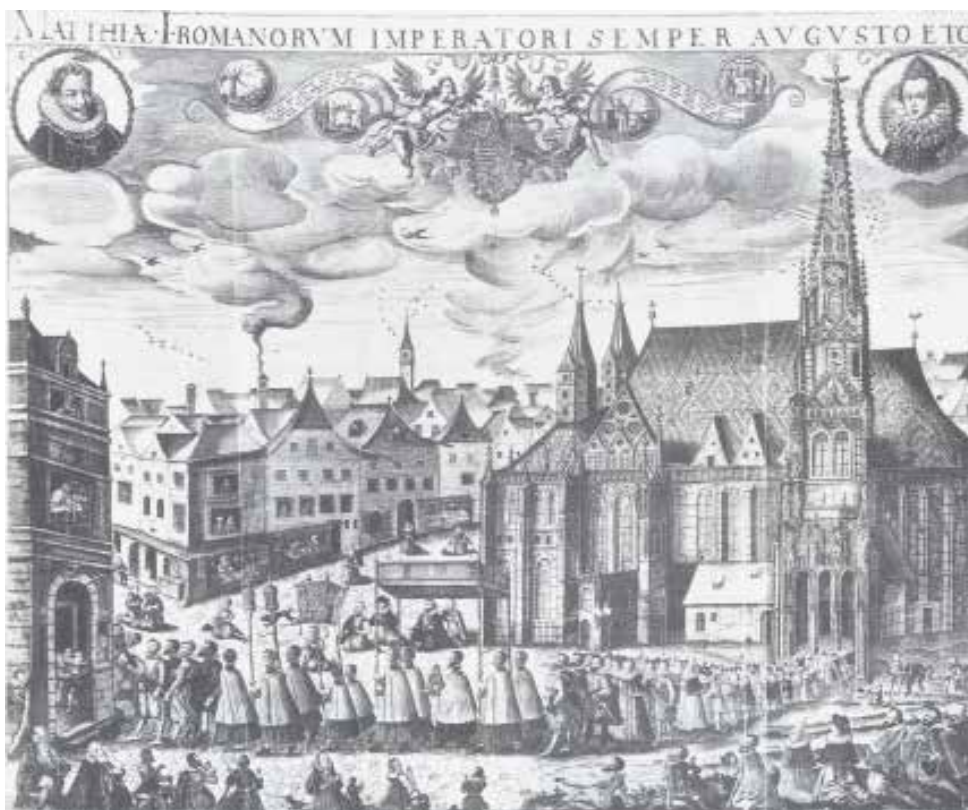Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert), Wien 2003, p. 326.

Figure 4: *"Warhafftiger vnnd aigentlicher abriß der Gottseligen Procession vnnd Caeremonien mit welchen das allerheylig[ste] vnnd Hochwurdigiste Sacrament des Altars in der weitberüemdten Kayserlichen Haubtstatt Wienn in Österreich aus der Kirchen zu denen kranckhen getragen vnnd beglaidtet würdt. Also vnnd auf fürgebildte weiß von den Eyfrigen Catholischen Wiennern neulich widerumb erhebt auf ewig mit genuegsamen jarlichen einkhomen hochlöblich gestifft vnnd mit aller handt notturfft zu immer werender Ehr Gottes reichlich versehen. Anno 1614."*

For the original see: A repro-negative version of the original copperplate (Heinrich Ullrich, Wien) is available in the Picture Archives (Bildarchiv) of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB), no 435.595/BRF. Previous publications: Gernot HEISS, *Gegenreformation*, in: Herbert Knittler (Hg.), Adel im Wandel. Politik – Kultur – Konfession 1500–1700, Wien 1990, pp. 223–225, Kat.-Nr. 9.17; Martin SCHEUTZ, *Kaiser und Fleischhackerknecht. Städtische Fronleichnamsprozessionen und öffentlicher Raum in Niederösterreich/Wien während der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Thomas Aigner (Hg.), Aspekte der Religiosität in der Frühen Neuzeit, St. Pölten 2003, p. 74.