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PEREGRINATIONS
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART

Introduction to Late Medieval Pilgrimage Architecture

By Gerhard Lutz

In recent years studies on the functional and liturgical aspects of late medieval churches have evolved as a central topic of historical and art-historical scholarship. The furnishings of a church, such as panels, sculptures, tapestries, and precious books are no longer understood as separate artistic expressions, but are placed into a context of contemporaneous piety and theology. One recent focal point for such scholarship was female monasticism,[1] but the scattered scrutiny of pilgrimage architecture has not yet been subject to this kind of synthesis.[2]

This introduction seeks to outline the reasons for this significant absence of research and to develop some possible questions for further studies in this field. An art historical approach to late medieval pilgrimage architecture requires attention to several "hurdles": The majority of pilgrimage churches combine other functions as well, such as cathedrals (Cologne), collegiate monasteries (Aachen) or abbeys (Weingarten). In some cases the pilgrimages started later and may have influenced the form of a new building or reconstruction project, as in the case of Frederick Barbarossa's *translatio* of the relics of the Three Kings to Co-

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The papers assembled in this special section were presented at the 57th Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians (SAH), Providence, Rhode Island, April 14th-17th, 2004. I am particularly grateful to the SAH giving the opportunity to organize this session. Special thanks to the International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Art, particularly to Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, for publishing the papers in this journal and for their continuing work and suggestions to bring the contributions – partly written by German scholars – into its current form.

[1] Research on the different forms of female piety and monasticism has been the most fundamental contribution of feminist approaches to history and art history so far. Pioneering in this context is the work of Caroline Walker Bynum. It is not possible to give a thorough selection of Bynum's studies in a footnote. See e. g. her seminal study: Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages.* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1982). Her contributions had an important impact on numerous US art historians such as Jeffrey Hamburger (Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997). For a summary of recent research see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Formen weiblicher Frömmigkeit im späteren Mittelalter," in *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (München: Hirmer, 2005).

[2] Apart from numerous general attempts to describe medieval pilgrimage there are only few studies dealing with liturgical aspects of pilgrimage churches. See Kühne, Hartmut, *Ostensio reliquiarum: Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum*. Edited by Christoph Markschies, Joachim Mehlhausen, and Gerhard Müller (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte; 75. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000). For Cologne Cathedral, see Rolf Lauer, "Bildprogramme des Kölner Domchores vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert," in *Dombau und Theologie im mittelalterlichen Köln: Festschrift zur 750-Jahrfeier der Grundsteinlegung des Kölner Domes und zum 65. Geburtstag von Joachim Kardinal Meisner 1998*, *Studien zum Kölner Dom, 6* (Köln: Verlag Kölner Dom, 1998). Andreas Köstler's dissertation of 1995 on the Elisabethkirche in Marburg [Andreas Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 1995)] is a rare example of a comprehensive approach to the study a medieval pilgrimage church, whereas Folkhard Cremer's dissertation on Wilsnack [Folkhard Cremer, *Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack (1383-1552): eine Einordnung ihrer Bauformen in die Kirchenarchitektur zwischen Verden und Chorin, Doberan und Meissen im Spiegel bischöflicher und landesherrlicher Auseindersetzungen*, *Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, Bd. 63* (München: Scaneg, 1996)] is too speculative.

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logne Cathedral in 1164. In other cases a miracle or the acquisition of relics launched the construction of a new church complex, as with the cult of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia in Marburg immediately after her death in 1231.

Another factor complicates a comprehensive survey. Whereas famous attractions such as Santiago and Rome[3] were dominant in the early and high Middle Ages, the types of changes in devotion which start the 12th century led to many new forms of pilgrimage in the later Middle Ages, for example, those inspired by bleeding Hosts.[4] Running parallel to this diversification of the objects and goals of pilgrimage, numerous regional & local centers now competed with the traditional pilgrimage sites, particularly beginning in the 14th century.[5]

The regionally-diverse states of preservation further complicate the situation. Among the numerous medieval churches, most have largely lost their original character. In Catholic territories, most churches were either rebuilt and redecorated in the Baroque period or were destroyed and replaced by new buildings, such as the pilgrimage church for the Holy-Blood-Relic in the Benedictine Abbey Church of Weingarten. The starting point for research is more favorable in the Lutheran territories of northern Germany and Scandinavia. These regions did not participate in the iconoclasm of the peasant's war, the "Bauernkrieg," and thus tolerated the old furnishings. But there the liturgical tradition ended, so few written sources survive.

The *Münster* of Aachen, center of one of the most popular central European pilgrimages in the later Middle Ages, may serve as an introductory example to outline the problems and questions of present scholarship. The *Heiltumsfahrten* to Aachen blossomed particularly since the 14th century, when Emperor Charles IV, who was an admirer of Charlemagne, promoted the veneration of his shrine and the relic treasury of the *Münster*.[6] Since then every

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[3] The liturgy of the Roman churches has been studied recently by Sible de Blaauw: Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana 1994); Sible de Blaauw, "Following the Crosses: The Processional Cross and the Typology of Processions in Medieval Rome," in *Christian Feast and Festival: The Dynamics of Western Liturgy and Culture*, ed. Paul Post, *et al*. (Löwen, Paris, Sterling: Peeters, 2001). See also Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000).

[4] See Caroline Walker Bynum, "Das Blut und die Körper Christi im späten Mittelalter: Eine Asymmetrie," *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* 5 (2001), Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages," *Church History* 71, no. 4 (2002). See also Mitchell B. Merback, "Fountain of Grace, City of Blood: The Pulkau Passion Altarpiece and Cultic Anti-Judaism," *Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (2005) and his article in this issue of *Peregrinations*.

[5] On the Harz region, see Hartmut Kühne, "Der Harz und sein Umland - eine spätmittelalterliche Wallfahrtslandschaft?" in *Spätmittelalterliche Wallfahrt im mitteldeutschen Raum. Beiträge einer interdisziplinären Arbeitstagung (Eisleben 7. / 8. Juni 2002)*, ed. Hartmut Kühne, Wolfgang Radtke, and Gerlinde Strohmaier-Wiederanders (2002). For Würzburg, see Wolfgang Brückner, *Wallfahrt im Bistum Würzburg: Gnadenorte, Kult- und Andachtsstätten in Unterfranken*, *Kirche, Kunst und Kultur in Franken; 3* (Würzburg: Echter, 1996).

[6] On the *Aachenfahrt* note the seminal studies of Stephan Beissel, *Die Aachenfahrt: Verehrung der Aachener Heiligtümer seit den Tagen Karls des Großen bis in unsere Zeit*, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach Ergänzungshefte, 82* (Freiburg: Herder, 1902) and Heinrich Schiffers, *Karls des Großen Reliquienschatz und die Anfänge der Aachenfahrt*, *Veröffentlichungen d. Bischöflichen Diözesanarchivs Aachen, 10* (Aachen: Volk, 1951), 63-79. For a more recent survey, see Robert Plötz, "Aachenfahrt und Heiltumsweisung," in *Der Aachener Marienschrein*, ed. Dieter P. J. Wynands (Aachen: 2000). On the presentation of relic treasuries in Aachen see Hartmut Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum: Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum*, ed. Christoph Markschies, Joachim Mehlhausen, and Gerhard Müller, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte; 75* (Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 153-84.

seven years a multitude of people have come to Aachen. (ill. 1) The *Heiltumsweisung* itself took place outside the church from a balcony, where the treasury was shown to the public.

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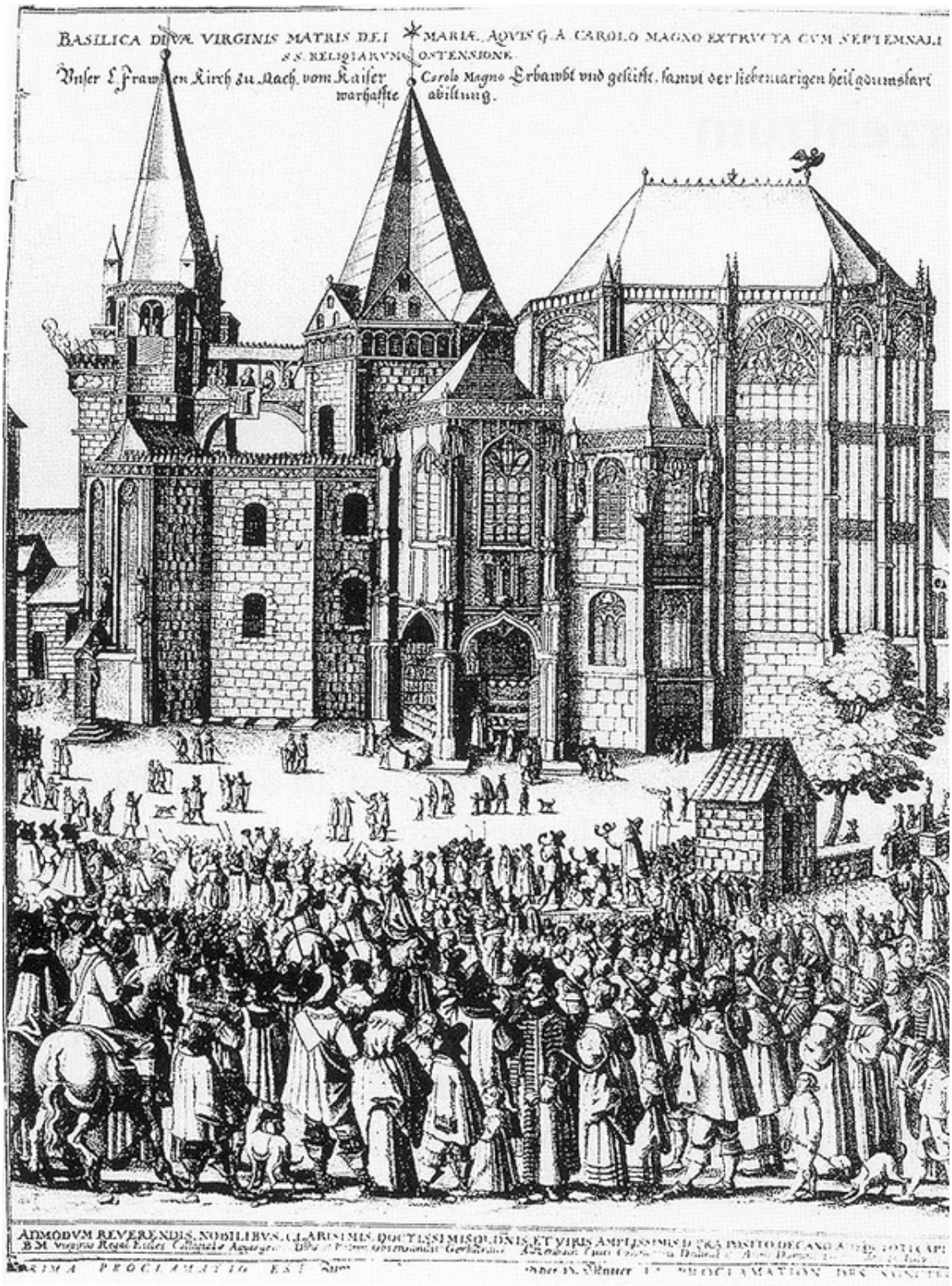

Ill. 1 Print showing the *Heiltumsfahrten* at Aachen
Picture Source: After *Die gotische Chorhalle des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung: Baugeschichte - Bauforschung - Sanierung,* ed. Gisbert Knopp and Ulrike Heckner, Arbeitsheft der rheinischen Denkmalpflege; 58 (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002).

The pilgrimage was certainly not a phenomenon limited to the exterior of the church every seven years. But how did the architecture respond to the specific functional needs of the pilgrimage? A first look at the ground-plan of Aachen shows that the structure with the Carolingian Palatinate Chapel and the 14th century choir can be hardly characterized as pilgrimage architecture, providing an appropriate frame for the masses of pilgrims. Furthermore the late medieval *Münster* was not only the place of a collegiate monastery but – as we have already seen - the coronation church of the German kings.

Nonetheless in a charter of May 14th, 1355 the building of the new Gothic choir of Aachen *Münster* was justified with an account of a big crowd of pilgrims.[7] But to what extent was the new architecture made for the pilgrims, since it does not correspond to our image of a pilgrimage church? Regarding the immense popularity of the *Heiltumsfahrt* and the specific function as coronation church we would expect a quick building process. However, the erection of the choir dragged on until 1414, the year of its dedication. Later on the *Marienkapelle* at the site of the old main apse was (completed in 1455). (ill. 2) In Mary's chapel there was the famous shrine, covered by painted wooden panels.[8] Its situation on an elevated tribune facilitated the custom of the pilgrims walking through under the shrine. Furthermore this chapel, which was demolished in 1786, preserved the venerated image *"Unserer Lieben Frau von Aachen."*

The other major shrine, the *Karlsschrein* with the relics of Charlemagne, was placed east of the main altar. Similarly to the *Marienschrein*, it was also elevated and covered by painted wooden panels. There was some kind of an ambulatory behind the altar, which was slightly deeper than the rest of the choir, again enabling the visitor to pass under the reliquary shrine. Crowning the high altar, the shrine was easily visible from the other end of the choir. This complex arrangement makes clear that the access to both shrines must have been regulated in different ways. For the ordinary pilgrim it was certainly possible to come relatively close to the *Marienschrein* and to see at least its covering from the gratings. The entrance to the chapel itself was undoubtedly limited to certain groups of pilgrims. The shrine of Charlemagne at the eastern end was integrated into the pilgrim experience, at least visually. Nonetheless, the rudimentary ambulatory makes clear that even there, only certain groups of pilgrims, such as nobles, had access to the choir at specific times. In this context the text of the source of 1355 may be interpreted in a different way: Indeed the crowds of pilgrims stimulated the building project. However, the new building apparently was not intended to provide more space for the pilgrims, but for the clerics and their services in a clearly-separated part of the church.

Thus we can see that the relationship between liturgy and pilgrimage at Aachen needs further study. But this more-detailed research faces several obstacles: Although numerous medieval furnishings and the famous shrines survive, the context of their presentation has changed, making it difficult to reconstruct the original disposition. The interior topography of the church was especially altered in the second half of the 18th century. Furthermore, other important parts of the decoration, such as the stained glass, are completely lost. But medieval written sources have not been thoroughly analyzed yet, consequently, a comprehensive archi-

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[7] "… um gemeyne noet wille dy ze mengen mole van grosen gedrenghe vnder den pilgremen end den guden luden in dem gotzhuse van Achen gewest is." See Gisbert Knopp, "Das Glashaus von Aachen: Krönungsort - Karlsmausoleum - Pilgerzentrum," in *Die gotische Chorhalle des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung: Baugeschichte - Bauforschung - Sanierung*, ed. Gisbert Knopp and Ulrike Heckner, *Arbeitsheft der rheinischen Denkmalpflege; 58* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002), 9.

[8] On the Marienschrein see Dieter P. J. Wynands, ed., *Der Aachener Marienschrein* (Aachen: 2000).

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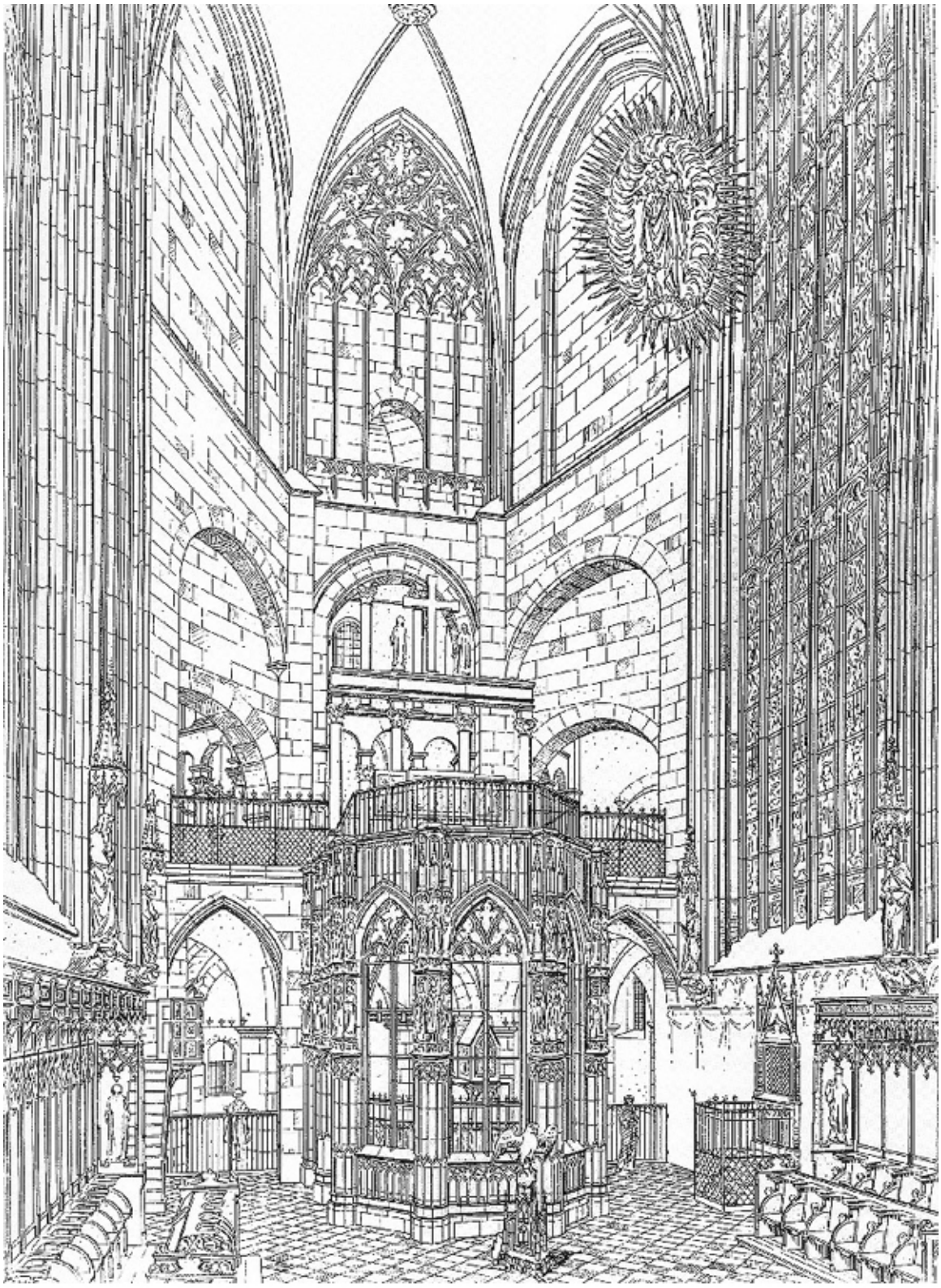
tectural history of Aachen *Münster* in the context of its liturgy and function is still a task for future research.



Ill. 2 *Marienkapelle* at Aachen, 1455
Picture Source: After *Die gotische Chorhalle des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung: Baugeschichte - Bauforschung - Sanierung*, ed. Gisbert Knopp and Ulrike Heckner, Arbeitsheft der rheinischen Denkmalpflege; 58 (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002).

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This is a characteristic situation for many other churches, such as the famous *Elisabethkirche* in Marburg. There we have at first glance, an extraordinarily well-preserved interior with the choir screen, the grave of Saint Elisabeth, and the 13th century high altar still at their original places. The church, as well as the cult of Elisabeth, has attracted much scholarly attention. While art historians assumed for a long time that a popular saint in the later Middle Ages automatically resulted an equally-popular pilgrimage, this view has been contested in recent years. In the years following Elisabeth's death and subsequent canonization of her burial place, the church attracted numerous pilgrims, causing Alberich of Troisfonatines (†1252) to compare Marburg with Santiago de Compostela.[9] Yet, since the middle of the 13th century the pilgrimage to Elisabeth and its role for the church and convent apparently declined.[10] Karl E. Demandt has collected the documents regarding the income of the convent, which show that during the 15th century, pilgrimage accounted for only a small portion of the proceeds.[11] We have to take into account in this context that sudden popular mass pilgrimages, such as Wilsnack, are a later phenomenon, and did not start before the early fourteenth century.[12] Instead, after *c*. 1250, the tradition of the German Order and St. Mary became the main patrons of the Marburg church, replacing St. Elisabeth. Furthermore, Elisabeth, wife of *Landgraf* Ludwig IV of Thuringia, became the patron saint of the whole state of Hessen, giving Marburg a more aristocratic character as pilgrimage attraction.[13] Recent research has emphasized that the German Order, as keeper of the shrine, had interests which differed from the ideals of Elisabeth and that its political ambitions presumably moved away from the attention and care for the shrine to other areas such as the Christianization of the later *Deutschordensland* on the Baltic Sea.[14] But still it is not clear whether the changes around *c*. 1250 were a strategic decision of the wealthy convent or that of an ordinary example of pilgrimage in the 13th century with clerics reacting to a declining attractiveness for pilgrims which had begun after the elevation of the body in 1235.

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[9] See Matthias Werner, "Die Heilige Elisabeth und die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg," in *Marburger Geschichte: Rückblick auf die Stadtgeschichte in Einzelbeiträgen*, ed. Erhart Dettmering (Marburg: Magistrat, 1980), 137-39 and 59, note 245. His conclusion that there is still no comprehensive study on the cult and veneration of Elisabeth especially during the 13th century based on a broad research on all contemporary written sources is still valid. See also Karl E. Demandt, "Verfremdung und Wiederkehr der Heiligen Elisabeth," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 22 (1972): 130 and Wolfgang Brückner, "Zu Heiligenkult und Wallfahrtswesen im 13. Jahrhundert: Einordnungsversuch der volksfrommen Elisabeth-Verehrung in Marburg," in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige, Ausst.-Kat. Marburg 1981* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 118.

[10] Werner, "Die Heilige Elisabeth und die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg," 160 with note 257.

[11] Demandt, "Verfremdung und Wiederkehr der Heiligen Elisabeth," 136-39.

[12] Brückner, "Zu Heiligenkult und Wallfahrtswesen im 13. Jahrhundert: Einordnungsversuch der volksfrommen Elisabeth-Verehrung in Marburg," 119.

[13] E. g. the **comb (?)** of the grate surrounding the shrine of Elisabeth shows an assembly of nobles including King *Ludwig der Bayer* who gathered in Marburg in 1326. See Hans Joachim von Brockhusen, "Wallfahrt zu Elisabeth und Fürstentreffen in Marburg 1326: Figuren auf dem Tresorgitter der Grabeskirche," in *St. Elisabeth: Kult, Kirche, Konfessionen*, ed. Herwig Gödeke, *700 Jahre Elisabethkirche in Marburg 1283-1983, 7* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1983). Furthermore in 1357 emperor Charles IV. visited the shrine. See Peter Wörster, "Überlegungen zur Pilgerfahrt Kaiser Karls IV. nach Marburg 1357," in *St. Elisabeth: Kult, Kirche, Konfessionen*, ed. Herwig Gödeke, *700 Jahre Elisabethkirche in Marburg 1283-1983, 7* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1983).

[14] See Demandt, "Verfremdung und Wiederkehr der Heiligen Elisabeth," and Werner, "Die Heilige Elisabeth und die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg," 164.

At this point it is necessary to look at the church with its architecture and furnishings more closely. For a church erected shortly after the death of Elisabeth we would expect the architecture to be perfectly adjusted to the necessities of a pilgrimage. Andreas Köstler noted in his 1995 dissertation on the *Elisabethkirche* that the triconch choir (ill. 3) was not optimally suited to handling of pilgrims, especially with the additional restrictions imposed by the liturgical choir which blocked access to the crossing with its choir screens.[15]

A look at the pilgrimage church of Wilsnack, one of the most popular pilgrimages of the later 15th century, reveals ground-plans and architecture that convey a confusing image of the pilgrimage church.[16] (ill. 3) After a host miracle in 1383, the erection of the large church probably began during the late 14th century. In 1401, when Bishop Wöpelitz of Havelberg died, choir and transept were probably finished. One point is of particular interest here. The form of the nave was changed during this construction, which was completed not much later than 1430.[17] Its length was reduced to join the nave with the stump of the tower of the older church. One motivation could have been to place the new building in the tradition of its predecessor. What is more significant for our argument is the fact that the builders took into account the reduced length of the nave, i.e. that one bay more or less was apparently not a concern for them. This could mean that the essential parts of the mass pilgrimage took place outside or around the shrine and it was not notably restricted by the shorter nave. Furthermore, we have seen in Aachen that ground-plans and regulations do not determine the success or failure of a pilgrimage.

For Marburg, Köstler notes the increasingly-strict regulations that blocked access to the church and to the relics of the saint. The shrine of Elisabeth was originally elevated behind the high altar to be seen at least from the nave. (ill. 4) But this arrangement was changed probably before the completion the new high altar retable in the late 13th century.[18] A substructure for the shrine, comparable to those of Aachen and St. Ursula of Cologne,[19] was abandoned and the reliquary was moved to the sacristy at the north side of the choir behind an iron grating where it still resides today. (ill. 5)

This new placement was completed at a time when the pilgrimage already had lost its attractiveness to the broader public. Köstler characterizes this gradual retreat of the shrine as a process of *Hermetisierung* [hermeticization] based on a lack of interest by the German Order

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[15] Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter*, 61-66, 93-98.

[16] On Wilsnack see Gerhard Lutz, "Salve Caput Cruentum: The Veneration of Holy Blood in Late Medieval Germany - Art and Architecture," in *38th International Congress on Medieval Studies, 8-11 May 2003* (Kalamazoo: 2003).

[17] Claudia Lichte, *Die Inszenierung einer Wallfahrt: der Lettner im Havelberger Dom und das Wilsnacker Wunderblut* (Worms: Werner, 1990), 34.

[18] The new high altar was dedicated on May 1st, 1290. See Thomas Franke in: *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige; Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog; Ausstellung zum 750. Todestag der heiligen Elisabeth, Marburg, Landgrafenschloß u. Elisabethkirche, 19.11.1981-6.1.1982*, (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 481-82, no. 116. On the design of the altar, see Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter*, 28-34.

[19] On St. Ursula, see, most recently, Anton Legner, *Kölner Heilige und Heiligtümer: Ein Jahrtausend europäischer Reliquienkultur* (Köln: Greven, 2002), 208.

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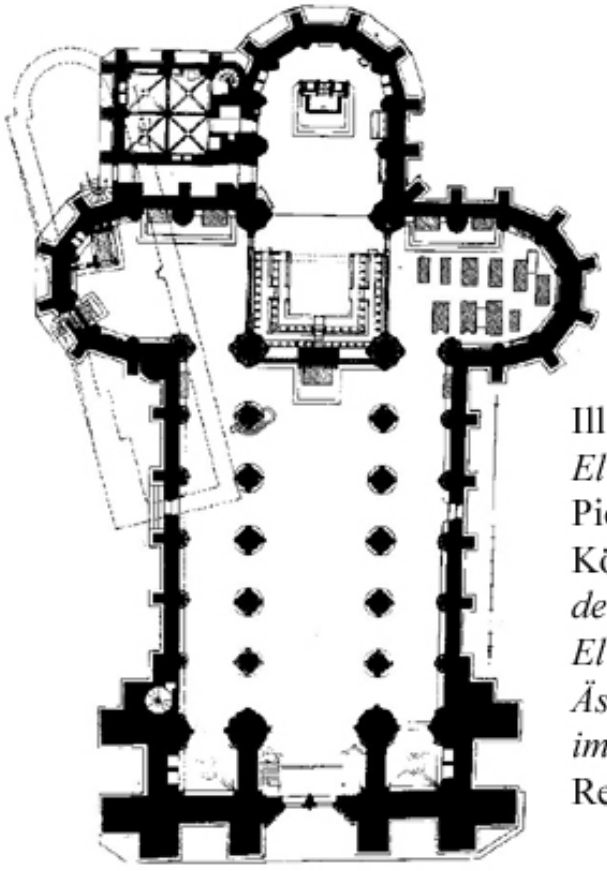
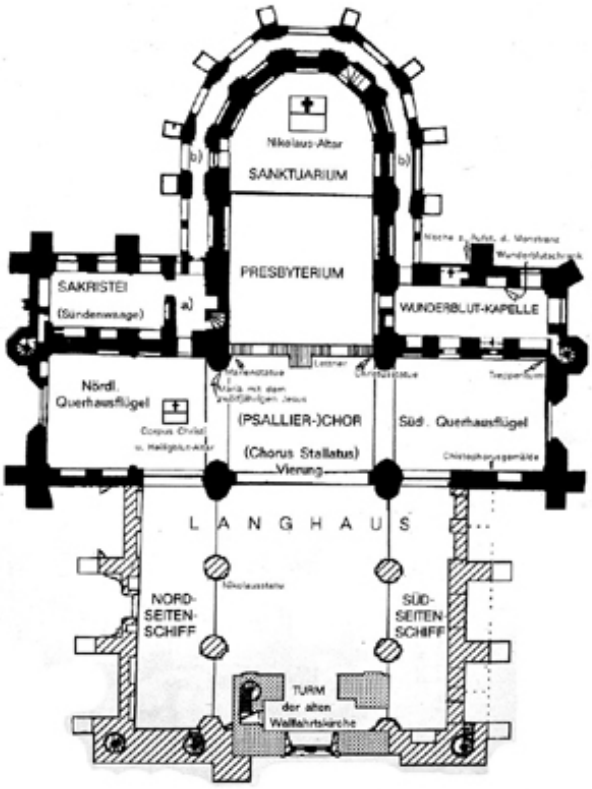


Ill. 3 Groundplan of *Elisabethkirche*, Marburg Picture Source: After Andreas Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 1995).



Ill. 4 Plan of the Church of St. Nikolaus and the Holy Blood at Wilsnack Picture Source: After Folkhard Cremer, Die St. Nikolaus- und Heiligblut-Kirche zu Wilsnack (1383-1552): *eine Einordnung ihrer Bauformen in die Kirchenarchitektur zwischen Verden und Chorin, Doberan und Meissen im Spiegel bischöflicher und landesherrlich er Auseindersetzungen, Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft,* Bd. 63 (München: Scaneg, 1996).

Ill. 5 Interior, north side of the choir, Marburg Cathedral.
Picture Source: Gerhard Lutz.

in promoting the pilgrimage.[20] As we have seen, it is not clear yet in the context of 13th century pilgrimage whether the decline of the pilgrimage and the changes in the presentation of the shrine were based on a specific strategy of the German Order. In the course of the increasing importance of Elisabeth for the German nobility and the *Landgrafen* of Hessen as patron of their state, the presentation in a separate treasury room may have been a reaction to an ongoing change of the target audience. The original plans for the presentation of the shrine behind the late 13th century high altarpiece show that the clerics initially wanted to present the relics in a manner similar to that of other contemporary pilgrimage sites.[21] The different arrangement in the sacristy then gave the access to the shrine a more intimate character which would have been an ideal form to attract aristocratic pilgrims. All these conclusions remain speculative because we do not have any contemporary written sources about the liturgical practice in the *Elisabethkirche* before the early 15th century.[22] Our understanding of the pilgrimage site will remain fragmentary without a more detailed image of the position of the main reliquary shrine within the liturgy of the church and unless we know to what extent this shrine was moved and presented in processions and presentations to the public.

The main problem is that we have no broader context of research at the moment; no system of regulations for seeing and accessing the shrine that was characteristic for late medieval pilgrimages. Most of the surviving sites do not fulfill our image of an ideal pilgrimage church. One of the few exceptions is the building of Cologne Cathedral after 1248, where the shrine of the Three Wise Men was destined to be placed prominently in the crossing.[23] But after a slowdown of the building process, the shrine was placed in the axial chapel of the ambulatory on the occasion of the dedication of the choir in 1322 – acting as an interim or even long-term solution.[24]

The studies presented in this volume of *Peregrinations* introduces further examples of research in this field with surprising results which complement the observations on Aachen and Marburg. But further case studies are necessary in order to come to more general conclusions and to give a new perspective for studies on late medieval pilgrimage architecture.

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[20] He even describes Elisabeth's hospital and the pilgrimage as "unwelcome remains" (*unerwünschte Reste*) in the eyes of the German Order. Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter*, 61. *Hermetisierung* and *Ästhetisierung* of the church interior are central terms of Köstler's study. He draws numerous interesting conclusions that should be discussed in a more detailed way. However, some of his assumptions are problematic as he transfers the conclusions by Demandt and Werner too strictly into an art-historical study, dominating his interpretation of the changes of the interior structure of the church as an overall strategy of the clerics and their order. E. g. he interprets the triconch choir and the placing of the tomb of Elisabeth in the northern apse as a process of pushing away (*Abdrängung*) of the shrine within the church interior. See Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter*, 61.

[21] Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter*, 98-105.

[22] The earliest Missal dates back possibly to the early 15th century. See Fidel Rädle in: *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige; Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog; Ausstellung zum 750. Todestag der heiligen Elisabeth, Marburg, Landgrafenschloß u. Elisabethkirche, 19.11.1981-6.1.1982*, 528-29. On the liturgy of the northern apse, see Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter*, 66-70. Only the donation of altars and memorial services (*Seelgerätstiftungen*) give a certain insight into the liturgy of the 13th and 14th century.

[23] Lauer, "Bildprogramme des Kölner Domchores vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert," 191-92.

[24] Lauer, "Bildprogramme des Kölner Domchores vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert," 204

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