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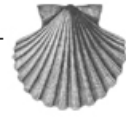


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The Vanquished Synagogue, the Risen Host, and the Grateful Dead at the Salvatorkirche in Passau¹

By Mitchell B. Merback

Ever since Richard Krautheimer's pathfinding 1942 article introducing the "iconography of medieval architecture," scholars have sharpened our understanding of the homologies linking new edifices with their models, even in cases when the two designs, new and old, seem at great variance from one another.² Rather than explaining such formal differences by positing an interruption in transmission, Krautheimer was interested in the medieval conceptual habit of assimilating divergent forms into a unity on the basis of their perceived symbolic, or even mystical, affinities. Revealingly, Krautheimer's analysis focused on central-plan structures built as "replicas" of the fourth-century Church of the Resurrection (*Anastasis*) in Jerusalem, a domed rotunda of Constantinian origin, surrounding the aedicule enshrining the Tomb of Christ, a

¹ This article is an expanded version of a lecture first delivered at the Society of Architectural Historians Annual Meeting in April 2004; and again, one year later, in modified form, at the Herron School of Art, Indianapolis. Thanks to colleagues and students at both venues for the valuable comments. Research was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Indispensable assistance and advice came from Dr. Herbert Wurster, Director of the Diocesan Archives in Passau. Both Jacqueline E. Jung and Gerhard Lutz (who also kindly assisted with photos) lent considerable expertise to their careful readings of a draft, though neither could rescue me entirely from venturing certain imprudent assertions. Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.

² For a critical reappraisal of some of the foundational assumptions of the "iconology of architecture," especially with regard to central-plan buildings, see Matthias Untermann, *Der Zentralbau im Mittelalter. Form ~ Funktion ~ Verbreitung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989), 46-52; as a corrective to the missteps of iconological research, the author emphasizes the cultic and social functions of individual buildings (*Baufaufgabe*) on a case by case basis (see analysis especially on 48ff).

complex known today as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³ (fig. 1) Examples of such “Holy Sepulchre copies” can be traced from the fifth to the seventeenth centuries and pertain to three types of monuments. There are full-scale churches such as Neuvy-Saint-Sepulcre (*circa* 1045); attached chapels such as the round Moritzkapelle, built at Constance Cathedral by Bishop Konrad (934-75) after returning from his second pilgrimage to the Holy Land around 960;⁴ and independent mortuary chapels, for example, the Michaelskapelle at Fulda, dating to around 820 (the type of the centrally-planned charnel house, or *Karner*, discussed later in this essay, belongs in this third category). Krautheimer made the crucial observation that these “copies” rarely corresponded to the plan or elevation of the Anastasis rotunda. A center-room, circular or octagonal, wrapped by an ambulatory on one or two levels, a given number of supports,⁵ a set of “holy measurements” derived from the prototype⁶ -- it was the presence of these features, rather than an abiding verisimilitude, that signaled the allegiance to the model; but, equally crucial is the fact that none of these features, save the general orientation of the building, were indispensable as referents. Models were “never imitated *in toto*”, explained Krautheimer, “the medieval beholder expected to find in a copy only some parts of the prototype but not by any

³ Richard Krautheimer, “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Medieval Architecture’,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1-33; for reflections on Krautheimer’s contribution to the study of Christian architecture, see the collected essays in *In Memoriam Richard Krautheimer: Relazioni della giornata di studi Roma, 20 Febbraio 1995, Palazzo dei Conservatori Sala del’Ercole*, ed. Julian Kliemann (Rome: Bibliotheca Herztiana [Max-Planck-Institut], 1997). During his eleventh-century building project, Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn expressed his desire to have a church built “ad similitudinem s. Jerosolemitane ecclesiae” (quoted in Krautheimer, 4). For an introduction to the history of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, see Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1999). Adolf Reinle believes that the tradition of making architectonic “copies” of the Holy Sepulchre has contributed more to the development of central plan architecture in the Middle Ages than any aesthetic-stylistic *Kunstwollen*; see his *Zeichensprache der Architektur: Symbol, Darstellung und Brauch in der Baukunst des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Zurich: Artemis, 1976), 127.

⁴ Krautheimer, 6; this was the second of Konrad’s three pilgrimages. Note that the original tenth-century Holy Sepulchre copy, a chapel built northeast of the choir of Constance Münster, was highly ornamented with goldwork (Untermann, 58-9); this earlier piece was replaced around 1260 with the surviving twelve-sided sepulchre, which takes the form of a tower-shaped ciborium adorned with figural decoration.

⁵ As the Anastasis rotunda has twenty supports (eight piers and twelve columns), imitators felt free to choose either number and use this in the design of the copy, regardless of the shape of the supports being used (Krautheimer, 10).

⁶ These “holy measurements” are typically a corresponding diameter, or an exact halving of the diameter, of the Anastasis rotunda; see Reinle, 127.



1. View of interior, Anastasis Rotunda (begun c. 325-35), Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (Photo: Author)

means all of them.”⁷ Even the ambulatory might be subtracted, as was the case in the so-called Busdorfkirche at Paderborn, consecrated in 1036.⁸

To grasp the genealogy connecting these buildings requires, therefore, that we think in terms of what Krautheimer called “network[s] of reciprocal half-distinct connotations” -- of which there are two kinds. One kind arises from a building’s “material” form, the visible features that signal an allegiance of copy to prototype; the other arises from those “immaterial” affiliations that link buildings ecclesiologically and often mystically. In this article I proceed from my own intuition that the interplay of these two kinds of connotation, the “material” and the “immaterial,” can be particularly valuable in understanding the cultural functions of *pilgrimage* architecture.

From the twelfth century onward, instead of traveling great distances to the sacred sites in Palestine and Rome, the great majority of Christians began visiting local, European surrogates for the holy places. Architectural copies of famous edifices helped foster this new condition, offering the pilgrim, in Krautheimer’s words, an “echo of the original capable of reminding [him] of the venerated site, of evoking his devotion and of giving him a share at least in the reflections of the blessings which he would have enjoyed if he had been able to visit the Holy Site in reality.”⁹ As a description of how architecture could shape religious perceptions among visitors to a given shrine, these are accurate, but also cautious words. For Krautheimer, the surrogacy of the copy breaks off at the level of remembrance (the experience available to those who actually visited the prototype) and evocation (for those who never could). Thus the perceived relationship reaches no farther than the level of devotion and its accompanying mental states. But might there be a deeper level where surrogate and prototype were seen to conjoin? We know that in medieval thinking about symbols, unlike its supposed modern counterpart, signs were not always clearly separable from their referents; copies often participated in a mystical unity with their originals, and sacred things -- relics both primary and secondary, holy images and certainly the consecrated host itself -- could be perceived as consubstantial with their

⁷ Also acknowledged in his theory is the “collateral influence” other buildings resembling or copied from the prototype exerted on subsequent copies, a notion suggestive of a circularity in the system of connotation, an “intervisual” substitutionality that reinforced not so much the formal as the symbolic authority of any form emanating from the original.

⁸ The dissimilarity of the Busdorfkirche from the Jerusalem prototype caused considerable surprise when it was excavated in 1935, and prompted speculation that Wino of Helmarshausen, the monk whom Bishop Meinwerk sent to Jerusalem to make measurements of the Holy Sepulchre complex, had been unable to comprehend the building from its ruins (it had been destroyed in 1009), and instead relied on observations of another building seen on his travels; see discussion in E. Den Hartog, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in the Meuse Valley* (Mechelen: Eisma B. V., Leeuwarden, 1992), 37, who cites R. Wesenberg, “Wino von Helmarshausen und das kreuzförmige Oktogon,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 12 (1949): 30-40. Note also that the Paderborn church was originally dedicated (in 777) as a Church of the Holy Savior (Salvatorkirche).

⁹ Krautheimer, 16.

prototypes.¹⁰ Thus copies of sacred things were often felt to share in the sanctity of the original, and therefore were capable of the same ritual efficacy. The broadest part of my argument here is that much the same can be said for architectural copies: that the built environment, even the stones themselves,¹¹ could become vehicles for the transposition of sanctity -- if not divine immanence itself -- and therefore especially efficacious as *places* for ritual and cultic practice.¹²

Among the areas of ritual and cultic practice associated with pilgrimage where this perception of sanctity's immanence in architecture might seem to be operative, I want to call attention to the cult of the purgatorial dead. In the present state of research one finds the great variety of commemorative, intercessionary, and penitential aspirations connected with Christian mortuary practice, in particular the cult of purgatory, but linked only indirectly to pilgrimage. Yet multiple direct points of contact can be detected if we know where to look.¹³ Central was the system of indulgences, earned and often purchased by the living for the dead; pilgrims carried their prayers as well as their coins to sites where both might bring spiritual benefit to the dead, whose spiritual aspirations were served by proxy through works of mercy. A pen and colored ink drawing from a miscellany produced in Nuremberg around 1480, a manuscript containing among other texts the "Seven Works of Mercy," depicts the "poor souls" (*Arme Seelen*) in purgatory as an almost palpable presence beneath the feet of pilgrims on their way to church. (fig. 2) These connections are well known to scholars.

Now juxtapose this with all that scholars such as Krautheimer, Wolfgang Götz (1968), Reto Feuerer (1980), Adolf Reinle (1976), and Matthias Untermann (1989), have taught us about the long-standing symbiosis between central-plan architecture and the twin domains of

¹⁰ And, as anyone who has observed pilgrim-behavior at shrines must realize, the power of sacred objects is felt to be a quasi-material property, a charged essence that can be transferred through touch and vision. This is the most ordinary and democratic means for the transfer and proliferation of sanctity; the kind of mystical and "non-material" connections that obtained between prototype and copy perhaps belong in a different category of proliferation processes.

¹¹ On the conception of stone's intrinsic potency and related issues, see Hans Gerhard Evers, *Tod, Macht und Raum als Bereiche der Architektur* (Munich: Filser, 1939; repr. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970), esp. pp. 63-92. The conclusions of Evers, an author influenced by National Socialist thinking, should be used with caution.

¹² Some of my thinking about the ritual efficacy of *place*, in particular the operative values given to place by the "double structure" of event and memorial found in foundation myths, is indebted to Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹³ Mitchell B. Merback, "Channels of Grace: Pilgrimage Architecture, Eucharistic Imagery, and Visions of Purgatory at the Host Miracle Churches of Late Medieval Germany," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 587-646.



Man mag den armen seelen zu hilf kumen mit antlaf zu gen und zu verdienen
ablas von einer kirchen zu der andern und solchs mag man opfern den sellen in dem segnen
als bald das geschicht so bringet der gut engel solchs in es segnen dar durch dann die
pein gemiget wirt

2. South German (Nuremberg?), *Pilgrims doing good works for poor souls*, colored pen drawing from manuscript of c. 1480 (Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek., Handschrift Cent. V, App. 34a, fol. 129v)

pilgrimage and mortuary practice.¹⁴ Although the antecedents are well-known and the field expansive, a few points may be summarized. In early Christianity, the domed center room became the characteristic form for tombs of martyrs (*martyria*) and, after the fourth century, baptistries as well. That these rites of passage, death and birth, burial and resurrection, were seen by visitors to the tombs as somehow enacted at a very precise locus, along an invisible “sacred axis” connecting heaven and earth, had enormous implications for Christian sacred architecture. Baptismal and mortuary rites are both coded in terms of Easter ceremonial; and rotundas and octagonal center-rooms ultimately came to bear this symbolic association. Other kinds of relics, especially Passion relics (allegedly) brought to Europe from the Holy Land, were frequently enshrined in round or octagonal chapels, or under elaborately vaulted ceilings resembling a ciborium, as a way of conferring dignity and sanctity upon these objects.¹⁵ Supreme in this class of relics were specimens of the Holy Blood.¹⁶ Thus the idea of the pilgrimage chapel as a place of veneration, coupled with its long-standing commemorative function and its associations with resurrection and rebirth, found their characteristic, if not their paradigmatic form in the central-plan structure.

One late medieval edifice in which these connections come into a startling focus is the former collegiate and pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator) in Passau, in Lower Bavaria, a compact, but elegant three-bay structure with a polygonal choir, an open crypt and beautiful stellar rib vaults characteristic of the “Danube Late Gothic.” (fig. 3) Though remodeled several times in its 525-year history, the present structure is virtually identical with the church begun on August 16, 1479 under the powerful prince-bishop Ulrich III von Nußdorf. Thanks to its remote location, a fire which consumed the Altstadt in 1662 left the church untouched, and it stands today as the only intact medieval structure in the city. It also condenses an extraordinary

¹⁴ Published works by authors in this list are cited in various places below; in addition to which, see Reto Feurer, “Wallfahrt und Wallfahrtsarchitektur. Versuch einer Vergegenwärtigung des Fragencomplexes” (dissertation, University of Zurich, 1980), whom I have not consulted as completely as the other authors mentioned here.

¹⁵ V[eronica] Sekules, “Easter Sepulchre,” in *The Dictionary of Art* (New York: Grove), IX: 680-2, here p. 680. Two other examples may be noted, both bearing the title *Heilig Kreuz*: a) for a highly-venerated Holy Blood relic, acquired in 923, a simple round chapel was built at Reichenau Monastery and attached in the east to the monastery church; b) a *Heiliges Grab*, decorated with goldwork and polychrome, was erected inside a large round chapel at the monastery of St. Gallen under Abbott Ulrich (984-90), and built east of the monastery church.

¹⁶ At the St. Jakobskirche in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, for example, an octagonal chapel served as the *ostensorium* for one of Bavaria’s famous blood-relics, and became the locus of a pilgrimage of some importance (see fig. 12 and discussion below). Holger Simon has challenged the widely-held assumption that the pilgrimages to the two key Holy Blood sites in Franconia with important altarpieces by Tilman Riemenschneider, Rothenburg and Creglingen (Church of Our Lord, dedicated 1389), attracted large number of pilgrims from beyond their immediate locales; see *Der Creglinger Marienaltar von Tilman Riemenschneider* (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1998), esp. 17-18.

history. Little more than one year prior to its foundation, Bishop Ulrich had overseen the expulsion of the Jews from his residential city following the trial and execution of several men -- four accused Jews and their Christian accomplice-turned-accuser -- implicated in a conspiracy to desecrate the body of Christ in the Eucharist.¹⁷ To make way for the new church, which was to be symbolically placed at the very site of the sacrilege, one or more buildings in the Jewish area of the Ilzstadt, one of them apparently housing a *Schul* (therefore functioning as a synagogue) were demolished.¹⁸ While the precise scope and timing of the area's transformation can certainly do with further questioning,¹⁹ it can not be doubted that the narrative trope which imagines the new church built either "on the site [of]" (*an der Stelle*) or, in the words of the famous broadsheet created around 1498 to commemorate the events, "from" the Jewish synagogue (*auß der juden synagog*), dates to the earliest phase of the shrine's career. Secularized in 1803, sold off to become a saltpeter factory (!) in 1811, repurchased and renovated by the Bishop Heinrich von Hofstätter in 1861, damaged and again closed after 1945, the church now stands empty, confounding city planners, who cannot find a viable use for it, and tourists, to whom the building is sometimes pointed out, by local tour guides, as Passau's "former synagogue."²⁰

¹⁷ On the history and fate of the Jewish community, see esp. Moritz Stern, "Der Passauer Judenprozeß 1478," *Jeschurun* 15 (1929): 541-60 and 647-76; W. M. Schmid, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Passau," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 1, no. 2 (July 1929): 119-35; *Germania Judaica*, vol. 3: 1350-1519, ed. Arye Maimon, Mordechai Breuer and Yacov Guggenheim (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1995), pt. 2, pp. 1088-91; Herbert Wurster, "Die jüdische Bevölkerung," in *Geschichte der Stadt Passau*, ed. Egon Boshof, et. al. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1999), 385-92; and *idem*, "Das Ende der mittelalterlichen jüdischen Gemeinde in Passau und die Wallfahrtskirche St. Salvator" (unpublished lecture, March 2005). I am grateful to Dr. Wurster author for sending me a copy of his lecture.

¹⁸ Anton L. Mayer, "Die Grundung von St. Salvator in Passau--Geschichte und Legende," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 18 (1955): 256-78; Georg Dehio, *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Bayern II: Niederbayern*, ed. Michael Brix (Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 1988), 516; Herbert Schindler, *Passau. Führer zu den Kunstdenkmälern der Dreiflüssestadt* (Passau: Passavia, 1990), 170; Israel Schwierz, *Steinerne Zeugnisse jüdischen Lebens in Bayern. Eine Dokumentation*, 2nd edition. (Munich: Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit, 1992), 342; Vera Viertlböck, "St. Salvator in Passau. Historische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken. Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde*, 26 (1984): 98-125, at 98.

¹⁹ This will be discussed in my book in preparation, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom: Anti-Jewish Myth, Violence and Visual Culture in Late Medieval Germany and Austria*.

²⁰ As attested, for example, in a letter of 9 Sept. 1993, to Passau's mayor from a recent tourist from Israel; Stadtarchiv Passau, misc. records for "St. Salvator, Passau-Ilzstadt". In a public ceremony in March 2005 the Salvatorkirche, following the completion of restoration work on its roof, received a new inscribed plaque recalling the building's origins in anti-Jewish persecution.

At first glance, the Salvatorkirche offers an unlikely test case for exploring the “network of half-distinct reciprocal connotations” that obtained in Holy Sepulchre copies because it is difficult to show, conclusively, that the design -- which corresponds in many aspects to the south German tradition of the interior wall-buttress church (*Wandpfeilerkirche*)²¹-- refers to the Anastasis rotunda. That the form and plan of the Salvatorkirche are symbolic in some way has, however, long been assumed in the literature. Rather than offer a formal analysis to prove this, however, I endeavor here to outline the intersections of architectural form and cult function discoverable in the building’s history. What emerges is an image of the Salvatorkirche as more than a stage for liturgy and Christological cult -- rather, I will argue that its form and physical fabric, its site and the prehistory that shaped it, made the church a new kind of surrogate holy place, one in which a quasi-magical potency served to vouchsafe the rituals and cult practices performed inside it. This potency came from the Real Presence of the historical, suffering body of Christ, made manifest in the consecrated host through miracle, to be specific, a miracle prompted by sacrilegious violence: pierced with a knife and later cast into an oven by the “perfidious Jews” of Christian fantasy, the bleeding host of Passau, the local legend tells us, survived its ordeal and was resurrected from its fiery tomb, a victorious prelude to the Jews’ expulsion from the city and the inauguration of a pilgrimage.

We can now proceed to sketch four areas of evidence that support this interpretation of the Salvatorkirche. They are: the architectural evidence; the mortuary evidence; the ecclesiological and cultic evidence; and the mytho-narrative evidence, whose principal source is the city’s localized version of the European host-desecration legend, unique among its relatives across this region for having entered the documentary record within a generation of the shrine’s construction.

Form, Passage, Display

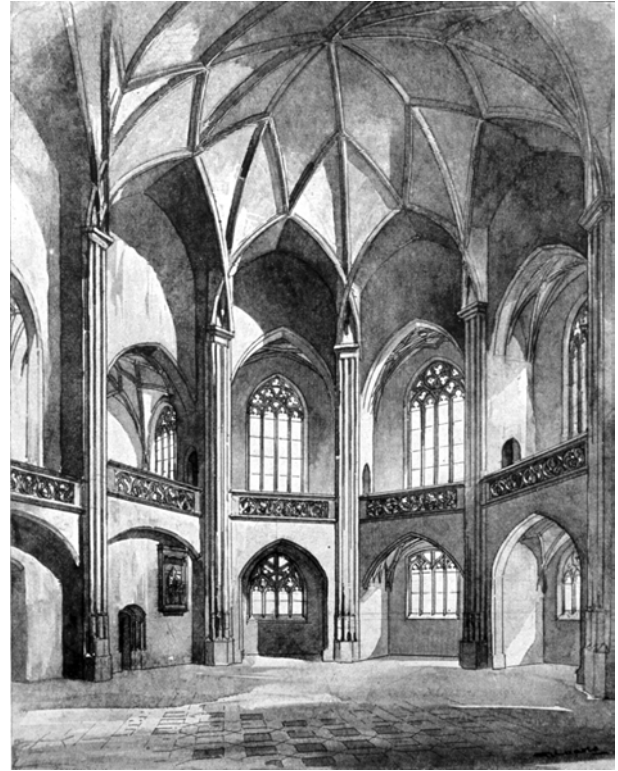
First the architectural evidence, with an eye toward the building’s organization as a pilgrimage church. Expertly set like a faceted gem against the steep, overgrown eastern slope of the St.-Georges-Berg, with the buildings of the Veste Oberhaus looming above, the simple planar forms of the Salvatorkirche, despite their vertical insistence, convey the impression of a structure anchored to its site. (fig. 3) The repeated buildup of the modern streets surrounding it, having effectively obscured the lowest section of the building from lateral view, exaggerates the effect. Still, the elegant proportions of the church cannot escape notice. Their harmony is neatly captured in the coordination of windows around the three eastern sides of the polygon and across the two stories still visible from the street level.

From virtually every approach, the Salvatorkirche gives the impression of a central-plan building. A three-story, rectangular annex with a gabled roof and a ridge turret from the nineteenth century -- which once had the function of a belltower -- enhance this impression by concealing the south flank of the nave, just as a broad, enclosed staircase and the old collegiate residence conceals the north flank. And once inside the two-storied sanctuary the impression is hardly dispelled. (fig. 4) But this is no central-plan structure in the strict sense, as the groundplan reveals. (fig. 5) An abruptly terminated west end -- almost abutting the rock cliff into which the foundations are set -- looms up over an aisle-less, three-bay nave that merges with a 3/8-polygonal choir. Between the robust abutment-piers, which extend to almost the entire

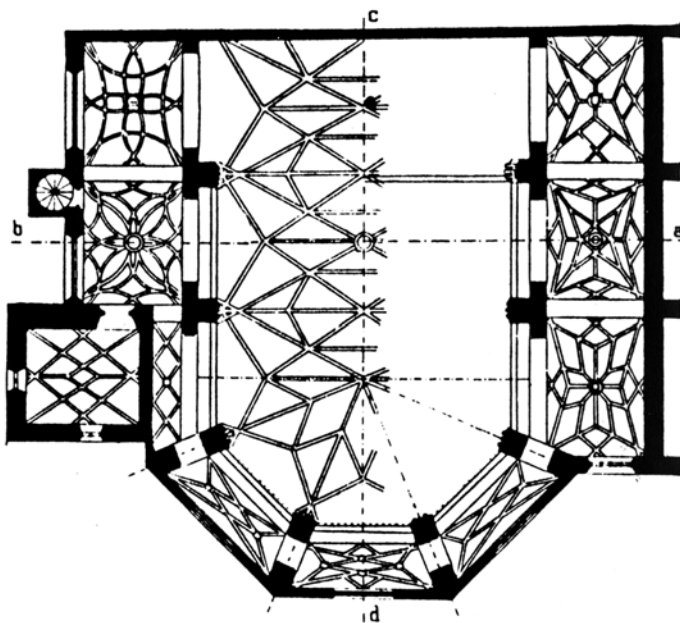
²¹ Viertlböck, 111-12.



3. Exterior view from SE, former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479 (Photo: Author)



4. Interior view of nave and choir, former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479, engraving (Source: *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern III: Stadt Passau*, ed. Felix Mader [Munich, 1919])



5. Groundplan of upper sanctuary level, former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479 (Source: Herbert Schindler, *Passau: Führer zu den Kunstdenkmälern der Dreiflüssestadt* [Passau: Passavia, 1990], p. 170).

height of the nave and resemble exterior buttresses turned inward, the architect has cut niches whose appearance of depth depends a great deal on lighting conditions; in flatter light these draw the unified space of the sanctuary out toward the windows of the eastern walls while giving a strong, plastic articulation to the central enclosure. A gallery divides the elevation roughly in half; a traceried balustrade wreathes the interior and laterally binds the vertical weight of the piers. Staggered into a lower position on the westernmost pier, it completes the integration of the nave with the stately western choir loft, which appears as a wide horizontal balcony supported by a triple-arched porch (an arrangement strongly resembling French and German choir screens).²² Coupled with the height and the dizzying effect of the rhomboid vaults, the width of the sanctuary -- just barely surpassing its length -- emphasizes what Wolfgang Götz calls the “centralizing tendency” (*Zentralbautendenz*) in certain kinds of Gothic buildings (not only centrally-planned ones). This characteristic of the Salvatorkirche has been noted by nearly all of the building’s commentators.²³

The coordination of chapels set between massive interior abutment-piers at Sankt Salvator was preceded in several important Bavarian and Austrian buildings such as St. Martin’s in Landshut (Lower Bavaria; begun in 1407), the choir of the Franciscan Church in Salzburg (begun in 1408), and St. Martin’s in Amberg (Oberpfalz, begun in 1421). At Passau, however, it provides a vital clue to the building’s intended function as a pilgrimage church. Salzburg, Amberg and Passau each displays the “double-register chapelled extensions [which] developed into a specific hall type with gallery.”²⁴ The coordinated upper chapels of the gallery at Passau strongly resemble the arrangements at other *Wandpfeilerkirchen* such as Amberg, but their functions differ. At Amberg, according to Norbert Nussbaum, “the upper registers of the chapelled extensions were reserved, at least most of them, for the *Donatores* of the chapels directly below them.”²⁵ By contrast, at the Salvatorkirche the gallery seems to have served as a ring of compartments for pilgrims processing through the building and seeking a view of the relics on display in the sanctuary below.²⁶

²² For a brilliant reassessment of the choir screen’s form and function, see Jacqueline E. Jung, “Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches,” *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 4 (December 2000): 622-57.

²³ Wolfgang Götz, for example, in his classic study of central-plan architecture, called the Salvatorkirche “einen der reinsten Vertreter deutschen spätgotischen Kirchenbaues mit Zentralbautendenz”; *Zentralbau und Zentralbautendenz in der gotischen Architektur* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1968), 142. See also Franz Dambeck, *Spätgotische Kirchenbauten in Ostbayern* (Passau: AG Passavia, 1939; repr. 1989), 59; Joachim Büchner, *Die spätgotische Wandpfeilerkirche Bayerns und Österreichs* (Nuremberg: Hans Carl, 1964), 117-20; and Viertelböck, 107, 109-10.

²⁴ Dambeck 37, attributes the Franziskanerkirche in Salzburg to Hans Stethaimer; for Amberg, see Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture*, trans. Scott Kleager (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 194.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Viertelböck, 111.

Other distinctive features of the plan reinforce the supposition that, as a pilgrimage church, Sankt Salvator was designed to serve primarily as a place of ritualized relic veneration. Multiple points of access and egress set up a variety of passages through the building; staircases are conspicuously broad to accommodate processions. To enter the main sanctuary one must ascend a long, stair tunnel on the north side -- a kind of “holy stair” or *heilige Steig*²⁷-- and pass through a pair of tall doors opposite the old provost’s quarters. Then, a likely circuit through the church would lead under the west gallery loft to a terraced stair, then around the choir via the gallery, and then down the southwest stair under the loft. (fig. 6) Egress could then be made onto a porch between the south annex and the western stair tower. Here one finds a formerly-handsome vestibule, spanned by a stellar rib vault, which once led out onto a terrace that almost certainly served as tribune for the public ostentation of the church’s relics, a ritual likely performed in the manner of the annual *Heiltumsweisung* at the monastery church at Andechs, in Upper Bavaria (an edifice clearly studied by the architect of the Salvatorkirche). An engraving made in Augsburg by Alexander Mair in 1608 portrays the ordered, but festive gathering of pious folk atop the Holy Mountain at Andechs, with boat traffic on the Ammersee visible in the background. (fig. 7) A prelate leads the liturgical exposition from the tapestry-draped south window which serves as a tribune. This type of staging appears to be typical for south Germany.²⁸

Essentially, then, we have in the upper zones of the Salvatorkirche a “centralized” nave as an open center space, ringed by niche-chapels, integrated with a gallery above. Are these “material” features alone sufficient to bring the edifice into that network of connotations, theorized by Krautheimer, which signal an affiliation with the Jerusalem prototype? This question may be held in suspension as we consider the architecture and function of the lower level.

²⁷ Situated between the collegiate residence and the nave. In height if not in exactly in width, this stair-installation recalls those pilgrims’ ascents modeled after Rome’s *sancta scala* and incorporated into simulated Calvaries and sacred mountains across Christian Europe (Passau’s own Baroque pilgrimage church of “Maria Hilf,” facing the Altstadt from its hilltop across the Inn River, features a *heilige Steig* which pilgrims still ascend on their knees). Bavaria’s oldest *heilige Steig* for pilgrims--all of which replicate the *sancta scala* in Rome--is part of the *Kalvarienberg* installation at Hohenburg bei Lenggries.

²⁸ Gerda Möhler, “Wallfahrten zum Heiligen Berg,” in *Andechs: Der Heilige Berg. Von der Frühzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Karl Bosl, et al. (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 119-33, explains that these types of ritual displays from bay windows typically occurred on the south sides of churches, where pilgrims assembled in the open space below. Presumably the south was favored in this regard because bishops, canons and monks typically had their quarters, or the cloister, on the north side (122). On three designated feast days at Andechs the relic treasury was brought from its chapel on the north side of the church, carried in procession around the gallery and taken to a special antechamber on the south side, today occupied by the *Hedwigskapelle*. From a large bay window that served as something of an open tribune, the relics were shown to pilgrims assembled outside the south flank of the church, near the principle entrance.



6. View of area under west loft and SW stair, former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479 (Photo: Author)



7. Alexander Mair, *Relic Ostentation on Holy Mountain of Andechs Monastery*, 1608, engraving 11.7 x 6.2 (Source: *Der Schatz vom Heiligen Berg Andechs*, exhib. cat. [Andechs: Kloster Andechs, 1967], p. 15).

The Lower Chapel

A second area of evidence concerns the former mortuary and cultic functions of the lower chapel, opened for restoration work in 2002 and seen here in a photograph from that year. (fig. 8) Gothic crypt chapels, like this one, represent a significant departure from an earlier type of two-aisled crypt with a polygonal eastern terminus (*Hallenkrypta*); the new, centralizing designs were typically round or octagonal chambers, organized around a central column with radiating rib vaults. Whereas in English, Austrian, and German monasteries such arrangements were the preferred design for chapter houses,²⁹ in many German monasteries and princely Stifte, installations such as this served as a type of ossuary for monks and prelates, princes and their family members.³⁰ At Passau we have reports of tomb inscriptions from the area around the crypt's main altar (which was dedicated to the Holy Cross in 1483 under Bishop Ulrich's successor, Friedrich Mauerkircher).³¹ According to nineteenth-century historians, tombstones for deacons, canons, and prebendaries of the collegiate monastery here (*Kollegiatstift*) once filled the entire space, while the southern vestibule (fig. 9) may have once contained the tombs of one or more of the provosts. All of these tombs were uprooted and emptied after the church was secularized and sold between 1803 and 1811.³²

The plan of the Passau crypt chapel is a 5/8-polygon, corresponding to the choir above. (fig. 10) As the sectional diagram reveals, (fig. 11) the architect established a strong vertical coordination between the upper and lower spaces, each one a carefully modeled spatial unity, over which complex net vaults are suspended. All the more than the upper church, then, the

²⁹ For example, at the former Cistercian monastery of Eberbach, chapter house, vaulted 1345; reproduced in Nussbaum, 109; Götz, fig. 16. An important Austrian example is found at the Cistercian monastery at Zwettl; see Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Österreich*, ed. Artur Rosenauer and Mario Schwarz (St. Pölten: Niederösterreichisches Presseshaus, 1988), plate III; and Götz, fig. 15. Prominent among the English examples is the two-leveled octagonal chapter house and crypt at Westminster Abbey, built between 1245 and 1253; discussed in Götz, 30, figs. 101-02.

³⁰ Götz, 250. Mortuary functions are clearly traceable for the Gothic central-crypts in Neuenburg in western Prussia (Minoriten-Kloster-Kirche), Schweidnitz in Silesia (parish church), Breslau (Martinikapelle), Bad Doberan, Lienz in East Tyrol (Andreaskirche), Jena (Michaelskirche), and can be inferred for many others of similar design, such as the Moritzkapelle in Constance, which was built over a cemetery.

³¹ A now-lost inscription from the crypt window marked the dedication: "Anno domini MCCCCLXXXIII regnante reverendissimo in Christo patre Domino Friderico electo et confirmato Ecclesiae pataviensis consumata est praesens crypta ecclesiae Salvatoris et consecrata in honor sanctae crucis"; repr. in Ludwig Heinrich Krick, *Alte Inschriften an den Gebäuden der Stadt Passau und deren nachster Umgegend* (Passau: Waldbauer, 1925), 21; cf. Viertelböck, 112.

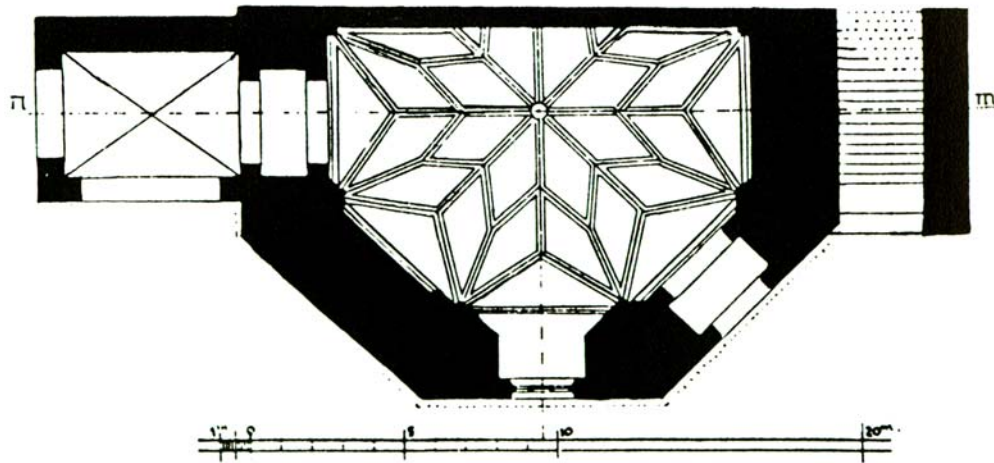
³² A. Mayer-Pfannholz, "St. Salvator," in *Alte Klöster in Passau und Umgebung. Geschichtliche und kunstgeschichtliche Aufsätze*, ed. Josef Oswald (Passau: Passavia, 1954), 47-66, here 64; and Raymund Maier, *Bischof Heinrich von Hofstätter (1839-1875) und seine Kunstschöpfungen* (Winzer: Duschl, 2001), 151.



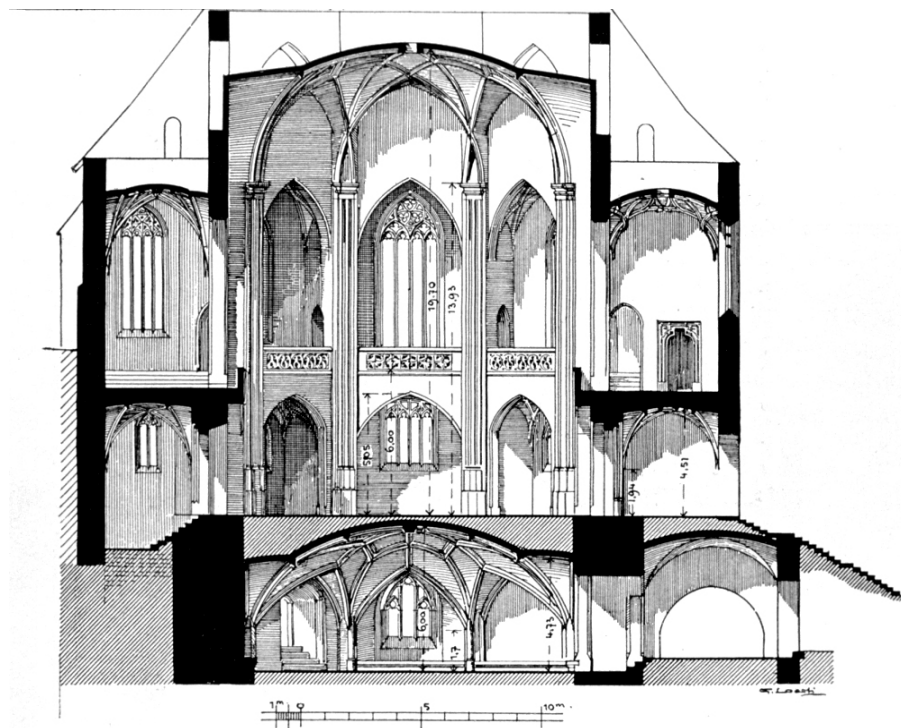
8. Lower chapel, view toward north, former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479 (Photo: Author)



9. South vestibule of lower chapel, former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479 (Photo: Author)



10. Groundplan, lower chapel (crypt), former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479 (Source: Herbert Schindler, *Passau: Führer zu den Kunstdenkmälern der Dreiflüssestadt* [Passau: Passavia, 1990], p. 170).



11. Sectional diagram, former Collegiate and Pilgrimage Church of the Holy Savior (Sankt Salvator), Passau, begun 1479 (Source: *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern III: Stadt Passau*, ed. Felix Mader [Munich, 1919], p. 302)

geometry of this subterranean chapel expresses the central-plan tendency of the whole edifice; covered by a domed vault, spanned by a six-pointed curving star, the intended effect is clearly that of a monumental reliquary shrine or ciborium. This intention is reflected in the striking similarities of plan between Passau and the polygonal crypt below the Holy Blood Chapel (*HL-Blut-Kapelle*), built as a western extension of the St. Jakobskirche in Rothenburg ob der Tauber (c. 1453-71).³³ (fig. 12) At Rothenburg we have an eight-pointed star vault centering the plan, with ribs radiating outward to the corners of the polygon. As important as the formal is the functional parallel: the Rothenburg chapel's lower level once served as a relic-treasury for the Holy Blood specimen.³⁴ With its broad western wall that truncates the plan where the chapel abuts the rock face, Passau's lower level also resembles the crypt chapels at Neuenburg (Franciscan Priory Church) and at Lienz (Church of St. Andreas) in east Tirol.³⁵ At Lienz, in particular, (fig. 13) which served as a burial site for the Counts of Görz,³⁶ we see the same polygonal plan organized beneath an eight-pointed stellar vault. Both crypt interiors, Lienz and Passau, are circumscribed by a stone socle-bench, a feature of chapter houses that is also indicative of a necrological function for the space.³⁷

That such crypts closely paralleled the form and function of the south German charnel house, or *Karner*, can hardly escape notice. Behind these structures lies the practice of secondary burial, the reclamation of excarnated bones and their protection in ossuaries, individual or collective; the practice has ancient roots and defies review here. Monumental charnel houses can be traced back to the twelfth century and emerged as a standard part of medieval mortuary practice across Europe in the following century. Over one hundred examples of circular or polygonal charnel houses survive in the contiguous regions of Austria, Bavaria and Bohemia in designs that preserve “the ancient link between the tomb of Christ and the graves of

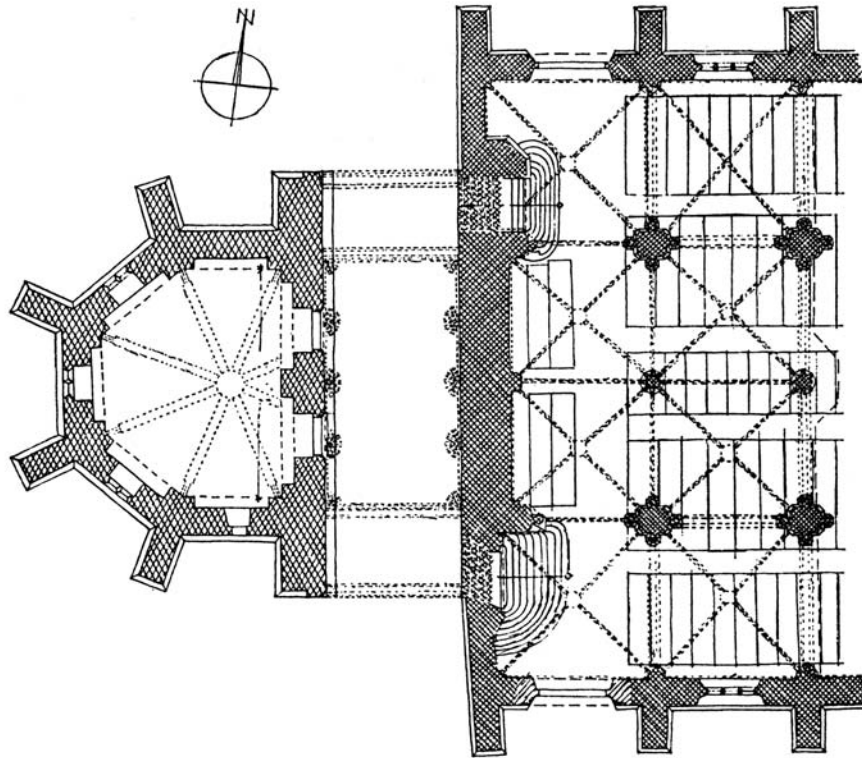
³³ At Rothenburg a two-storied extension is divided from the larger church by a street (Klingengasse) which passes through it; for the plan and general description, see *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Mittelfranken VIII: Stadt Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Kirchliche Bauten*, ed. Anton Röss (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1959), 73-74 and 79; and Götz, 246. On the chapel and pilgrimage, see Ludwig Schnurrer, “Kapelle und Wallfahrt zum Heiligen Blut in Rothenburg,” in *Rothenburg im Mittelalter. Studien zur Geschichte einer fränkischen Reichsstadt* (Rothenburg, 1997), 389-400.

³⁴ Götz, 246.

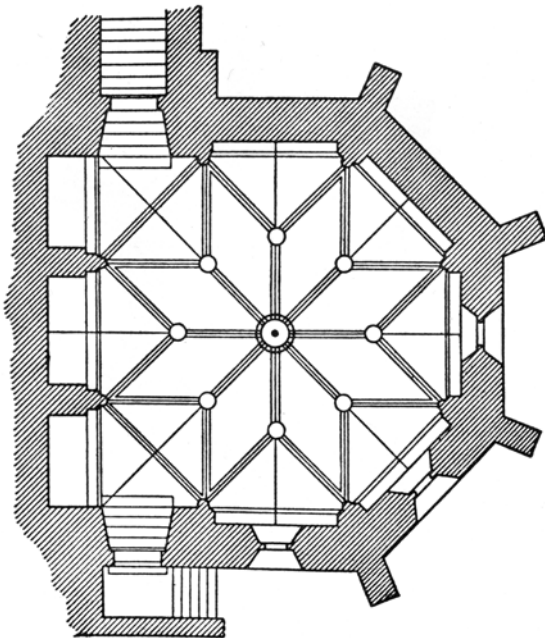
³⁵ First mentioned in 1022/1039 (“in loco Luenzina”), converted to a Gothic basilica and re-consecrated Oct. 9, 1457 (www.stadt-lienz.at/index.asp).

³⁶ Götz, 238-9.

³⁷ Though only Lienz further unifies the design with a system of blind niches in the choir walls; three deeper niches in the western wall there appear to have been reserved for tombs.



12. Groundplan, Holy Blood Chapel, lower level, Church of St. Jacob, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, c. 1453-71 (Source: Wolfgang Götz, *Zentralbau und Zentralbautendenz in der gotischen Architektur* [Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1968], fig. 163).



13. Groundplan, lower chapel (crypt), Parish Church of St. Andrew, Lienz (Tirol region, Austria), before 1457 (Source: Wolfgang Götz, *Zentralbau und Zentralbautendenz in der gotischen Architektur* [Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1968], fig. 157).

the faithful,” according to Justin E. A. Kroesen.³⁸ Here I show, first, the charnel house in the churchyard of St. Michaels, in Pulkau (Lower Austria), just a few hundred meters away from the reputed site of another infamous host-desecration in 1338.³⁹ (fig. 14) Many of these independent, central-plan mortuary chapels were known as *Herrgottsruhkapellen*, or were dedicated *sub voce sancti sepulchri*, indicating their abiding symbolic affiliation with the Tomb of Christ; one can even find documentary evidence that some central-plan crypts themselves carried the popular designation *Karner*!⁴⁰

Formal and functional parallels therefore link the charnel house and the central-plan crypt, sometimes explicitly, as we find in the Church of St. Stephen in Kourim (Bohemia, begun in c. 1270-80), the oldest example of a regular polygonal crypt with central column and star-vaults. Here we find not only a crypt but an even deeper chamber, or *Gruft*, beneath it, recalling the two-tiered design of charnel houses in which the upper level, furnished with an altar for funeral masses, served as a memorial chapel, and the lower level as an ossuary.⁴¹ (fig. 15) A formal and symbolic homology therefore exists between the charnel house and the central-plan crypt -- as central plan structures with explicit mortuary functions, both were perceived as representations of the “Heiliggrabkirche” in Jerusalem and functioned ritually as its local surrogate.⁴² One may even compare the overall conception of the Salvatorkirche to the design-type based on a half-subterranean ossuary crypt with a chapel of corresponding plan raised above it (and accessible via an exterior stair). In Lower Austria such a design is found at Tulln (c.

³⁸ Justin E. A. Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages: Its Form and Function*, trans. Margaret Kofod (Leuven/Paris/Sterling, VA: Peeters, 2000). Examples include Mödling, Pulkau (fig. 14), Tulln (fig. 16), and Bad Deutsch Altenburg (in Austria), and Bad Doberan (in Germany); for fundamentals, see Friedrich Zoepfl, “Beinhaus,” *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Otto Schmitt (Stuttgart-Waldsee: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1948), cols. 204-14.

³⁹ Built between 1219 and 1221, the Pulkau charnel house first appears in documents in 1430 as “Kapelle zum Heiligen Grab”; see *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Bd. I: Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. Hermann Fillitz (Munich: Prestel, 1997), no. 64 (pp. 293-94). On the Pulkau host-desecration affair and its resonances in the visual culture of that city’s Holy Blood shrine, see my forthcoming article, “Fount of Grace, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece,” *Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (December 2005).

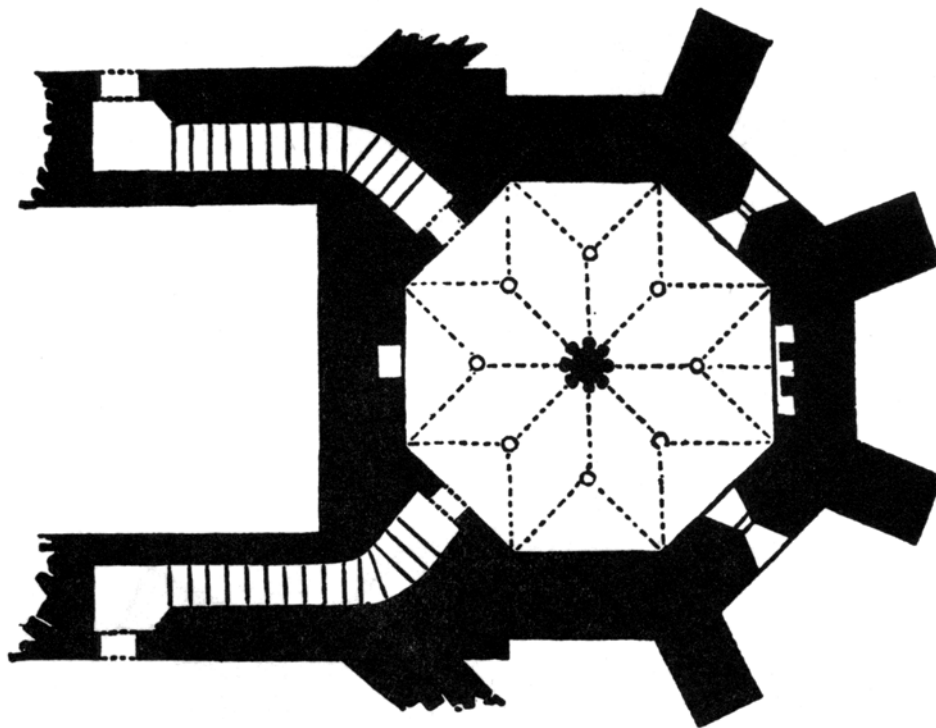
⁴⁰ In addition to Lienz and Kourim, this occurs at the parish church of St. Matthew in Murau (Steiermark); see Götz, 239.

⁴¹ For Kourim, see Götz, 237-8.

⁴² As Götz summarizes: “So dürften die zentralen Krypten der Gotik sicher als die reinsten Vertreter von Räumen gelten, die in engem Sinnzusammenhang mit Karner und Hl. Grab noch immer die Zentralbaugestalt von Memorie und Martyrium nachwirken lassen” (246).



14. Charnel House, cemetery of the Parish Church of St. Michael, Pulkau, Lower Austria, begun 1219-1221 (Photo: Author)



15. Groundplan, crypt, Church of St. Stephen, Kourim, Czech Republic, begun c. 1270-80 (Source: Wolfgang Götz, *Zentralbau und Zentralbautendenz in der gotischen Architektur* [Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1968], fig. 154).

1250), on the Danube between Krems and Vienna, then part of the Passau diocese.⁴³ (fig. 16)

Patron-title and Cultic Connotations

Among the “immaterial” connotations that reveal the place of the Salvatorkirche within the intertwined histories of Holy Sepulchre copies *and* central-plan pilgrimage shrines, perhaps the most important is its patron-title: *Sankt Salvator* (roughly translatable as “Holy Savior”). Prior to the erection of the Salvatorkirche, at least twenty-seven Eucharistic shrines, spread across ten German dioceses, received the stamp of Holy Savior patronage, or bore some other connection to it.⁴⁴ Through this title new shrines were linked to a long and venerable line of episcopal, royal and imperial foundations, leading back to Charlemagne and even beyond, to Constantine.⁴⁵ Not only the mighty early basilicas, but a number of important early central-plan churches conceived as Holy Sepulchre replicas, for example at Fulda (discussed below), carried the patronage title of *S. Salvatoris*.⁴⁶ Fed by these two traditions, the patron-title chosen by Bishop Ulrich clearly betokens an effort to promote the Salvatorkirche as an episcopal foundation of special dignity. Scion of a Bavarian noble family, Bishop Ulrich seems to have intended the church’s relic collection -- which included several “secondary eucharistic relics” associated with the Jewish sacrilege against the *corpus Christi* -- as a public emblem of his authority.⁴⁷

⁴³ Reproduced in Zoepfl, fig. 3.

⁴⁴ From the list assembled by Adolf Ostendorf, “Das Salvator-Patrociniun, seine Anfänge und seine Ausbreitung im mittelalterlichen Deutschland,” *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 100 (1950): 357-76, here 373-74. I count twenty-seven eucharistic shrines in ten different modern diocese and archdiocese in Germany and Austria (Regensburg, Eichstätt, München-Freising, Salzburg, Passau, Bamberg, Rottenburg, Halberstadt, Ermland, Cologne) with some connection to the Holy Savior title; of these, nine are associated with host-miracles or host-desecration legends.

⁴⁵ Viertlböck (110-11) notes this connection; see also Zimmerman 42ff. For the early history of the patron-title, see Ostendorf, with a list of Holy Savior churches founded under Constantine on 359, with further references.

⁴⁶ Gerd Zimmerman, “Patrozinienwahl und Frömmigkeitswandel im Mittelalter, dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem alten Bistum Würzburg,” *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 20 (1958):24-126 [part 1]; and vol. 21 (1959): 5-124 [part 2]; here (1958): 44, n. 5; see also Romuald Bauerreiß, *Sepulcrum Domini. Studien zur Entstehung der christlichen Wallfahrt auf deutschem Boden* (Munich: Bayerische Benediktinerakademie, 1936).

⁴⁷ Ulrich von Nußdorf came to the episcopate after a distinguished career; a doctor of canon law, he had served as notary to King Ladislaus of Poland and Hungary, cathedral canon in Passau and cathedral provost in Freising. Yet his election, like that of his predecessor Leonhard von Laymingen (1424-51), the tentative outcome of power brokering among imperial and papal parties, the cathedral chapter and the Duke of Bavaria, suffered a good deal in princely dignity; see August Leidl, “Nußdorf, Ulrich von († 1479),” in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1996), 507-08.



16. Charnel House, Tulln, Lower Austria. c. 1250 (Photo: Gerhard Lutz).

A second link between the Salvatorkirche and the tradition of Holy Sepulchre copies is found in the crypt, and in a cross-association with another patron-title. Holy Sepulchre replicas in the Middle Ages mostly bore dedicatory names like *San Sepulcro, zum Heiligen Grab*, etc., but others, such as the rotunda at Eichstätt, Germany's oldest, could be dedicated with the double title, "zum Heiligen Grab und Heiligen Kreuz."⁴⁸ (fig. 17) Precisely this latter patron-title -- Holy Cross -- was given to the Passau crypt, dedicated in 1483. It may also be noted in this regard that, in cases where we can trace the existence of a temporary "Easter sepulchre" (*sepulchrum domini*) inside a church, the south German evidence points strongly to a close association of the sepulchre with Holy Cross altars.⁴⁹ Together, Holy Sepulchre, Holy Cross, the bleeding host, and the variety of relics all point to an underlying Passion theme linking south Germany's host-miracle churches with the Roman "station church" that was the principal repository of Passion relics in the West and the reputed site of the bleeding Savior's miraculous appearance to Pope Gregory the Great during the Mass: S. Croce in Gerusalemme, in Rome. The cultic and thematic cross-associations also linked south Germany's pilgrimage culture with the plenary indulgence once promised only to crusading knights but, after 1300, distributed also to pilgrims who visited the tombs of Peter and Paul in Rome during Jubilee years.

***Heilig Grab* Surrogates: Rooted Immanence and Purgatorial Efficacy**

Every shrine has its foundation legend, or what anthropologist Victor Turner calls its "charter narrative." In the case of Germany's bleeding host pilgrimages, of which Passau's is a late southern example, legends are built around spectacular transformation miracles in which the Real Presence of Christ's suffering body is revealed in the consecrated host, both as a reproach to those inclined to infidelity or doubt, and as a prelude to their conversion or destruction. In many (but by no means in all) of these "host-miracle" legends, the Jews were enlisted to play the role of the host's antagonists. Not until the famous case of Paris, in 1290, one generation after the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi at Liège in 1264, did the myth of "Jewish host-

⁴⁸ In the tenth-eleventh centuries Heilig-Kreuz churches built as replicas of the Holy Sepulchre were round or polygonal, while others were built on centralized cruciform plans, as examples in St. Gallen, Cologne and, later, Krakau, show; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries, Heilig Kreuz churches were built on cemeteries (Müstair, Montmajour, Bergamo); see Untermann 1989, 48. At Eichstätt, we are concerned with a small-scale replica of the Anastasis rotunda inside the Capuchin Church, which also served as a hospital church; see Reinle, 128.

⁴⁹ Brooks's summary shows the prevalence of the "burial of cross only" (*Depositio Crucis*) variant in a large number of texts from southern Bavaria and adjacent areas of Austria; see Neil C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with special reference to the Liturgic Drama* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1921), 37. Most of these are "practically identical in responsories and rubrics and form a well-defined South Bavarian type, in which the *Imago Crucifixi* is buried just after communion and a stone is placed on the sepulchre (*Deinde lapis supponatur*)" (37; cf. also 68). This corresponds to a more fundamental practice of closing and securing the sepulchre after the objects have been deposited in it, but is noteworthy in light of Passau's preserved "desecration stone" (*Hostienstein*) as a pseudo-Passion relic associated with the anti-Judaic legend.



17. Holy Sepulchre installation, Capuchin Church, Eichstätt (Source: Theodor Neuhofer, Eichstätt, 4th edn., Große Kunstführer 15 [München: Schnell & Steiner, 1977], p. 35).

desecration” assume its definitive European form.⁵⁰ Once it had, localized versions of the tale were spawned and propagated in the wake of two waves of organized anti-Jewish persecutions that swept across imperial south Germany in 1298 (the so-called *Rintfleisch* pogroms) and in 1336-38 (the peasant *Armleder* insurrection). During these periods of crusade-like fervor and political disarray, host-desecration legends operated variously as both pretext for massacre, expulsion and expropriation, and as retrospective justification for economically-motivated attacks. In roughly half the places where accusations are recorded, the social drama of persecution played out in the intertwined processes of cult-formation and shrine-building.⁵¹

Passau’s host-desecration legend conforms to the Paris model, but appears relatively late in the history of the accusation, a dismal period in Jewish-Christian relations dominated by a spate of regional and civic expulsions and high-profile ritual murder trials in Emden (1470), Trent (1475), and Regensburg (1476).⁵² Our best primary source for the affair in Passau survives

⁵⁰ On which the best accounts are Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. 40-6; Peter Browe, "Die Hostienschändungen der Juden im Mittelalter," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 34 (1926): 167-97, here 180-81; and Friedrich Lotter, "Hostienfrevelvorfwurf und Blutwunderfälschung bei den Judenverfolgungen von 1298 ('Rindfleisch') und 1336-1338 ('Armleder')," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München, 16.-19. September 1986, Teil V: Fingierte Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung, Realienfälschung* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1988), 533-83, here 537ff.

⁵¹ At least half of those accusations made their way into the sources as localized versions of the Paris miracle (whether or not they first appeared publicly in this way), and a considerable number (fourteen for south Germany and Austria) appear in relation to the foundation of a pilgrimage shrine devoted to the miraculous "bleeding host" (*Bluthostie*); see Browe, 177-8. Lotter counts thirty one host-desecration reports for south Germany and Austria before 1338 (548); of these Jews are charged with the crime in twenty-four (at least nineteen of these were played out in the region south of the Main river, nine in Austria, six in Franconia, three in Swabia and one in Bavaria). Only a handful of these "host-desecration churches" survive in anything close to their medieval form; several host-cults initiated at these places were aborted or foreclosed by authorities when their founding miracles were exposed by clerical investigators as pious frauds; at least one, Pulkau in Lower Austria, survived *despite* being investigated. For Pulkau, see Rubin, 65-68, and Merback, "Fount of Mercy, City of Blood." My book in preparation, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom*, will include case studies of four host-miracle churches associated with anti-Jewish violence (Iphofen, Deggendorf, Pulkau, and Passau).

⁵² For the territorial and civic expulsions respectively, Franz-Josef Ziwes, "Territoriale Judenvertreibungen in Südwesten und Süden Deutschlands im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," in *Judenvertreibungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Friedhelm Burgard, Alfred Haverkamp and Gerd Mentgen (Hannover: Hahn, 1999), 165-87; and Markus J. Wenninger, *Man bedarf keiner Juden mehr. Ursachen und Hintergründe ihrer Vertreibung aus den deutschen Reichsstädten im 15. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1981). For the ritual murder trials, the best account remains R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

in the form of a broadsheet with the title, *Ein grawsamlich geschicht Geschehen zu passaw Von den Juden als hernach volgt . . .* (“A gruesome story which happened in Passau, concerning the Jews, as follows . . .”), printed in Nuremberg by Caspar Hochfeder in 1497 or 1498, and then reissued around 1500 by Johann Froschauer in Augsburg.⁵³ (fig. 18) Twelve captioned images present the spine of the narrative, which is then elaborated below in two blocks of text. In it we learn how, in 1478, a Christian servant confessed to having stolen eight hosts, and how he sold them to two Passau Jews; how in their synagogue they pierced them with a sharp knife; how the hosts miraculously gushed blood; how they attempted to conceal their crime by casting the hosts into a fiery oven; how the Jews were arrested and condemned to death; and finally how, in order to commemorate and atone for the “sins” committed against the body of Christ, a chapel was erected at the site of the crime.

Two interrelated points will here take the place of a wider analysis. First, anti-Judaic desecration tales such as this were part of a larger family of medieval host-miracle tales and, as such, operated within a horizon of expectations formed as much by them as by attitudes about Jews; second, as charter narratives they served cult-planners and their pilgrimage audiences as what I call “operative myths,” origin-narratives geared toward the specific temporal *and* spatial structurings of a shrine’s iconographic, architectural, and ritual program. One crucial way they did this was by furnishing the new shrine with a topographical centerpoint. Prominent in many tales is the evocation of the host’s “findspot” (*Fundort* or *Fundstelle*), the place where the host was concealed, then later elevated to a place of honor. Later legends often speak explicitly of church-building “over the findspot” (*über dem Fundort*).⁵⁴ The transformation of the site in the legend, and in perception, is powerfully expressed in *metaphors of descent and elevation*, profane burial and its reverse, resurrection. Everything else in the pilgrimage process -- cult objects, symbols, narrative imagery, and architecture -- finds its topographical and symbolic meaning precisely here: at the site of the host’s temporary sepulchre.

To serve as such topographical markers, several host-miracle churches in southern Germany and Austria incorporate floor-cavities, and in some cases feature subterranean passages, into which pilgrims could descend to collect holy earth or sand. Even in rectangular *Hallenkirchen* -- such as the fifteenth-century Holy Blood Church at Iphofen -- the legendary findspot formed the symbolic and cultic center.⁵⁵ In at least two host-miracle churches I have found, the symbolism of the find-spot received a much bolder architectural expression, one that extended to the entire church. One of these is the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in Büren

⁵³ Single-leaf woodcut, 377 x 263 mm; Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. 118307 (Schreiber 2965). For transcribed versions with extensive commentary, see Moritz Stern, “Der Passauer Judenprozeß 1478,” *Jeschurun* 15 (1929): 541-60 and 647-76; exacting summaries are found in Wurster, “Die jüdische Bevölkerung”; and idem., “Das ende der mittelalterlichen jüdischen Gemeinde.”

⁵⁴ Romuald Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu. Das Schmerzensmannbild und sein Einfluss auf die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit* (Munich: Widmann, 1931), 91.

⁵⁵ Discussed in Merback, “Channels of Grace,” 609-11.

Ein grawsamlich geschicht descheben zu passaw Von den Juden als hernach volgt.

hye syt L. ruffoch acht partickel des sacrament auff der kirche, legt das in sein schē. handt vnd darinn drei tag behaltē
 hye schuet er die sacrament den juden auff den tisch die vnuermaylig gewel fen sein. darumb ym ein gulde gaden
 hye tragen die ludē vñ schulckloffer. die sacrament yn ir synagog. vnd vber antwurden dye den juden.
 hye syt pfeyl Jud das sacrament auff irem altar. ist plut darauß gangen das er vñ ander juden gefehen haben.



hye theylen sy auß dyc sacramēt schick ten zwen partickel gen. Prag. zwe gen selcpurg. zwen yn die Plewenstat
 hye verprient sy die sacramēt verlu chen ob vnser glaub gerecht wer sloge auß dem offen zwen engel. vñ. ij. taubē
 hye vecht man all Juden zu passaw die dy sacramēt gekaufft verschickt ge stolen vnd verprient haben.
 hye furt mā sy fur gericht. verurteilt die vier geauff. fachel man. kolman vnd waldich. sein geschopft worden.



hye zereyt man den pfeyl vnd vetel die das sacramēt bebylt. dy darnach geflochen vnd verprient haben.
 hye verprient man sy mit sampt dē ju den. die yn yrem glauben blyben. vnd ymb das sacramēt gewyft haben.
 hye wirt der L. ruffoch des sacramentz verkaufft. auff einem wāge zerrissen mit glieden zangen.
 hye hebt man an yw pawen. vñ fern herren zu lob eyw. fachel man. kolman vnd waldich. sein geschopft worden.



Nach christi gepurt. M. CCC. LXX
 vii. jar Regirende zu den zeit der hochwirdig furst vñ herr her Ulrich zu passaw gebozn vonn Aufbooff. Es hat sych begeben das ein leychtferiger vñ versager mensch weylant genant L. ruffoch eyser greishamer / vergessende seiner sel seltyghayt nach Judas syten auß begyer zeylichds guss abdt den juben dyc zeit wonde hyc zu passaw / bey der Alz alda hinder sant Joorgen perg. feynot vnd lesterer des gecreuzigten waren lebentigen gotes vñ abarie seiner gepereryn yn ein vorede vertrag gemacht hat. Nach dem als sy yn etwo offn in yren postchafft genutz vñ gebrauch nahend vnd verr geschicht huten. ob er yn precht das hochwiroig sacra ment. den leychnam vnser herren Jhesu christi ob sy den ichi kauffen wol ten. darzu sy ym also die begyrygen hundert. auß groffen neyd so sy zu dem her ren Jhesu vnserm beylant haben. antwort gaben. Er solt den pūngē daruñ wolsen sy ym ein benügen thun. nach solchem geding der verkauffer vñnd verstockt lunder yn iener doßhayt nach dem hochwirdigen sacrament stel tet. oca bemelten syben vñ dybenzigtigen iars. Am freytag vor sant Albicha als tag die kirchen vnser lieben frauen yn der freyung der abtrey. das stock geheuß auff gebrochen. daryn. vii. partickel des hochwiroigen sacramēts gehollen. das mit seinen sunligen henden an gegryffen. vnd yn ein luchlein gewickelt von dem freytag byß an den suntag Zwoigen bey ym getrage dar nach den Juden salchaffung vberantwort. vmb eyri rymlichen gulde ver kaufft. ein partickel gepurt vmb dreyßig pfennig. zu schmach der heyligen christenlich kirchen. dyc Juden vñd lesterer gotes das behalten. zu zweyfel zu ir synagog pracht den leychnam christi mit iren sundigē dencken. geyhen

mit gremmiger gier zu creuzigt. christē glāndē zu be werē. Ein jud ein schat pfes messer genumē den leychnā xpi auff irem altar in der synagog geflochtē darauß plut geflossen. Ein hīndes angelicht erlich yn. Die iude sere erlich chen. wurdē zu radt. vñ schickē. ij. partickel gen. Prag. ij. in die Plewenstat gen Saltzburg. ij. partickel woiffen sy yn einē glieden packoffen. haben sy gefehen. ij. engel. ij. tauben auß dem offen flyge. nachmals ist der vbelkater vor der fasten im syben vñ dybenzigtigen iare. bey einē kyrchstock zu kermat perg begryffen yn den gefangē gefurt auff das oberbauß bey passaw. da fells er yn geswungē solch groß vbel gefagt vñ mer auff die Juodichayt. vñ auff der obgenant hochwirdig yn got vater. vñ herr Ulrich byschoff zu passaw. Als ein christlicher furst dem solch vbel pillich zu heissen ist gangen. vñ rechtlich zu straffen erkant hat. schuff durch den kerdin vñ gekrenge rit ter herre Sebastian vñ der alben. die set seiner genadē markthalck. die kltē Juden hyc zu passaw all zu fahen vñ vmb die warhayt in fragē. die noch also gemeynlich empellig vñ bekantlich wurdē. vñ saytē das meiste der stein. die stat vñ den ofen da sy solch handlūg mit dem hochwirdigen sacra ment volbracht vñ begangē habē. Also bokerie sych yr vñ zu dem L. ruffoch lichen glāubē. vñ wurdē am Erich tag nach Juoica yn der fasten des syben vñ dybenzigtigen iars fur recht gestelt. Die newē christi mit dem schwert ge richt die Jude yn dem fwer. auch ir zwen mit jangē geuyen. Nach dē alle vber eilich woche ward der verkauffer auch nach zomūg den rechtē mit gliendē jangē gericht. das er als mit groffer geuult rew vñ anwacht erlyde hat wie das durch yn gehandelt ist. offentlich vor meniglich bekant wol sych vber sein vñ alle gläubig sy erbauwen. Amen.

18. Nuremberg woodcutter, *Host Desecration at Passau*, woodcut broadsheet entitled, *Ein grawsamlich geschicht zu Passaw von den Juden . . .* (Nuremberg: Caspar Hochfelder, ca. 1480-90) (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Nr. 118307)

(Westphalia), a Baroque octagon (c. 1717) possibly reflecting its fourteenth-century precursor;⁵⁶ the other is Passau's Salvatorkirche. Both buildings recall the Jerusalem prototype by paraphrasing the scheme of the Anastasis rotunda in the upper sanctuary, while allowing the lower chapel -- or in the case of Büren, the *Gruft*, with its sacred well -- to stand symbolically for the *sepulchrum domini*.⁵⁷

In his book, *Zeichensprache der Architektur*, Adolf Reinle observes that “the [principal] cultic purpose of a Holy Sepulchre copy [could] be superimposed or combined with other cultic functions in one and the same structure.”⁵⁸ That is, whether they appeared principally as a monumental shrine for relics, as a hospital-church, as a chapter house, as an ossuary, mausoleum, or as the stage for Good Friday and Easter Sunday performances -- *Heilig Grab* adaptations were, from a cultic standpoint, hybrid monuments, allowing for the intersection of a range of rituals. We can use this insight to reframe the question I asked at the beginning of this article: How did the dual identity of the Passau church -- pilgrimage station and monumental reliquary for the host and its secondary relics -- complement the lower chapel's role as a mausoleum? What special benefit, if any, came to the dead buried there through the symbolic charge of the entire building? Did it matter that the building site had been the scene of a terrible sacrilege, had come under a cloud of pollution, and had been cleansed to make way for a new, resplendent cult station -- and if so, how so?

Let me suggest that the answer lies in the essential transposability of sanctity in Christian culture. In particular, we must pay attention to the potential of those forms of *portable* sanctity (exemplified by a relic or the host) to become their opposite, *immovable* sanctity, perceived as a form of salvific power, if not divine immanence, rooted in the ground at a particular place.⁵⁹ One example from the early history of *Heilig Grab* surrogates must suffice here to illustrate the rootedness of sepulchral sanctity. A circular crypt lies directly beneath the Michaelskapelle at Fulda, a circular center-room with ambulatory, built by Abbott Eigil in 818-22, just to the

⁵⁶ An eighteenth-century document describes the “newly erected chapel,” designed by the well-known architect Konrad Schlaun, as being built “upon the foundations” of the old; undated document from the Paderborn archive, quoted in Alfred Cohausz, “Vier ehemalige Sakramentswallfahrten: Gottsbüren, Hillentrup, Blomberg and Büren,” *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 112 (1962), 275-304, at 283.

⁵⁷ Then again, if we follow Krautheimer's lead, we know that the formal-architectural evidence need not be conclusive; in the case of the Salvatorkirche it is merely suggestive, and all the more so when taken in conjunction with the evidence of the building's cultic and social functions (*Baufaufgabe*).

⁵⁸ Reinle, 127, who explains that, “der kultische Zweck einer Heiliggrabkopie sich im selben Bauwerk mit anderen kultischen Funktionen verbinden oder überlagern kann.”

⁵⁹ On this essential distinction for conceptions of sanctity, see Lionel Rothkrug, “German Holiness and Western Sanctity in Medieval and Modern History,” *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 15, no. 1 (1988): 161-249.

southwest of the monastery church, upon a cemetery.⁶⁰ (fig. 19) This crypt was almost certainly once used as an ossuary for the Benedictine monks.⁶¹ In the consecration text penned by Hrabanus Maurus for the chapel's three altars, a mystical connection is established between Christ's victory over death in the Jerusalem tomb -- the great ontological transformation of the godhead second only to the Incarnation -- and the future resurrection of those buried in the Fulda crypt: "This altar [in the crypt] is dedicated to God, in particular to Christ, whose tomb stands by our graves."⁶² Referring evidently to the entire chapel, which reproduced key elements of the Jerusalem prototype, thereby sharing in its immanence, this formula invites the perception that the Lord's tomb -- present here *in effigie* -- magically aided the souls of those buried nearby it. In its salvific potency the Michaelskapelle appears to be consubstantial with its prototype.⁶³

Another way to view this phenomenon is as a variation on the ancient tradition of burial *ad sanctos*, internment in proximity to the body of the saint, whose purified remains expressed the promise of resurrection and transformed the cemetery into a *locus sanctus*.⁶⁴ Immediately it becomes clear how this applies to the Salvatorkirche and its related sites. At the host-miracle churches, the originary source of immanence is not the incorruptible remains of the martyr, but

⁶⁰ A Carolingian foundation, Fulda was dedicated in 744, by St. Boniface, as "monasterium Sancti Salvatoris"; the designation comes from the *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* of 756 (but no more than twenty years after its founding, in 762, we hear it already being called after its founder, "monasterium sancti Bonifatii"; see Ostendorf, 359. See also Krautheimer, 14, who notes the existence of a similar arrangement at SS. Karpos and Papylos at Constantinople.

⁶¹ See Kroesen, 16. Untermann, however, argues that the contemporary reports do not allow for the conclusion, widespread in the scholarly literature, that the lower level served as an ossuary for secondary burials; it is missing from the report of Brun of Candidus (840) as well as the tenth-century *Gesta abbatum*, which designates the Michaelskapelle only as an *aeclesia in cymiterio*, and follows Brun in relating the symbolism of the middle support and the keystone of the vaults; see Untermann, 57-58. Instead, the sources apparently refer to the donation by Abbott Hrabanus of a copy of the *Ark of the Covenant*!

⁶² Quoted in Kroesen, 16, who believes the text refers to a copy of the aedicule in Jerusalem, approximately 3.5 meters in diameter, placed in the center of the chapel; Untermann is highly dubious of any claim that the Hrabanus text (*Hoc altare Deo dedicatum est maxime Christo / cuius hic tumulus nostra sepulchra iuvat . . .*), written for the consecration of the chapel's three altars, actually refers to a centrally-placed, small-format *Heilig Grab* replica; rather, he argues that, with the word *tumulus*, Hrabanus, like Abbott Eigil, is referring to the entire chapel (Untermann 57-58), itself a rotunda with ambulatory, reproducing important elements of the Jerusalem prototype.

⁶³ Untermann's conclusion supports my own: "Das Zitat der Heiligen Stätte wurde in Fulda für die traditionelle Bauaufgabe der klösterlichen Begräbniskirche dienstbar gemacht und verlieh dem Bau eine besondere Heilwirksamkeit" (58).

⁶⁴ On the theology and poetics of resurrection and *ad sanctos* burial, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 200ff.



19. Interior of rotunda, Church of St. Michael (begun c. 818-22), Fulda
(Source: Bernhard Schütz and Wolfgang Müller, *Deutsche Romanik: Die Kirchenbauten der Kaiser, Bischöfe und Klöster* [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1989], pl. 20 [changed into black and white]).

the bleeding, historical body of Christ himself. Exquisitely vulnerable for what it is (fragile bread) and what it embodies (suffering flesh), the transformed host in German religious culture exemplified the inherent power of portable sanctity to become transposed into earthbound forms at particular places.

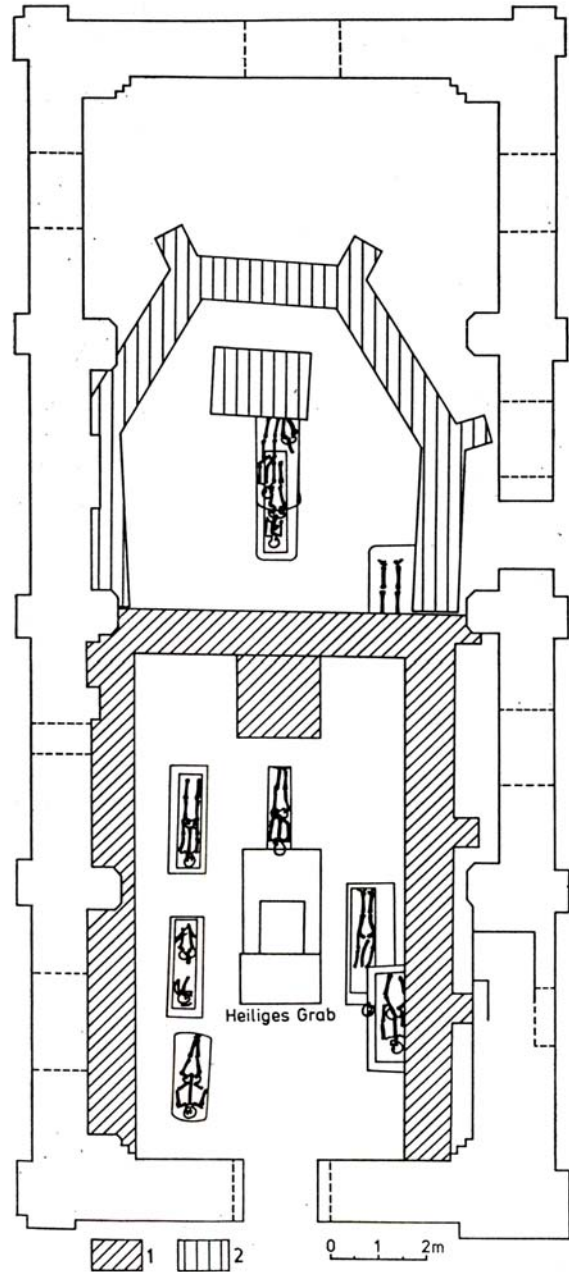
To see this principle in action, we may consider (again, only briefly) one further site, the former Cistercian convent and pilgrimage chapel at Heiligengrabe, in Brandenburg, founded in 1287 by the Markgraf Otto V of the house of Askanier. In 1521 the Rostock printer Ludwig Dietz published the cloister's foundation legend with fifteen woodcuts narrating the following tale: in 1285 (or 1287) a Jewish merchant from Freiburg (on the Elbe) stole a consecrated host from the village church in nearby Techow, (fig. 20) but when, inexplicably, his contraband became too ponderous, and he could transport it no farther, he buried it *under a gallows* in the vicinity of the future shrine; soon betrayed by blood traces on his hands, the Jew was caught, condemned, and executed.⁶⁵ Appearing two centuries after the first documented chapel on the site (1317), Dietz's edition was timed to coincide with the pilgrimage chapel's Gothic remodeling (consecrated on May 23, 1512). Turn quickly to our own time. In the mid-1980s archaeologists found a small, vaulted stone "sepulchre" at the geometric center of the earliest chapel on the site and, arrayed around it, eight interred skeletons.⁶⁶ (fig. 21) Barring a more detailed presentation, we may ask: Did an early, undocumented version of the legend form the basis for the creation and disposition of the mausoleum's dominant symbol? Far more likely the opposite is the case; that the legend arose in retrospective allusion to an established focal point in the nave, which probably served as an Easter sepulchre, attracting donations and adjacent burials over the chapel's history. That the church may have in fact been originally built over an

⁶⁵ Gerlinde Strohmaier-Wiederanders, "Untersuchungen zur Gründungslegende von Kloster Heiligengrabe," *Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 57 (1989), 259-75; Gerlinde Wiederanders, "Die Hostienfrevellegende von Kloster Heiligengrabe. Ausdruck des mittelalterlichen Antijudaismus in der Mark Brandenburg," *Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, NF 29 (1987), 99-103; Hubert Faensen, "Zur Synthese von Bluthostien- und Heiliggrab-Kult. Überlegungen zu dem Vorgängerbau der Gnadenkapelle des märkischen Klosters Heiligengrabe," *Sachsen und Anhalt. Jahrbuch der Historischen Kommission für Sachsen-Anhalt. Festschrift für Ernst Schubert*, Bd. 19 (Weimar: Böhlau Nachfolger, 1997), 237-55, at 237. Dietz's printed edition of 1521 bore the title, *Van dem ortsprunghe des klosters tom hillige graue jn der marke belegen / vnd dem hillige Sacramete dar suluest*; the surviving exemplar in the Universitätsbibliothek of the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle, lost during World War II, was published in facsimile by Johannes Simon, ed., *Die Legende vom Ursprunge des Klosters Heiligengrabe in der Prignitz, nach dem Drucke von 1521 neu herausgegeben und erläutert* (Ostprignitz: Museumsverein Heiligengrabe, 1928).

⁶⁶ Six of these burials are monastic while two, beneath the foundations of the first chapel and therefore predating it, may actually be executed criminals interred under a gallows! See Faensen, 242, whose analysis is based on the work of Christa and Friedrich Plate, "Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Wunderblutkapelle des Klosters Heiligengrabe, Kr. Wittstock. Vorbericht," *Ausgrabungen und Funde: Archäologische Berichte und Informationen* 32 (1987): 94-99.



20. Host theft, title page from *Van dem ortsprungh des klosters tom hillige graue in der marke belegen / vnd dem hillige Sacramete dar suluest* (Rottstock: Ludwig Dietz, 1521) (Source: Johannes Simon, "Kloster Heiligengrabe: Von der Gründung bis zur Einführung der Reformation, 1287-1549," *Jahrbuch für brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 24 [1929], fig. 7).



21. Groundplan with successive building phases, Holy Sepulchre and surrounding burials, Chapel of the Holy Blood, Kloster Heiligengrabe, Brandenburg, begun 1317 (Source: Christa and Friedrich Plate, "Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Wunderblutskapelle des Klosters Heiligengrabe, Kr. Wittstock: Vorbericht," *Ausgrabungen und Funde* 32 [1987], 2, pp. 94-99, fig. 1).p

execution grounds (*Richtstätt*) and its cemetery complicates this reading somewhat,⁶⁷ but it also reinforces what has already been said about the sanctifying, cleansing power of eucharistic immanence (the anti-Jewish component in the legend, by contrast, appears to be secondary). Here, then, is a complex example of how sanctity becomes rooted in the soil through the temporary presence of a transformed host, and how a eucharistic miracle legend might take its cue from emerging forms of burial practice -- or, conversely, inspire them. Essential through all of this is the legend's capacity to produce the topographic specificity required for cult.

Gustaf Dalman, the foremost student of Germany's Holy Sepulchre simulations, endorsed the idea of a magical efficacy rooted in the bounded zones of immovable sanctity associated with such monuments. Burial at or near the site where Jesus's death and resurrection took place would, he wrote, "ensure their [the dead] having a share in salvation and resurrection. A magical effect in this cannot be ruled out."⁶⁸ Dalman was undoubtedly using the term *magical effect* (*magische Wirkung*) rather loosely, at least, with none of the critical rigor applied by anthropologists after the work of Mary Douglas. But the essential notion retains its validity, I believe, when we focus the concept around a defining feature of mortuary beliefs in the Middle Ages, namely, that the penitential passage of souls through purgatory could be hastened by both spiritual *and* material forces. For it was not only the spiritual will marshaled on behalf of the dead that speeded their passage; the material matrix of the burial station could also confer its own benefits. At cemeteries such as the Campo Santo in Pisa, part of the Campo dei Miracoli (Field of Wonders), sacred earth was imported from Palestine because, among other properties, it was believed capable of hastening decomposition by magically stripping flesh from bone. Testators who could not be buried at the church of les Saints-Innocents in Paris, the most famous of these medieval cemeteries -- it was nicknamed the "flesh-eater" in light of its reputation for consuming a body within twenty-four hours -- requested in their wills that portions of its soil be placed in their graves.⁶⁹ Like cemeteries sanctified by the presence of a saint's relics in earlier centuries, burial stations graced in the later Middle Ages by the presence of a Holy Sepulchre

⁶⁷ This supposition needs more attention than I can give it here. Philippe Ariès notes that canon law made the transformation of an existing cemetery into a church problematic, citing one ruling that stated, "If bodies have been buried before the church has been consecrated, let it not be consecrated"; discussed in *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 51.

⁶⁸ "Die Stätte des Abschlusses des heilbringenden Ganges Jesu in den Tod und seiner Auferstehung würde ihnen die Teilnahme am Heil und an der Totenerweckung sichern. Eine magische Wirkung mag dabei nicht ausgeschlossen sein"; see D. Gustaf Dalman, *Das Grab Christi in Deutschland*, Studien über christliche Denkmäler, ed. Johannes Ficker, Heft 14 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1922), 26. Kroesen echoes the idea, arguing that returning pilgrims (and others?) "believed that the miraculous power of the original tomb was transferred to a consecrated Holy Sepulchre in Western Europe . . ." (13).

⁶⁹ Ariès, 58, 360, who summarizes the evidence from fifteenth-century wills; see also Nancy Caciola, "Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture," *Past and Present* 152 (Aug. 1996): 3-45, who sees the practice of adding handfuls of soil from Les Innocents during funerals as one among several methods for checking the post-mortem activities of corpses (33).

replica, or even a prominent Easter sepulchre, could be perceived in quasi-magical terms. “Burial *apud ecclesiam* had replaced burial *ad sanctos*,” explains Philippe Ariès, it was no longer “the confession of the saint” that served as the privileged site of burial, “but the table of eucharistic sacrifice” -- the site of the “daily miracle” of the Mass, the consecrated church itself.⁷⁰

Unlike other sites where central-crypts invited associations with the *sepulcrum domini*, at the Salvatorkirche it was the presence, proclaimed by legend, of Christ’s historical body, mutilated and bleeding and magicalized in the tomb, that imparted to the place its special form of sanctity. In the perceptions structured by the legend, the originating metaphors of upward movement from the tomb -- the martyred host’s recovery and elevation -- set the pattern for architecture, wherein Christ’s vindication blazes a path of glorious ascent through sacred space. To map this originating upward movement, to enshrine it as a zone of post-mortem spiritual progress, the architect organized the edifice around a vertical axis connecting the church’s upper and lower zones. Liberated souls -- the grateful dead buried in the church, future intercessors for all who assisted them -- could therefore be visualized by the penitential pilgrim as moving upward along this invisible “channel of grace.” Around this organizing center everything else acquires (what Victor Turner calls) “positional” meanings. Having deposited its immanence in the ground, making the Salvatorkirche a new kind of *locus sanctus* and an efficacious site of prayer and post-mortem redemption, the bleeding host might itself remain on hand as a holy relic to be venerated as the shrine’s dominant symbol, as happened elsewhere, or it could be forced to relinquish this preeminent role to another, less controversial cult object or work of devotionalia, such as an altarpiece.⁷¹

And what of the vanquished synagogue? The question of how its memory pervaded the cult environment and its rituals requires a separate investigation. But it is worth noting that, in cases where churches were built upon the ruins of synagogue, the projected presence of the risen Host seems to have been a factor in advancing the cause of Christian purification in the local emplacement and beyond. The Passau affair transpired during a pivotal historical period, 1470-1520, a time when German-speaking lands witnessed a tremendous upsurge in pilgrimage activity and also, not coincidentally, a sense of crisis in the face of the Turkish menace to the east, and the perception of a Jewish threat (allied with “judaizing” heresies), undermining Christendom from within.⁷² Pilgrimage culture in this period gave activist expression to a form of corporate piety that was deeply anxious about pollution, and zealously eager to see sanctity progressively revealed across an expanding sacred landscape. Purifying and, in a sense, liberating sacred space from infidel “occupation” entailed, my analysis suggests, a certain commitment to immovable forms of sanctity. Liberation of the dead, and the consolidation of loyalty networks based on collective penitential prayer, ran parallel to this commitment. Gripped by a crusade-like fervor, the burgeoning culture of pilgrimage in south Germany lent a new intensity to the corporate imperative toward penitential prayer and the earning of indulgences for both kin and non-kin dead. The pilgrimage church of Sankt Salvator in Passau could offer itself

⁷⁰ Ariès, 72.

⁷¹ Discussed in Merback, “Channels of Grace,” 625-30; a detailed account of a wonderhost ultimately displaced by an altarpiece is presented in *idem*, “Fount of Mercy, City of Blood.”

⁷² Discussed in *ibid.*

as a place where, through their prayers for the dead, pilgrims participated in those larger networks of loyalty that underwrote, at the grassroots level, the theocratic principles of the prince-bishopric in the German empire.⁷³ 🌐

⁷³ I am extending to the host-miracle shrines Lionel Rothkrug's brilliant and complex analysis of "earthbound holiness" and its relationship to political loyalties in the south German prince-bishoprics: "By identifying every shrine, every saint, and every holy image with a *locus sanctus*, the *Reichskirche* transformed every ecclesiastical territory into a holy land and made every pilgrimage vow an oath of allegiance." See Rothkrug, "German Holiness," 172; and my remarks in "Channels of Grace," 590-94.

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