

**Modeling the Miraculous:  
Tracing the Agency of Marian Cults in the Germanic South, 1400-1600**

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Starting with considering what could be asked of currently available data, the first chapter attends to how co-location aids in the cognitive process of association. In order to attend to this question, examples here identify co-location as it appears in primary source publications and archeological records which are associated with miracles to map this persistently indexed locational information. Therefore, the first part of my inquiry engages in the most readily available records about miraculous events attributed to these Marian shrines in the Germanic South.

Previous scholars registered the variety of information concerning these contexts, hand-drawing graphical representations of statistics from these shrines well before the ubiquity of personal computing. The second chapter is therefore concerned with the relationship between replication and recognition. To investigate this connection, I offer a brief survey of the remaining available data and records of primary and secondary source material about these miracle shrines. By attending to records of object creation and reception, the first two sections of this chapter center on representations of the Virgin Mary in painting, print, and sculpture. The final section then considers how these representational strategies used to distribute proxies of the divine impacted the representational strategies of mortals which are evident in offering practices. The remainder of this study is concerned with such actions.

The final chapter considers how abstraction and action are intertwined in miracle contexts by testing limited trial-runs of bespoke datasets and reflecting on the value of this data's visualization. This chapter turns to the discrete cases of meaning registered in narratives from

around the turn of the sixteenth century and compares these with seemingly parallel records created by various individuals and institutions in the same period. Moving from measure to category, and finally to prediction or gap-filling for social contexts, I conclude this inquiry by scrutinizing the implications of relevant or associated data sources in order to grapple with the problem of modeling miraculous agency which flowed through now-lost objects.

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## 1.0 Introduction

“If you don't want to come to me / you will die.”<sup>1</sup> Those are the words of the Virgin Mary, according to a booklet whose first page was emblazoned with her likeness.<sup>2</sup> The contents of this widely copied *büchlein* retold the miraculous events attributed to a particular instantiation of the Virgin Mary, the “Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg.”<sup>3</sup> Published in the Nuremberg, Germany in 1519, these pamphlet-sized publications were printed to be sold in the nearby free imperial city of Regensburg.<sup>4</sup> There, a new Catholic shrine to the Virgin Mary was founded after a worker miraculously recovered from being crushed by masonry while demolishing a synagogue. These events unfolded after the death of the Holy Roman Emperor opened a window for violence against local Jews.<sup>5</sup> Using a model established centuries prior, the synagogue was dismantled and a church to the Virgin was planned to replace it. Before even a single year passed, there were apparently enough miracles reported at this shrine to warrant multiple publications retelling these encounters

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<sup>1</sup> *In diesem büchlein seind begriffen die wunderparlichen zaychen beschehen zu Regenspurg zu der Schönen Maria der mutter gottes.* Nuremberg: Hölzel, 1519. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Original German: 67 zeichen „Will du nicht zu mir gen / so wirst du sterben.“ Full translation in Appendix B.3.

<sup>2</sup> Title Page of *Regenspurg zu der Schönen Maria*. 1519. BSB. Available courtesy of [Google Books](#).

<sup>3</sup> *Büchlein* and booklet are hereafter used as synonyms.

<sup>4</sup> Original German: “büchlein” Just two years after the official start of the Protestant Reformation, the city of Nuremberg was on the cusp of becoming officially Protestant – a hub of activity for publishers, artists, humanists, merchants, and the ruling elite.

<sup>5</sup> Allyson F. Creasman, “The Virgin Mary against the Jews: Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg, 1519-25,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, 4 (2002): 963–80.

with the divine entity accessible in Regensburg.<sup>6</sup> Despite the evidence of a materially rich promotional campaign for this shrine, the influx of visitors in its first year overwhelmed those people who were placed in charge of maintaining order at the chapel.<sup>7</sup> Why did such a popular shrine survive for just a few years when other popular shrines continue to thrive to this day? Why does the Virgin make death threats for a visit? How can we make sense of the tangled web of the early modern period that registered this statement alongside tales of forgiveness and mercy?

In the early the sixteenth century, inhabitants of the Germanic South faced myriad threats to previously established systems of belief. In the previous decade, a new continent was discovered, religious populations were displaced en masse, and printed sheets of paper distributed illustrated stories about unsettling omens witnessed near and far.<sup>8</sup> Objects like these registered growing anxieties about the coming mid-millennia apocalypse widely shared across the European continent.<sup>9</sup> The early sixteenth century ushered in even more change, including the colonization of Mexico, the first circumnavigation of the globe, and a new model of the heavens that decentered the Earth.<sup>10</sup> In 1517 Martin Luther publicly released his lengthy critique of the Catholic Church

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<sup>6</sup> David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550*, 337-342.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column: The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," 87-107.

<sup>8</sup> Larry Silver, "Full of Grace," 301-302.

<sup>9</sup> Daston, Lorraine. "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe." *Critical Inquiry* 18, 1 (1991): 93-124.

<sup>10</sup> The Vittoria was one of five ships which set out in 1519 under the command of Magellan. It was the only ship to complete the passage, returning to Spain in 1522.; Martin Waldseemüller and Peter Apian are two well-known German cartographers who created early maps naming America, the first of which is believed to be made by Waldseemüller before he died in 1520.

known as the Ninety-Five Theses. Meanwhile, the invading Ottoman forces were advancing towards the doorstep of the Holy Roman Empire, conquering Anatolia, northern Africa, and a third of the Kingdom of Hungary in the latter half of the 1520s. From the perspective of the German South, these were threats to their economic, political, cultural, and religious systems that had thus far shaped the region – systems that would be shaped even further by assimilation and revolt, conservatism and reformation, peace-keeping and war-waging. The connections that weaved through and bound the daily life of individuals would falter if connection could not be found elsewhere.

In this unpredictable world, miracle cults and their stewards offered connection with the Mother of God. While the governments and economies were not only linked but progressively interdependent during this century, individual connections were showing signs of significant stress. In the decade between 1515 and 1525, there were multiple peasant revolts, both the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Clement VII died and were succeeded in the midst of a schism Western Christian Church when the Protestant Reformation “officially” began with Martin Luther’s Theses.<sup>11</sup> Social breakdowns, coupled with economic inflation caused in part by the bouillon shortages in Western Europe and recurring bouts of plague brought by travelers from increasingly far-off places galvanized the necessity to disengage from these shaky infrastructures and the personal cost borne by inhabitants in their daily lives. During this time of great turmoil,

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<sup>11</sup> Such Peasant Revolts include those in Slovenia and Carinthia (in Austria) that began in 1515, and the German Peasants War of 1524. During these first decades of the century, revolts also occurred in the neighboring regions of Mallorca (Spain), Friuli (Italy), and in Sweden.

Catholics in the Germanic South during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries turned to persisting structures of consolation found in Marian devotion.

While much of the evidence about this context has been lost over the course of the last five centuries, the best clues we have to answer these questions are the objects which were made for early modern Marian cults. In the political, religious, and cultural tumult that characterized the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, in the Germanic South, Bavarian examples of Marian shrines registered the particular intensity of this historical moment, which were recorded in outward displays of piety like the donation of a wax figure.<sup>12</sup> Though the remaining evidence registers this maelstrom of competing forces, there is no way to access the internal change. Akin to the Catholic concept of sacraments, these internal events are tacitly accompanied by visible signs but do not disclose their full content by visual means. Flocks of the faithful who congregated around miracle sites sought out all manner of consolation, from physical healing to emotional comfort.<sup>13</sup> However, the healing sought was not overseen by physicians but instead by the Madonna; rather than utilitarian healing instruments, she fostered healing through *imago*, her own image. To connect with the “cultic person,” believers would reach out to her at a favored terrestrial dwelling – containers of miraculous objects, collections of materials given and received, and devotional practices oriented towards fostering a relationship with the Virgin Mary.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Sargent, “Miracle Books Pilgrimage Shrines,” 455.

<sup>13</sup> Bernd Moeller, “Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation,” in Gerald Strauss, ed. *Pre-Reformation Germany*, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Hans Belting uses the term “cultic person” to describe this type of entity in *Image and Its Public*, 9.

The objects that these individuals and groups made register the desire for connection with the divine as well as providing an opportunity for with each other. Whether or not social ruptures were consciously acknowledged, the objects created for the context of Marian cults during this period evince a distinct recognition and subsequent attempt to alleviate the pain of threats to connection. The prints, paintings, and sculptures made for sites of Marian devotion are therefore taken as good faith efforts to enter into dialogue with the divine. In order to enter this dialogue, the devotional object would have to communicate using both a vernacular and a sacred language; objects were made by human hands on the secular plane for a sacred context surrounding Mary's divine office. Through spiritual intervention, an object bearing identifiable marks of the addressor, the addressee, and, often, the location of the address, would be recognizable to all parties – the pilgrim, the locals, and Mary herself. This and many other devotional performances bound ritual practice for Catholics and their communities in the early modern period.<sup>15</sup>

Devotees to Marian shrines, whether or not they were healed of their physical ailments, still find strength from the relationship they have with the saints. The efficacy of such Marian intervention on behalf of her ailing constituents is not as important as the strength of the relationships materially connecting her at that place and time alongside others who share and value that relationship. Praying to the mother of God has allowed people for centuries to feel seen, heard, and valued by the Madonna in their time of need. As Charles Zika noted in his study of the “emotional economy” of Mariazell, “emotions are integral to pilgrimage shrines – where pain,

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<sup>15</sup> I find Brown's definition of *connection* particularly useful, as “the energy that exists between people when they feel seen, heard, and valued... when they derive sustenance and strength from the relationship.” Brene Brown, *Atlas of the Heart*, 170.

gratitude, devotion, or fear that stimulated pilgrimage is articulated, recognized, and experienced through various rituals and practices, where particular sacred objects are meant to arouse and facilitate such emotions [...] and ultimately, to instill in them a new set of emotional experiences and affective bonds.”<sup>16</sup> Mary in particular offers Catholics who turn to her for both consolation and empathetic understanding.<sup>17</sup>

### 1.1 Shrine Set:

By the second decade of the sixteenth century, Marian cults were spread across Bavaria, the southern region of the German-speaking empire. As Caroline Walker Bynum has noted, “increasingly, in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, religious experience was literalized into encounters with objects.”<sup>18</sup> Persons, objects, locations, and events each exercised agency that formed the complex web of miracle cults. In my investigation, I focus on three Bavarian shrines: Regensburg, Altötting, and Mariazell.<sup>19</sup> The cult of the Schöne Maria of Regensburg is particularly

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<sup>16</sup> Charles Zika, “Emotional Economy of Early Modern Pilgrimage Shrines,” 3.

<sup>17</sup> David Areford, *The Art of Empathy: The Mother of Sorrows in Northern Renaissance Art and Devotion*, (Jacksonville, Florida: Cummer Museum of Art and Gardens, 2013), 18, 31-46.

<sup>18</sup> Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*.

<sup>19</sup> For example, see Richard Andree, *Votive und Weihegaben des Katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland*. Braunschweig: Verlag Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1904.

familiar to art historians; due to its limited life span and copious surviving written sources and material culture, this case offers a unique window into early modern cultic practices. Regensburg is where, in the spring of 1519, conflicts between religious communities exploded and the sanctity of images were passionately debated. Altötting is a shrine with illustrious and legendary origins that sprang forth when a boy was resurrected after drowning and this recovery was attributed to Our Lady of Altötting. East of this Bavarian ducal center, nestled in a rural valley of the Styrian foothills is the shrine to Maria of Zell. Founded by a local monk and patronized by central European rulers for centuries, the pastiche edifice of Mariazell's Basilica registers generations of elite and popular pilgrimage and distributed objects of its cult in collections across the region.

The story of the cult in Regensburg begins with ruin.<sup>20</sup> Just five weeks after Emperor Maximilian I died in 1519, Regensburg's city council expelled the Jews, giving them just two hours to clear their synagogue and five days to move out of the city entirely. The destruction of the neighborhood was undertaken immediately in order to erect a new church to the Virgin Mary, which was typical of other evictions from the preceding two centuries.<sup>21</sup> The first miracle of this cult is inseparable from the Jewish narrative, because a worker assisting in the demolition of the synagogue was the first to be healed by the Schöne Maria of Regensburg. Jacob Kern was on a rafter and fell; heavy stones crushed him so badly that his body was entirely black, and his last

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<sup>20</sup> Gerlinde Stahl, *Die Wallfahrt zur Schönen Maria in Regensburg* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg, 1968); Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: The History of the Image before the Era of Art*, 453-457, f. 276.; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes: Devotional Objects in Late Medieval Europe*, 133-134, fig. 3.1.; David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, 100-104.

<sup>21</sup> Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin," 93.

rites were soon read to him.<sup>22</sup> However, the Virgin Mary appeared, and he miraculously returned to work the next day. A wooden chapel was erected to commemorate this event, and soon more miracles followed. Because Regensburg did not yet have a local printing press, the council commissioned a printer in Nuremberg to produce booklets (Fig. 4), which were then transported to the cult site and sold alongside pilgrims' badges (Fig. 16), printed icons of the Virgin (Fig. 33), and other wares that nominally supported the construction of a new church for the Madonna.

South of Regensburg, located between Munich, Passau, and Salzburg in the Upper-Alpine region, the pilgrimage town of Altötting has been the "spiritual center of Bavaria" for over half a millennium.<sup>23</sup> Situated near and affiliated with monastic centers of learning like Iphofen and ducal palaces of the Wittelsbach family, miracles have been attributed to the sculpture of Our Lady since in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In 1489, a drowned boy was placed on the altar by his mother. When he was miraculously revived, "wonders soon followed."<sup>24</sup> From this moment, the collegiate chapel transformed into a shrine of Our Lady, showered with votive gifts that surrounded the sculpture of the Madonna and Child.<sup>25</sup> In early broadside prints made for similar regional shrines, like the Marian cult of Ettal, Altötting is listed as an important site of the Madonna as is her dwelling in Zell, now known as Mariazell.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See "Das Erst Zeichen"/"The First Sign," Appendix B.3.

<sup>23</sup> This regional center was, in fact, the center of a government that has long felt, and officially later became independent from Germany.

<sup>24</sup> Sargent, "Miracle Books and Pilgrimage Shrines," 460.

<sup>25</sup> „Collegiate“ here refers to the fact that it was run by secular canons.

<sup>26</sup> "Wilhelm Gumpfenberg, "Unser lieben Frauen Bild zu Alten Oeting," in *Marianischer Atlas von Anfang* (Munich: Johann Herman, 1673).

In the northernmost part of the Austrian province of Styria, Mariazell is located less than four kilometers (around two and a half miles) from the border with Lower Austria. The earliest chapel was founded by a missionary monk who legendarily carved and carried the sculpture of the Virgin to its present home, nestled in the Afflenz Valley. Since its medieval origins, elite rulers from Central and Western European lands have showered this shrine with gifts. Nevertheless, this rural town still remains a relatively secluded and picturesque setting of pilgrimage, between the larger cities of Graz and Vienna.<sup>27</sup>

The published booklets associated with these three shrines introduce distinct forms of divine representation.<sup>28</sup> Primary sources like these from shrines' earliest miracle publications, such as Regensburg's 1519 miracle book named and thereby indexed the shrine's location as prominent location-based information in objects that were commissioned by cult stewards.<sup>29</sup> I use this term to denote a person who performed a task but is not necessarily directly named as the record maker. I use "cult steward" to indicate some person who performed a particular role that was essential to miracle shrines. Miracles had to be recorded – as confirmed accounts of miraculous events were necessary for the legitimacy of a Catholic shrine.<sup>30</sup> In these booklets and in other materials published in association with the shrine are painted and printed pictorial representations of miracle stories, like Mariazell's *Wunderaltar*. Other examples register association between geographic

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<sup>27</sup> For demographic records from the medieval period. see Laura Lynne Kinsey's PhD Dissertation from UCLA (2000), "The Habsburgs at Mariazell: Piety, Patronage, and Statecraft, 1620-1770," 6.

<sup>28</sup> This is a set of objects also seen as useful sources of information by previous scholars, such as Steven Sargent, "Saints' Cults and Naming Patterns in Bavaria, 1400-1600," 673–696.

<sup>29</sup> For the clerical process of recording and retelling miracles, see B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 20-32.

<sup>30</sup> Ward, *Miracles*, 201-213.

locations in another record type; for example, the places where pilgrims badges were found. These tokens were a type of proxy that could collapse space – bringing distant geographies into proximity. Badges moved with devotees across and beyond this region, operating to aid devotees that owned such pendants with spiritual and physical matters. For example, one badge from Mariazell was found inside of a door, evidence that the apotropaic powers ascribed to these objects was not solely contingent on visibility.<sup>31</sup> Such commissioned series of illustrated miracle stories offer insights into the ways that image and text, when brought together in a sacred space, rallied those willing to experience Marian communication, healing, and relationships with others, overseen by the Mother of God.

Representations of the Virgin Mary have long been central to investigations of iconic forms of Western Europe, particularly in studies of Catholic images. Mary left no bodily relics because she was assumed in her corporeal form to heaven. While there are related objects that certainly receive veneration, such as her breast milk and her girdle, the great devotion and affection felt towards the Mother of God are almost entirely reliant on images for physical connection. While authors like Robert Maniura locate the Virgin in the actions of devotees rather than the objects or locations to which they attend, the fact remains that the Virgin is a distinctively image-based figure in the Catholic Church.<sup>32</sup> Contact with the divine was necessarily facilitated by proxy objects. The material of the object itself may have strengthened the perceived effectiveness of it as a portal.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Szabolcs Serfőző, “Mariazeller Pilgerzeichen und Gnadenmedaillen,” in *Mariazell in Ungarn*, 453-455.

<sup>32</sup> Robert Maniura, “Persuading the Absent Saint: Image and Performance in Marian Devotion,” 645.

<sup>33</sup> Marianne Koos, “Wandering Things: Agency and Embodiment in Late Sixteenth-Century English Miniature Portraits,” *Art History* 37, 5 (2014): 836-59.

For Catholics, icons were arguably a manner of seeing the unseen. For these communities, the icon did not “represent” the divine but rather resembled the prototype that could stimulate the divine’s presence in response. The icon was thus defined as the absence of the heavenly, yet it was never inactive as a “mere” material image.”<sup>34</sup>

One print serves as a guide throughout this study, a woodcut that illustrates the early events that unfolded around the famous cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg in 1519 (Fig. 1). In a massive woodcut image, Virgin and Child are emblazoned atop the civic emblem of crossed keys on a flag, billowing in the wind. Below this, barefoot people queue around a hastily-erected chapel. In front of this wooden structure and framed by hoards of pilgrims and even more distant ruins of the Jewish neighborhood, the most animated group takes center stage. In this central group, all decorum is abandoned in frenetic devotion to a statue that has been displayed atop an exterior, freestanding column. Designed by Michael Ostendorfer, this woodcut purports miraculous agency of specific shrine objects created around the turn of the sixteenth century in the Germanic South. This woodcut that depicts the preternatural quality of miraculous objects opens the first chapter. Supporting examples, such as the printed and painted stories about miraculous events retold in objects like Mariazell’s *Wunderaltar*, further demonstrates the strength of the relationships between people, their objects, their shrine, and the divine in the tumultuous period through which they persevered..<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Wei-Cheng Lin, *Key Terms in Material Religion* (2015), 204.

<sup>35</sup> Schöne Maria at Regensburg has been well covered by historians of many stripes and is largely considered canon in early modern and medieval studies. However, Altötting and Mariazell have been largely omitted in early art historical discourse. This gap is beginning to close thanks to ongoing research like this dissertation as well as the

## 1.2 Object Overview

The evidence sources for this are introduced according to three modes of encounter with objects: association, recognition, and abstraction. These modes of encounter invite a tripartite series of cognitive processes that I have isolated after my own encounters with the objects which were made by the ailing parishioners. While the cognitive process spurred by the encounter had, at that time, little to nothing to do with physical healing properties, the objects do indeed bear and register the parishioner's belief in those very healing properties. What potency did these objects have on their makers, communities, and their ability to communicate a message to the divine? What effects did their perceived potency have? The answer to this resides in three modes of encounter that I outline here. The first mode is co-location, which is the process of placing one object alongside another in a place. The second mode is recognition, that is, the acknowledgment of a representation and its referent. The last mode is abstraction, which expresses a quality that is apart of the object for which it is recognized. In the first chapter, I outline how co-located entities were ostensibly associated in

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projects of scholars like Mitchell Merback and Charles Zika. For recent articles and chapters reflecting this research, see Mitchell Merback, "Lob und Danck: On the Social Meanings of Votives in German Pilgrimage Culture," in *Agents of Faith: Votive Objects in Time and Place*, exhib. cat., ed. Ittai Weinryb (New York: Bard Graduate Center Gallery, 2018), 159-81; Charles Zika, "The Emotional Economy of Early Modern Pilgrimage Shrines: the case of Mariazell," *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*. 1:1 (2017): 1-28.

the early-modern context of miracle cults in the Germanic South. In the second chapter, I describe some conditions of recognition, for example performing identifiable rituals, before unpacking the process of recognizing the Virgin and other entities within a set of replicated images. The final mode in the final chapter attends to how necessary abstraction by the property from the object meaningfully shapes the very objects in their fabrication and viewership. Thereby, I explore the relationships perceived in objects that registered connection in order to shed light on how early modern Catholics characterized the conditions surrounding moments – politically and culturally, but, even more significant and gravely overlooked, interpersonally – of miraculous intercession. The things that people make and give register their beliefs, particularly when those objects are for use in ritual contexts. The material record registered in the objects and their peritexts register the decisions, attitudes, lived experiences, motivations, and expectations of the inhabitants of the early modern Germanic South.

The next set of examples attends to how replicating images and written information aided in the process of recognition. As part of this, I describe the currently available data and records about this context. Beginning with the most common form of reproduction, at these shrines, the first chapter, which concerns co-location and its significance to pilgrims and local regulars, describes the power of three-dimensional objects, such as *Gnadenbilder* in their service as proxies for the divine. Next, I discuss icons with respect to how their two-dimensional form persisted across manual copies before being translated across media to powerful prints, such as the multi-block print of the Schöne Maria of Regensburg by Albrecht Altdorfer. The chapter then turns to tracing evidence of offerings which have since disappeared. In cases like the panels of Altötting's Miracle Cycle, pictorial representations of offering practices offer clues about this lost corpus. For example, the seventh scene of this series reveals how mimetic ritual shaped the devotional

practices which were performed at these shrines. Such actions concern the remaining chapter of this study.

Moreover, the cult in Altötting provides two examples of representation which was conveyed through a mode which did not wholly rely on visibility in their physical measurements. These individual cases of weight, material, and dimensions of offerings are then compared with alternative forms of numeric data from these contexts, such as chapel records of the devotional gifts received. It is here that I offer a computational strategy. Though this numerical information cannot be considered as ready-to-use data with today's computational tools, the tables and transcriptions from secondary sources nevertheless reflect active engagement of devotees as it materialized in objects.

There is ample evidence in secondary scholarship for the difficulties in applying a cohesive framework for explanation or description of how agency was understood to operate in all three of the miracle cults in Regensburg, Altötting, and Mariazell.<sup>36</sup> This is where action – of making, of giving, and of communicating – in this study is closely aligned with Alfred Gell's notion of agency that presupposes the intention of the acting agent. In Gell's historical inquiry, "action" is both the domain of unknowable modes of encounter that simultaneously only register if the object created was able to survive in the material record. For example, in the case of Altdorfer's multi-block

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<sup>36</sup> Regensburg is the most popular of these examples, see Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column: The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," 87–107.; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: The History of the Image before the Era of Art*, 453-457, f. 276.; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes: Devotional Objects in Late Medieval Europe*, 133-134, fig. 3.1.; David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, 100-104.

woodcut of the Schöne Maria, there is evidence of human action that registers as a refined and technically ambitious print. In this particular case, the human actors were recorded in documents associated with the prints production. Therefore, the print offers evidence of meaningful, shared action that can be linked to a particular individual. However, evidence of action is not equivalent to evidence of invention. While Altdorfer's print registers his artistic ambition, another woodcut print on the title page of Jakob Isseckhemer's miracle book for Our Lady of Altötting registers the actions of unknown maker(s). Here, Isseckhemer portrayed behaviors, and viewers are confronted with a variety of offering forms within a single frame. The ways in which the offerings are illustrated and described in this publication affirm the position of offering as being inescapably active, and only part of its efficacy lay in the print material. While offerings are a crucial component of the reciprocal exchange between divine and devotee, its outward sign could be a performed action or quickly consumed ephemera, such as a candle burning on the altar. This print nevertheless reveals more than Altdorfer's prints about the forms of offerings expected at shrines, therefore providing distinct evidence of human cognition and creation. While no unified theory appears to suit this context, there are plentiful examples of the social nature of objects as they acted and were acted on: how they were received, exchanged, and documented among the devotees and stewards of Marian cults located in modern-day Bavaria and Austria.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> For example, see the recent exhibition and catalog edited by Ittai Weinryb. *Agents of Faith: Votive Objects in Time and Place*. Bard Graduate Center Gallery, New York: Yale University Press, 2018.; See also the full bibliography for Hans Belting; see also Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, Image Word Action. DeGruyter, 2018.

The final chapter concludes by articulating how and when my third mode of encounter, abstraction, demanded action of viewers. Accumulated offerings continue to arrest viewers as they, for example, process around the chapel of Our Lady in Altötting. The community represented in such highly visible pictures is therefore compared with surviving demographic records from ecclesiastic and governmental archives. Such social information is central to understanding and tracking such relationships across Marian sites. Such categories are interrogated for their potential benefits as well as the ways in which they can act to mislead investigations about historical contexts, which I describe below.

For decades, scholars have been grappling with and transforming material information into information that can represent ritual behaviors within miracle cults and model their miraculous agency.<sup>38</sup> The most direct example of such data can be found in the graphs produced to compare the amounts of offerings made and quantified across time.<sup>39</sup> Other examples of information collected and presented in reduced form are found in the publications of regional presses that have produced a wealth of information on devotee's biographical data on the personal level and the objects they exchanged on the actionable level. One such example is Christoph Reske's comprehensive work on the book production of German speaking lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>40</sup> His study describes how the Austrian Benedictine order that founded

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<sup>38</sup> Among these examples are König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vols. 1–2.; and Lionel Rothkrug, *Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation*. Waterloo, Ont: Dept. of History, University of Waterloo, 1980. .

<sup>39</sup> See unpaginated tables of König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vols. 1–2.

<sup>40</sup> Christoph Reske, *Die Buckdrucker Des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts Deutschen Sprachgebiet: Auf Der Grundlage Des Gleighnamigen Werkes von Joseph Benzing*. Harrassowitz, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 2007.

Mariazell continues to serve as the shrine's steward, publishing volumes of modern scholarship about the cult's archives that are held at Sankt Lambrecht Abbey.<sup>41</sup> Today, his scholarship might be considered increasingly as “low hanging fruit” due to ever-improving and expanding digitization and Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technologies, which may allow for his study to be taken for granted as modeling and visualizing software becomes more and more commonplace.

In the broader humanities, social sciences, and computer sciences, I notice some slippage in terms and usages about how such emergent software and technologies enable modeling and visualization of not-so-ready-to-use historical data. Indeed, software's potential uses in humanist study aids in understanding not only the behaviors and motivations in the history of early modernity, but also lines of inquiry in broader, historical contexts. However, there lies potential hazards in over-applying and over-relying on these technologies. When left under-attended, data can distort meaningful historical inquiry into a finite, extractable resource capable of being possessed, processed, and presented as fact, or potentially even *objective* certification of historical fact. Data “extraction” cannot be conflated with meaning “extraction,” and the extractive process itself is one that might well be reconsidered altogether. While “extraction” may be called a so-called “helpful” metaphor, it is one that misleads and misrepresents historical data – an improper figure of speech that masks imprecise use of language. Therefore, these slippages remind us that the increase of technology and its precision should also come, with precision in the language we

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<sup>41</sup> For example, see P. Othmar Wonsich, *Die Vorbarocke Kunstentwicklung der Mariazeller Gnadenkirche: Dargestellt im Lichte der Geschichte, der Legenden und Mirakel*. Graz: Verlag der Historischen Landeskommission für Steiermark, 1960.

use to guide our inquiry. It is here that I turned to familiar forms and methods that show promise for data collection, visualization, and interpretation which could be tapped for future studies.

Using networks to trace miraculous agency of the Virgin Mary in and through objects has the potential to reveal new insights about early modern concepts of agency. This is because networks are designed for the relational data that can describe the strength of relationships, such as the ones I discuss in these pages.<sup>42</sup> The success of linear, relational structures of early modern *Gnadenbilder* programs has been asserted by scholars like Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, with Wood later asserting that a web, or network, might be a better structural analogy for this process.<sup>43</sup> This linguistic shift galvanized my belief that an attempt at the literal articulation of this concept would prove illuminating. I therefore set out to identify the types of records and methods that would be well suited to address questions of who (agent), what (object/entity), when, where, and why such replications affected the strength of relationships in the early modern period, especially during the tremendous shift catalyzed by the printing press and its enduring ramifications, ramifications we still see to this day in the invention and adoption of even more technology.

I found that this study opened two distinct paths, each worthy of investigation as precious windows to the question of historically registered notions of miraculous agency. One option was to use the existing data sets that have been created as part of secondary scholarship on the topic of miracle cults. The other option was to create a data set which would attend to how miracle cults

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<sup>42</sup> Ruth Ahnert, Sebastian Ahnert, and Catherine Coleman, *The Network Turn*, 2020

<sup>43</sup> For more on the concept of substitution as something which could operate across webs, see Christopher Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 36-45.; Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 29-30.

used objects in support of contact between mortal community members and the divine agent around which the cult formed. I therefore decided to conduct a survey of these research paths instead of limiting my description to either/or.

Secondary scholarship, such as exhibition catalogs, have published scholarly collections of information – curated datasets constructed by scholars in a form to be read by humans. Within such publications, meaningful sets of art objects have been collected and represented in narrative as well as in graphical form, such as maps, tables, and even reproductions of hand-drawn charts.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, much of the scholarship on the context of miracle cults of the Germanic South are rife with condensed forms of knowledge conveyed as tables, charts, and maps. It is through datasets such as these, which re-present ever-evolving methods of record-keeping practices and the objects they tracked, that we can retrace overlooked historical patterns of behaviors that helped define fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cult identities and the historical conditions that helped define those identities. Another use for this data is in describing both place and quantity, categories that have been consistently used for describing the objects and events surrounding Marian devotion in the early modern Germanic South. Chapel ledgers also recorded quantities and values of objects that passed through the main cult space.<sup>45</sup> Such institutional archives also regularly maintained records about individual persons – of past administrators as well as some information about artistic commissions. Group records such as pilgrims lists are scattered, sometimes deposited in diocesan archives of the originating pilgrimage group, other times found in the location of pilgrimage, and

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<sup>44</sup> For example, see the “tabelle” pages of König, *Weihegaben*, V2.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of Altötting’s archival evidence of chapel records, see Maria Angela König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vols. 1–2. Band Rahmen der Zeitgeschichte, 1492-1750. Munich: Stahl. 1940.

even in civic archives as part of personal documentation. In such governmental archives, there are significant regional population demographics, often focused on the labor distribution of the local inhabitants.

The second path describes a more traditional methodology, one that is more recognizable and accepted in early modernist discursive circles. Not only would a data set suited to this question require records of miraculous agency that were from various sources, but contextual information should also be attendant to the objects of study. Perhaps the stickiest issue here is the demand to model lost, ambiguous, or incomplete data – a way of modeling objects without denying or misrepresenting how they acted in Marian cults – the object’s apparent agency. This investigation is therefore informally engaged with psychology, as cognition shared across time provides one means to investigate the internal realm of belief and the individual states of suffering and connection. It is not enough to attend exclusively to historically elite experiences; therefore, my proposed methodology engages in social-historical methods that emphasize the everyday lives of cult members and their communities. Increasingly efficient and accurate technologies lower the upfront investment of effort required of researchers, and such tools greatly aid in the process of dataset creation. This is especially true when considering the strides made in OCR and the continuously expanding corpus of digitized media made available online.<sup>46</sup> This is to say that the learning curve for engaging with these technologies is lowering.

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<sup>46</sup> For example, Google Books makes it possible to search the digitized collection of early modern books held by libraries from across the world – providing access to digital representations of the miracle books used in this study.; OCR (Optical Character Recognition).

In an attempt to merge a computation model with a more traditional methodology, I built a trial dataset that would serve as a testcase for future projects that attend to modeling the flow of immaterial subjects, such as historical notions of agency transferred through objects. Confining the sample size of each evidence type opens up space to experiment with previously compiled information about Marian cults presented in secondary scholarship. Among this data was rich information about geographic locations and cult practices of identity-building, while considering the internal practices of belief and individual cases of suffering and strength of relationships and the site around which individuals found community that can help model early modern, human connection. For example, maps aid to contextualize both cult-site information and its density of concentration, a study that can service valuable sources of locational information, particularly if the author includes that data and conscientiously contextualizes it in historical context.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, I concentrate a full chapter on the sites' historical domain that catalyzes further questions suitable for such place-centered records.

As digital humanities scholars have demonstrated, data structures and formats are important acts of representation that are intrinsic to the creation of a dataset.<sup>48</sup> Without consistent standards of normalization and internal consistency, there is little hope of communication between or ability to combine these deep conversations of humanist inquiry and discourses concerning data. The ever-iterative practice of data stewardship requires moments of reduced pace in order to investigate decisions or reflect on the project and subject of study. That apparent frustration is, in

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<sup>47</sup> A good example of this can be found in the individual studies of *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen: Katalog Der Ausstellung*. München: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1984.

<sup>48</sup> For example, see Noble, Safiya Umoja. *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*.

fact, the precise benefit of good friction. As this friction is reduced, we must remember to be mindful of our tools that may seem to automate the decisions which researchers are themselves responsible for making. These same tools can immensely benefit historical inquiry if the practitioner is mindful and attentive to the partnership in which they enter with the computer. The goal of this dissertation is therefore to find this state of tension between deep, thoughtful study and technologies that enable that study in order to articulate the experience of tracing historical evidence of these objects' miraculous agency as well as the affordances and the pitfalls of applying humanist scrutiny to historical datasets.

My aim is to get as close to addressing the question of how researchers might trace miraculous agency across the objects which seem to facilitate the flow of divine power. It was clear from the start of this investigation that viewing miracle books as *objective* records of the events that unfolded around a given cult site would be inappropriate, as that would misrepresent the aims of such publications that were made to benefit a shrine rather than objectively record events. Indeed, it is right to assume that most of the experiences which occurred or were reported at a cult shrine remained unrecorded. Only a select few stories were recorded, published, and distributed in the form of miracle books.<sup>49</sup>

Each form of evidence, including miracle books and woodcut broadsides, requires this kind of critical engagement. What can the compiled information about location and date of cult origin tell us about agency? Whose interests could be served by collecting useful information about agency or belief? Under what social conditions were miracle stories collected, and for what purposes? What motivated primary and secondary data collection? Which social, political,

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<sup>49</sup> Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints* (dissertation), 140.

bureaucratic interests were at play in the formation of this information? My study emerges at the intersection of these questions.

### **1.3 Co-location and Association:**

Publications co-located the proper names of specific sites as key information which reinforced associations between entities; these town names were brought together through their indexing in miracle books. Regensburg produced a large quantity of publications which co-located information about geographic places that were indexed in publications by name. Printed books and single sheets then were able to become legible and available, which I call “proximate” throughout, to a distributed audience, thanks to the affordances of reproduction technologies, most significantly the printing press, which dramatically increased the availability of texts and images for regional inhabitants across social classes. Even before cult in Regensburg found broader, cultural purchase, earlier miracle books of this region regularly made use of co-location in widely distributed publications about miracles. Place names were routinely published in miracle books; most entries include the pilgrim’s place of origin and the shrine he or she visited to report or request assistance from the Virgin. One part of my study visualizes those co-located places on a map in order to compare sources of represented relationships, that is, association between agents, objects, and locations – entities. In an apparently consistent use of the power of association based on proximity, publications for other Catholic shrines likewise desired a relationship with other miracle sites.

Pictorial representations of miraculous events, such as those you can find on the walls of shrines and in the miracles books that describe them, created what I call “associative proximity through visual co-location.” In Altötting, for example, the miracle cycle visually co-located the testimony of its congregation, which was widely distributed, in a porch space that continues to accrete offerings around these massive panels lining the chapel. In other words, here, I co-locate the object and its placement in the shrine. Thus the design of Altötting’s miracle cycle encouraged meaningful association between the site’s porch, where the panels were installed, and the locations of miracles that were indexed by name on the panels produced for and displayed at the shrine. Mariazell’s miracle altars co-located stories of miraculous events in commissions of visual objects that were emphasized by their inclusion in a “group story set” – entities that can be tracked and modeled using computational tools – the chapel stewards who commissioned such pieces, and the objects themselves. I do this by co-locating the story set with its agents and by contextualizing them in proximity to the *Gnadenbild*, the reproduced and powerful object. These objects and their adjacent, commissioned works represent the shape of the devotional community as it was materialized in multiple campaigns of replicated images and texts.

Co-location of person and place was able to operate in a way that was not reliant on a fixed notion of place. Replicated images like pilgrims’ badges suggested proximity to other agents and original locations wherever they traveled. Regensburg’s prints and badges are rich sources of artistry and information, such as civic symbols and representations of the Schöne Maria; however, it is a less fruitful source for information about the original-use contexts for less refined or replicated objects that constitute the majority of material culture produced for these shrines. Altötting, too, reveals the persistent attention to location shared by tokens produced for these two

Bavarian sites. Mariazell affirms this pattern while providing the most complete information about archeological "find-spots," that is, where an artifact was found.

As stated, to co-locate is to place discrete entities into proximity with one another by a human agent. Whether spelled as co-location, collocation, or colocation, each instance of this verb references the arrangement of objects or ideas together in a way that prompts direct comparison, and, significantly, categorization. As opposed to juxtaposition, which pairs two objects of the same class, say images, and can illuminate visual or even contextual features, co-location allows researchers to recognize decisions, motivations, intentions, and expectations made by human agents despite the particulars of intentionality. "Collocation," without the hyphen, is a term used by Kari Kraus in her chapter "Picture Criticism: Textual Studies and the Image," in which she describes it as a method applicable to *both* literature and images,<sup>50</sup> where both image and text (i.e., image-to-text, object-to-location, text-to-location, and so forth) can coincide and prompt meaning-making connections that would otherwise be overlooked if considered separately or considered only in terms of object class (i.e., image-to-image, location-to-location, text-to-text, and so forth). Co-location is therefore useful for studying early modern Marian cults because it contributes rare information about the unarticulated decisions made by creators of the objects. The fact that location is so routinely referenced is evidence of a site's prioritization within representations of miracle stories produced or commissioned by a cult's stewards. For example, nearly every story in Regensburg's 1519 miracle book includes place names as part of the biographical information about each devotee. This co-located information, when considered alongside the devotee's plight

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<sup>50</sup> Kraus, "Picture Criticism", 240.

or ailment, vow, and votes of thanks offers compelling demonstrations of cult behaviors and their prioritization of objects as divine communication.

Co-location is a mode of association that opens avenues of study that are ultimately inaccessible to individual experiences of past beholding. Bruno Latour used the term “association” in his 1999 publication, *Pandora’s Hope*, as an alternative to distinguishing between a subject and an object.<sup>51</sup> When used in this way, association supports investigations into cognition that are central to questions of agency and how miracles were understood to function in the sixteenth century. For example, a viewer walking along the porch in Altötting is exposed to multiple town names that are present throughout this miracle cycle. Seeing these town names recorded together, not as a map but as a web or network, encourages mental processes of connection between co-located names in the minds of those who see these names in proximity to one another as they walk along the chapel porch. A survey of these objects and their inscribed information can produce a model of association that opens, then, into a question of recognizability between members in a cult over time and how co-location enables and affords recognition of shared experiences among cult members.

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<sup>51</sup> Latour, *Pandora's Hope*, 303-304.

## 1.4 Replication and Recognition

*Gnadenbilder* were powerful prompts for recognition across images. Chapter two articulates the historical conditions for determining how the reproduction of images encouraged recognition between cult members and familiar icons. The articulation of historical conditions scrutinizes sets of replicated images from civic buildings to stylistic representations of Mary's garments and gestures. Sculpture, too, is demonstrably a powerful and persistent conveyor of recognition, that motivates the recognition of her presence within the shrine space, where viewers could recognize and enjoy her divine audience. For example, a Marian sculpture's presence on a porch or within the sanctuary bears a sense of companionship between the object and the viewer.<sup>52</sup> Despite the sculpture's patina through time, devotees consistently recognized Madonna statues, for example, due to the replication of her form, gestures, and composition; in turn, these objects were even more trusted due to their age and the visual cues of their use. Architectural, sculptural reliefs replicated and re-presented a co-located group of objects, or entities, that included both persons and objects to crystallize a version of the cult's identity.

Formal replication in the context of Marian cults involved engagement through copying. Copying would reproduce qualities of an object through recognizable familiar referents such that

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<sup>52</sup> Three-dimensional forms are embodied and well-suited for recognizable presence. For example, see Thomas Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America," in *The Idol in the Age of Art*, Zorach, Rebecca and Michael W Cole (ed.) 77-104.; Jacqueline Jung, "The Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination," in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art and History*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, 2010), 203-40.; Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object*, Leiden: De Gruyter, 2015.

the replica can be functionally substituted for the object that it presumably mimics. Wood uses the term “replication” in his 2008 book, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, in order to distinguish between mere copies that cannot be substituted for originals and the replicas that could.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the act of replication is the act by which an individual picture could participate within a web of references without impairment. Each central cult object, the miracle working image, was a replica in this sense – pointing backward to “ancient” and, therefore, legitimate images of Mary and therefore the Heavenly Mother herself. The statue of Our Lady in Altötting, for instance, was thought to be centuries old by the time that the first recorded miracles were attributed to the Virgin’s presence there. The wooden sculpture and its chapel’s venerable age persists as a key aspect of the cult and its legendary origins.

While sculpture could suggest divinity in terms of age and use, icons on the other hand unevenly conveyed the legitimacy of Mary’s presence because icons were not handled in the same way sculpture was, likely due to the icon’s fragility or expected modes of encounter. This is to say, an icon, by its medium, was more susceptible to damage when handled repeatedly, where a sculpture had more durable affordances. Nevertheless, replicated images like icons were trusted portals for divine presence due to the creator’s faithful representation of the icon and its viewership over time. Relationships between the replicated objects created for these shrines become palpable. Icons were auratic on a spectrum which was both sacred and for-sale, and sculptures had a visible durability. To understand how the presence of the Virgin manifested at each of our three sites, this second chapter compares descriptions of her presence with the pictorial representations created at the same time for these cases.

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<sup>53</sup> Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 185-254.

Recognition, which was enabled through replicated, visual and tactile forms, is thus a mode of encounter that motivated cognitive processes in the viewer that identifies a subject which is outside of the self, an “other.”<sup>54</sup> Recognition in this context is therefore integral to humanistic inquiry, which relies on the identification of figures that are external from one thinking-self, an acknowledgment of existence, an acknowledgement of the self as a seeker, as a pilgrim, as a local, and so forth. The topic of self-recognition registers across disciplines in various methodologies. In traditional art-historical discourse, recognizable relationships between objects have been discussed in terms of shared qualities, such as style or iconography.<sup>55</sup> Lisa Pon uses the concept of recognition in *A Printed Icon* as an inroad to including evidence of human behavior in her investigation of one Italian Marian cult and its social context. Turning to the act of recognition is valuable in this study because it articulates the other side of the relationship (recognition is the base aim of representation). Locating evidence of encouraging recognition is therefore able to be considered as a relationship which connects objects in a way which was perceptible when they were encountered by people who were likely to encounter similar replicas in spaces across Christendom at this time. For instance, the printed image of the Schöne Maria by Altdorfer can be presumed a recognizable pictorial representation of the Virgin Mary for the vast majority of Catholic inhabitants who encountered it. This can be assumed because the multiple conventions which were used in copies of the Virgin Mary’s image, in order to distinguish her, were well established by the fifteenth century; in other words, *replication of representation* can afford a more

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<sup>54</sup> For more on the theories of recognition, see Oliver, *Witnessing*, 4-6. Kelly Oliver uses this term as the operating framework and counterpoint towards, what she calls, “an ethics of witnessing.” Oliver, *Witnessing*, 6.

<sup>55</sup> Pon, *Printed Icon*, 15-16.

durational and consistent *recognition* of divine presence. In this way, the prevalent replication of civic emblems across media, from architecture facades to delicate silver pendants, allowed for consistent recognition by the viewers of Altdorfer's prints. They could recognize the particular civic symbols present on such woodblock prints and could therefore recognize the image as representing not just the Madonna but particularly the *Schöne Maria of Regensburg*.

My discussion of replication's role in human connection concludes in articulating how offerings to the divine were able to be both ambiguous yet recognizable proxies for mortal community members. Each offering conveyed meaning in its material, form, and location. Such objects were not meant to survive for centuries, an important observation, because the object, such as a wax figure, was representative of meager means of creation within an ephemeral human life. Offerings were stunning, and due to their recognizability were innately salient and meaningful without being immediately legible to viewers. As well, the varied but consistent descriptions of offerings from around the turn of the sixteenth century offer potential categorizations for digital modeling of this context. The variation of description from primary and secondary sources about these cases reveal how they were recognized by different viewers. While it is not easily preserved in pictorial representations of offerings, the materiality of such proxies was important to their recognition in the main cult space. The various forms and actions implicated in the set of offerings benefit from shifting our model to accommodate the variety of evidentiary yet incomplete sources.

## 1.5 Abstraction and Action

Quantities recorded in these devotional contexts is the final form of encounter that I use to investigate the value of quantification in illuminating early modern agency. Numeric information, such as weight measurements and quantities of objects may first appear to lend itself to ready-to-use data, but it is far from it. Mimetic rituals evince creative engagement in the variety of objects produced that registered types of generative abstracted actions, material objects.<sup>56</sup> The church set precedents that sanctioned the numeric transferal of agency for holy matter by distributing replicas predicated on reproduced measurements. For example, the measures of the cross and side wound were reproduced and valued as apotropaic. Numeric information was therefore valuable for discrete acts of images' and texts' replication across objects over time, but they are less suited for historical models. Such numeric information is akin to data – both are abstractions caught between actions. In this case, the dimensions of the cross were physical properties abstracted from the divine original. Accordingly, this third mode of encounter is one which spurs the cognitive process of abstraction to bridge the divide between the Christendom's sacred figures and their earthly proxies. Significantly, the replica, as a proxy, would garner reverence, as if it were indeed the holy person. It did not matter that the measurements were apocryphal or even, perhaps, made up of a series of educated guesses; the measurements were, in fact, valuable for discrete acts of devotion over time given its recognizability to individual followers and proven through the acts of grace which surrounded them. This being said, due to the potential of inexact or invented measurements, a replica like this one is ill-suited for the literal, objective, or precise modeling so desired by

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<sup>56</sup> For mimetic rituals, see Maniura, "Ex Votos Pious Performance," 422.

scholars keen to utilize numerical data. It is this very inexactitude of measurement in this context that can aid in model abstraction as I see it unfolding through the replication of images and texts.

I start with a provocation: abstractions are actions. This final chapter considers the useful metaphor of the event for handling the information about miraculous events and the objects which were understood to participate in a miracle's occurrence. It is important here to rest on my initial provocation so that I can explain the status of offerings as both physical objects (which is consistent with traditional understandings of offerings as object that are, indeed, offered) and performed actions (that is, a less traditional understanding that objects are actions). The overlap between abstraction and action renders it useful for turning to "events" to make sense of a "dataset" which preserves the equivalency between objects and actions in the context of offerings. If we take this provocation at its word, that abstraction is an action or (inversely) that actions are performed abstractions, we can turn "events" like those recorded in miracle stories into data that demonstrates the significance of abstraction as a mode of encounter and cognitive process shared by site visitors.

This final case study serves to unpack how and when objects demand action from historical and present-day viewers through abstraction. In this context, abstraction is inextricably entwined with individual human subjectivity, that is, an individual's recognition of consistent, persistent symbols at various sites, chapels, and shrines across the Germanic South in early modernity. Inevitable ambiguity and slight irregularity among objects, their dimensions, and their acceptance notwithstanding, abstraction can help model miraculous agency. As actions, donations accumulated and accreted around the shrines, thereby they presented a new form of object-engagement that arrested viewers in the chapel space – overwhelming quantity. For example, Altötting's porch surrounds visitors and bombards them with evidence upon evidence of Mary's

divine intercession as the architecture and floorplan almost dictates to them their course through even more overwhelming evidence.

In descriptions of these objects, abstraction appears again as identified by the dimensional reduction from a perceived reality. Church records, distinct from the published miracle books, describe objects by their quantity and substance. To reduce the object to quantifiable properties is an act of abstracting the apotropaic properties of the object into practical, numerical form. Both votive offerings and Marian icons were made in a manner that prioritizes the faithful registration of a vastly more complex referent by its essential qualities into discrete objects. From this perspective, abstraction is a cognitive process by which copies become “categories” and perceived patterns become “entities.”<sup>57</sup> The human capacity to recognize and mimic patterns of behavior, that is, “abstraction of imitation,” in order to create new skills is evidence of abstraction’s adaptive value, which generates behavior used to navigate a variety of social environments both familiar and unfamiliar to Marian cult members.<sup>58</sup> Abstraction, as Peterson puts it and as I take it up, is demonstrated in the act of offering a replica of the self or sacred object to the divine, for example, a wax replica of a devotee’s leg given in hopes of or thanks for healing. A devotee’s engagement provides social information central to understanding and tracking developing relationships among cult members, their objects, and their actions upon the objects, yet such categories are largely tangential to this study. Therefore, the chapter concludes by considering the ways in which categorizations are valuable while attending to the limits of their uses.

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<sup>57</sup> While I use “entities,” this is not entirely divorced from the ways of distinguishing a “thing”; see Bill Brown, “Thing Theory,” 1-22.

<sup>58</sup> For a description on the practical benefits of this cognitive process, see Peterson, *Maps of Meaning*, 75-76.

Researchers abstract when creating categories for the objects they investigate. Farmers abstract when they record quantities of a harvest. In this study, data stewardship of objects is a process of decision-making about the importance, meaning, and prevalence of an offering or icon's recognizable features that are visually accessible. Each of these cases of abstraction are removed from the experiential world, and therefore require actions for their creation and use. Each individual abstraction contains the underlying assumptions of its creator, that is, biases and gaps which are then reflected in a distorted model of reality.

## 2.0 Chapter 1: Curated Co-location

By some sixteenth-century estimations, the frenzied behavior unfolding at miracle shrines was the devil's work.<sup>59</sup> Images circulated of pilgrims dancing wildly, convulsing, and prostrating themselves in front of a statue of the Virgin Mary on a column (Fig. 1). Prints depicting such devotional activity were distributed in contemporary texts and images, such as in this woodcut broadside created by Michael Ostendorfer in 1519. Spirited displays were repeatedly pointed to as proof, but exactly *what* they "proved" depended on the viewer's confessional allegiances.<sup>60</sup> The scene depicting this burgeoning cult caught the attention of supporters and skeptics alike, even eliciting a response from the famous artist, Albrecht Dürer. In 1523, Dürer noted on his copy of Ostendorfer's print,

[t]his specter has risen in Regensburg against the Holy Scripture,  
and, instead of being condemned, it is being tolerated by the  
bishop for its temporary exploitation. May God help us not to

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<sup>59</sup> Christopher S. Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column: the Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg," *Journal of Ritual Studies*, 6 (1992): 89.

<sup>60</sup> For object as proof of miracle in Altötting's miracle book, story 16.; see also 63, „Henket also sein Handschrift an einen täfele ave / in der Kapellen zu Altötting.“ / “As it hangs in his handwriting on a panel in the chapel at Altötting.”

discredit his honorable Mother in this way, but [to honor her] in  
Jesus Christ. Amen.<sup>61</sup>

The frenetic energy and heightened emotion is visible in Ostendorfer's famous broadside. Indeed, this image has been persistently used as illustrative of late medieval or early modern devotional behavior.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, this scene prompts more questions than it answers. The stewards of Marian cults were one group of inhabitants who were responsible for the creation of many of the objects now associated with these shrines, including the printing of Regensburg's broadside in 1519. Even more popularly commissioned by cult custodians are *büchlein*, small published booklets that retold stories of miraculous events experienced by devotees and reported at a particular site.

As centers of heavenly presence and miraculous agency, Marian cults registered remarkable traces of human activity.<sup>63</sup> Between the years 1444 and 1530, over 11,000 miracles were recorded in this area.<sup>64</sup> Whether monastic or civic, the authorities in charge of maintaining these shrines commissioned multifarious objects, each made to address the anticipated needs or desires of the devotional population that congregated at the cult's main shrine. Objects created for these contexts are diverse in form and apparent function. Within this apparent heterogeneity,

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<sup>61</sup> Hans Rupprich and Albrecht Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein Für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956), 210. Original German: "Dis gespenst hat sich widr dy heilig geschrift erhebt zw Regenspurg vnd ist vom bischoff verhengt worden, czeitlichs nutz halben nit abgestellt. Gott helff vns, das wir sein werde muter nit also unern, sundr in Cristo Jesu. Amen." As seen in Christopher Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column," 89.

<sup>62</sup> For example, see Freedberg, Belting, Bynum, and Wood.

<sup>63</sup> Garnett and Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles*.

<sup>64</sup> Sargent, "Miracle Books," 459.

explicit reference to location emerges as a common thread across representations of miraculous happenings reported at these cults.

This importance of location is further magnified in stories about divine intercession in moments of acute crisis.<sup>65</sup> The study of visual culture surrounding Marian devotional practice in Bavaria and Austria offer a window onto how individuals and groups that united across class both shaped and were shaped by their access to images by comparing evidence of how objects were used by people that intended to connect with the divine.<sup>66</sup> Investigating objects made for Marian cults as products of human cognition, these examples aid in piecing together fifteenth- and sixteenth-century viewers' priorities and as they are perceived in the representational modes used for miracle stories by the people who cared that these objects were "worthy" gifts for the Mother of God.<sup>67</sup>

The examples of prints and badges from Regensburg have been used as touchstones for describing early-modern Marian devotion in the Germanic South.<sup>68</sup> The example of the Marian cult in this free imperial city has been the topic of theological and scholarly discussion since its inception.<sup>69</sup> The following investigation interrogates the limitations of characterizing this renowned case as paradigmatic of this region and its devotional practices. Such events that

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<sup>65</sup> For more on this type of intercession, see Nygren, "Metonymic Agency," 209-237.

<sup>66</sup> *Mariazell in Ungarn*. While this research is rooted in German speaking regions, its legacy stretches into Hungary, where the cult rapidly expanded and flourished in the following centuries.

<sup>67</sup> "Worthy offerings" are named multiple times in Altötting's 1497 miracle book, discussed below.

<sup>68</sup> Freedberg, *Power of Images*; also see Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column," Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*; and Belting, *Bild und Kult*.

<sup>69</sup> For example, see Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik* 3:363-364.

unfolded around the Marian cult in Regensburg were, as one author put it, “at best, socially destabilizing, or, at worst, demonically inspired.”<sup>70</sup>

The caretakers of such shrines commissioned and sold large numbers of miracle books, before the counter reformation began – at least 30 editions of miracle books were published for Bavarian Marian shrines,<sup>71</sup> publications that indexed towns and bishoprics register a record of devotees’ distribution in an area. Beyond promoting their particular site, the intentions behind such commissions are less clear. By highlighting relationships embedded in objects made for Marian miracle cults, I offer one window onto devotional activity across the Danube River Valley in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Social turmoil in the age of the printing press manifested a rich and varied record of human response to physical, theological, and spiritual trauma. Marian cults in the region may well have felt the need to assert a legitimizing visual program in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, a significant moment of immense uncertainty and powerful human response. Having some control in framing the unpredictable lives of humans was necessary to reestablish a sense of cohesion in the chaotic environment of sixteenth-century Europe. For Catholic inhabitants caught between multiple waves of turmoil during this period, the Virgin Mary was both a comfort and a source of courage for communities that rallied around her.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Creasman, “Mary against the Jews,” 964.

<sup>71</sup> [PhdDiss] Philip Mark Soergel, “Wondrous in His Saints,” 119. This is a fraction of the original number, but gestures to the demand demonstrated by editions.

<sup>72</sup> For example, see Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Published miracle collections, such as Isseckhemer's booklet about Mary in Altötting,<sup>73</sup> encouraged the faithful to trust in a particular shrine's efficacy and legitimacy, facilitated a sense of connection, and made visible the history or activity of a site by giving stories a physical presence over time. Early printed books are not "objective" observations of cultic practice, yet they register how various administrators at distinct but sacredly related miracle sites believed to be the most salient to convey compelling testimony of miracles.<sup>74</sup> As a set, these stories attest to the continued miraculous events that unfold at a Marian shrine. This social aspect of worship has also been recognized by scholars working at the cutting edge of miraculous agency in other contexts.<sup>75</sup>

Though handwritten miracle books for other saint's shrines became common in Bavaria in the Middle Ages, such records for Marian shrines did not rise to prominence in this region until the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>76</sup> Starting around 1490, Marian cults burst onto the scene and rapidly became the most popular shrines in the region. The pilgrimage to Altötting has been identified as an origin point for this shift towards Marian devotion and enjoyed success until around 1520.<sup>77</sup> The "mania" for such miracle reports climaxed at this same time during the first twenty years of the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup> Images, conjured by prints and badges, aided not only in

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<sup>73</sup> Jakob Isseckemer, *Das Buchlein der Zuflucht zu Maria der Mutter Gottes in alten Oding*. Nuremberg, Germany: Kaspar Hochfeder, 1497. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

<sup>74</sup> Such descriptions were useful for the success of the cult, but as a printed product, they also had to be desirable purchases for the market the printers existed within.

<sup>75</sup> Maniura, *Art and Miracle in Renaissance Tuscany* (2018).

<sup>76</sup> Sargent, "Miracle Books and Pilgrimage Shrines in Late Medieval Bavaria," *Historical Reflections*, 456-9.

<sup>77</sup> Sargent, "Miracle Books," 460.

<sup>78</sup> Sargent, "Miracle Books," 459.

personal experiences of devotional activities but also indicated support for socially connected forms of spiritual “self-fashioning.”<sup>79</sup>

The design of spaces and visual displays of objects, like Altötting’s porch and miracle cycle, encouraged visitors to associate the location of these porch panels and those places indexed by name. Town names appear together in printed and painted texts, each form produced for display or distribution at the shrine. The scale and quantity of pictorial cycles presents visitors with a striking, communal testimony affirming access to a divine presence in a particular place. Regardless of the specific goals of these publications, the sample set of these texts register a pattern of indexing information about place — registered by the devotees and the objects cult stewards created or commissioned.

Both the author of the Regensburg 1519 miracle book and the designer of the miracle cycle at Altötting created objects that attend consistently to location as essential information about miraculous events. Records produced during this period indexed information about place in a material and persistent manner across various representations of miraculous events. The *büchlein* about the miracles attributed to the three key sites investigated here are from the brief period when miracle accounts were being published before the middle of the sixteenth century, by which point the grouping of miracles and structures of miracle books were largely participating in a shared set

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<sup>79</sup> For more on the role of images in relation to pre-modern identity formation, see Aden Kumler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England*, 2011.

of conventions which were tailored to print production and based on models of a previously successful publication.<sup>80</sup>

In stories from across this region and in comparable cases from elsewhere on the European continent, miracles occurred when and where they were needed.<sup>81</sup> Miraculous events were attributed to a particular *Gnadenbild* as devotees fulfilled their vows at the main cult shrine. Indeed, a prerequisite for inclusion in this miracle data-set is that the intercession was attributed to a particular shrine by being reported at the cult's central site. In order to be published in a miracle book, there had to be a record made by a cult steward. For example, a pilgrim would retell their encounter with the divine to an official shrine steward, a discrete event unfolding in a particular moment in space and time. The person who recorded the miracle story recording the aspects of the story which they deemed relevant to or necessary for a trustworthy account of a miracle.<sup>82</sup>

Human agents inevitably shape the objects and records they create. The objects made for Marian cults were shaped by their maker's prejudices and motives, including instances of

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<sup>80</sup> For the specific aspects of miracle book models, see Soergel, "Wondrous in His Saints" (PhD diss), 108-109.; For the broadly shared standardizations that simultaneously emerged like numerical pagination and subsection titles, see *Early Printed Books as Material Objects: Proceeding of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, Munich, 19-21 August 2009*. De Gruyter Saur, 2010.; Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800*. London; Atlanta Highlands: Humanities Press, trans David Gerard. Ed Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton, 1976.

<sup>81</sup> For more on miraculous action at a distance, see Nygren, "Metonymic Agency," 209-237.

<sup>82</sup> The person who told the story of a miracle was most the named person that experienced the event. Exceptions to this pattern, such as emphasize the burden of proof on the desire to record proof of miracles, using official seals for letters to naming additional witnesses of the signs indicating a miraculous event.

pervasive anti-Semitism to individual ambitions that were weighed against the fluctuating political tides of the period. Whether or not the place names published together as essential parts of miracle stories were self-conscious representations of geographically dispersed communities, each miracle offers a marker for enthusiastic members found across the land. The group of devotees, including those who experienced a miracle, were a community that necessarily expanded beyond the site of cult's main chapel.

At these three Marian shrines, the distributed cult community mitigated disconnection imposed by physical distance by indexing places where devotees of the shrine who experienced miracles could be found. I use the phrase “curated co-location” to emphasize the human impact on the traces they left behind in the historical record, their material creations being our only way of glimpsing the inaccessible conditions of the past. Co-location is the placement of two or more entities together, such as information or material objects. In this study, co-located entities include saints carved together in a single relief sculpture as well as town names that were printed in booklets together. Across the variety of forms used to describe and depict miracles, a viewer can identify two or more place names in a miracle record, nearly always appearing in at least the biographical opening. While names of places alone cannot reveal much detail about how the agency of the Virgin was experienced, these records can divulge aspects of what the cult stewards and object-creators considered suitable in representing the distribution of the cult's devotional community.

Co-located information – occurrences of entities placed near each other physically or through representation – is meaningful because it requires human curation and decision-making. Things which were brought together could hold meaning or excite provocations by individuals or

groups of viewers.<sup>83</sup> Collection and organization of information is a powerful act that shapes collectively held knowledge. I use the term “curate” to denote such human-acts of gathering for purposes of preservation and display. Here, locational indexes are visualized as geographic networks, commonly referred to as maps. From this model, I track the particularities of each “location-index” before layering additional arguments about embedded relationships as network graphs. Through the relationship of contiguity, here referred to as “proximity” and “co-location,” objects indexed external entities.

This process of indexing is aided by metonymy.<sup>84</sup> These two concepts may seem at odds – the former uses nearness to index, and the latter seemingly deflects such reference. Indeed, the term metonymy comes from “metonymia,” a word meaning “misnomer” or “change of name” in Greek, it refers to a form of representation in which a closely associated idea can stand in for the intended referent. From the position of semiotics, indexes are those referents which present qualities pointing outward from one object toward another, including metonymic references. Whether in printed books or in massive databases compiled in the twenty-first century, indexes are useful for recall or retrieval, therefore they are structurally reliant on the value of proximity.<sup>85</sup> In this study, the concept of proximity is functionally synonymous with contiguity, the perceived link between two entities resulting from adjacency in position or sequence. In this first chapter, metonymy appears in the references to particular instantiations of the Madonna by “place-name.”

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<sup>83</sup> Heidegger, “The Thing,” in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Perennial Classics, 2001), 165–66.

<sup>84</sup> Nygren, “Metonymic Agency,” 209-237.

<sup>85</sup> Duncan, *Index, A History of the* (2021).

For example, “Our Lady of Altötting” can be referred to as simply “Altötting.” This metonymy likely helped to direct attention and increase pilgrimages to a cult’s main shrine.

Co-location was desirable for reasons that extended beyond publicity, as the movable proximity provided by material tokens like pilgrims’ badges evince. These objects operated at their most basic level as indexes of a past event, signs that pointed back through robust links to the cult sites at which they were sold. The co-location of entities, such as shrine objects and named locations, is meaningful against the replicated objects I investigate here. The Virgin was a sympathetic figure that could be accessed at any time, *at any place*.<sup>86</sup> I unpack various forms of these objects’ contextually embedded knowledge by focusing on co-location in three types: text, image, and object. Mapping cannot fully address such concerns, but the process of mapping aids in identifying the areas of density and silences.

In objects for or about these Marian shrines, relationships of association were asserted through co-locating words in text, representations in images, and bodies with material objects. Inhabitants of the early-modern Germanic South drew on durable, relational markers created by these three co-locating types. Co-location is fundamental to methods of inquiry found in digital projects that use computers to process large amounts of data.<sup>87</sup> For example, proximity searching is a useful method employed in computational text analysis – locating terms which occur within a specified distance from one another. Markers of associative connection are palpable in objects that were created for the veneration of the Madonna in modern-day Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. In each example, place was an orienting feature for viewers and readers. Tracing location names

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<sup>86</sup> Bridget Heal, *The Cult of The Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany* (2007), 36.

<sup>87</sup> Nelson et al., “Future of Coding,” 202–237

in this set of examples offers insights into how early modern groups conceived of themselves, allowing for comparison across sites with varying sizes of archival records.

This first chapter explores the role of place in collective identity formation as argued by producers of early publications from these shrines. Unpacking the co-located entities as presented in text and image demonstrates how references to “place” were both persistent in form and varied in particulars. The first section, “Co-locating Publications” I turn to primary source publications in order to describe how printed text co-located information in a way that reinforced association between cult sites and the locations of distributed devotional community members.

This set of *büchlein* were primarily textual publications, though each did include some pictorial representation as part of the print.<sup>88</sup> These early printed collections begin to reveal patterns in information recorded and distributed about miracles. Such examples indicate that these shrines not only pointed outward, but also were pointed toward by indexes produced for other shrines. The second section, “Visual Co-location,” is an exploration of the replicated images of miracles which were commissioned by “authorities” of these cults. These sets of images constitute a group representation which themselves were based on highly decentralized image commissioning. Each form of placing indexes into a single group or into proximity with other entities benefit from the associative power gained by placing things together. Comparing the maps made to visualize each named location as grouped by source reveals that there were differences

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<sup>88</sup> Typically, this image is a woodcut on the title page. For more on recirculation of woodcuts see: Francesco Novati, *Scritti sull’editoria popolare nell’Italia di antico regime*, ed. Edoardo Barbieri and e Alberto Brambilla (Roma: Archivio Guido Izzi, 2004), and Francesco Novati, *Intorno all’origins e alla diffusion Delle stamps poplar* (Palermo: Il vespero, 1980).; as seen in Matthews and Grieco, *Media Memory Miracoli*, 277.

between how printed and painted was used differently by cult administrators, particularly in the case of the stories about miraculous experiences reported in Mariazell.

The final section, “Moving Proximity,” flips the record mode investigated to center on registrations of place made by individuals within the cult community attuned to proximity, particularly in regards to personally attainable objects associated with these shrines, pilgrims badges. Devotees co-located with such moveable objects that linked back to the main cult site. These tokens and badges made use of only the most essential representational features, constituting the most paired down forms of image and text to create legible signs.<sup>89</sup> The desirable closeness between pilgrim and badge constitutes one type of movable “proximity” with a place which convey the powerful potential of co-location in the context of devotional practice. Travelers were distinguished as pilgrims by the sign of their badge; co-locating with these tokens transformed the wearer into a pilgrim.

## 2.1 Co-Locating Publications

The cult in Regensburg was known widely by its print culture (Fig. 1).<sup>90</sup> This explosion of published images and texts directed attention towards the new cult. For believers, it acted as a rallying point and proof of divine favor. To contemporary opponents, it was a notorious example

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<sup>89</sup> I use “proxy” to describe historical objects. I do not, however, expand to proxy-based modeling systems to predict or generalize about the material under investigation. For more on these models, see Langmead and Newbury, “Pointers and Proxies,” 160-161.

<sup>90</sup> Mangrum, *Reformation Debate* (2005).

of idolatry and improper worship. According to scholars of the period, it “stoked a popular fascination with pilgrimage culminating in the massive confluences of pilgrims.”<sup>91</sup> Centuries later, this cult remains a favored source of examples.

Though relatively short lived, Regensburg produced a high volume of objects in various media, reproducing both iconic images of the Schöne Maria of Regensburg as well as the fervor of her devotees. The printed materials for shrines like the one at Regensburg were not limited by format: such sites produced massive broadsides, intimate single-leaf prints, and books of various lengths.<sup>92</sup> Miracle books were one popular publication type published for individual Marian cults, presenting collected stories about miraculous events that were attributed to a particular shrine. Within their range in structure and content, each publication discussed here created meaningful informational groupings in the early modern period as a result of their common desire to publicize accounts of heavenly favor enacted locally.<sup>93</sup> In various instantiations, such publications served as a noteworthy battleground on which the fate of a cult was arguably decided. Identifying the key information included in these examples of early modern objects is a first step in retracing historical relatedness as evinced in material culture.

Each of the miracle books at Regensburg are modestly sized, consisting of between twenty-five and one-hundred stories. Multiple parties were involved in the production of these objects, a

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<sup>91</sup> Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 219.

<sup>92</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (2017).

<sup>93</sup> Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 11.; The attention provoked by Eisengrein’s 1571 pilgrimage book about Altötting led to its adoption as a model for a number of book producers who hoped to save other local shrines from decline brought on by the Reformation

group that included, at minimum, a printer and a cult representative. While published material for cult sites could be motivated by piety, it was necessary that they also be viable in a commercial sense.<sup>94</sup> Printing was a risky business that required upfront capital for production.<sup>95</sup> Given that the printer was subject to economic and social pressures, we can reasonably assume that these books were created in a manner that would predictably appeal to a purchasing audience.<sup>96</sup> In the first two decades of the sixteenth century, the form of these published *büchlein* share a number of structural similarities.

Throughout these miracle books, formatting created footholds that supported reader engagement and textual navigation. One of the most useful navigational signals in each of the miracle books I investigate introduce nearly each story by including the proper names of places at the start of each new recorded tale. Though of course not identical to the scale of modern capitalism, the early-modern print market drove production of these works, which was necessarily shaped by a population that included both the object's creators as well as its presumed audience.<sup>97</sup> By the latter half of the century, these stories would be further structured to facilitate lay reading. However, the books under investigation in this study were yet to depart from the original form of the recorded miracle stories.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, they offer a valuable insight into a structure still yet to

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<sup>94</sup> For more on the "Clerical promoters" who commissioned such books, see Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 191.

<sup>95</sup> David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Thompson, *The Frankfurt Book Fair*, 1911.

<sup>97</sup> Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 340; Karr Schmidt and Nichols, *Altered and Adorned*, 80; Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints*.

<sup>98</sup> Soergel, "Wondrous in His Saints: Popular Pilgrimage and Catholic Propaganda in Bavaria, 1470-1620" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988), 108-189

be decided, between the original records for the clergy and the published books tailored to the “public.”<sup>99</sup> Those who read or heard the words, written in vernacular German in these miracle books, were presented with a set of stories that testified to the power of the Madonna which was locatable at the main cult shrine but which radiated outward to the faithful across the land.

These printed *büchlein* traveled with the pilgrims as they crisscrossed the globe, their texts representing a community by reproducing the names of places together in the course of describing miracles.<sup>100</sup> These co-located names of places associated the place of the cult with the locations which miracles apparently occurred – wherever divine intercession was needed.<sup>101</sup> The community was thereby represented by where you could find its members. Each named location indexes the location of a person or group which experienced the divine agency of the Virgin and reported their experiences to church administrators at the site which was believed to serve as dwelling for the acting “cultic person.”<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Though books are able to reach an unpredictable number of encounters with a diverse readership, the “public” here can be refined as expected readership of Protestant critics as well as Catholic congregants seeking aid in earnest.

<sup>100</sup> The printing shops which produced these books could also sell copies of these works in their shops or as part of their stock at book fairs, for example see Thompson, *The Frankfurt Book Fair*, 1911.

<sup>101</sup> See Christopher Nygren, Metonymic Agency: Some Data on Presence & Absence in Renaissance Miracle Cults.” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance History* 22.2 (fall 2019): 209- 237. <https://doi.org/10.1086/705516>

<sup>102</sup> Hans Belting, *Image and Its Public*, 9.

Texts pose a particular problem for the study of late medieval and early modern objects.<sup>103</sup> Literacy is difficult to quantify, and additional complications arise when nuancing the levels of proficiency from the distance of centuries away.<sup>104</sup> Though the education of regional inhabitants was subject to an individual's gender, class, and other factors, reading was a multifaceted activity; it should be considered a potentially noisy, group experience.<sup>105</sup> There were indeed many opportunities for engagement, or even legibility, without fluent "literacy."<sup>106</sup> By the early sixteenth century, readership increased as more vernacular texts were made available through the proliferation of print.<sup>107</sup> To study non-elite populations, we must interrogate the individual forms

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<sup>103</sup> Bryson, *Word and Image*, 3; Bäum, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," 260–262; Hahn, "Purification," 71–72.

<sup>104</sup> Evans, *Authority Reformation Debate*, 109–119; Camille "Seeing and Reading" (1985) For example, medieval literacy is largely traced and discussed with regard to fluency in Latin, regardless of particular regional dialects.

<sup>105</sup> For literacy, see R.A. Houston's *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500–1800* (1988); for technical aspects of book production, see Philip Gaskell's, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation World*; Camille, *Seeing and Reading*, particularly part 2; Lewis, *Reading Images*, see especially the introduction.

<sup>106</sup> Bedos-Rezak and Hamburger, *Sign and Design: Script as Image in Cross-Cultural Perspective (300–1600 CE)*, 2016.

<sup>107</sup> Increased readership in this region has been linked to the remarkable rise in reading materials replicated on paper. Sky Michael Johnston, "Printing the Weather: Knowledge, Nature, and Popular Culture in Two Sixteenth-Century German Weather Books" (2020): 391–440; Bloom, *Paper before Print* (2001); Pettegree, *Reformation World*, 109.

of evidence, ensuring that objects used for this investigation were available for engagement by the majority of the Marian cult's community.<sup>108</sup>

The publications included here are those which were written in the region's vernacular language. Miracle books made for these shrines should not be considered "objective" reports on the events that occurred in the past. Neither do they present as self-consciously academic or theological discourses. Objects like these miracle books can be examined as assertions which were made by the cult authorities in order to produce something beneficial to their site.<sup>109</sup> It was important to not only promote a site but also to avoid creating evidence which could be used to harm it.

### **2.1.1 Early Miracle Books: Altötting**

The first known Marian miracle book to be printed in Bavaria was in 1494 for the shrine in Altötting.<sup>110</sup> Including only twenty-five examples, these narratives are organized neither by category nor by chronology.<sup>111</sup> Previous scholars have noted the structure of these narrative

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<sup>108</sup> "Literacy meant being able to distinguish between true and false images," Camille "'Seeing and Reading.' Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Journal: Art History* Vol. 8, No 1 (1985), 34.

<sup>109</sup> Pettegree, *Reformation World*, 21

<sup>110</sup> Earliest known Altötting miracle book is by an unknown author, „Vermerkt dye Grossen wunder zaichen so dye Junckfraw Maria hye zu alten Oettingen wuercken ist an vil Cristen menschen“ (printed in Augsburg, 1494).

<sup>111</sup> First book created for this shrine is “Vermerckt dye Grossen wunder zaichen so dye Junckfraw Maria hye zu alten Oettingen wuercken ist an vil Cristen menschen” (Augsburg, 1494), no known digitized edition exists as of

testimonies as representations of the multiplicity and diversity of the Virgin's agency in moments of intercession, without organizing the stories chronologically or thematically in early publications.<sup>112</sup> Clusters of similar stories appear together, largely unbound by time or type of miracle. Just three years later in 1497, Isseckhemer's publication about Our Lady of Altötting reprinted these miracles in its expanded set of seventy-seven examples and added a woodcut of the Virgin and Child on the title page (Fig. 2).<sup>113</sup>

This fifteenth century book fits within a continued tradition of marvelous accounts, constituting what was once an unorthodox inclusion to art historical study, since prolonged interrogation of such texts have historically been the purview of fields such as religion or philosophy.<sup>114</sup> Over the past generation of scholarship, such sources have become more broadly accepted by scholars studying devotional contexts, shedding valuable light on art historical studies

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January 2022, as seen in Sorgel, *Wondrous in his Saints*, 31. Facsimile editions of the Altötting miracle books appear in Robert Bauer, "Das älteste gedruckte Mirakelbüchlein von Altötting," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 5 (1961): 144–151; idem, "Das Büchlein der Zuflucht zu Maria," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 7 (1964–1965): 206–236; and idem, "Das Altöttinger Mirakelbuch von 1540," *Ostbairische Grenzmarken* 6 (1962–1963): 241–248.

<sup>112</sup> Sorgel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 33.

<sup>113</sup> Hermann Bach, "Mirakelbücher bayerischer Wallfahrtsorte: Untersuchung ihrer literarischen Form und ihrer Stellung innerhalb der Literatur der Zeit" (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1963), 34ff, 67–72; Sorgel, (Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan) "Wondrous in His Saints: Popular Pilgrimage and Catholic Propaganda in Bavaria, 1470–1620" (1988), 108–189.

<sup>114</sup> Gerlinde Stahl, *Die Wallfahrt zur Schönen Maria; In Diesem Büchlein Seind Begriffen die Wunderparlichen Zaychen Beschehen zu Regenspurg zu der Schönen Maria der Mutter Gottes* (Höltzel, 1519), 1r.

about Italian cults in particular.<sup>115</sup> However, the miracle books investigated are invaluable resources about emerging Marian devotion in the late medieval and early modern period. The iterative process of revisiting and rereading these texts generates insights as to how past audiences may have navigated such published miracle collections.

The stewards of these Bavarian shrines, like author and administrator – Isseckhemer in Altötting, commissioned the books which became models for other shrines seeking to promote or defend their own devotional favorites in the eve of the Counter Reformation.<sup>116</sup> The author of this book, together with Johann Rabus (the Wittelsbach’s court preacher) and Johann Nass (an itinerant preacher), formulated what he believed was a reasoned defense of the Virgin in Altötting.<sup>117</sup> This publication is credited with transforming the shrine into a major Catholic center. As Soergel phrased it, the dissemination of objects from this site “transformed pilgrimage and that tiny shrine into mute yet visible confirmations of Catholic truth.”<sup>118</sup> Less than one generation later, the nearby shrine in Regensburg also participated in this practice of miracle publication almost immediately upon its founding. The cult chapel may not have been the location of most miraculous events, but it was absolutely central to ensuring that vows were fulfilled and divine favors were not

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<sup>115</sup> For example, see Megan Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.; Lisa Pon, *A Printed Icon in Early Modern Italy: Forlì’s Madonna of the Fire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.; Robert Maniura, *Art and Miracle in Renaissance Tuscany*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

<sup>116</sup> Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 27.

<sup>117</sup> Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 10.

<sup>118</sup> Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 10–11.

withdrawn.<sup>119</sup> The early miracle books of Altötting established conventions for, or at the very least participated in, the same schema as the broader set of early printed accounts in the Germanic South.<sup>120</sup> The author Altötting's early printed miracle book about the agency of Our Lady emphasizes a broad scope when stating that, "people from many lands and foreigners of every estate, both clerics and laymen-cardinal, archbishops, bishops, provosts, abbots, and other prelates; learned masters and doctors; emperor, kings, dukes, margraves, counts, free lords, knights, soldiers, burghers, and people of both sexes – came to report and rejoice that they were helped by the Virgin Mary."<sup>121</sup>

In the preface of Isseckhemer's miracle book, the author states that individuals and groups came to Altötting, "to report and rejoice that they were helped by the Virgin Mary after invoking her and promising and vowing to visit her shrine with their offerings."<sup>122</sup> For one of these ailing pilgrims, such promises required fulfillment. In the case of the ailing Georg Hilbrand:

after he delayed in keeping his vow [to the Virgin of Altötting], his infirmity returned and his situation declined. [...] He called again to Maria, with a regretful heart, promising to correct his delay – that he would not wait any longer. So, he departed on his way with exceptional trust and hope, traveling to the Mother of God. On the

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<sup>119</sup> For action at a distance, see Nygren, "Metonymic Agency".

<sup>120</sup> [PhdDiss] Philip Mark Soergel, "Wondrous in His Saints," 149.

<sup>121</sup> Sargent, "Miracle Books", 461.

<sup>122</sup> Translation of this phrase by Sargent, "Miracle Books," 461.

way, his ailments and all illness left him that same day, such that he no longer felt any affliction or infirmity.<sup>123</sup>

If there was any doubt, the Virgin is also described giving instructions to devotees seeking assistance.<sup>124</sup> For example, the fiftieth miracle of Altötting's 1497 miracle book states that

Hans Rausch and his housewife Barbara / said on Thursday the Pentecost day after the holy trinity day – that their son / whom was broken on one side when he was born / after the woman brought him to Candle Mass, that evening Maria .rc. appeared and instructed her / that she and her son should troth-pledge to her in Altötting with offerings. As soon as she made this the vow and called out / he was healed at the break / as if he never had one.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Issekheimer, Miracle 53, Original text, "Georg Hilbrand zu Niederndorf Prauneck / in des Grafen von Goertzen land ist von einem Tach gefallen fünfzehn Klaftern hoch / das er an einer Seiten zerbrach / und als gross ward als ein grosser Filzhut erlanget aus anrufen Marie und Gelübde sie heimzusuchen Altötting / das er ohne alle menschen hilf gar kürzlichen heilet ganz gesund ward. Aber nach den er Verzug täte zu halten sein gelobte / hat er nach den nächst vergangen Pfingsten gewonnen den hinfallenden Siechtum. Rufet er wiederum zu Maria .rc. mit bereuten Herzen / seines Verzugs versprechend / nicht langer zuerzygen machet sich also auf den weg in besondren vertrauen / und Hoffnung zu der Mutter Gottes / auf den Wege hat ihn der siechttag und alle Krankheit verlassen / das er kein Zuneigung an im mehr empfand des Siechtums."

<sup>124</sup> Wood, "Votive Scenario," 209.

<sup>125</sup> As seen in Issekheimer, 1497. Original German: "Hans Rausch und sein hausfrau Barbara / Sagten am Donnerstag oder pfintztag nach der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit tag das ihr Sohn / den sie entgegen hätten auf einer Seiten gebrochen geboren / wäre / ihm den Weib zu Lichtmess in der nacht erscheinen Maria .rc. hätte sie gelehrt / sie sollt

Location was used to reference mortals and saints, even in instances when other descriptive information was omitted.<sup>126</sup> In this case from Altötting, the town name is included no fewer than 130 times in the course of fewer than eighty stories. Whether the locational information was recorded and co-located by authors or those who reported the miracles, or any of the other human agents in between the reporting and printing of these stories, these records convey a marked interest in repeating information about place-names in these publications.

The benefit of mapping information about miracles and devotees across the landscape have been popular methods for exploring and communicating about these contexts since before the ubiquity of personal computing. For example, Maria Angela König included a hand-drawn and calligraphically lettered map for her two-volume historical study of this Bavarian shrine published in 1940 (Fig. 3).<sup>127</sup> The design of König's map illustrates, through radiating spokes of various colors, the geographic reach of Altötting's Marian shrine.

The cult in Altötting benefitted from its legendary origins as well as from its proximity to monastic and noble benefactors.<sup>128</sup> Located in the heart of Bavaria, this case has been characterized as “the protagonist in the duchy's salvific history.”<sup>129</sup> This shrine's position benefitted from

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mit samt den Sohn ihr gen Altötting versprechen mit ihren opfern. So bald sie darnach das gelobe und anrufen täte / wird er heil an den Bruch / als hätte er nie keinen gehabt.“

<sup>126</sup> For example, see Altötting Miracle 10, “Hans zu Guntzen zwischen Buxen und Stertzing.”

<sup>127</sup> König, Maria Angela. *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vols. 1–2. Band Rahmen der Zeitgeschichte, 1492-1750. Munich: Stahl. 1940.

<sup>128</sup> “As the premier Bavarian edifice dedicated to the Virgin, Altötting was to continue influencing Marian devotion in the region throughout the early modern period.” Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 27.

<sup>129</sup> Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 10.

proximity to Catholic dukes and duchesses while being spared the challenges borne of being either a mercantile center or rural enclave. For example, Eisengrein's miracle book about the collegiate church was written from his position at the University in Ingolstadt. Its success has been attributed to the explicit coupling of contemporary miracles with the town's esteemed and uneasy past. The author assured his readers that the drama presently unfolding around this Church was engaged in the "same comedic mode as all Christian history."<sup>130</sup> These publications materialized clues about historical concepts of miraculous agency – by representing miracles as they were reportedly experienced on Earth. Such texts are useful artifacts created about a conceptual group as understood by the object's creators at the moment of production. Each publication – indeed, each impression – was able to multiply and distribute groups of stories that retold successful contacts made with the Mother of God. The consistent indexing of place-names were the product of human decision making – and are therefore able to reveal valuable and rare traces concerning historical belief. The placement of town names together in a publication reinforced associations between the towns mentioned and the central Marian cult at which each miracle was reported.

### **2.1.2 Miracle Books: Regensburg**

Regensburg produced a great deal of publications that co-located stories of intercession which were then distributed at the cult site. The production of printed books about Mary's intercession skyrocketed in the first two decades of the sixteenth century as inhabitants became increasingly

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<sup>130</sup> Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 10.

invested in the dissemination of knowledge.<sup>131</sup> The Marian cult in Regensburg is consistently held up as a touchstone, precisely because it registered forms of late-medieval devotion which were unacceptable in the first quarter of the sixteenth century to Martin Luther and his followers.<sup>132</sup> While multiple versions of this brief shrine's miracle stories were printed, the earliest available publication of this type is positioned at the boundaries of visual and textual representation. Though it was a major economic and political center of the region, the town itself did not have a printing press until 1521. Therefore, for at least the first two years of this cult's existence, its miracle books were printed elsewhere and transported to the site for sale and distribution.<sup>133</sup> Regardless of the author's identity, this text and its introductory image contain vital information for scholars and students of late medieval and early modern topics. This book recounts the agency of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg, arguing for the legitimacy of miraculous presence as demonstrated by the cult's geographic range.

The Regensburg *büchlein*, or “small book,” merits close analysis because it reflects the early months of a Marian cult, culminating at the moment in which this cult's identity was still being formed.<sup>134</sup> Like the example from Altötting, the published miracles of Regensburg each

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<sup>131</sup> Steven Sargent, “Miracle Books and Pilgrimage Shrines in Late Medieval Bavaria,” 455–71.

<sup>132</sup> Bonnie Noble, *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Art and Devotion of the German Reformation* (2009), 173.

<sup>133</sup> Wood, *Altdorfer Origins Landscape*, 286; While the early book from 1519 is not attributed to a particular author, a 1520 copy with a similar frontispiece but markedly different text has been attributed to Balthasar Hubmaier. Each book is available in digitized form online through the Google Books platform, as digitized by and housed in the British National Bibliography. No attribution outside of this online catalog entry.

<sup>134</sup> Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto. Zeichen, Bild und Abbild im Christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (1972), 33. The reproduced frontispiece is inscribed with “vil der mercklichsten vn namhafftigen wuder zaychen vn werken / durch

begin by describing a mortal person. In most cases, this description consists of occupation and locational information, such as “George the tailor from Wiset, a village located two miles away from Dinkelsbühl.”<sup>135</sup> Occupations are also commonly mentioned through this collection, though such indications are far from consistent. In contrast, the town of Regensburg is named more than 100 times in only sixty-nine miracles.

This printed miracle book is notable most prominently for its evident locational ties (Fig. 4). Signs of place include civic emblems that appear in many of the images produced of the Regensburg Madonna. The city’s crossed keys are consistently present in both the title page images for miracle books as well as in the single-sheet images published for the site. This, paired with the proper names of locations which were printed together in miracle stories from the cult, co-located aspects of place that each require attention in order to appropriately account for their presence in the tangled context of miracle shrines. Such consistent and redundant forms of labeling created a referent to a specific instantiation of the Virgin, one which is locatable to a geographic position. Despite compositional similarities, publications which represented the community of the Marian cult in Regensburg argued for a broader reach than the previous case made for Altötting.

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die hochwirdigsten gottes mutter vn umckfrawen Maria ezaygt den jyenen (denjenigen), die in iren noeten dieselb muter der gnaden angeruffen vnd sye zu allten oeting haymzusuchen geluebt haben.” *Büchlein* serves as a historical term for such objects, longer than a pamphlet but short for a book. For example, in 1497 a Nuremberg printer used *büchlein* in a similarly formatted publication on the noteworthy “miraculous signs and works” of the Virgin Mary of Altötting.

<sup>135</sup> As seen in Altötting’s Miracle Book written by Issekhemer and published in 1497: miracle 30, „Georg Erbschneider von Wiset / ein Dorf liegend zwei Meile von Dinkelsbuhel,” another exemplar for this is miracle 18, “Dorthea von Kremetau in Behem.”

This Bavarian case is exceptional in many ways. Practically since the Marian cult's inception, Regensburg stimulated debates about what was taking place at these shrines.<sup>136</sup> Scholars of art history and visual culture have repeatedly turned to the images created for this shrine to try and understand the happenings there and what beliefs might have underlain those behaviors.<sup>137</sup> Regensburg's record is too rich and compelling to ignore, even if it is not representative of the wider set of actions or objects that percolated across sites of intense Marian devotion in this period. Each difference on its own may not reveal this, yet the sum of these variations emphasize a need for layered approaches that neither omit nor over prioritize this example. Instead, it is an important case within the set of shrines from the Germanic South in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Regensburg was remarkable for its position as a free imperial city, a commercial and political hub. Unlike Altötting, which was further bolstered by the ducal and collegiate institutions of the town, Regensburg did not enjoy the historical foundation legends that bolstered shrines like Mariazell or Altötting. The most northern example considered in this study, this case was arguably more vulnerable to Protestant attention and attack.

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<sup>136</sup> Among those, see: Hans Rupprich and Albrecht Dürer, *Schriftlicher Nachlass* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein Für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956), 210.; Mangrum, *Reformation Debates: Karlstadt, Emser, and Eck.*; Eire, Carlos. *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

<sup>137</sup> W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), xiii.; and Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Prism Key Press, 2010), 9–13.

Rather than being founded by a legendary figure of piety, the cult in Regensburg emerged from an act of violence against a marginalized community.<sup>138</sup> This cult was formed in a way that would have been more fitting centuries earlier, and indeed had largely fallen out of favor by the sixteenth century – the accusation and violent removal of a Jewish community from their homes and places of worship. Indeed, the cults' formation was suspected of being a political front/security for the town council.<sup>139</sup> The othering and scapegoating of a minority community is itself a violent method of social cohesion, a destructive method still used by white supremacy groups in the twenty-first century. The miracle books published for this site in Regensburg are unusual not only for this connection to violence against Jews. The examples from this site are also remarkable for their relatively large quantity of objects and records which were produced in a short period, yet these objects appear to share the same conventions as those found in Mariazell and Altötting, each co-locating place in the course of retelling miracle stories.

Sites co-located by name in Regensburg's early miracle book are distinct in their geographic distribution asserted by other shrines under consideration (Fig. 5). This cult's reach is ambitious, spanning as far north as Scotland. Perhaps the most remarkable difference is how Regensburg parallels geographic features in a way that Mariazell and Altötting do not (Fig. 6). Cartographic visualization reveals the ways in which Mary of Regensburg's actions correlate to waterways that linked cities across this landlocked region. Rivers were vital arteries of commerce,

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<sup>138</sup> This violence was occasioned after prolonged tensions were broken by the death of the emperor Maximilian I in 1519. Allyson F. Creasman, "The Virgin Mary against the Jews: Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg, 1519-25." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 4 (2002): 963–80.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/4144117>.

<sup>139</sup> Creasman, "The Virgin Mary against the Jews," 966-968.

trade, and communication.<sup>140</sup> What effect this clustering had on the ultimate outcome of Marian devotion at the site is not necessary to recognize the value of identifying this variation between a site that is often used as the exemplar of Marian devotional activity in this region during this time. This is one form of insight that can be made available through the process of data visualization.<sup>141</sup> There is a clear pattern in the geographic distribution of Regensburg's miracles as reported in its early miracle books. The places named together in published *büchlein* about the Schöne Maria of Regensburg are often positioned along waterways, rivers that supported this free imperial city's commercial and political ambitions. While this distribution is curious, this distinctive pattern of Regensburg does not constitute suspect behavior on its own. However, there is good reason to flag this unusual feature as potentially damning clue about Regensburg's cult administrators.<sup>142</sup> For example, it may suggest that the administrators were attempting to shield themselves from critique about their unjust actions against the local Jewish community by staging an outdated devotional model during a period when those models were beginning to splinter under pressure.<sup>143</sup> It seems

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<sup>140</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 1983; Bloom, *Paper Before Printing: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*, 2001.

<sup>141</sup> In this case, that approach manifests as a conventional map.

<sup>142</sup> See Allyson F. Creasman, "The Virgin Mary against the Jews: Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Pilgrimage to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg, 1519-25," 969.

<sup>143</sup> For similarly named churches in medieval France and England. See Stahl, "Die Wallfahrt zur Schönen Maria," 57-58; From the mid fourteenth century to the time of Regensburg's cult origin in 1520, there is evidence of thirty three sites that were founded on an act of antisemitic violence in Southern Germany. See Creasman, "Virgin Mary against the Jews," 969.

very likely indeed that the authenticity of cult stewardship was vital to the survival of devotional centers like Marian cults during the early sixteenth century.

Mapping the locational information presented in this miracle book supports insights about the argued geographic scope of this cult's community and the agency of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg. The process and product of this visualization does not itself create any new evidence, but rather offers a structural support for making sense of the varying and vast quantities of information about the context around reported miraculous events. Whether or not the original audiences of these books would have imagined a cartographic representation (i.e. a map) as they heard or read these stories, modern readers can use such visualizations to orient and track the information that might otherwise go unrecognized. Abstracting and organizing information in models supports further interrogation of the historical record while encouraging new insights about miracle shrines. By co-locating references in print, the next two examples are printed collections of information which registered relationships between cults.<sup>144</sup>

### **2.1.3 Marian Publications: Connecting the Many of Dwellings of Mary**

Four houses of the Madonna were mentioned by name in a publication a nearby miracle shrines centered on the Virgin Mary.<sup>145</sup> Contemporary publications, like one broadside made for Ettal,

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<sup>144</sup> For more on the encyclopedia of Miracles and Exempla, see Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 299-301.

<sup>145</sup> The most famous of these dwellings is arguably one of the other named towns in the Ettal broadside, Loretto. See Robert Maniura "Two Marian Image Shrines in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany, the 'Iconography of Architecture' and

indexed the Altötting's location in publications. By naming famous sites with the name of their shrine, cult administrators were directly associating their cult with successful Marian shrines. The small Bavarian shrine of Ettal situated itself in relation to the better-known Marian cults in the year 1517 in a broadsheet. This print begins with "Of a great miracle that Our Lady performed in a village located in front of a mountain, known as Ettal."<sup>146</sup> With its pairing of image and text in relatively condensed space, this broadside is akin to the more refined images printed for Marizell approximately two years later.<sup>147</sup> The genre of this printed story would likely be categorized as an early form of news.<sup>148</sup>

The so-called "Ettal broadside" presents a striking example of a community uniting in search of a missing child (Fig. 7).<sup>149</sup> The Marian cult of Schoffau, located near Ettal and hereafter called by that name, is a productive comparison case for this study of early modern Marian cults

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the Limits of 'Holy Competition',” in *Architecture and Pilgrimage, 1000-1500*, ed Davies Howard and Pullan, 213-230.

<sup>146</sup> Original German: “Von aim grossen wunderzaychen das unswer fraw gethan hat vor dem birg in aim dörflin Scheffau genant nach bey Etal.“

<sup>147</sup> Lincoln, Evelyn. *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (2000); The image seen in the broadside of Schöffau does not show signs of prioritizing artistic prowess, neither to impress viewers with its style, artistic provenance, nor innovative design.

<sup>148</sup> Pettegree, *The Invention of the News* (2014). Text and images were printed together in these “comic” like forms called *Bilderbogen* ; Cat. 86, in Parshall and Schoch, *Origins*, 277.

<sup>149</sup> Often called “Schoffau broadside”; This missing child was described as being less than a year old. Such child-related miracles are prevalent in Marian sites the world over. *Von aim grossen wunderzaychen das unser fraw gethan hat vor dem birg in aim dörflin Scheffaw genant nacz bey Etal. Darnach von den vier walfarten wie sy creutzweyß ligen im mittel Etal* (1517); reprinted in *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1957), 157.

of the Germanic South. Like Mariazell, Einsiedeln, and Altötting, it was managed by members of the Benedictine order. In contrast to these central examples, this broadsheet pointed towards the shrines investigated in this study, rather than out from those shrines. For example this print mentions Altötting even though it was made for another Marian shrine. This example of Ettal is not included as a key shrine in the main cult sites under investigation in this study, yet it constitutes a valuable and rare example of a smaller shrine that attempted to increase its own legitimacy through reference to the locations considered in this investigation.<sup>150</sup> A viewer could begin to triangulate themselves in a landscape filled with miraculous potential, navigating along banderoles which emanate from the Madonna and Child along the axis of the bifurcating line. The Virgin and Christ-Child, distinguished by his characteristic cruciform halo, serves as the central node around which the other visual features of this object orient themselves.

This case also offers insights into the ways that explicit connection was asserted between early modern Marian shrines in the region. While most of the named locales are local, there are also mentions of distant locales. For example, a banderole at the top portion of a bifurcating line reads “S. Maria. Loreta.” This mention of the famous Virgin of Loretto was a pointer to the shrine in Italy, but it also could serve to reference the many Loretto chapels that were distributed across

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<sup>150</sup> For mentions of trust, see Altötting’s miracle book from 1497, including, but not limited to the following miracles as numbered in Appendix B.1: 1, „Pracht glaubhafftige briefliche Kunst Schaft wie er zu geiluhausen“; 11, „bracht mit ihr genugsam Zeugnis“; 17 „bracht zu der Zeit gen Altötting briefliche gesigelte Kundschaft / von Bürgermeister und Rat daselbst liegend im lande zu Franken“; 18 „bezeuget das mit zehn glaubhaften Personen“

the local landscape.<sup>151</sup> This is not the only name that is listed: two banderoles read “Oetting” and “[Ain]sidell,” the former now known as Altötting and the latter Einsiedeln in Switzerland. The print characterizes these four, named pilgrimage sites as being situated in “our geographic land.”<sup>152</sup>

This broadside illustrates one shrine’s investment in pointing to other, established miracle sites like that of Altötting. This example does not attempt to assert association with a set larger than that which is easily held by the human mind. Beyond the text provided, this grouping is easily recalled, even when unaided by material support. Scholars have noted that contemporary Italian shrines also point to one another.<sup>153</sup> Such indexicality displays little evidence of competition. Instead, “pointing” allowed for integration of a given shrine into what Maniura has called “an established devotional network.”<sup>154</sup> The Ettal broadside offers a glimpse into how such relational associations were established and maintained, a rare surviving object that stands for an unknowable corpus of vanished contemporary single-sheet prints.<sup>155</sup> The final section concludes by examining an object that registers that same impulse to know and articulate the places of Marian

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<sup>151</sup> For example, this mention may have called to mind the nearby Loretto chapel in Allgau, Bavaria, only a two-day walk from Schöffau. By allowing the Loretto mention to be ambiguous, it opens up the possibility for reader-viewers to find their own way into the positioning offered by the print.

<sup>152</sup> Original German: „In unsers Landes Geographie Aller Stet Beschreibung fand frei fier großer Hauptkirchen wallfahrt Die besuchen sich meng nicht spart.“ Regensburg is also mentioned in this final section because of its importance as an imperial center. This print was made prior to the founding of the Schöne Maria shrine, which emerged just two years after the creation of this broadside.

<sup>153</sup> Davies (ed.), *Architecture and Pilgrimage 1000–1500*, 213–29.

<sup>154</sup> “Pointing” is the term I use to denote the act of an index.; Maniura, *Limits of Holy Competition*, 219.

<sup>155</sup> Single sheets may be multiple sheets pasted together. Andrew Pettegree, *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print*, vol. 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

worship, a desire which continued to expand in the following century. While such publications are not made for or explicitly about the shrines under investigation here, they illustrate how other groups also made references to a conceptual set that included the sites of Altötting, Regensburg, and Mariazell.

#### **2.1.4 Marian Atlas: Mariazell, Regensburg, and Altötting**

Appearing over a century later, the earliest Marian Atlas publications illustrate the ways in which the practice of associating by co-locating not only persisted but expanded in the seventeenth century (Fig. 8).<sup>156</sup> The author of this first Marian Atlas stated that his ambition for this publication was, “to show how much the world owes to Mary and how much a person can expect [...] by means of miraculous images.”<sup>157</sup> Backed by Jesuit authorities, this publication brought together a vast geographical and historical set, including information about the specific examples, that is understood to be part within the group of Marian cults. Though this publication falls outside of the temporal scope of this study, it is clear from the register included in each edition of this publication

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<sup>156</sup> Wilhelm Gumpfenberg (1657–1672) *Atlas Marianus*

<sup>157</sup> Modified translation as seen in: Ralph De Koninck “An experimental science of Marian images,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 2 (2015) 232, 135–154.

that location was persistently used to distinguish between multiple manifestations of the Madonna.<sup>158</sup>

In order to communicate a sacred topography, the *Atlas Marianus* necessarily imposed organization on the corpus of Marian shrines. Turning to this case offers some insight into how the desire to co-locate geographically distributed places in publications dealt with the challenges of “data,” issues like categorization and navigation. The author of this publication claimed that “this Marian atlas will teach with what power the Mother of God preserves the World.”<sup>159</sup> This early modern example restructured information and asserted the truth of presented facts on the “premises” of reasoning.<sup>160</sup> This publication’s index pages are organized in a way that encourages pattern recognition and association (Fig. 9). Co-locating shrines in a list permitted readers to quickly survey the range of examples that were distinguished by their location. A vertically oriented line of text along the left-hand margin of the register page reads “Images of Our Lady.”<sup>161</sup> While the issue of what was described as an “image” of the Madonna will comprise the second chapter of this dissertation, these register pages confirm the durable significance of place in collections of miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Johannes Schöner was binding together categories and instruments in 1520. Suzanne Karr Schmidt, “Making Time and Space” (114-135) subsection “collector albums up to the eighteenth century”, 119.

<sup>159</sup> De Koninck, “An experimental science of Marian images,” 135–54.; Bolzoni, *Gallery of Memory* (2001); Blair, *Too Much to Know* (2010).

<sup>160</sup> N. Ghermani, “Topique ou topographie sacrée?,” 120. As seen in Ralph De Koninck, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* (2015), v 232, 135–154.

<sup>161</sup> Original German: “Unser lieben Frauen Bild.“

<sup>162</sup> See digitized register pages of the Marian Atlas courtesy of [Google Books](#).

The Marian Atlas was structured like the scientific works of the era, reinforcing its perceived legitimacy. By assembling a collection of particular miracle sites, the atlas transformed collective statements of fact into what Ralph De Koninck called, “a technology of Mariological commonplaces.”<sup>163</sup> In addition to locating the sacred dwellings of the Virgin Mary’s favor, this atlas also organized and categorized these examples. Such impulses to collect and classify paralleled contemporary attention paid to various forms of knowledge.<sup>164</sup> The text is descriptive in its handling of the images of the Virgin and the miracles she performed, a strategy that sought to draw-out the “silent preaching” of images.<sup>165</sup> The inclusion of extended contextual information given for each site offers valuable information as to other key relationships that bound sites across a web of divine action. Each example promised to prove its own legitimacy through effectiveness.<sup>166</sup> These individual cases reinforced each-other across a web of self-legitimizing and interconnected instances of miraculous action. Later editions of the Marian Atlas continued to

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<sup>163</sup> N. Ghermani, “Topique ou topographie sacrée?,” 120. As seen in Ralph De Koninck, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* (2015), v 232, 135–154.

<sup>164</sup> Bolzoni, *Gallery of Memory*, 2001; Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 2010.

<sup>165</sup> Thereby embedding legitimacy in the objects themselves rather than attempting to argue a single cohesive justification for the entire set. De Koninck, “An Experimental Science of Marian Images,” 135–54.

<sup>166</sup> De Koninck, “An Experimental Science of Marian Images,” 1.

expand the scope of included locations.<sup>167</sup> By 1672, the Marian Atlas had expanded to 1200 sites distributed across the globe.<sup>168</sup>

In many ways, texts are the most straightforward objects to include in data-based historical inquiry, even for topics like miraculous agency.<sup>169</sup> While translating text into “numbers” may appear simple, each permutation is necessarily shaped by the humans who created or engaged with it.<sup>170</sup> Such transformation is required of any object in order to combine, visualize, and distinguish between examples.<sup>171</sup> As trained humanists, art historians are accustomed to this type of translational work – habituated to disparate forms of evidence in each study of the past.<sup>172</sup>

The examples investigated in this chapter co-located references of objects, people, and locations. Though the locational information in texts has been productively visualized, this section has yet to consider the other issues entangled in notions of “place” - for example, how prints

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<sup>167</sup> The texts under consideration in this study were all in such dialects, including the aforementioned edition of the Marian Altas. Editions of this atlas were also produced in Latin and others continued to expand the Atlas of Marian shrines towards a truly catholic scope.

<sup>168</sup> This impulse to map Marian sites has persisted, as the *National Geographic* demonstrated as recently as 2015. There is also a “miracle hunter” who aims to track all of the apparitions and miraculous images of the Virgin (among other sacred things). <http://miraclehunter.com>

<sup>169</sup> Kraus, “Picture Criticism”; Langmead

<sup>170</sup> For example, see Williams, *Data Science Art History*

<sup>171</sup> This includes those objects which are understood through their allographic forms and therefore less subject to suspicion in digitized form; Kraus, Kari. “Picture Criticism: Textual Studies and the Image.” Chapter. In *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, edited by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, 236–56. Cambridge Companions to Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. doi:10.1017/CCO9781139044073.012.

<sup>172</sup> Christopher Wood describes artifacts as traces “of a lifeworld.” Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 15.

implicated viewers “in precise spatial experiences.”<sup>173</sup> Publications constituted an environment for proximity of collected and reproduced information about the happenings at Marian cults. Prints and related replicas were also able to conjure and condense space, or at least routinely prompt these experiences in the minds of viewers. The following section of this chapter highlights how space and place were negotiated in this set of visual objects, pictorial representations of miraculous events in print and paint – incorporating these important images into the model of miraculous agency as registered in the material culture of this region.

## 2.2 Visual Co-location

The Ostendorfer woodblock continued to be used long after the cult of the Virgin in Regensburg was dissolved (Fig. 10). Though impressions continued to be made of this image, by the end of the century the cult it pictured was no longer extant. The image was prized for its compelling and energetic scene of devotion that captivated viewers and provoked continued engagement. Later impressions of this image were routinely paired with updated text. This textual framing altered the pictorial context of the central image. The texts included in Ostendorfer prints are one illustrative example of the role of text as framing for images. Neither image nor text should be considered in isolation. In the examples of visual co-location explored in this section, place is signaled both pictorially and textually in objects made for Marian shrines of the Germanic South.

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<sup>173</sup> Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (2010) 255.

Cult stewards commissioned objects that collected, visually co-located, and replicated the stories of miraculous experience in text and image.<sup>174</sup> The manner in which central cult sites represented their own geographic scope in paintings was distinct from those published in the aforementioned miracle books, often relying on the position of the panel rather than a textual description to secure the association with the cult location. Nevertheless, *place* was also consistently co-located in visual objects like votive paintings that were at the core of these Marian cults. Text was well suited to indexing the particular name of a place, and proper names are references poised for encoding and attribution. However, images also evince effort taken to represent settings of miracles, from jail cells to birthing chairs. While these locational references are difficult to label in many cases, one clear subset of representative places is found in instances of the pictured cult chapel. This by no means exhausts the information about location that was signaled by these images in their original context. Nevertheless, it offers a first step towards incorporating these important images into the model of miraculous agency as registered in the material culture of the Germanic South.

Co-located place names, written in paint or print, materialize their maker's beliefs or claims about the geographic distribution of a community of witnesses. Association between cult and community was supported by the reproduction of stories in collections that pictured entities together as part of a *set* or *cycle*.<sup>175</sup> By using the affordances of images paired with text, allowing

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<sup>174</sup> Othmar Wonisch, "Vorbarocke Mariazell," 126.

<sup>175</sup> I use "set," to refer to the examples of replicated images such as those of the Mariazell print series (ca. 1520).

"Cycle," refers to the examples of painted panels that were commissioned by shrines like Altötting and Mariazell to retell the stories of miraculous intercession reported there.

each type of representational strategy to convey meaning as is best suited to its form, visual co-location created proximity through representations that asserted relatedness. Miracle cycles brought together key narratives of events in ways that are markedly distinct from their primarily textual counterparts. Temporally dispersed agents came into contact pictorially, asserting relatedness.<sup>176</sup> The miracle stories under investigation here suggest that early modern persons were able to relate to represented bodies in a distinct manner that was well supported by pictures. In 1520, the stewards of this shrine commissioned one large painted altarpiece as well as a print series to depict miracles that were reported at their site. These visual objects offer a form of indexing, recording and picturing, that handles location distinctly from their representation in miracle books.

The task at hand is to demonstrate the ways in which the collective identity of devotional communities was materialized and shaped by the form of objects produced for cult authorities. Text and image each have rich histories of varied engagement that benefit from each other. Special care is therefore required to parse out assertions made based on the transformative normalization process of such information.<sup>177</sup> Reframed outside of geographic terms, distance here relies on connections in terms of physical closeness and materialized memory.<sup>178</sup> Membership in devotional

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<sup>176</sup> Visual arguments were able to be made about persons as well as more abstract notions, as images prompted viewers to draw connections between recognizable signs.; Chua, Liana and Mark Elliott. *Distributed Objects: Meaning and Mattering After Alfred Gell*. New York: Berghahn, 2013.

<sup>177</sup> WJT Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (1995); Peter Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta” (1993); Dackerman, *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge* (2011); Daston, “Marvelous Facts” (1991).

<sup>178</sup> For the importance of cults in maintaining and promoting collective memory, see Merback, “Lob und Dank”, in *Agents of Faith*, 166.

communities was not limited to those physically present at the shrine, they were composed of those who were either physically or spiritually proximate.

Translation is required for information to be made suitable for emergent investigatory tools to untangle the complexities surrounding belief. The process used in this section employs humanist methodology to transform visual elements into arguments about encoded meaning. I use the term *normalization* to refer to those actions that transform and standardize information for the purposes of comparison or collection.<sup>179</sup> Such significant acts are inherent in all synthesizing endeavors, including digital projects. In this first chapter, these transformations focus on relationships of place indicated through co-location. This translational work is an active process of continual exploration and reflection, not an endeavor which aims at a fixed model of “reality.”<sup>180</sup>

The evidence presented in this section permits the comparison of place names indexed in painted text that was created for Marian shrines around 1520. The two first cases constitute the only two examples of their type surviving from this period, the miracle cycle of Altötting and the large *Wunderaltar* of Mariazell. In contrast to the previously discussed printed books, only around half of the forty legible scenes on painted scenes name specific locations in text.<sup>181</sup> The final example discussed in this section about visual co-location is the printed series of miracles made

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<sup>179</sup> Alison Langmead, Tracey Berg-Fulton, Thomas Lombardi, David Newbury, and Christopher Nygren, “A Role-Based Model for Successful Collaboration in Digital Art History,” *International Journal for Digital Art History* (2018).

<sup>180</sup> Partnership with the computer meant that I had to decide what “place”-encoding would look like in the examples of visual objects that do not have that kind of meaning regularly assigned to them broadly.

<sup>181</sup> There are thirty eight of the forty legible areas which actually have written texts (two appear to be originally text-less). Universalmuseum Joanneum: Graz, Austria.

for Mariazell. This set of woodcuts were created at approximately the same time as the previous two examples. I compare the printed and painted representations from the same site at the same moment to unpack how text and image was used in objects that were installed at the main cult site compared to those which were portable.

Association was encouraged in the minds of viewers and visitors to these Marian shrines by the display of co-located images and texts. For prints, these experiences could happen away from the main cult shrine. For sixteenth century viewers, the first two objects described in “visual co-location” required the physical presence of their original audience at the cult chapels, such as those cult centers in Mariazell and Altötting.

### **2.2.1 Altötting Miracle Cycle**

The Bavarian panels expand to reach around doors, constrict to fit into tight areas of the architecture (Fig. 11). Nevertheless, this cycle maintains a grand scale which guides the act of beholding along a cyclical path around the chapel of the Virgin. Circumambulation is thereby encouraged by accreted votive offerings which were donated throughout the centuries. From pictures of the plague to motorcycle accidents, visitors are surrounded by depictions of mortal danger. The cult’s town is named in a handful of the painted texts. Far more prevalent however, is the inclusion of phrases explicitly referring to “here.” This distinction presents an interesting challenge for the representation of place as traceable in material culture from these shrines. While the meaning of “here” can be readily associated with the town name and location of Altötting, the sign quality of a town name as written is distinct from its semantic content. The images of cities

are notable in the Altötting Miracle cycle for their use of textual supports, as the flood of Schärding illustrates (Fig. 12).<sup>182</sup> Even within the picture plane, the use of labeling is palpably present for identifying geographic location. Indexes of place are frequently and persistently used in these panels, evidenced not only in their represented regional scope, but also the repeated use of “here” as a reference to the cult location around which such visual objects were oriented. The geographic distribution of named locations in Altötting’s Miracle Cycle are largely consistent in scope with the locations printed in the shrine’s aforementioned *büchlein* (Figs. 4 and 14). While each example from this shrine does include one or two markedly distant places, the books which were printed are more conservative in their offered set of associated places. For example, unlike the printed books which retold some of the pictured and described stories of its miracle cycle, the chapel’s porch seems to have provided enough scaffolding to permit the indexing of a location in Turkey only in painted text during this time.

Location has been a key component of data collection and visualization in studies on pilgrimage and devotional behavior of the early modern period. For example, the ambitious exhibition “Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen” and subsequent catalog from 1984 offers nearly six-hundred pages of close investigation about the pilgrimage and devotional practices evident in the collections of the Bavarian National Museum in Munich.<sup>183</sup> As part of this, the catalog includes more than ten maps in order to convey information gleaned from records which span across centuries to convey the locations of distributed devotional communities, such as is seen in the map

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<sup>182</sup> Today, this town lies just on the other side of Bavaria’s boarder with Austria.

<sup>183</sup> See German pilgrims map of home locations in *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen: Katalog Der Ausstellung*. München: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 141.

which charts the home locations of pilgrims. This use of locational information seems in-line with the original message conveyed by textual-indexing-location and co-location in objects like Altötting's Miracle Cycle.

The large panels of the miracle cycle act as a core around which individual votive pictures continuously accumulate. Both the bespoke cycle and those votive panels donated individually evince a practical need for miraculous action at a distance and intercession away from the shrine.<sup>184</sup> Though the area is covered by a roof, the objects have been subjected to more deterioration and therefore more required maintenance than appears to have been needed by the *Wunderaltar* of Mariazell.<sup>185</sup> Maintenance conducted recently resulted in a publication that touches on the panels' conditions, including photographs of details that are practically invisible when the panels are installed.<sup>186</sup> This is the nature of an active cult site. This amalgamation of pictures also shows how different members in a community, which span geographic and temporal distance, concentrated devotional activity around this small chapel. Though they share many similarities, the miracle panels found in Altötting are less regular in size and format than the scenes made for Mariazell. Having considered the co-location of place names as evidenced in objects from Marian cults in

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<sup>184</sup> Nygren, Christopher J. "Metonymic Agency" (2019).

<sup>185</sup> Universalmuseum Joanneum; *Ungarn in Mariazell-Mariazell in Ungarn* (2004). A change in frame color is visible in this case, but the records of this conservation or restoration have not yet been published.

<sup>186</sup> Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*. Within a century after the first installation of the panels, they were restored, a fact which emphasizes the need for caution when arguing too much based on unusual features found in these panels alone. However, many of the aspects found in the Altötting miracle cycle are consistent with objects found at other Marian sites across the Germanic South in the sixteenth century.

Bavaria, the remaining examples of this object type originate from Austria – the large miracle altar of Mariazell and the similarly dated woodcut prints of the same subject.

### **2.2.2 Mariazell's Large Miracle Altar**

The Wunderaltar of Mariazell consistently asserts that the Virgin's presence in Mariazell could meet the needs of her devotees whenever and wherever they found themselves in harm's way (Fig. 13). This assertion was made through pictorial co-location of the Madonna with the mortal in peril. Whether a priest, a merchant, or a mother, the Virgin was able to intercede for those who praised her and sought her assistance. This is expanded further to include people from across socio-economic statuses, class, gender, age, and profession. By considering the set as a whole, persistent themes across Marian sites emerge as unique. Rather than assert any "reality" reconstruction, this section teases apart the key elements of visual experience embedded in texts and images produced by people with their own biases and motives.

From the royal patrons of the shrine to those described merely as "poor," there are a variety of social classes depicted within the forty-eight scenes of this triptych. While there seems to have been text painted for all but two of the scenes, significant damage has destroyed the original text in the bottom register of the opened triptych, leaving only images to convey these stories. Of the forty undamaged sections, two were created without additional text: a scene of the founding of the shrine by a monk kneeling before an image of the Virgin and a donor-portrait of the Abbot and clergy. Given these caveats, the inclusion of named sites is markedly different in the painted altar of Mariazell. Only twenty of the stories make mention of a particular place, approximately half of

the remaining text. Within this set, Mariazell's locational information presents a relatively consistent cartographic representation of its community. The Virgin could reach across the mortal realm to meet the needs of the devoted, yet this shrine does not appear to make especially ambitious claims about the geographic scope of their cult.

No comparable Regensburg example exists of a visual object which could be classified as a miracle cycle. The most conventional, extant votive painting of the Schöne Maria of Regensburg is the offered image of Kuntz Seytz (Fig. 14).<sup>187</sup> This panel commemorates his survival after stabbing and subsequent surgery. Today, the object is displayed as two painted scenes with a hand-lettered text below. While the two top painted pictures are datable to 1521, the text panel below was joined to these images more than a century later, in 1643, at which time it was transferred to the Loretto chapel near St. Mang.<sup>188</sup> Above Kuntz's mangled body, the Virgin and Child appear, gazing down at the dying man.<sup>189</sup> This single votive offering depicting Kuntz's miracle is not part of a larger set of collective stories which characterize the aforementioned miracle cycles. However,

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<sup>187</sup> This object is presently in the collection of the city's museum. The seventeenth-century text states that Kuntz gave a wax image which weighed three pounds, which emphasizes the word for image through differentiated letterforms.

<sup>188</sup> In the painted images, the left scene shows a riotous fighting scene, and we see the moment in which he was impaled with a lance; pictured mid-action, having just received a life-threatening blow, his right arm is still raised with a sword, mid-strike. In the next scene, we see Kunz in a domestic setting with gruesome details, lying in bed, surrounded by at least one doctor operating on his intestines. Other figures are spaced around his bed, praying for Kunz.

<sup>189</sup> Joachim Gruber, "Chirurgische Operationen am Magen im 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert - eine Analyse der zeitgenössischen Quellen", Dissertation Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main (2005), 13.

there is a set of visual objects that replicate many scenes found in Mariazell's large *Wunderaltar*. A published set of miracles were created for this shrine at roughly the same moment as the large altar cycle's completion (ca. 1520). Turning to replications of the Mariazell miracles in print will therefore help to contextualize what information was omitted or included based on the form and presumed context of each visual object. Highlighting the role of text and image, this Austrian example is a remarkable case where miraculous form crossed boundaries of medium to and from print.

### **2.2.3 Mariazell's Miracle Prints**

Considered together, replicated stories in paintings and prints offer insights into the practicalities of image consumption. Created at approximately the same moment and sharing at least fifteen of the same stories, one published set of miracle stories closely mirrors the large miracle-altar. The Mariazell miracle prints' uneven number suggests that it is unlikely that any complete set of these printed stories survive. Though this series shares similarities with miracle books, these palm-sized images may well have been used for recreating the central Wunderaltar outside of the confines of the cult's central chapel. Regardless of their particular intended use, the scale of each Mariazell print encourages personal interaction and proximity with the objects.

In the printed series of Mariazell, the cult's town name is mentioned in every story. In the examples from Our Lady of Austria, the default was to forgo the name of the Virgin and instead refer to calling out to "Zell" which references the original monastic Cell around which the site developed. According to legend, the cult and surrounding town was founded by a monk who settled

there after being led to the spot by the Virgin. Even though Mary's name is not given in the printed texts of the cult, the mention of "Zell" can be recognized as an unambiguous reference to "Mary of Zell", now called Mariazell. In contrast to the publications from Bavaria, these Austrian prints do not mention the mortal's town names in many of the stories. Comparing such differences between scenes from the same shrine aids in distinguishing the various needs or affordances evinced in material culture from such sites. Prints could travel farther away from the primary locus of worship, well-suited to evoking the memory of a familiar image type. These printed versions of votive panels were thereby able to support the recollection of a massive set of images.<sup>190</sup>

The challenges presented by the information printed in Mariazell's miracle series are revealing for the ways in which they mirror the shrine's *Wunderaltar*. For example, the mention of location is only occasionally identified as a particular town.<sup>191</sup> Like the indexed references to place materialized in painted text, Mariazell's prints likewise contain broad geographic referents over particulars. In the visualized map of the locations mentioned by Mariazell's print series, this registers in the repeated mapping of capital cities. Hungary, Moravia, and Italy are visualized as a single point, for which the modern capital city serves as proxy.<sup>192</sup> Even so, there is apparent continuity between the represented devotional community as one which is concentrated around the region in which the shrine is seated, portraying the distribution of divine action as extending into Central Europe. The prints are particularly oriented towards the eastern reaches of the Holy Roman Empire. This orientation towards the borderlands was an exceptional challenge faced by the rurally

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<sup>190</sup> This is possible regardless as to whether or not they were originally sold or viewed as a larger set.

<sup>191</sup> This type of information lends itself best to cartographic representation because it has one point to place.

<sup>192</sup> For a project grappling with similar issues of geography, see Armstrong et. al, "Itinera's Displacements," (2018).

located cult. For example, the site was subject to the increasing conflict between the Habsburg rulers of Austria and Ottoman invasions in the sixteenth century.<sup>193</sup>

These visually oriented collections represent a set of prompts for devotional experience, thereby constituting *one* component of the cult's collective identity. There is no apparent confusion as to whom the devotee should present their promised offerings to when they cried out in their moment of need.<sup>194</sup> Locations mentioned in the earliest available examples of miracle publications from each of these three sites reveal areas of overlap along with a handful of provocative differences. It is clear that much of the cultic activity was centered in the region of Bavaria and Austria, along the Danube River Valley. However, none of these Marian cults are limited to a single, cohesive region.

The co-location registered in pictorial representations of miracles crystalized distinct differences in paintings created for shrines in Bavaria and Austria. What is clear from such cases is the distinct roles that text and image play in conveying miraculous events. Votive objects in particular are perhaps best understood as places for people and objects to co-locate through representation. For mortals, this type of co-location exists at a point in place and time. However, other replicative forms permitted people to remain proximate to a place, even when individuals

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<sup>193</sup> For example: The Austro-Hungarian War in 1485 and the first attempt to conquer the capital city of Vienna in 1529.

<sup>194</sup> A. Barcelona, "Introduction: The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy," in *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*, ed. A. Barcelona (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000). For example, calls are made "zu Zell" or "to Mariazell." Though left unstated, from context we can safely assume they are using the town name as a metonym for the Madonna.

were geographically distant from a powerful site. Such objects are the focus of the final section of this chapter.

### 2.3 Moving Proximity

A reclining man looks out toward the viewer in Ostendorfer's broadside (Fig. 1). This has been suggested as a possible self-portrait of the artist, perhaps even a sign of the artist's apprehensions surrounding the devotional behavior which was unfolding in his town.<sup>195</sup> Mobility of prints like this multiplied their effect across the social landscape, concentrating outside attention from supporters and critics alike. This potential anxiety was amplified and later framed as an indictment of Catholic fervor. Attacks came not only from outside of the town, but from the town council itself. By the end of the century, the civic body that stewarded Regensburg's burgeoning shrine had become Protestant and the Marian cult had been dissolved.<sup>196</sup> Movable objects like prints and badges impacted the cohesion and reception of these Marian cults. The context and preservation of those objects is the focus of this chapter's final section.

Co-location with a site known to be a hub of divine agency was, itself, powerful. Being proximate to a "place" was able to happen even when a person was physically distant from a

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<sup>195</sup> Landau and Parshall, *Renaissance Print*, 337-342.

<sup>196</sup> The town council organized the production and sale of objects to raise money for chapel construction. Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column", 102.

particular geographic location in question. This is because there were special objects that permitted place to travel with people as they moved around the planet. These tokens that carried place were called pilgrims badges. The tokens that were dispersed outward from Regensburg, Altötting, and Mariazell were valued for their ability to co-locate with humans when they were physically distant from the central devotional space of the cult.<sup>197</sup> Pilgrim badges are outward signs of a pilgrimage that do not make overt attempts at naturalism or *mimesis*. Indeed, badges are “not copies in either the medieval or the modern sense.”<sup>198</sup> These objects were not focused on aesthetic picturing or beauty, but rather served as portable co-location devices for devotees.

Information about individual behavior that indicates a desire for proximity with objects from Marian cults. At least in part, this is because existing records register a persistent but personal practice that was not routinely captured by official or clerical record keepers; there are scarcely any formal archives created by non-elite inhabitants of the Germanic South. The cultural and religious practices that cut across individual preference aids in leveraging existing archeological records for current research questions for which are otherwise ill-suited. For example, it is apparent that people meaningfully and intentionally co-located their bodies with tokens from miracle sites.<sup>199</sup> This practice “recorded” the devotional community in a distinct way, offering a potential

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<sup>197</sup> For “Gnadenort” and the role of devotees as distributors, see Merback, “Lob und Dank” in *Agents of Faith* 166-168.

<sup>198</sup> Jennifer Lee, “Beyond the Locus Sanctus: The Independent Iconography of Pilgrims’ Souvenirs,” *Visual Resources*, 364.

<sup>199</sup> Peter Murray Jones, “Amulets: Prescriptions and Surviving Objects from Late Medieval England,” in *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honor of Brian Spencer*, ed. Sarah Blick (Havertown: Oxbow Books Ltd, 2007), 100.

avenue of reconstruction where archival records have previously thwarted scholarly inquiry. From such records, we can contextualize the relatively sparse remaining object record extant today.

For centuries before print swept across the European continent, pilgrim's badges and tokens were signs with potential power.<sup>200</sup> Akin to the printed and painted examples that began this chapter, *place* served as an apparent proxy for persons. Particularly in the case of badges, replicas could conjure proximity between geographically distant persons or places by relying on precedents of presence as transferable through touch.<sup>201</sup> Tokens are a dispersed set of objects which are understood to maintain powerful connections. Such links were established through past physical contact or proximity.

Figural tokens have a long history in Christian practice, and lead pilgrim's badges were widely distributed across Europe by the thirteenth century.<sup>202</sup> Badges and prints could offer the potential of a proxy without negating their role as a powerful sign. "The effects ascribed to an original image could be transferred to its copies and disseminated through replication on a vast scale."<sup>203</sup> Badges and prints were among the most personal of the objects available to lay devotees, as they conveyed proximity wherever they went. Though both engage in the desire to reproduce images that precede any modern notion of a "media revolution," badges set the stage for the proliferation of print in the Germanic South.

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<sup>200</sup> Schoch, "Pilgrim Badges and Molds," in *Origins* (2005), 62.

<sup>201</sup> Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint: Image and Performance in Marian Devotion," 638-649.

<sup>202</sup> Sarah Blick, ed., *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (2007).

<sup>203</sup> Schoch, "Pilgrim Badges and Molds," in *Origins* (2005), 62.

Tokens like pilgrim's badges are paradoxical, diminutive in scale while prioritizing legibility.<sup>204</sup> These objects are valuable examples of sign, a distilled form of representation which co-located condensed forms of image and text. Emphasis on the cult's town name is evident in the design of badges created for Marian cults in the Germanic South. This focus on place is remarkable when paired with the increasing availability of recorded contextual information about badges. Thanks to the power that was understood to be present through bodily co-location with such badges, information about find-spot is incorporated into this study as a proxy for devotional communities which were scattered across and beyond the local region of each shrine. Badges condensed key information seen elsewhere in objects created for Marian cults. Much like the publications that began this chapter's discussion, emphasis was placed on the cult's town name in the design of all badges created for Marian cults in the Germanic South.

Tokens from Regensburg are plentiful yet offer scant information about their use. This lack of information may itself be telling about the perception of these objects, particularly as compared to the tokens which came from other Marian shrines of the Germanic South. Due to the paucity of find-spot, an artifact's location of discovery, information known for the Regensburg shrine, we will briefly return to a nearby Swiss example that experienced marked success in the century prior to this investigation.<sup>205</sup>

Turning our attention to the examples of badges from Altötting, the next example traces common features shared by pilgrimage tokens. The essential formula for these signs emerges as place in text and person in image. Finally, the examples of badges from Mariazell aids in testing

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<sup>204</sup> Murray Jones, "Amulets," 101.

<sup>205</sup> Find-spot is the term used in archaeology for the location in which some object or artifact was found.

the limits of this essential sign formula: universal picture combined with locational texts. Though numerically humble as a set, the Austrian examples provide particularly rich information about their use. The connections between these two types of information stimulates insights about the broader set of pilgrim badge data. Even though the extant corpus of badges has dwindled drastically from their original numbers, the variation of token production parallels other cases found across this region.<sup>206</sup>

Named locations are central to the form and distribution of these tokens. For this reason, the information about these objects and their associated places is exceptionally conducive for producing insights on badge use and the distribution of devotional communities across the geographic landscape. In such examples of moving proximity, badges and other multiplied objects pointed back to their origins. These portable objects could adapt to myriad situations when engaged with by humans; the same object could serve to protect crops or ease a traveler's journey. Traces left behind by such actions are an additional form of evidence that can be included to understand the interconnected web of related objects and places that supported miracle sites across the Germanic South.

Replicated badges and prints were central to the devotional practices surrounding Marian cult sites. Encounters with objects from Marian shrines, including seeing or touching such tokens, assisted in bridging the spatial divide between points on the earth as well as chasm between heaven and earth. These objects connected people to the originating cult shrine, the holy presence dwelling

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<sup>206</sup> These small tokens are often produced as casts of lead-tin alloys or pewter, using molds made of slate or soapstone to create the figural casts via casting channels; Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (2005).

there, and the divine agent that ultimately resided in heaven. Tokens which touched images or relics were particularly overt in their continuities with earlier established relic cult practices.<sup>207</sup> Through contact and touch, tokens like lead pilgrims' badges acted like “contact relics which could effectively mediate saintly healing power.”<sup>208</sup> Tokens traversed media and associated themselves to a referent via iconographic similitude.<sup>209</sup> Badges engage in a uniquely condensed form of visual co-location in their representations of key figures and limited text. Pilgrim badges are part of an exceptionally well suited corpus of “devotional objects reproduced on a massive scale [... and] survive in relatively large numbers.”<sup>210</sup> Saints that appeared together at a shrine were likely to appear together on the sign that traveled outward from that point, acting as a co-locational sign of the place from which it was understood to have originated.

Connection by contact, whether made through physical touch or proximity to a miracle working object or through the proximity garnered from physical presence at the cult shrine transferred protective power to devotees through vehicles like prints and badges. Pilgrim badges were used as an outward sign of a pilgrim that “proved” (or at the very least signaled) that the wearer had made a devout journey to a given site.<sup>211</sup> Pilgrim badges are particularly place-centered

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<sup>207</sup> Maniura, *Art and Miracle* (2018)

<sup>208</sup> For a comparison of perceived object efficacy between images and relics in an early modern Italian context, see Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 129.

<sup>209</sup> This similitude is used by Maniura as evidence: “and the lead badges so described were iconographically resemblant in a related way.” Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 124–25. Such reference, however, allows for a great deal of material difference as well as visual variations.

<sup>210</sup> Schoch, “Pilgrim Badges and Molds,” 60.

<sup>211</sup> Author name, “Title,” in *Charismatic Objects*, ed. Vedeler; Røstad, Siv Kristoffersen, Glørstad (2018), 195.

records of medieval and early modern piety. Their widespread locations of production and discovery can shed light on the distances people traveled to particular pilgrimage locations, in addition to broader questions of mobility at a given time period.

One benefit of modeling is that it divorces assertions and bases of argumentations from the linearity of written word. Archeologists inspire such moves that accommodate fluctuations in dating and attribution based on new evidence. Taking inspiration from this field, such archeological stances have produced exciting inroads into studying material culture for generations of art historians.<sup>212</sup> Mapping here does not negate such concerns, but reading these maps as necessarily incomplete is useful for identifying the areas of density and those places in which gaps occur. Noticing such areas is key to identifying how modern borders and assumptions may shape the use of available historical data. The issue of ambiguity is central to the study of history, with its inarguably incomplete datasets and archives that are irreversibly biased. On one hand, mapping is woefully inadequate at attending to such issues of archival silence. However, the inclusion of geographical data can aid in fleshing-out areas of understanding and confusion.<sup>213</sup>

Within the tiny dataset available about Germanic shrines to the Virgin that were active around 1500, the two Mariazell badges comprise the largest set of information about locations of discovery. In contrast, Regensburg has the highest number of extant badges, but none of these

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<sup>212</sup> For example, see Warburg's *Bilderatlas*; Belting, *Anthropology of Images*; Brucker, *Limewood Sculptors*; Gell, *Art and Agency*; see also Chua and Elliot (ed), *Distributed Objects*.; Bowden "A Critique of Alfred Gell on Art and Agency," 309.

<sup>213</sup> For example, the famed artist Dürer has been so well studied from this period not only because of his remarkable artistic skill, but also and especially because of his unusual practice of record making and keeping that rendered his life particularly rich for historical study; Metzger, *Albrecht Dürer*, Albertina catalog (2019).

examples seem to have been discovered in a context that signaled its use as a powerful object.<sup>214</sup> The one exception may be the book that holds a Regensburg bracteate.<sup>215</sup> However, it is difficult to mark the location of finding in this example, as the location it was found in has itself been a portable object that has changed contexts many times as the belonging of a Hapsburg ruler.<sup>216</sup> In the information about find-spots, Regensburg appears to have been valued for the dramatic unfolding of this site more than the divine agency which flowed outward from it.

### 2.3.1 Regensburg Badges

Even when Marian devotees were distant from the geographic place of a Marian shrine, they were able to maintain a closeness with the place through drawing near to personally ownable tokens which were acquired at the main shrine.<sup>217</sup> In Regensburg, Altötting, and Mariazell, pilgrims

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<sup>214</sup> This is not to say that the information on databases like *Kunera* and the *Pilgerzeichen Datenbank* online will not continue to add information which may enrich this type of exploration in the coming years.

<sup>215</sup> Hanneke van Asperen, "The Habsburgs and their Pilgrimages Souvenirs, Pilgrim Badges in the Devotional Books of Charles V, Ferdinand of Austria and Joanna of Castile," *Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien Band 10*, 195–218.

<sup>216</sup> While today, the Regensburg badge (and the book which it is located within) is held in Vienna, it is not included as a find spot because of its uncertain original location as well as the complication of adding current spots to represent the community.

<sup>217</sup> Robert Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint: Image and Performance in Marian Devotion," 629-654.

collected and transported small markers of place and divine grace which were then co-located with the devotee at home and during travel.

Pendants were common tokens collected by pilgrims, and Regensburg was no exception. The small commemorative plaques sold in the thousands, offered in both clay and metal.<sup>218</sup> In the first year alone, twelve-thousand plaques were sold. In 1520, this count exploded to nearly 120 thousand.<sup>219</sup> These objects are still sold to tourists today, constituting a major portion of the cult's visual culture and continuing legacy. This is another place in which *zeichen*, or “signs”, emerges as the part of the term used for plaques which a pilgrim could purchase at sites like Regensburg.<sup>220</sup> The small pendants share distinguishing marks with Albrecht Altdorfer's depictions of the Schöne Maria. Draped in a fringe mantel, the Virgin emerges from a frame emblazoned with two civic crests. She sits below the date 1519, above “Regensburg,” and encircled by a testament to her charm, “thou art beautiful, my love” (Fig. 16).<sup>221</sup>

These replicated objects picture the Schöne Maria and participated in the network as figural reminders, not unlike the printed objects from the same site. Indeed, badges and prints were placed in proximity by their owners in some cases. Such co-location, in contexts like prayer books, has been recognized for its supportive function in the devotional life of late medieval and early modern

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<sup>218</sup> Megan H. Foster, “Pilgrimage Through the Pages: Pilgrim's Badges in Late Medieval Devotional Manuscripts,” Dissertation University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (2011), 138-154. ; Schoch, “Pilgrim Badges and Molds,” in *Origins*, 60-62.

<sup>219</sup> Landau and Schoch, *Renaissance Print*, 339.

<sup>220</sup> Original German: “Wallfahrtszeichen” or “Pilgerzeichen”

<sup>221</sup> Original Latin: “TO PVLCHRA, ES AMICA MEA.” This *to* could be read as “tu” or “tota.” The former is as translated in text, the later would slightly change the meaning to “completely beautiful, my love.”

Catholics.<sup>222</sup> More than 120,000 lead and silver pilgrim's tokens were sold to the faithful visiting the Schöne Maria of Regensburg in 1520 alone.<sup>223</sup> While much about image production in Regensburg has been preserved, most of the information concerning badge use must be deduced from where these objects were placed and subsequently found. Though examples from this site survive in relatively large numbers, very few have been found in locations that would suggest a belief in their persistent power. The primary case from this site was in a context which co-located it with other badges, assembled in a book owned by the ruling family of Austria.<sup>224</sup>

Inhabitants of Western Europe began sewing pilgrim badges into the pages of their private prayer books by the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>225</sup> By including tokens in prayer books, object owners co-located two common forms of image-aided devotion: the public act of pilgrimage attested to by the ownership of a badge as well as the private contemplation facilitated through prayer books and supplemented by badges.<sup>226</sup> One Regensburg bracteate survives because it was sewn into the pages of a personal devotional book, the *Hours of Ferdinand I* (Fig. 17).<sup>227</sup> This

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<sup>222</sup> Megan H. Foster, "Pilgrimage Through the Pages: Pilgrim's Badges in Late Medieval Devotional Manuscripts," Dissertation University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (2011), 8-31.

<sup>223</sup> The German History Society, "Forum: The Visual Turn in Early Modern German History and Historiography," *German History* 30, 4 (2012): 574-91.

<sup>224</sup> Megan H. Foster, "Pilgrimage Through the Pages," (2011).

<sup>225</sup> Megan H. Foster, "Pilgrimage Through the Pages: Pilgrim's Badges in Late Medieval Devotional Manuscripts," (Dissertation University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2011), ii.

<sup>226</sup> Foster, "Pilgrimage Through Pages," ii.

<sup>227</sup> Vienna, Austrian National Library, MS 2624. The 1519 badge is round and punched from a sheet of silver. There is no direct documentation as to how this and the other badges in Ferdinand I's collection were acquired, though it is

round badge was punched from a sheet of silver. Tokens like this are visual objects: they may signal to other travelers their devotional journeys and where they practiced their devotion. Furthermore, their inclusion in contemporaneously published books led to their later illustration in similar prayer texts, which added more layers to multifaceted, devotional practice.<sup>228</sup> The 1519 bracteate pictures the Schöne Maria and could therefore participate in the devotional network as a figural reminder and signal to other devotees. The material itself was not only a precious metal, but it was also subject to temperature changes as affected by the body. This may have strengthened the pilgrimage's efficacy, or legitimacy, through a feeling of heat reflected back onto the body upon which it rests – a reminder that is physically felt by an active body.<sup>229</sup> Through memory or imagination, illustrations and physical additions to codices “facilitated a ‘mental pilgrimage’.”<sup>230</sup> While it is impossible to know how each particular sign was perceived by individuals in the sixteenth century, engagement with traveling, repetitive forms may well have supported the process of recollection.<sup>231</sup>

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possible that he received them through familial inheritance. This likelihood was proposed by Foster, “Pilgrimage Through Pages,” 138.

<sup>228</sup> Megan H. Foster, “Pilgrimage Through the Pages: Pilgrim’s Badges in Late Medieval Devotional Manuscripts,” (Dissertation University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2011).

<sup>229</sup> Marianne Koos, “Wandering Things: Agency and Embodiment in Late Sixteenth-Century English Miniature Portraits,” *Art History* 37, no. 5 (2014): 836–59.

<sup>230</sup> Foster, “Pilgrimage Through Pages,” ii.

<sup>231</sup> Lee, “Beyond the Locus Sanctus” (2005), 364.

Representations of the Schöne Maria of Regensburg offered personal connection between the owner or viewer and the Madonna of a specific geographic place.<sup>232</sup> The badge is the ultimate condensation of key information; its small size and potential power conveyed only that which was necessary, such as place and person. These objects co-located represented places and figures that represented a particular instantiation of Marian agency.<sup>233</sup> Even though the extant corpus of badges has dwindled drastically from their original numbers, we see the variation of token production seems to parallel those found across the region.<sup>234</sup> A testament to the proliferation of the small tokens from miracle sites is registered in the variety and distribution of find-spots.<sup>235</sup>

Badges and medals created for cultic sites do not usually bear markings that allow for individual or artistic attribution.<sup>236</sup> Furthermore, these objects do not always bear markings of the year of their creation.<sup>237</sup> What does often survive in the historical record is documentation surrounding the communal act of pilgrimage and the consistently high volume of badge purchase across Western Europe in the late medieval period. Investment in religiously motivated travel is palpable in the daily numbers of visitors recorded by shrines in the fifteenth century. For example,

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<sup>232</sup> Schoch, “Pilgrim Badges and Molds,” in *Origins* (2005), 62.

<sup>233</sup> Relief casts, like most objects from the sixteenth century, have largely been lost as a result of being used and thereby “used up.” This turn of phrase is from Heidegger: “In fabricating equipment—e.g., an ax—stone is used, and used up. It disappears into usefulness. The material is all the better and more suitable the less it resists perishing in the equipmental being of the equipment.” Heidegger, *Poetry Language Thought*, 44.

<sup>234</sup> Schoch, “Pilgrim Badges and Molds,” in *Origins* (2005), 62.

<sup>235</sup> Archeological term for location in which an artifact was found.

<sup>236</sup> For example, see “Kunera” *Kunera*, <https://kunera.nl/>.

<sup>237</sup> Author Name, *Ungarn in Mariazell*, 453. Dated medals are typically created for jubilee years.

daily totals in Munich in 1392 were 8,600, in Rome of 1450 they were 40,000, and, in 1496, Aachen recorded a day with 142,000 pilgrims.<sup>238</sup> Similar numbers survive in object records like those from the Swiss Marian shrine of Einsiedeln, cult authorities recorded an average of 9,300 badges sold per day for a period of two weeks in 1466.<sup>239</sup>

This map visualizes the locations flagged as find-spots for pilgrim signs as either presented in their original token or badge form or as replicated and cast onto local bells (Fig. 18). What is striking about the example from this preceding case is not only the scope but also the scale of badge distribution originating from this Swiss shrine. This example is telling even though it is unable to serve as a central example in this study. In part, this is because of its destruction by fire that temporarily halted the Marian devotion, registering as a gap in material culture. The next group of objects to shed light on Marian cults and their communities originated at a site both literally and figuratively between Regensburg and Einsiedeln. The Bavarian shrine of Altötting

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<sup>238</sup> Murray Jones, “Amulets,” 101–102.

<sup>239</sup> The Swiss account was for a two-week period in which they sold 130,000 badges and the price per badge as two pfennigs. Murray Jones, “Amulets,” 101–102. For catalogs of pilgrim badges: Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs.; Heilig en profaan: 1000 laat middeleeuwse insignes uit de collectio* H.J.E. van Beuningen, H.J.E. van Beuningen, A.M. Koldeweij (eds.), *Rotterdam Papers 8* (Cothen, 1993); Musée de Cluny, *Enseignes de pèlerinage et enseignes profanes par Denis Bruna* (Paris, 1996); *Heilig en profaan 2: 1200 laat middeleeuwse insignes uit openbare en particuliere collecties*, H.J.E. van Beuningen, A.M. Koldeweij, D. Kicken (eds.), *Rotterdam Papers 12* (Cothen, 2001). See Kurt Köster, ‘Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen’, *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen*, L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, G. Möhler (eds.), (Zurich 1984), 202–23. On pilgrim numbers, see B.W. Spencer, ‘Medieval pilgrim badges’, *Rotterdam Papers: A Contribution to Medieval Archaeology*, J.G.N. Renaud (ed.), (Rotterdam 1968), 139. The trade in pilgrim badges is analysed in Esther. Cohen, “‘In haec signa’: the pilgrim badge trade in southern France’, *Journal of Medieval History*, ii, (1976), 193–214.; as seen in Murray Jones, *Amulets*, 106.

was most active after the Swiss chapel burned but before the first reported apparition in Regensburg. Located in the “Heart of Bavaria,” Our Lady of Altötting has been the home of a Marian cult since the fifteenth century.

### 2.3.2 Altötting Badges

Badges from Altötting are formally structured around representations of the Virgin and Child. Location and Person are two pieces of information which operate as pointers to the shrine. The oldest-known badge from this site was discovered nearby, in Passau.<sup>240</sup> This example presents the essential components of a sign. Additionally, there is a second un-photographed badge from approximately the same time.<sup>241</sup> From the written description, this badge appears to be of the same type as the Passau example that was dated to 1490 (Fig. 19). The third and final example constitutes the best preserved badge of Altötting, created in the second decade of the sixteenth century (Fig. 21).<sup>242</sup> In contrast to the examples cast in humble lead, this bracteate was created from a sheet of silver that was struck with a punch to create its image and text.<sup>243</sup> Evident on the surface of this token are many of the essential sign components present in the previously discussed examples.

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<sup>240</sup> The Kunera 06531 has the date pointing to a source in *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenze*. However, upon checking this citation, there is not a date or a discussion of Altötting on either of the pages they listed, so further verification needed.

<sup>241</sup> This object is held in a private collection of a Benedictine college located in Switzerland.

<sup>242</sup> This object is held today in the national coin collection in Munich.

<sup>243</sup> *Pilgerzeichen.de*, s.v., “Pilgerzeichendatenbank,” <http://www.pilgerzeichen.de/item/pz/414>

Like Regensburg, this bracteate from Altötting makes use of civic signs.<sup>244</sup> The Madonna and Child are flanked by symbols such as the Bavarian crest which is visible to her right.<sup>245</sup> These three badges from Altötting constitute a relatively small surviving set of early-modern tokens. Nevertheless, they illustrate how such objects were created of varying materials and processes that corresponded to cost.<sup>246</sup> Within this range, text and image is persistently used to convey meaning within even the most limited space. For example, in Altötting and Regensburg's cast badges, each persistently conveys place, date, and person in no more than a palm-sized space.

Each of these examples from the "Heart of Bavaria" made use of heraldry, a date, and town name in text.<sup>247</sup> The pictorial representation of this holy pair is persistently framed by a simplified architectural form, which contains areas of text. Like Regensburg, above the Virgin of Altötting, a date (1490) is prominently displayed. At the bottom of this frame, in a register segmented by a crest, accommodates the inscription "ALTNÖTING."<sup>248</sup> Centrally placed on each of these badges is the crowned Virgin and Child. She appears perched on a crescent moon, a favored depiction of the Madonna for the end of the fifteenth century. An image type often referred to as "Maria in

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<sup>244</sup> König, *Weihegaben an unsere Liebe Frau von Altötting*, 1939/40, Bd.2 Tf. 36/37; Schnell, *Bayerische Frömmigkeit. 1400 Jahre christliches Bayern*, 1960, 319 Nr. 1002.

<sup>245</sup> This second shield is more difficult to identify and has not been satisfactorily attributed as of yet.

<sup>246</sup> While no stamps survive from the Marian sites considered in this study, contemporaneous production found for the relic collection in Nuremberg (<http://www.pilgerzeichen.de/item/pz/437>).

<sup>247</sup> The town still uses this phrase to promote tourism, <https://www.altoetting.de/tourismus/entdecken-erleben/fuehrungen/stadtfuehrungen-in-altoetting/altoetting-1250-jahre-herz-bayerns/> .

<sup>248</sup> This area has degraded in the single surviving example but is believed to be the Bavarian coat of arms. Indeed, this coat of arms was used not only on badges, but also appears in many of the miracle books from this shrine.

Sol,” her figure is surrounded by ten emanating rays.<sup>249</sup> She supports the Christ Child in her right arm. This scepter in her left hand along with her crown signify the Virgin’s role as the Queen of Heaven.

While the places, dates, and crests have direct referents that can be decoded with relative ease,<sup>250</sup> pictorial representations displayed on this badge and others from this set do not adhere to any single stylistic representation of the Madonna. Pilgrims badges utilize many stylistic representations of the Mother of God, apparently unbound by rigid similitude to evoke the memory of the divine presence at a particular site.<sup>251</sup> In the late fifteenth century, Mary is portrayed with swaths of cloth like the “fair” type prevalent in the period. However, each generation (about every 30 years) made use of favored portrayal types regardless of their visual similarity to the primary cult image of the Virgin. I observe that these shifts convey a sense of active presence greater than images of a single proxy, at least prior to the mid-sixteenth century.

Though the shrine is still active today, there is little archeological information about these cases in currently available datasets which have been created by cultural institutions about these objects. For this reason, the badges from Altötting do not presently constitute rich data sources about circumstances of discovery. There is only one findspot registered for these badges, which is in Passau, a town located at a confluence of rivers and presently on the border between Austria and Bavaria. The last shrine offers the most information about location and context of pilgrims' badges.

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<sup>249</sup> Larry Silver, “Full of Grace“, in *Idol in Age of Art*, 289-316.

<sup>250</sup> This is because the date appearing on these badges is usually taken, absent other evidence, of production date.

<sup>251</sup> Schnell, Hugo (Bearbeiter), *Bayerische Frömmigkeit. 1400 Jahre christliches Bayern*, 1960, Nr. 268.

### 2.3.3 Mariazell Badges

The only Marian site in Austria with surviving pilgrim badge records of any significant size is Mariazell. This site's badges and their find-spots register a belief in the power of the badges from the Austrian shrine, even when these signs were not visible. For example, one fifteenth century badge from this site was found inside of the sacristy door of the parish church of St. Johann in Kleinfieistriz, a small town located between Graz and Mariazell (Fig. 22).<sup>252</sup>

The oldest known token from this cult is also the most stylized of the group, which makes use of bold geometric forms to convey figures (Fig. 23).<sup>253</sup> The cult statue of the Madonna and Child is featured centrally in a simplified architectural frame. Two crowned figures kneel on each side of the Virgin. These figures might be references to the two aristocratic patrons that featured

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<sup>252</sup> Gandert, "Ein romanisches Pilgerzeichen aus dem mittelalterlichen Magdeburg," *Frühe Burgen und Städte, Beiträge zur Burgen- u. Stadtkernforschungen*, 168–73, 171f.; *Die Kuenringer Das Werden des Landes Niederösterreich* (Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums, Vienna 1981), 625f, cat. 859.; N. N.: *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen* (Bayrischen Nationalmuseum München), München 1984, 45.

<sup>253</sup> The oldest pilgrim's badge from Mariazell is that found in the Graz Joanneum, dated to the fifteenth century.; *Johanneum Katalog Mitteralterliche Kunst; Mariazell in Ungarn*, 454.; "Mariazell," *Pilgerzeichen Datenbank*, <https://www.pilgerzeichen.de/item/7311d8c2-8267-442b-9ed3-755fd5657ad0>.

prominently in the site's early history, the Moravian Margrave Heinrich and King Ludwig [I, The Great] of Hungary.<sup>254</sup>

The relatively small number of attributed badges from the shrine in the databases created for such objects make it difficult to extend the current understanding of where this cult's devotional community was located. Another version of a late fifteenth-century badge from Mariazell was found cast onto a bell in Hirschegg, Austria.<sup>255</sup> The 1520 Mariazell badge was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century in the woodwork of an altarpiece that was made in 1524 for a church in Knittelfeld.<sup>256</sup> Each of these find spots were local, requiring a journey of no more than five days to reach the cult location.<sup>257</sup> The few locations of discovery are located south and west of the shrine for the Holy Mother of Austria. This issue posed by the limited distribution and quantity of data may be soon assuaged as previously insulated metadata about historical archives and collections will reveal further examples suited to this inquiry method. In particular, there is good reason to

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<sup>254</sup> *Ungarn in Mariazell*, 455. It might also be just one of those patrons with their wife on the other side. There are two different types of crowns that might have been more obvious references to contemporary viewers.

<sup>255</sup> „Mariazell, found in Hirschegg“, *Pilgerzeichen Datenbank*, <https://www.pilgerzeichen.de/item/2c8c3df4-81e8-4f34-8083-ea0db37e1410>

<sup>256</sup> Wonisch, *Gnadenbilder* (1916), 30, 15, Abb. 13; as seen in *Ungarn in Mariazell*, 455; “Mariazell, found in Klein-Feistritz,” *Pilgerzeichen Datenbank*, <https://www.pilgerzeichen.de/item/b23f2722-8d6b-4cf3-8303-a062c4b8c20c>.; More may well be added to data in the future thanks to increasingly linked datasets of European research projects and cultural institutions.

<sup>257</sup> Laura Lynne Kinsey, “The Habsburgs at Mariazell: Piety, Patronage, and Statecraft, 1620–1760,” (PhD diss., University, 2000). Both Knittelfeld and Kleinfeistritz fall between Graz and Mariazell, roughly an eight-day trip on foot.

believe that many of the badges from Mariazell would have traveled with a population distributed further towards the east, across Central Europe.<sup>258</sup>

In the case of Mariazell, both attendant saints and text are used to identify persons.<sup>259</sup> Whether or not these signs were able to be read from further than a few feet away does not discount the ability of worn images to communicate to people proximate to such objects, making what has been called a “visual statement”.<sup>260</sup> Cartographic representations like maps are not designed to convey how these small replicas were worn or the ways in which they functioned as tangible remembrances of a fulfilled vows. These objects served to protect their wearers thanks to the miraculous power of the shrine’s saint, marking the wearer as a pilgrim who was entitled to the benefits of such a title.<sup>261</sup> Movable objects could act as indexes or envoys, but both potential functions depended (at least in part) on the experience of proximity.<sup>262</sup> One token from Altötting was found in a town at the confluence of rivers that mark the boarder of Austria and Bavaria. In Passau, a badge from the shrine of Our Lady of Bavaria (Fig. 19) is displayed on the hat of a statue, marking the figure as that of a holy pilgrim (Fig. 20).<sup>263</sup> This carved person likely represents one

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<sup>258</sup> For example, see “About Us,” *Europeana*, <https://www.europeana.eu/en/about-us>.

<sup>259</sup> In the earlier badges from the fifteenth century, the Virgin of Mariazell is labeled with the location in text.

<sup>260</sup> Lee, “Beyond the Locus Sanctus,” 368.

<sup>261</sup> *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen zwischen Ostsee, Donau und Seine*, Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien: Herausgegeben von Hartmut Kühne, Jan Hrdina, and Thomas T. Müller, 10, 2010.

<sup>262</sup> Margrete Figenschou Simonsen, “Medieval Pilgrim Badges: Souvenirs or Valuable Charismatic Objects?,” 169–195.

<sup>263</sup> The object is held in the St. Gertraud Church of Passau, which has switched with St. Severin since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as the seat of the local Catholic parish.

of the five patron saints of this city, the itinerant St Maximilian<sup>264</sup> This name of this statue would have been a stirring choice at the time of its making in 1520, the year following the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>265</sup>

Pilgrim badges are particularly rich place-centered records of medieval and early-modern piety. Each of these badges which proliferated outward from sites now located in modern-day Austria and Bavaria serve as illustrative examples of the overall pictorial production of the region, providing useful points of comparison across cult sites.<sup>266</sup> Their widespread locations of production and discovery can shed light on the distances people traveled to specific pilgrimage locations and to broader questions of mobility at a given time period. Considered together, these cases reveal patterns in regional variations and potential areas for future inquiry.<sup>267</sup> Inverse of the previous examples discussed in relation to location, these records evince a different type of connection making, a one-to-one, rather than one-to-many which the miracle books that bring together many locations constitute. Assignments of place were made at a different moment, by a

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<sup>264</sup> Passau has five patron saints; in addition to Severin, they include saints Altman, Valentine, Maximilian and Stephanus. Anton Crammer, *Heiliges Passau, oder vollständige Geschichte aller Heiligen und Seligen die dieses Bisthum mit ihrem Lebenswandel wie auch mit dem Glanze grosser Wunder beleuchtet haben*. N.p.: Crätz, 1782. Available courtesy of [GB](#).

<sup>265</sup> Another example of potential connection: This Saint Maximilian was from the same region as Mariazell, Styria.

<sup>266</sup> Ludwig Hüttl, *Marianische Wallfahrten im Süddeutsch-Österreichischen Raum: Analysen von der Reformations- bis zur Aufklärungsepoche*, 17-27.

<sup>267</sup> The itineraries of pilgrims are potentially reconstructed by records of badge collection, and amassing the significant archival data of these objects might allow twenty-first-century researchers to explore human action on a larger scale.

distributed community of individuals each using the objects as they found would be the most beneficial for themselves and their localized needs. Therefore, the information about the location of a pilgrims badge being found offers an alternative representation of the geographic distribution of a cult's community.

Mapping has aided scholarly communication about pilgrims badges, such as the example found in the 1980s exhibition catalog, *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen*.<sup>268</sup> If we compare the numbers with previously conducted studies of other sites, there is a notable lack of examples from these Marian shrines during this period. I believe there “should be” a higher quantity of examples from this set, which are not currently present in the databases available at this time. However, if this gap persists, that is a tentative finding that demands further inquiry. Though a map is not the only way to recognize the difference in the quantities of information available about each shrine, the sparseness of the data about the places in which pilgrims badges were found might benefit from ongoing data linking and searchability efforts made by professionals working in collections today. However, if this sparseness of information remains despite the expansion of data linked and searchable online, that would constitute a provocative finding which warrants further inquiry as to why this region has so few of these badges from precisely the period in which the records of pilgrimage evince an upward tick in other documentation, such as those created by cult administrators.<sup>269</sup>

Pilgrims badges register the shared human desire for connection with a distant entity such as place. For the owners of these badges, the longing for proximity with place was wed with a

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<sup>268</sup> *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen*, 214-217.

<sup>269</sup> See Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 72.

desire for connection with the divine through their terrestrial proxies – miracle cults. Tokens were carried by a community of devotees who were scattered across the landscape, most living distant from the central cult chapel. These objects engaged in condensed forms of visual co-location in their representations of key figures and limited text. Pilgrims badges consistently include labels for place alongside a figural representation of the divine presence locatable there. Textual labeling supported attribution and asserted legitimacy for late medieval and early-modern European audiences.<sup>270</sup> For many cults of the Virgin Mary, there was no need to rely on locational labels, as the attendant saints flanking the Madonna functioned as consistent signs that specified to which cult a badge referred.<sup>271</sup> It is possible that contemporary viewers were able to readily identify badges with which they were familiar.<sup>272</sup> Text offered further labeling support for attribution. Such references allow for a great deal of material difference as well as visual variations. Attendant saints flanking the Virgin were also able to function as consistent visual signs which specified reference. However, the lack of labeling with text also presents challenges for the attribution of badges which were discovered away from the cult site.<sup>273</sup> Though largely unproductive for purposes of historical reconstruction, such evocative flexibility may have been a functional aspect of such tokens.

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<sup>270</sup> Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*,

<sup>271</sup> For Santa Maria delle Carceri, the presence of Saints Stephen and Leonard was enough to be iconographically resemblant, and therefore able to be identified by contemporary viewers. Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 125.

<sup>272</sup> Jennifer Lee, “Beyond the Locus Sanctus: The Independent Iconography of Pilgrims’ Souvenirs,” *Visual Resources*, 21, no. 4, 363–381.

<sup>273</sup> Marian Rębkowski, “The Finds of the Pilgrim Badges from the Polish Baltic Coast,” *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen zwischen Ostsee, Donau und Seine, Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien*, 10, 33–49. This is an additional complication for linking future badge records to particular shrines.

Tokens traversed media and associated themselves to a referent via co-locating forms.<sup>274</sup> Saints that appeared together at a shrine were likely to appear together on the sign that traveled outward from that point, acting as a co-locational sign of the place from which it was understood to have originated. Contact that was established through physical touch or proximity transformed objects, conveying significance and protective power for whomever possessed them.

## 2.4 Concluding Co-location:

Objects like printed booklets served as indexes for cult sites that materialized objects to support distributed testimonies. These witness-objects called for specific forms of engagement through their material, form, and context. As evidenced by the variety of find-spots of badges from the Germanic South and the comparatively rich set of European badge information more broadly, portable objects proliferated across the geographic and social landscape. In the case of badges, this is precisely because they maintained connections between humans and the sacred across time and space.<sup>275</sup> Such promising informational sources along with other available data about this object set each contribute to the evidentiary record that may be modeled for productive exploration. Each

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<sup>274</sup> This similitude is used by Maniura as evidence: “and the lead badges so described were iconographically resemblant in a related way.” Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 124–25.

<sup>275</sup> The preservation of these badges is often connected to collective use rather than private. The finding situations of each of the badges in Austria is recorded in Stadler’s article for the Halle Stadtmuseum publication. Albrecht Classen, ed., “Bibliography,” vol. 3 of *Title* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 1813–2116, DOI: 10.1515/9783110377613-014.

of these publications made reference to particular entities as one powerful way of asserting connectedness. The creators of miracle books and atlases, cult stewards and printers, included in this chapter conceived of Marian shrines as a discernible group which spanned the globe. Town names in miracle publications functioned as working shorthand for divine presence across the European continent, referencing the Holy Mother and relaying encounters with the divine.<sup>276</sup>

Relationships of association were materialized through co-location. For pilgrims' badges, this proximity was apparently unencumbered by normal "rules" of mortal-reality. Through symbols, textual labels, and replicated images, indexes were embedded in publications, paintings, and personal tokens which were made for or about these shrines in the Germanic South. In both images that moved and those that were fixed to a single location, pictures were able to create a space of proximity for individuals that could not be proximate physically in the mortal realm. These final three examples of replicated images were badges that produced a type of moveable proximity for pilgrims and devotees, durable though distant from the main cult site. Badges have long served as this type of co-locating entity, as they both proved a previous pilgrimage and guaranteed certain privileges when displayed. Engaging in this type of object-centered information may aid in understanding populations for whom no official archive was created.<sup>277</sup> In this way, it

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<sup>276</sup> Altötting Original Miracle Text (page 2 of pdf): „Darnach an Sant Marks Tag saget Georg Feldmulner / zu alten Baumheim / bei Wasserburg im Lande zu Bayern gesessen / das in ein Kampfrad hätte begriffen bei einem arm zerbrochen und die Hand zu rissen hätte/ und also gefangen gelegen was ein halbe Stunde / da ehre nicht konnte schreien nach rufen dich zu Altötting heimsuchen/ mit eines wachse arm von Stunden wäre im stimm bleiben zu schreien ums hilf/ das er also durch Leute / die zu liefern erledigt auch ohne Lähmung und schaden frisch und gesund wer worden.“

<sup>277</sup> Johanna Drucker, *Graphesis*; Sharon Leon, *Jesuit Plantation Project*.

may be a valuable route forward to make use of linked data in order to study non-elite peoples of the past.<sup>278</sup> Pairing this locational data in relational terms can also help further reveal the shapes of communities from a novel and productive vantage-point.

Even if the owners of the early printed *büchlein* did not remark on the repetition in named places that were present in the records of miraculous events, the persistent inclusion of place name is valuable for understanding the intellectual value placed on that piece of information in records produced about divine agency during the late medieval and early modern period through to the eve of the Counter Reformation. I identified the formulaic ordering of narratives, and considered how this habit of record keeping prioritized indexing geographic place as central to stories about miraculous events. Characterizing the key information included in these examples of early modern published texts is a first step in retracing historical relatedness as evinced through objects. Mapping provided a distinct vantage point that allowed for insights as to the distribution of locations mentioned in each case. This distribution led to new questions and future avenues of inquiry about the role of topography in the creation and maintenance of distributed devotional communities. Place names that were published together in historical texts or linked in digital projects serve to represent a distinct viewpoints about who the community was by stating where its members were located.

From publications to tokens, each example discussed evinces the human impulse to collect and make meaning. While each association created through co-location was centered around Marian cults, these relational ties could also act as connective ties between mortals. The co-

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<sup>278</sup> For example, see Sharon Leon's work on the Jesuit archives and research on enslaved peoples, *Jesuit Plantation Project*, <https://jesuitplantationproject.org/s/jpp/page/welcome>.

location of place names within these publications argued who the community of devotees were by stating where the community could be found. Today, we can use this published text to better understand how the creators of this object wanted to portray the shape and scope of the distributed devotional group of the shrine. While this is just one window into the context of miracle cults and concepts of miraculous agency, it is valuable evidence of how a group understood and conveyed events surrounding miraculous intercession. As digital resources continue to develop in the future, and computational tools increase in their capacity to transform these early publications into computer-processable “data”, the potential to compare the relationships argued for within these publications will continue to develop. It is therefore vital that we understand the value and the limitations of relational data as extracted from historical materials.

Badges functioned as proof of a fulfilled pilgrimage, representing a previously performed act of piety or penance and signaling the status of a pilgrim. These small tokens could transform individuals into a “sacrosanct,” holy person.<sup>279</sup> These small objects were akin to indirect relics, particularly when physical contact was made with a cult’s centrally venerated object.<sup>280</sup> Such qualities transformed otherwise unimportant matter into charismatic objects.<sup>281</sup> Part of such transformation relied on the support of images.

Forms of place were consistently indexed in objects created for Marian shrines of the early modern, Germanic South. Tracing the devotional communities found in material culture from these shrines illustrated how various data-types prompt insights about collective identity. The context

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<sup>279</sup> Figenschou Simonsen, “Medieval Pilgrim Badges,” 194.

<sup>280</sup> Hahn and Klein, eds., *Saints and Sacred Matter* (2015).

<sup>281</sup> Garnett and Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles* (2013).

and scale of each record type, particularly as related to geographic location, indicate the variety of information that was co-located and therefore supported the process of association. This method of establishing relationships was central to the formation and maintenance of communal identity for these cults. The next section considers how the process of recognition functioned the ways in which it was supported by and materialized in the visual culture of miracle cults.

### 3.0 Chapter 2: Recognizing Replication

Within Ostendorfer's 1519 broadside print, a group of devotees is pictured as oriented around one curious object displayed outside of the hastily constructed chapel in Regensburg (Fig. 1). This is the visual anchor to the chaotic devotion unfolding in front of the wooden chapel, the figure of the Madonna and child perched atop a column. The pair is situated just out of reach from the outstretched hands of devotees grasping the column below and straining to see her elevated form. To her left, one man hoists a hat atop a tall pole, so that it might touch the figure of the Madonna and thereby be transformed into a type of secondary relic, transferring the Virgin's agency to meet the needs of her distributed cult community. Such transformative contact produced apotropaic talismans believed to protect persons and their material lives, able to heal cattle or protect crops from devastating blight. This is just one case in which cloth serves as a meaningful conveyor of presence as it was purportedly experienced in the first year of this Marian cult. Two forms of clothing which touch the Virgin suggest belief; she not only wears clothing but clothing is hoisted with the aim of transformative contact with a divine proxy. In this case, the picture printed argues that the statue atop a column was treated by devotees in a way that suggests it was believed to be a divine proxy, at least by some of the visitors to this shrine. However, this image is itself an argument about the events, not an objective record of the precise happenings which unfolded in 1519. It can therefore be just one perspective among many in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Representation has been understood as an impulse based on the desire imposed by distance, loss, or inaccessibility in general.<sup>282</sup> In this paradigm, the portrait is a substitution, a proxy for a desired and inaccessible entity. Due to her bodily ascension to heaven, Mary's image was substituted for the lack of physical relics left on Earth.<sup>283</sup> This chapter therefore articulates the process of recognizing entities when they appeared in replicated images. "Recognizing Replication" begins by laying out conditions for determining whether or not recognition can be reasonably assumed based on the evidence identified in material culture. The Madonna and Child were recognizable when pictured in carved and painted images. In the section entitled "Carving Connection," I summarize the ways in which sculptures served as powerful and persistent conveyors of recognizable presence. Next, I turn to icons that were replicated in various media, printed and painted, as valuable demonstrations of the ways in which icons unevenly conveyed legitimacy for presence. These copied images modeled a form of representation which was then employed by the cult community members. Lastly, "Mimetic Making" articulates how offerings were enigmatic yet recognizable proxies thanks to their materiality, form, and placement. Each section therefore outlines how entities were recognized when they were pictured in sculpted, painted, and offered objects.

Marian shrines were magnets for stories about human suffering. The Madonna is a "cultic person" who was enmeshed with the history of her own emotion, rendering her a compassionate

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<sup>282</sup> Hans Belting, *Athropology of Images*, 61.; Marianna Koos, "Wandering Things: Agency and Embodiment," *Art History* 37, 5 (Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 2004) 836-859.

<sup>283</sup> Fulton Brown, *Judgement to Passion*, 224-225.

target for mortals suffering in a variety of ways.<sup>284</sup> This is because the Mother of God persistently serves as a holy model of suffering and empathy.<sup>285</sup> Sculptures were established and powerful conveyors of divine presence by the fifteenth century.<sup>286</sup> Previous scholars have recognized three dimensional representations of the Virgin for their embodied presence as well as their legitimacy (by age, that was later reinforced by patina). Architectural relief sculptures of the Virgin at cult sites are objects that co-locate recognizable entities (including persons and objects) that were central to a shrine's legend and identity. Each of these carved pictures were powerful and persistent in their ability to convey messages about Mary's divine presence at the cult site.

Icons unevenly conveyed the active presence of the divine as these two-dimensional and formulaic representations of Mary traversed media, from painting to print and back again. The Regensburg Icon is a useful example of the variation in even a single cult context. As Christopher Wood pointed out in his article on the topic, the town contains multiple suspects for the main cult image of the Schöne Maria. That set includes the “old chapel” Italo-Byzantine-Icon, the sculpted statue of Leinberger, at least one panel painting by Albrecht Altdorfer, and even this artist's multi-colored iconic print of the same subject.<sup>287</sup> This famous woodcut is artistically impressive, but it

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<sup>284</sup> Hans Belting, *Image and Its Public*, 9.

<sup>285</sup> Mitchell Merback, *The Thief and the Cross*, 152.

<sup>286</sup> Forsyth, Ilene H. *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France*, 1-19.

<sup>287</sup> In fact, this print was used for the “reconstruction” of the panel painting's frame which is now taken to be a consistent feature shared by both the panel and painting. Wood, “Ritual and Virgin,” 87–107.

does not convey legitimacy of divine presence in the ways that other prints of Mary are known to have done, such as the Italian case of the Madonna of Forli.<sup>288</sup>

Replicated images like icons were trusted portals for conveying presence.<sup>289</sup> There are palpable relationships between replicated images that appear across the visual culture of these Marian shrines. However, these relationships did not flatten the aura across each instance. Each painted or printed icon of the Virgin existed on a spectrum that was simultaneously sacred and for-sale, like Altdorfer's panel painting of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg. To understand the various ways in which the presence of the Virgin manifested, we can compare pictorial representations with descriptions of her which were registered at the same historical moment in printed and painted texts about Marian intercession, representing without re-presenting the divine agent in action. After describing the replication of two- and three-dimensional representations of the Virgin, I demonstrate how mortals engaged in practices originally employed by the church to multiply powerful proxies. By comparing these two forms of object creation and engagement aids in parsing out the historical conditions of recognition.

Offerings reveal how material, form, and placement converged in these objects to convey recognizable yet ambiguous proxies of cult devotees. These objects were meant to represent the individual or group which had given the offering to the Madonna at her place of dwelling, the cult chapel. The cluttered atmosphere of the Altötting porch, with pilgrim's offerings left along the

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<sup>288</sup> Lisa Pon, *A Printed Icon in Early Modern Italy: Forli's Madonna of the Fire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

<sup>289</sup> Jeffrey Alexander, Dominik Bartmanski, and Bernhard Giesen ed. *Iconic Power: Materiality and Meaning in Social Life*, 1-5.

walls daily, continues to offer visitors to this shrine a visible testimony of centuries of devotion. While these amassed donations stun viewers by their appearance or quantity, each object in Marian chapels are salient without being immediately intelligible to most viewers. These offerings were mortal proxies that tailored their representation to a new referent while engaging in a previously established form of replication and representation which the church had condoned for the transferal of agency.

Descriptions of offerings are varied in primary sources like miracle books, but these variations offer potential categorizations for modeling data about such objects. This is because such categorizations reveal how entities were “recognized” by each record-maker. The materiality of offerings, for example, the fact that they were often made of wax, was an important aspect of their recognizable visual presence around the cult image. While the material is not visually dazzling, its distinctive appearance was able to convey meaning which was easily transformed in the manipulation of a soft substrate.

Two sculptural representations of the Madonna were installed at approximately the same time on free-standing columns in this region. One sculpture was destroyed and the other persisted. To understand these evocative objects, we must consider how people viewed representations of the divine and the recorded experiences of early modern devotees. The cults and their images central to this investigation are registered in the debates which were published and distributed between Catholic and Protestant thinkers of the day. One troubling connection that was inferred and argued by Luther and his supporters in the case of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg and elsewhere was the issue of Catholic images and their connection to idols.<sup>290</sup> Behavioral differences

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<sup>290</sup> LyMBEROpoulou, “Cretan Icons” in *Viewing Renaissance Art*, 175.; Stahl “Wallfahrt Schönen Maria,” 71-78.

were not useful for distinguishing between the worship of idols and the Christian devotion to occurring in front of Catholic images. There was broad agreement that presence was locatable in objects, that such proxies could operate with agency. Ultimately, the stance on image use depended on the presumed source of agency and was distinguished instead by the understanding that idols were necessarily false gods. Agency relates to presence in that agency is proof of presence. Proponents of images often defended against this accusation by arguing that it was impossible to idolize when directing your prayers and devotion to the true god.<sup>291</sup>

Even amidst such controversy, people were drawn to objects in their devotional practices. The Virgin Mary offered comfort and connection to early modern believers, through proxies of her presence which were materialized in various forms and materials. Images are immaterial, but they can (and in order to be viewed, must) manifest materially in a medium. Whether prompted by objects made of metal, paint, or paper, such images operate like apparitions rather than objects that manifest in externally recognizable physical traces. The human body is the living medium in which images manifest in human perception.<sup>292</sup> In this way, the proxies both exist and do not exist in the experience of the devotee of a Marian shrine. However, the only way which we may access such experiences through the divide of time (be it centuries or seconds in the past) is through material

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<sup>291</sup> See Bryan D. Mangrum, Giuseppe Scavizzi, Andreas Rudolff-Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Hieronymus Emser, and Johann Eck, *A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser, and Eck on Sacred Images: Three Treatises in Translation*, 2, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1998).; Another defender who used this argument was Saint Basil. Lymberopoulou, “Cretan Icons”, 175.

<sup>292</sup> Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Princeton: Princeton University Press (2011), 5.

traces that betray its very existence.<sup>293</sup> Such visual objects are the subject of this investigation. The objects central to miracle cults were apparent proxies of the Virgin Mary.<sup>294</sup> These favored conduits were further multiplied through iconic forms. These familiar representations invited particular behaviors from Catholics throughout their lives, especially in times of need. Visual objects were consistently engaged by inhabitants of the Germanic South in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as they navigated personal tragedies and social upheaval.

In order to grapple with representation and its role in “making present”, we engage in a centuries-long debate.<sup>295</sup> Like most visual objects, both the central cult sculptures and their contexts are mutable. One solution to this apparent flexibility is to turn to the concept of “period eye” in order to extricate ourselves from this circular quagmire of visible form.<sup>296</sup> Presence could be determined or proved by the actions that were repeatedly attributed to material foci.<sup>297</sup> The term “thing” has been used to describe the special set of objects that present some form of “excess” or friction that demands notice.<sup>298</sup> Locating divine presence in material objects was accomplished through proof of agency which apparently was aided by an object, as proximity or attention to said

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<sup>293</sup> Klaus Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren: Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien*. Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 133-143.

<sup>294</sup> For miraculous events centered on images of Mary, see Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 133.

<sup>295</sup> For example, see Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 42-43.; Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 217-266.; Cummins “The Golden Calf in America” in *Idol in the Age of Art*, 77-104.

<sup>296</sup> Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, 1988; Belting, *Image and Its Public*, 1990.

<sup>297</sup> Caroline van Eck, *Art Agency*, 23, 53.

<sup>298</sup> Bill Brown, “Thing Theory”, 5.

object affected the action which was deemed to be originating from the divine.<sup>299</sup> Miracles were assertions of presence, as “cases where matter, under the direct action of God ruptures the order of nature God himself has established.”<sup>300</sup>

To untangle the issues of the Madonna’s presence as it was framed by her devotees, this chapter revisits examples of painted and published representations of miracle stories to identify embedded relationships evinced in texts and images from Regensburg, Altötting, and Mariazell. This chapter also introduces additional objects for consideration from these shrines. Two object types introduced here are those which were or remain proxies of the Virgin at the cult’s central site of worship. The first section centers on sculptural representations created for these contexts, including the wooden carved images in the round as well as architectural figures sculptured in relief on the architecture of the cult’s devotional center. The centuries-long practice of copying images permits Marian cults as an ideal focus to study the intersection of miraculous agency and the affordance of print to multiply likeness.

Images of the Virgin were part of a vast and unknowable, yet impressive, whole. This scale is part of the challenge of research into the interworking of objects at cult sites even today. Statues of the Madonna were the central cult objects of Altötting, Einsiedeln, and Mariazell.<sup>301</sup> These free-standing works are carved and painted wooden sculptures.<sup>302</sup> Representations of the Virgin seated

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<sup>299</sup> Maniura, “Persuading the Absent Saint,” 641.

<sup>300</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 218.

<sup>301</sup> Though Einsiedeln’s original sculpture was destroyed, it is likely that it was of the same type as Mariazell.

<sup>302</sup> For a history of the statue type known as *sedes sapientiae*, or thrones of wisdom. see Forsyth, Ilene H. *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton University Press, 1972).

with the Christ Child on her lap had been made in two-dimensional form since Early Christian times.<sup>303</sup> However, this old iconography was transformed into “fully plastic, freestanding form” by the middle of the tenth century.<sup>304</sup> From this origin point through the thirteenth century, this sculptural form of the Madonna multiplied across Western Europe, motivated by a “desire to make [the divine] experiential”.<sup>305</sup> Beyond the vast sea of images, the challenge is further compounded by the filter of human experience that was not routinely documented on its own terms at the time.

To untangle how representation “works” in objects created for Marian cults, I trace evidence of recognition as registered in sources that convey information about actions performed with objects in stories depicting or describing miracle events. This mental meaning-making process operates within the context of an expected social reality.<sup>306</sup> Recognition is linked with replication by what has been called the “systematicity” of representation.<sup>307</sup> This act of identification is primarily centered on the entity types of people and objects. The process of recognition was supported by discernible patterns evident in sculptures, icons, and offerings.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> The origins of sculptures in the round that occurred nearly simultaneously with the emergence of freestanding Marian statues, includes secular wooden sculpture, crucifixes, statues of saints, and objects made for the cult of relics. Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom* 2.

<sup>304</sup> Forsyth asserts that this moment offered an environment in which the incentives for substitutional representation was high, and the restrictions on acting on this desire were low. The culmination of the *sedes sapientiae* type occurs in the French context in the twelfth century. Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom* 2, 7.

<sup>305</sup> Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom*, 7.

<sup>306</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency* (1998); Drucker, *Graphesis*, 51.

<sup>307</sup> Elkins, *Domain of Images*, 171.

<sup>308</sup> Evans, *Authority Reformation Debates*, 180; Alexander, *Iconic Power*, 15-23.

Describing each object type that helped to distribute the cult image will delineate one way that cult images offered comfort and cohesion to early modern Catholics in the Germanic South. Tracing these iconic forms and their distribution can begin to show the role such objects played in the lives of Catholics as they navigated all manner of crises in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Careful consideration of iconic forms found in visual culture is essential to any investigation of early modern agency in the Germanic South. These iconic pictures are the core around which all other objects and people accreted, they are key actors in the social system that is the subject of this investigation. Pairing previously articulated concepts of replacement images with the notion of “substitution” assists in understanding replicated representations of the Madonna, which distributed and multiplied her agency.<sup>309</sup> Western European Catholics found particular power in adopting and adapting forms that are believed to be from elsewhere, particularly those from the Middle East.<sup>310</sup> Recognition is supported by repetition of discernible patterns evident in sculptures, icons, and offerings.

Objects brought people together through representation. Contact with these represented groups is made by viewing and creating the image mentally. Taking a cue from the work of Nagel and Wood, perhaps religion operates like a web of memory, which prepared Catholics in the Germanic South to access the representational webs of images – a set in which Mary certainly

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<sup>309</sup> Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 49-50; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 436.

<sup>310</sup> See Krautheimer, Richard. “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Medieval Architecture.’” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33. <https://doi.org/10.2307/750446>; Mitchell Merback, *Pilgrimage and Pogrom*, 2013.

belonged.<sup>311</sup> Data about such replicas are well-suited to modeling outside of models which rely on the shape of the physical world. The faithful copy reveals in both cases that reproduction of visual qualities were meaningful to the maker and therefore also to their cultural milieu. While replication examples are plentiful in iconic images of the Virgin, turning to an unusual replicative form from the same cult proves more fruitful to the question of similarity and its role in connecting objects across a substitutive web. The embodiment of images transcends any instantiation type, either in body or material medium.

Each part of this chapter considers the form and replication of the central entities engaged in miraculous events. The first section, “Carving Connection” considers sculptures and spaces of experience at the main cult shrines. Sculptured representations of the divine were early replicative objects that offered both familiar and embodied proxies for contact. Moments of recognition registered as evocative responses. One relief sculpture offers a rich example of co-located people and objects by representation. This case is the first which will be modeled outside of geographic structures. The second section considered copies which were made that crossed the ranges of media. Such paintings and prints relied on the concept of removing human creativity as efficacious. These pictures reproduced visual aspects of earlier images to create material copies which were more likely to be viewed as legitimate. Offerings are the focus of the final section of this chapter. “Mimetic Making” is focused on the ritual behaviors and process of seeing as registered in the written and pictured miracle stories previously discussed in this study. Images of entities were

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<sup>311</sup> Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, (2010).; see also Oren Baruch Stier in chapter about Memory, stated “Religion is a ‘chain of memory’,” the author here is quoting in part Danièle Hervieu-Léger but unfortunately the quote is not footnoted. Brent Plate (ed), *Key Terms in Material Religion* (2015), 146.

present in votive offerings, though their ambiguity and anonymity which supported their functions originally now thwart research and reconstruction.

In devotional contexts such as those under investigation in this study, viewers recognize entities by the *image* which is persistently conjured mentally when a they encounter replicated *pictures*.<sup>312</sup> Original audiences for these pictures were presumably able to recognize the represented entities, particularly when those entitles were central religious figures like the Mother of God and Christ Child. The replication of Mary's image and treatment of many of these images as divine proxies is evidence of the persistent and widespread desire to connect with the Mother of God. In the field of Art History, categorizations such as "iconography" can be used as helpful indicators for replicated images that occur frequently across pictorial representations. Humanistic disciplines have created a variety of methods for describing the cultural information which is embedded in objects. As a trained art historian investigating Marian cults, the most thoroughly described set of categorized objects are the pictorial representations of the Virgin Mary.

### **3.1 Carving Connection: Sculpture**

Before the end of the sixteenth century, the sculpture of the Schöne Maria had been apparently destroyed and the bishop which had supported her new cult had been tortured and publicly burned as an Anabaptist heretic by the imperial authorities.<sup>313</sup> The stance of Anabaptists was that baptism

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<sup>312</sup> For this difference between image and picture, see Hans Belting, *Anthropology of Images*, 5-18.

<sup>313</sup> Wood, "Ritual and Virgin," 98.

was for adults, not something that would benefit those who were too young to accept the Christian faith. This is because Anabaptists believe that baptism is an ordinance, rather than a sacrament that instantiates the change it signifies. The fact that this is where the bishop of Regensburg differed, on the nature of signs, and was willing to die for this stance, is telling. The nature and power of signs were not relegated to the realm of discourse alone, they were a matter of life and death.

The burning of the cult's originating bishop and nearly simultaneous destruction of Regensburg's statue illustrates sculptures' draw on people as bodies in space. Three-dimensional objects such as these seem to invite familiarity. Treatment of replications as though they were living bodies has been recorded in many devotional contexts from the late medieval and early modern period.<sup>314</sup> The intimacy a wooden sculpture could elicit in Regensburg was akin to a contemporary case from the Abbey of Lambach near Wels, where, unprompted "a male actor representing the Virgin Mary clasped an image of Christ to his breasts."<sup>315</sup> Such a lively and freestanding object in the shape of a human offered opportunities to overstep the boundaries of traditional notions of proper behavior. As Freedberg noted, "the merest suggestion of living potentiality will trigger the process whereby the trope becomes cognitive reality."<sup>316</sup> For early modern inhabitants of Western Europe, the trope of sculpture had become a reliable prompt for recognition of the Virgin Mary.

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<sup>314</sup> For example, see Jeffrey Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone Books. 1998.

<sup>315</sup> For the Regensburg ceremony see Young 1933, I: 505; The Lambach story includes that the man said "Awe Kindt" while clasping the sculpture.; Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 306.

<sup>316</sup> Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 297

For the freestanding column and the statue of the beautiful Virgin and Child which were placed atop this exterior shaft, the behavior and belief surrounding this object suggest that sculpture was not only a powerful conveyor of recognizable presence but also suggests some possible risks for inadequately framing potent proxy objects like Marian sculptures. Though Regensburg's shrine stewards did not apparently intend for this external statue to become a proxy, there are accounts of devotional behavior which suggest it was perceived as such by early sixteenth century pilgrims.<sup>317</sup> The physical contact desired by the man raising his hat on a pole to touch the sculpture of this divine pair is one example of behavior that suggests belief concerning presence (Fig. 1).

Catholics living around the turn of the sixteenth century in the Germanic South coped with the lack of relics of the Virgin, and the challenges to connection that a lack of relics entail, by making objects that were able to proxy such powerful bodily fragments. *Gnadenbild* sculptures from the medieval period in particular engage in a powerful representation strategy – sculptural figures which proxied the missing remains while appearing like reliquaries that were created for other saintly persons.<sup>318</sup> From the tenth century onwards, sculptures of the Virgin Mary were enthusiastically placed in central areas of worship across Western Europe as powerful and persistent conveyors of recognizable presence.<sup>319</sup> Sculpted representations of the Virgin Mary consistently replicated the Madonna as familiar and embodied in space, and many of these objects

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<sup>317</sup> Christopher Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column," 89-95.

<sup>318</sup> Forsyth, *Throne of Wisdom*, 31-38.

<sup>319</sup> Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton University Press, 1972).

were believed to be able to work miracles. These replicated representations are evidence of invitation, for bodily proximity, by proxy. This type of recognition can be researched and traced by recording the co-locations of people and objects in visual objects as well as by comparing the visual characteristics of central objects to their pictorial representations. In the context and display of sculptures on columns in Regensburg and Mariazell, there are only slight differences, but some may offer some clues as to what was deemed unacceptable and even dangerous. For example, the display of the statue atop a column within a confined or controlled space may have been more tolerable for encounters with a powerful conveyor of presence.

Each case presented in this section centers on images which were present at the center of cult shrines and their representations across media. I focus now on how Altötting's shrine asserted legendary and ancient origins in order to bolster this site in moments of upheaval. The central objects of these devotional centers were one form of visual objects that were able to traverse across time. This section considers one case of comparison that reveals how newly made objects functioned as legitimate artifacts that had been previously lost, such as documents or seals that were recreated to replace an original which may or may not have existed according to modern historians.<sup>320</sup> We turn to examples of two miraculous images that are now known as "Black Madonnas" in order to untangle the history of appearance (variation and consistency within pictures of the Virgin made across time) with the concerns about legitimacy (whether miraculous images were sacred or sinful) faced by Marian cults in this region. Such substitution was apparently

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<sup>320</sup> Brown, *Venice and Antiquity* (1996), 75.

an acceptable corrective to unavoidable loss.<sup>321</sup> Tracing the relationships between objects as definable in social-historical terms and methods is a worthwhile experiment in structured translation.<sup>322</sup> This chapter therefore offers an intermediary step in the process of abstraction between cartographic and network graph visualizations. These two modes of modeling and visualization are both abstract representations of the world while being widely able to communicate relationships, particularly those between persons and places.

Catholic viewers had good reason to believe that an object's appearance was able to suggest but not guarantee the proxy of a divine entity. One example of this can be found in the rituals and beliefs about the sacraments of the Catholic Church.<sup>323</sup> The seven sacraments were articulated and defended in the Council of Trent later in this century, yet they had been in practice long before this moment. Catholics by this point were regularly participating in rituals which relied to the ability of the divine to be whole and present in fragments or through apparent "signs."<sup>324</sup> The need to articulate the mysteries of transubstantiation and the nature of signs was among the priorities of the ecumenical council as they sought to recover from the schisms in the church marked by what

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<sup>321</sup> Artists could, in this way, function like antiquarians. Patricia F. Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past*, (1996), 118.

<sup>322</sup> Catalog records can help with the process of identification, but it is necessary to understand the way the mary was represented and the way in which those representations were pictured in three dimensional forms that were located in the cult's central church.

<sup>323</sup> *Catechism of Trent*, 151.

<sup>324</sup> For example, "Christ, whole and entire, is contained not only under either species, but also in each particle of either species... not diminished by being given to many." *Catechism of Trent*, 151.

is now known as the Reformation.<sup>325</sup> Each of the seven sacraments are made up of outwards signs that accompany internal changes. For historians investigating Marian shrines, the outward signs are the only evidence we have for understanding the internal happenings of individual cognition. It is therefore vital that we attend to extant outward signs and their description if we hope to understand the internal beliefs operant during this time.

Legitimacy was not wholly dependent on style, but style was one powerful way to assert the trustworthiness of a pictorial representation, particularly in the case of the Madonna.<sup>326</sup> While many tokens made use of the justifiable power of touch to assure people of their efficacy, there were also visual means by which powerful legitimacy could be established and transmitted. The first image of the Madonna was believed to be painted by St. Luke. This holy origin grants legitimacy to all of the images which seek to replicate and distribute the image of the Virgin in all subsequent iterations of the painting. There were many copies of the *Hodegetria* and many other icons of the Virgin. “The logic was that powers inherent in the original could pass into later versions,” and it was broadly understood that the world was full of a multitude of such versions.<sup>327</sup> In order to copy painted images, artists and viewers recognized “specific identifying features of the sacred persons, so there would be no doubt regarding their identity.”<sup>328</sup> Marian statues were the central cult objects in Altötting, Einsiedeln, and Mariazell. Such images are astonishing in,

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<sup>325</sup> *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 51.

<sup>326</sup> Sargent, “Miracle Books”, 460.

<sup>327</sup> Robin Cormack, *Icons* (2007), 17.

<sup>328</sup> Eastmond and James, *Icon and Word* (2003), xxx.

“their special nature... somewhere between art and relic.”<sup>329</sup> Placement on this spectrum arguably relies on the particulars of recognition.

### 3.1.1 Altötting Statue

The Madonna of Altötting is the central image around which votive offerings to her have accumulated for hundreds of years. The statue of the Virgin and Child stands just over two feet tall, carved in limewood around 1330 (Fig. 24).<sup>330</sup> Mary holds a scepter in her left hand, originally with a lily signifying her purity. In her other arm, she supports the Christ Child who holds a sphere representative of his omnipotence. In the 1673 Marian Atlas, this sculpture is described as follows:

On an altar is visible a carved wooden image of Mary, with Jesus as a child in her right arm, and a scepter in her left. Jesus holds in his right hand a blue ball: the skirt is red, with golden edging, the mantel white, the head of the Mother is crowned, staggered crosses are placed here and there. And this holy image has been made by the art of sculpture, which is almost never seen, because at times during the year she is encased, heavily clothed with Gold

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<sup>329</sup> Robin Cormack, *Icons* (2007), 26.

<sup>330</sup> Height measures 66cm (approximately 26 inches); For more on this type of sculpture, see Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 27-37. The statue is believed to have arrived in this place through the Raitenhaslach Cistercian monastery.

embroidery and with pearls and gems richly encrusted and inlaid.<sup>331</sup>

The “Gnadenröckln” or skirt of mercy, has been a significant part of her appearance since at least 1518.<sup>332</sup> This liturgical dress changes throughout the year, depending on festival and saint days. From underneath these opulent garments and jewels, it is possible to make out a few of her curly tresses which peek out from underneath a carved veil.

Today, this statue is referred to as a “Black Madonna.” How did the Virgin, often depicted as the fair lily, darken?<sup>333</sup> It is possible that by the early seventeenth century, Our Lady of Altötting was beseeched as a Black Mary, though this is both unverified and falls outside of the temporal scope of this investigation.<sup>334</sup> The earliest known, verifiable mention of the Virgin of Altötting as a Black Madonna was published in the nineteenth century.<sup>335</sup> Each of these dates fall on either side of what Elisa Foster found in her research about the Virgin of Le Puy. In this related

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<sup>331</sup> Wilhelm Gumpfenberg, *Marianischer Atlas*, 74. Original German from the Marian Atlas: “Auff dem Altar is zu sehen ein von Holtz geschnitzletes Maria Bild/ so das Jesus kindlein auff dem rechten Armb tragt/ in der linken einen Scepter; das kind haltet in seiner rechten hand ein blaue kugel: der Rock ist rother Farb/ mit einem verguldem Braem/ der Mantel weiß/ das Haupt der Mutter mit einem Hertzoglichen Heut/ hin und wider mit Crutzen versetzt. Und dise [Ges]talt hat dem H. Bild die kunst deß Bildschnitzlers geben/ welche gleichwol schier nie gesehen wird/ allweil sie manchesmal im Jahr verklandet wird/ und mit klaidern angethan/ welche mit Gold gestickt/ mit Berlein und Edelgestain reichlich versetzt fennd.”

<sup>332</sup> Maria Angela König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*, 8-9.

<sup>333</sup> For more on the various theories and arguments, see Foster, “Black Madonna of Le Puy.”

<sup>334</sup> Romankiewicz, “Schwarze Wundertäterin,” 44.

<sup>335</sup> Catherine Grace Frances, “Black Virgin of Altötting,” *Hungarian Tales* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1829).

study, Foster states that “the Black Madonna is now most often approached only through the lens of race, a concept that had not fully developed until the eighteenth century.”<sup>336</sup> What seems clear is that the appearance of this divine presence was subject to change over time. In order to understand how the cult community imagined the Virgin there to look, we must limit our scope of evidence to those objects which were available in the sixteenth century: the miracle books, painted votive panels, and badges from this shrine.

The Virgin of Altötting does not always appear visually in the miracle cycle that was displayed outside of the chapel. For example, the Our Lady of Altötting appears in a woman’s bedroom while she is ill (Fig. 25). The Virgin’s appearance is nearly mortal – with the only indication of her divinity being her understated halo. She is also normal sized, perhaps even smaller than a normal mortal in the context of the bedside visitation. Her style is, however, more akin to the “Fair Virgin” than an attempt at mirroring the statue in human form. In another painted image of this divine figure, we see her appearing in the sky, (Fig. 26). This image also appears to make use of the generalizable and repeatable form of the Virgin, rather than attempting to represent a specific “portrait” of an object. Within a century after the first installation of the panels, they were restored, a fact which emphasizes the need for caution when arguing too much based on unusual features found in these panels alone.<sup>337</sup> However, many of the aspects found in the Altötting miracle cycle are consistent with objects found at other Marian sites across the Germanic South in the sixteenth century.

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<sup>336</sup> Foster, “Black Madonna of Le Puy,” 22.; See also Jackie Lombard (dissertation 2022) University of Pittsburgh.

<sup>337</sup> Robert Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder* (2007).

These pictorial referents to the Virgin of Altötting illustrate one paradox of miraculous images. Regional inhabitants and devotees of the cult could recognize the Virgin Mary through her formulaic pictorial representations that were paradoxically also routinely changing in particular appearance. One possible reason for this is that pictures were not aimed at being faithful to object representation in a way that would hinder their function as “sign.” Rather than archeological records, these images were committed to asserting the current presence of the divine rather than record the particulars of a proxy-object through which the divine acted. Two examples from this region which are now referred to as “Black Madonnas” are found in Altötting and Einsiedeln. In these cases, this particular image type appears to correlate with assertions of age – those produced in later centuries are more likely to portray the Virgin with a darkened visage.<sup>338</sup> Somewhat astonishingly (and despite the lack of preservation powers displayed by this object), the *Gnadenbild* of Einsiedeln today is not the same statue as that which was present at the time of the block-book’s production.

Altötting and Einsiedeln share many of the same concerns and strategies for addressing the age of their particular proxy-objects. The need to assert venerable-age in the mid fifteenth century seems to have led each site to use a number of signs to attest to their legitimacy. One method of doing so was to apparently use patina to convey the passage of time by the accumulation of

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<sup>338</sup> Despite this parallel, each of these shrines has a distinctive relationship to the notion of miraculous agency as asserted through preservation. Einsiedeln’s original cult statue was lost in a fire in the fifteenth century, while Our Lady of Altötting touted its miraculous survival after a destructive medieval invasion.

pigment via smoke from burning candles and other environmental factors that lead to darkening.<sup>339</sup> Each of these shrines placed great value on the age of the object which represented the Virgin there, a linkage to history and founding legends. The next case we turn to participates in some of these practices, offering a slightly altered perspective on the role of objects and their appearance in Marian cults of the Germanic South.

How might historians identify the “outward signs” of internal change? The transcriptions available in secondary scholarship, many of which have been published by regional academic presses, constitute valuable sources of data about these external signs. The form of these texts are primed for use with computational methods of inquiry such as text analysis.<sup>340</sup> However, the questions that may be asked of such written records require careful consideration of the data sources and structures in order to contextualize their contribution to describing the ways in which belief about agency functioned in the early modern period. What is perhaps most exciting about these transcriptions is the work of collection and preservation of aspects of the original record’s form and content.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> Foster, “Black Madonna of Le Puy,” 10.; This is also remarked upon by Ella Rozett in her blog entry, “Altötting,” *Interfaith Mary*, accessed April 18, 2018, <http://interfaithmary.net/blog/altotting>.; see also Begg, *Cult of Black Virgin*, 236.

<sup>340</sup> Some of these texts are already able to be downloaded as plain text files, yet even those which are not able to be downloaded in this format may be easily transformed into such a format using Optical Character Recognition.

<sup>341</sup> For example, see the appendixes in Maria Angela König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vols. 1–2. Band Rahmen der Zeitgeschichte, 1492-1750. Munich: Stahl. 1940.

### 3.1.2 Mariazell Statue

The legendary founding of Mariazell begins with a monk named Magnus, who was sent out from the diocese of St. Lambrecht in 1157 to minister to the people in the countryside.<sup>342</sup> Before embarking on this mission, the monk carved a statue of the Virgin and Child from a branch of a Limewood tree that was growing near his monastic cell. During his journey through the countryside, Magnus found himself lost and disoriented in the forest, with a giant boulder blocking his path.<sup>343</sup> Here he prayed to the Virgin Mary, who responded to his prayer by splitting the rock in two. This miraculously fractured earth is the first miracle attributed to the Virgin of Mariazell. Magnus therefore took this miracle as a sign and accordingly erected a wooden chapel and a monastic cell for himself in the valley which was revealed to him by the miraculously split boulder. A scene which pictures this founding structure is visible in the Mariazell Wunderaltar, one of the two panels which were created without text (Fig. 27).

The wooden sculpture which sits centrally inside of the basilica in Mariazell today is purported to be the same one that was brought by Magnus in the late twelfth-century statue. It is practically always displayed in its Gnadenröckeln, allowing viewers only a glimpse at the original carving that constitutes the central image.<sup>344</sup> Given the sculpture's composition, it is more likely from a century after the supposed date of this founding legend, likely created in the thirteenth

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<sup>342</sup> Wonisch has established that the mission which founded Mariazell was probably sometime between 1150 and 1170, placing it firmly in the late twelfth century, Othmar Wonisch, *Vorbarocke*, 20-37. Versions of this story can be found throughout the site's literature, but the best English version is in Kinsey, "Habsburgs at Mariazell," 8.

<sup>343</sup> This event is recorded as happening on a specific date of December 21, 1157. Wonisch, *Vorbarocke*, 20-37.

<sup>344</sup> *Gnadenröckeln* translates roughly as "skirt of mercy" and refers to the elaborate "clothing" of such statues.

century. Nevertheless, this object has been the central draw of the cult of Mariazell, and indeed the origin of the town's own name which translates roughly as "Virgin Mary of the [monastic] Cell".<sup>345</sup>

This Gnadenröckeln not only obscures the statues below, but it also redesigns (in effect) the overall appearance of the Virgin. The distance from the cult object then, furthers the redesigning aspects of the triangular clothes. Such a viewing distance benefits from the simplicity of the geometric design – vestments highlight the shared qualities of Marian statues that spanned across the world. Drawing attention to the face presents less of a risk of allowing over-variety across cult sites. We are comfortable with a variety of faces, and indeed it helps us navigate the world and tell the difference between individuals. There is still a tension though with applying the Modern way of facial difference to these cult sites. If they were perceived as different faces, and therefore different "people," how could they all tie back their identity to a single heavenly individual, the Virgin Mary. The variety of Marian representations is a long tradition, and stylizing her images has supported the legitimacy of "portraits" for centuries. Perhaps the triangular clothing is another way of abstracting her representations, in order to impose (after the fact) the consistency across variety that has preserved such cults for centuries.

From its origins, the Virgin of Zell engaged in the replication practices that promoted recognition and secured its legitimacy. This first instantiation of the Madonna at this Austrian shrine is one of three potential proxies at the central cult shrine. It therefore offers an excellent example of replications that support one another while necessarily differentiating. This statue

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<sup>345</sup> Zell(e) is a Cell akin to a cabin, in reference to the cell of the monk who was ministering to the local population or to the small wooden shed that the Virgin was located in for the first century or so of her time in the valley.

supported recognition of this powerful proxy through engaging in replicative practices of picturing and framing that preserved and promoted this shrine throughout waves of social and political turmoil. Images of objects as represented pictorially at this shrine provide a glimpse into the ways in which contemporary viewers understood these objects and their divine referent.

There are notable instances in which the Virgin uses images of herself to appear to believers. In Mariazell, the Virgin sends an angel to deliver a portrait of herself to the Hungarian King Ludwig the evening before battle, to assure him of his miraculous victory the following day.<sup>346</sup> The difficulty of distinguishing the representations of two versus three dimensional objects in pictures is further complicated in the case of Mariazell. Unpacking representation in the Austrian Basilica's tympanum as an object that re-presents people and objects within an object.<sup>347</sup> This case illustrates the issues inherent in representing the Virgin and attempts to challenge how people versus images are signaled in visual objects. Mariazell offers one such example from the fifteenth century; a relief sculpture that created a visible "place" and brought representations into proximity.

### **3.1.3 Mariazell Tympanum**

Greeting visitors for over five hundred years, the central portal punctuates the moment of arrival at the basilica of Mariazell. Above the central entrance to the pilgrimage shrine, a gothic tympanum

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<sup>346</sup> For discussion of this and the representations of this story, see Peter Krenn, "Der Mariazeller Kunstkreis des Spätmittelalters und König Ludwig I. von Ungarn." in *Mariazell in Ungarn*, 311-317.

<sup>347</sup> See Ernő Marosi, "Mariazell und die Kunst Ungarns im Mittelalter," *Mariazell in Ungarn*, 31.

still stops pilgrims in their tracks (Fig. 28).<sup>348</sup> The first of these scenes to be completed in this central portal was the crucifixion (ca. 1400), located in the top most portion of the arch.<sup>349</sup> Hans von Tübingen was the sculptor commissioned by Abbott Heinrich Moyker in 1437 for this task.<sup>350</sup> Within the unpainted scene today, the fainting Virgin Mother largely blends in with the teeming crowd with their tendrils of hair and serpentine garment edges. While she is not under the central figure of her dying son, representations of the Holy Mother are organized along a vertical axis of the two registers, the Madonna mourning at Golgotha appears directly above the crowned Virgin in Heaven.<sup>351</sup>

On the tympanum in Mariazell, there is an image within an image, a sculpted depiction of the painted icon which is housed inside the basilica. This icon was purported to be a gift from the Virgin Mary herself to King Ludwig in his time of need. In the fourteenth century, the night before a lopsided battle against a Turkish army, the Virgin appeared to King Ludwig of Hungary while he was sleeping and consoled him.<sup>352</sup> She promised to help him, and left an image of herself on

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<sup>348</sup> Two registers appear in this tympanum. In the upper scene, Christ is shown during his crucifixion; *Schatz und Schicksal*, 45.

<sup>349</sup> Around this time (1440), the lower two panels of Salzburg marble that illustrate the most important miracle stories, were installed. The top most portion is made of sandstone.

<sup>350</sup> Wonisch, *Vorbarocke*, 103-113. As seen in Kinsey, "Habsburgs in Mariazell", 1-2.

<sup>351</sup> The bottom register of the tympanum relief carving collapses the early history of the cult into a single image. Each of the figures in this dynamic scene highlight the characters who have found favor and given devotion at Mariazell.

<sup>352</sup> The legend states that the battle was between 20,000 Hungarians fighting 80,000 Turkish soldiers. It was probably a Bulgarian army, given who this was and the date, but it was likely manned by "Turks." Kinsey, "Habsburgs at Mariazell," 11-14.

his chest as a sign of her promise. After a successful battle, Ludwig donated this image along with other objects from this battle. Behind Ludwig in the relief sculpture, a battle unfolds between the outnumbered Hungarians and the Turkish enemy.<sup>353</sup> Above the earthly battlefield, an angel swoops down with sword in hand to attack a more fiendish army - a horde of demons which spill into the scene at the far right. This chaotic hoard spills forth as a priest performs an exorcism. Within this condensed space, all of the key founding stories and related figures are brought together.

How might “outward signs” of “internal change” be used to identify entities that could be traced using digital models? In an attempt to answer this question, I dissected one pictorial example which contains multiple represented entities (Fig. 29). The experience of creating this simplified diagram opened up another potential informational proxy, the labels and metadata about content of images can begin to gesture towards the entities which are contained within a visual object. In order to work towards a digital model of relationships evinced between objects requires unpacking representation in this tympanum as an object that itself represents people and (other) objects. The co-location of represented saints was another form of signaling the identity of a cult site. It can be easy to forget that the Virgin is not pictured alone in Regensburg, Altötting, or Mariazell. She is always accompanied by the Christ child. However, holy co-location is not limited to this pairing.

Additional representations are co-located with the Madonna and Child in the cases from Bavaria and Austria.<sup>354</sup> In order to view the Mariazell images as meeting points for co-located

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<sup>353</sup> Removed from the moment of chaos, King Ludwig does not himself appear in the kerfuffle, but is shown with the other nobility as a genuflecting donor.

<sup>354</sup> In Altötting, the Saint Ruprecht is pictured on the outside of the chapel and founding saints are mentioned and historic legendary figures are shown in image and text, published and painted. Mariazell is recommended by St.

entities, we must first view the individual entities which were co-located in the “space” which is, in fact, the image in question (the tympanum’s picture in the lower register). This graph shows the co-located entities, which were people and objects included in the scene of the lower register of the Mariazell tympanum (Fig. 29). These co-located entities are repeated in multiple examples that were made for this site. These persons and objects will be further connected later on in this investigation. For now, this visualization shows the distribution of mortal and divine actors in the space of the Mariazell picture as carved on the basilica tympanum.

This question of how various types of entities are pictured in visual objects from these shrines will be further investigated in relation to icons and offerings. As we move through these cases, we will test a hypothesis that presence was formulaically pictured through the trope of light and or clouds. This will be contrasted with those representations of the physical space of worship, pictures of representations such as altars. Standing in the shadow of a massive baroque-gothic hybrid structure that is the Mariazell Basilica today, it is difficult to imagine the small hut in which that Virgin was once housed.<sup>355</sup> Outside, three towers ascend, gothic flanked by baroque. Standing in front of the central gothic portal, and looking up to the tympanum, a contemporary pilgrim can still witness a picture which unites the first three aristocrats that endowed the cult with offerings that allowed it to thrive for the first three centuries of its existence.

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Wenceslaus, and the Benedictine founder of the nearby abbey is also paired with the Virgin of this site, like in small tokens such as the aforementioned 1520 pilgrim’s badges.

<sup>355</sup> The baroque “renovation” of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, which spanned from Ferdinand III in the 1640s to Maria Theresa in 1757, has resulted in a striking mixture of baroque and gothic forms. See Laura Lynne Kinsey, “The Habsburgs at Mariazell: Piety, Patronage, and Statecraft, 1620-1770,” PhD Dissertation, UCLA 2000.

### 3.2 Cross-Media Copies: Icons

Perched atop a column, a statue of the Madonna was a poignant center of devotion. Centuries of pilgrims offered candles and prayers directed towards this proxy. Devotees prostrated themselves before this image and even flagellated themselves on special occasions.<sup>356</sup> While this may sound like the scene at Regensburg, this *Mariensaule* (Mary on a Column) is still extant as a ritual center in Austria today (Fig. 30). An early sixteenth century statue of the Virgin and Child was hoisted atop a freestanding column in Mariazell. However, no one quite knows where this sculpture was placed before it was repositioned on a newly commissioned column as a sign of victory and thanks in the seventeenth century.<sup>357</sup> While multiple sources state the likelihood of the *Mariensaule* being first placed outside of the church, the only “evidence” provided for this assumption is the Ostendorfer woodcut of the events unfolding in Regensburg.<sup>358</sup> The case of Mariazell is unlike any

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<sup>356</sup> One Dominican describes the scenes unfolding at the base of this column. Johannes Braumiller, *Marianische Zeller-Reiss* (Salzburg: Johann Baptist Mayr, 1687) 36-44. Available on [Googlebooks](#)

<sup>357</sup> Oddo Coptik, *Regio Mariana*, Part 2, 1732, Stiftsarchiv St Lambrecht, Ms. 1487, fol. 71v. In another illustration in volume 3 of the work, which features Pope Innocent X (1644–55) as a supporter of Mariazell, hooded pilgrims are depicted engaged in similar rituals before the Chapel of Mercy. ; Oddo Koptik, *Descriptio historica et geographica Cellae-Marianae*, University Library ELTE, Budapest Ms. AB 220, p. 250; as seen in Charles Zika, “Emotional Economy of Early Modern Pilgrimage Shrines: The Case of Mariazell” (2017), 15.

<sup>358</sup> For two examples of this attribution, see Charles Zika, “Emotional Economy”, 15; Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, “Hochaltar, Gnadenaltar und der Schatzkammeraltar in der Basilika von Mariazell” in *Mariazell in Ungarn*, 136-137, 148.; The first documentation of rituals being performed around this object are from the late seventeenth century, and images of this *Mariensaule* and its surroundings only emerge in the eighteenth century.; see Oddo Coptik, *Regio Mariana*, Part 2, 1732, Stiftsarchiv St Lambrecht, Ms. 1487, fol. 71v.; Oddo Koptik, *Descriptio*

other in this study in its quantity of proxy objects housed within its central cult space.<sup>359</sup> This unusual coexistence in this site offers some insights as to how one *Mariensaule* survived when its counterpart was almost immediately destroyed.

The boundaries between icon, manifestation, and vision are blurred in early modern accounts.<sup>360</sup> Such miraculously appearing images “would eventually become a manifestation of the Virgin herself.”<sup>361</sup> Indeed, the supernatural nature of images was a powerful legitimizing force for many cults that proliferated across the entirety of the European continent, and by the sixteenth century, the world.<sup>362</sup> It is possible that the unknown or unnamed artists were ideal for religious sites like those of the cult of the Virgin Mary. As is well documented in copyright cases from this period, the lack of perceived human intervention buttressed truth claims in replicative processes like print.<sup>363</sup> Images that reported specific events or portrayed nature were deemed “imago

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historica et geographica Cellae-Marianae, University Library ELTE, Budapest Ms. AB 220, p. 250; reproduced in Schemper-Sparholz, “Hochaltar”, 136.

<sup>359</sup> The assertion of three proxy objects is based on the rituals and framing devices visible for the three representations of the Virgin. For more on this, see Kinsey “Habsburgs in Mariazell” and Zika “Emotional Economy”, 1-27.

<sup>360</sup> For example, the Virgin of Guadalupe, a painted image on a [tunic] was an icon that was understood to have miraculously appeared.

<sup>361</sup> Belting, *Anthropology of Images*, (2011), 52.

<sup>362</sup> Ronda Kasl (ed), *Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Spanish World*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).; Ilona Katzew (ed.), *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>363</sup> For example, see Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta,” 554-579.

contrafacta”.<sup>364</sup> Counterfeits represented “truth” about particulars, akin to portraiture. The term “counterfeit” was used for replicative images, particularly in the German speaking lands that this dissertation investigates.<sup>365</sup> The representations of visions and objects that appear in painted votive panels and their printed counterparts are useful to uncover how seemingly different images could serve to represent the same entity, the Virgin Mary as manifested in a geographically distinct location.<sup>366</sup> Images are nomads of media, constantly shapes-shifting as a result of the translational process which necessarily transforms.<sup>367</sup> This characteristic of images renders them particularly difficult to model. Images are palpable in replicative objects due to the multitude of opportunities these cases present to repeatedly encounter and recognize entities they picture.

Icons consistently pictured the Madonna by reproducing aspects of previous representations of the divine figure. Interrogating the results of this copying across various media reveals how visual aspects aided in securing recognition and instilling trust for the objects’ anticipated viewers. This chapter investigates the two-dimensional iconic representations of the

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<sup>364</sup> The terminology comes from legal proceedings. Such cases also show the distinguishing facts of text versus the facts of an image that could be used to claim truth as opposed to copyright-able images and texts that contained the essence of the human creator.; Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta,” 560 ;see also Lorraine Daston, “Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe,” *Critical Inquiry* 18, 1 (1991): 93-124.

<sup>365</sup> Copyright cases can help us understand the ways that human creation was assessed in relation to copied or reproduced texts and images. Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta,” 554-579.; Johnston, Sky Michael. “Printing the Weather: Knowledge, Nature, and Popular Culture in Two Sixteenth-Century German Weather Books.” *Renaissance quarterly* 73, no. 2 (2020): 391–440.

<sup>366</sup> For religious prints as substitute objects - See Suzanne Karr Schmidt, *Altered and Adorned*, 61-72.

<sup>367</sup> Belting, Anthro. of Image and “Iconic Presence” talk.

Virgin that were present in Regensburg, Mariazell, and Altötting. In addition to the central cult images, this set includes extant contemporary pictorial representations of cult images to trace how replication worked locally as well as across the wider scope of Marian images that were distinguished by location. Since early Christianity, object-makers consistently pictured the Virgin Mary by reproducing visual aspects of prior images, asserting these forms were originally from the hand of Saint Luke. Such icons argued legitimacy through a particular style that was well-suited to manual copy. Later, prints capitalized on this form of visualized legitimacy through the replication of icons through the use of technology.<sup>368</sup> Art historians are trained for precisely this mode of identification in visual objects, such that persons and objects are central components of many disciplinary arguments. Using established art historical and humanistic methods aids historians in comparing evidence of persons and objects as registered in a variety of objects, as well as tracing nuance amidst perceptible patterns across different types of copy.

To trace the relationships as situated arguments of a researcher requires a structure capable of handling a density of information in a way that facilitates its exploration and retrieval. Networks are formal abstractions, which are adept at tracking and organizing information as a system of nodes (entities) and edges (relationships which connect the nodes). The benefit of this abstracted system offered by networks is the promise/potential to bridge the explanatory gap between the part and whole.<sup>369</sup> The challenge of tracing something like “connection” is not unique to this study, but this set of cross-media copies offers a stimulating opportunity to experiment with this type of tool, as it is able to be readily compared to generations of art historical theorists who tackled this same,

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<sup>368</sup> Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta”, 556-559.

<sup>369</sup> Ahnert et al, *The Network Turn*, 7.

confounding corpus.<sup>370</sup> This method also has contemporary comparison points from adjacent fields of inquiry, For example, one foundational network model used in historical research traced connection across distances as materialized by letters.<sup>371</sup> Indeed, some of the earliest graphical depictions of social relationships as networks were called “sociograms” by Moreno and Jennings in 1934, which sought to aid in the untangling of social situations and the complex web entities and their actions.<sup>372</sup> Using network models to materialize connection of proxies evident in the historical record has precedent which has repeatedly proven advantageous to scholarly inquiry.<sup>373</sup>

This section aims to address an innate challenge to the study of Marian cults, namely, the inherent and apparently inconsistent relationships these shrines have to a vast sea of replicative objects. Mary was represented in two-dimensional imaging practices that reproduced visual aspects in a way that supported and elevated such pictures to the distinction of icons. This section begins by considering an Austrian icon and its related legitimizing miracle. Next, we turn our attention to the multitude of potential proxies present in Regensburg. The abundance of objects in this set offers valuable clues about perceived relationships between potential power and visual

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<sup>370</sup> Freedberg, *Power of Images*, 100-104, 109, 141-2; Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 505-509.; Wood, “Ritual and the Virgin on the Column”, 87–107.

<sup>371</sup> Their diagrams depicted the social relationships of English Protestants (underground) during the reign of Mary I. Ruth Ahnert & SE Ahnert, “Protestant letter networks in the reign of Mary I: a quantitative approach.” *English Literary History*, 82, 1-33 (2015).

<sup>372</sup> Moreno and Jennings Who Shall Survive? Moreno J. [& Jennings, H.H.] *Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. New York: Beacon House (1953).; Ahnert, *Network Turn*, footnote 4 on page 17.

<sup>373</sup> Ahnert et al, *The Network Turn*, 5-12.

form. Finally, this section concludes by comparing objects from throughout this region by means of visualized representations of data about those objects. Much of the available scholarship on these contexts are available thanks to the production of regional, academic presses.<sup>374</sup> In these publications are valuable transcriptions and descriptions of the archival holdings which are otherwise difficult to surmise. Both icons and prints have been the subjects of studies which produced categorizations and labeling conventions shared by groups of researchers and delimiting the set of included cases for each term. Introductory books on historical techniques are valuable sources for groupings and terms which can be used in many forms of data collection, such as database construction and graphical forms of information visualization. For example, Arthur Hind's publication on the history of woodcuts offers clear categorization techniques for woodcut prints.<sup>375</sup> While these categories are useful for the process of labeling and aid in keeping standards consistent across data entries, such terms do little to untangle confusion around the miraculous potential of even iconic prints.

This data is inevitably a product of human interpretation. Images are not just products of passive perception, rather they are made intentionally and knowledgeably by individuals or collectives who leverage their own prior visual experiences in making new objects.<sup>376</sup> In some ways, we may only ever experience through proxy. Images, rather than being defined by their materiality, are accessed semiotically, as “disembodied and idea-like.”<sup>377</sup> Icons, while they link

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<sup>374</sup> See Sylvia Sproger, “Die Wunder von Mariazell: 25 Holzschnitte eines Unbekannten Meisters des Donaustille,”

[\*Forschungsberichte, Kunstgeschichte Steiermark 5\*](#) (2007) Institut für Kunstgeschichte: Graz.

<sup>375</sup> Hind, *Introduction to Woodcut*, (1963), 1.

<sup>376</sup> Belting, *Anthropology of Images*, (2011), 9.

<sup>377</sup> Maniura in *Key Terms in Material Religion* (2015), 112-113.; Robin Cormack, *Icons* (2007), 22.

heavenward, are objects which are firmly locatable in the material world. The icon has a dual nature, being both conceptually iconic and linked and physically and materially present as an object.<sup>378</sup> Replicas of cult images encouraged broader participation. Their portability was reminiscent of living persons, and such images could be described as “ambling” or engaging in “cultic saunter.”<sup>379</sup>

Like their painted counterparts, prints could either picture single images of saints or other hagiographic subject matter which occurs outside of traditional temporal forms of narrative.<sup>380</sup> Images of the Virgin operated similarly to saints' relics, the former multiplied the number of portals to the divine without necessarily fragmenting any one object. The image of the saint central to a given shrine was carried by the body of a devotee as more than a “reminder to inspire devotion, but a secondary relic.”<sup>381</sup> Unlike relics however, images are liable to lose their connection with viewers upon significant damage or iconoclastic destruction. No single medium was precluded from acting as a portal to the divine. There are prints that serve as central cult objects and there are painted replicas of cult images for private devotional use. Each of these media signaled expectations about behavior and use through visual means. Such prints operated within the same

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<sup>378</sup> For discussion of icon's ability to serve as doors into sacred space, see LyMBEROpoulou, Angeliki. “Audiences and Markets for Cretan Icons”, 177.; Manirua in *Key Terms in Material Religion* (2015), 113.

<sup>379</sup> Belting, *Image and Public*, 14.

<sup>380</sup> Single image prints are often those which were produced for specific cult sites, though that is not always the case.; Landau and Schoch, *Origins*, 2005. ; David Axford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, 2010.

<sup>381</sup> Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (trans. 1994), pp 409-410; Jean-Claude Schmidt, *Le corps des images...* pp. 35-67; Richard Marks (2004) *Image and Devotion...* pp. 11-37; Freedberg (1989) *Power of Images*, pp. 99-135; as seen in Murray Jones, “Amulets,” [Pending Verification of Footnote], 93.

substitution strategy subscribed to by painted icons, connecting itself to other Marian pictures and ultimately the Virgin Mary Herself.<sup>382</sup> Nevertheless, each of these proxy-objects can never replace their originals, nor do they attempt to; that is not the powerful replica's role.<sup>383</sup> Intrinsic "sacred virtue" of the original shrine object was possible to be conveyed through "visual features" as it was considered a type of "true copy."<sup>384</sup> Such copies are central to this investigation, as it traces their repeated picturing in examples throughout the section.

Careful consideration of iconic forms found in visual culture is essential to any investigation of early modern agency in the Germanic South. These iconic pictures are the core around which all other objects and people accreted, they are key actors in the social system that is the subject of this investigation. Describing each object type that helped to distribute the cult image will delineate one primary way that cult images offered comfort and cohesion to early modern Catholics in the Germanic South. In the examples which follow, relationships between objects are signaled through replication and copy. Recognition built on the practice of mental co-location which were discussed in the first chapter, a process which facilitated recognition in the context of expected social reality.<sup>385</sup> While the directionality of reference is not always clear, the referencing

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<sup>382</sup> See Pon, *A Printed Icon* for a case study interrogates the relationship between print and people, as well as between the civic and religious communities, organized into three sections that each focus on a different theoretical framework to work through the material object (thing- Brown), the spatial and structural contexts (emplacement- Caes and Tuan), and the movements and rituals of the cult (mobilities- Urry).

<sup>383</sup> There are many other types of replicas that are noteworthy for their form and a function that multiplies the effect of a distant original on which it was modeled. Figenschou Simonsen, "Medieval Pilgrim Badges," 169-196.

<sup>384</sup> Murray Jones, "Amulets," 93.

<sup>385</sup> For discussion of contemporary viewing in this region, see Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 143-163.

between similar visual objects is a distinct indication of relatedness. Tracing these iconic forms and their distribution can begin to show the role such objects played in the lives of Catholics as they navigated all manner of crises in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

### **3.2.1 Mariazell Icon**

There were good reasons for devotees to accept multiple representations of the Madonna to be referring to and picturing the same saintly personage. Mariazell offers a prime example of this type of simultaneous representation within the context of a single and continuous cult site. Within this one Austrian site, there are three discrete points of access to the Virgin that are charged with potential and ritually observed within the church structure: the statue of the Virgin on a column, the icon painting, and the oldest of the objects, a wooden statue.

Representations of the icon appear in the same picture plane as bodily figures of the Virgin in miracle stories, hinting at differences that may be revealing about how persons and objects were represented pictorially. The Mariazell icon is depicted in the carved tympanum of the cult's basilica. This painting was donated by the Hungarian King Ludwig at Mariazell, and comfortably fits into the category of painted icon (Fig. 31). This object was a second miraculous image of the Virgin installed at the main cult shrine. It was accepted as legitimate largely thanks to its origin story which asserted a powerful connection to an elite and legendary miracle. Today, the icon is displayed above an elaborately decorated altar, with all of the golden framing one would expect of a powerful proxy.

This *Schatzkammerbild* (Treasury Image) of the Madonna is surrounded by a vibrant field of gold fleur-de-lis on a sea of iridescent blue. This background pattern is actually enamelwork that has been placed over the image painted on a panel, a common practice in adorning precious icons. The Virgin looks to the viewer, while gesturing tenderly with her left hand towards the Christ child. Jesus is looking towards his mother, as He makes the sign of blessing. Each of the holy pair have a gold-work halo that has been encrusted in jewels and are embraced by a swath of three strands of pearls, A belt like piece of jewelry swags between the Virgin's elbows across her own golden and blue mantel which is typical of the Hodegetria icon type.

The gift of the icon to Mariazell and its creation in the fourteenth century is perhaps misleading to the kind of engagement it would have elicited in its early viewers. The image was purportedly given to King Ludwig on the evening before a battle in which he was outnumbered. The Virgin sent an angel to the King as he slept, delivering an image of Herself via angelic courier – a sign of the king's imminent, miraculous victory in battle. In prints and relief sculpture, the story is consistently shown with an angel aiding in the delivery of this panel painting to the king.<sup>386</sup> This icon has since been subjected to technical study, which has affirmed the dating to being contemporary to King Ludwig's gift. The field of fleur-de-lis and border of heraldry is a direct indication of political patron and donor. This icon can be comfortably categorized as a Hodegetria, "she who shows the way." It is part of a larger set of images that connect their legitimacy directly back to that image believed to have been painted by St. Luke. Another site considered in this dissertation is part of that very same "family" of images.

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<sup>386</sup> In some versions, it arrives while he is visited by the Virgin in his sleep.; See Peter Krenn, "Der Mariazeller Kunstkreis des Spätmittelalters und König Ludwig I. von Ungarn," in *Mariazell in Ungarn*, 311-317.

The icon of Mariazell not only replicated the forms associated with recognizable images of the Virgin, this object was also connected to a miraculous appearance. In the examples of Mariazell, we can see that in narrative stories, the form of the Virgin is relatively consistent within commissioned sets, but her appearance was able to change depending on the moment of an object's creation.<sup>387</sup> However, each of the miracle panels of Mariazell do not make attempts at disclosing her identity through adherence to iconographical signs, rather they use labels and context of display to assure that the miracles and forms of the Virgin are correctly attributed to the Virgin of Mariazell. In narrative pictures, there seems to be a preference for flexibility in imaging persons while locational information, which was itself key to identification of a specific proxy, was crystalized in text. Like this Austrian example, Regensburg has a number of images that could be thought to serve as access points to the Virgin Mary, including but not limited to painted icons. This case offers a productive counterpoint to the picturing of Mary in miracles, as the next Bavarian example produced an unusually high number of iconic representations that were accessible to a broad spectrum of the population.

### **3.2.2 Regensburg Icons**

Many have traced the form of the Schöne Maria to an icon, which was housed in the nearby cathedral. After outlining the recorded contemporary practice, Christopher Wood found it implausible that the image would have been lent or given to the new shrine, in large part because

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<sup>387</sup> Whether or not this corresponds to an artistic choice, is less clear.

it was so highly valued.<sup>388</sup> It then follows that this icon was unlikely to be the Schöne Maria because of its absence from the Marian cult site, the location to which devotees flocked to make prayers of supplication and offerings of thanksgiving. Furthermore, its continued public- display offers a compelling reason to eliminate the icon as the original image of this particular cult. The events surrounding the Schöne Maria cult in Regensburg became a focus for Reformation debate, and no less than one of the Marian images at this site fell victim to iconoclasm.<sup>389</sup>

Ostendorfer's representations provoked debate and registered apparent confusion about cult images and appropriate devotional behavior of the time (Fig. 1). However, there are a multitude of Marian representations from this shrine, the most famous of which were made by Ostendorfer's senior and artistic mentor, Albrecht Altdorfer. The iconoclasm displayed at this site, which destroyed at least one image of the Virgin in the sixteenth century, constitutes a revealing case about complexities of entangled belief concerning powerful proxies.<sup>390</sup> Pulled between two

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<sup>388</sup> Christopher Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin on the Column: The Cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6, no. 1 (1992): 87–107.

<sup>389</sup> Today, in the church of Saint Cassian in Regensburg, there is a sixteenth century statue which has been attributed to Leinberger, and thereby asserted as the same which was installed on the column before the shrine in 1519. Trapp, *World Heritage Regensburg*: 101-102.; However, the statue has also been described as destroyed, notably by the preacher Nikolaus Gallus, who, in 1543 apparently had it destroyed. He oversaw this destruction, apparently while quoting 2 Kings 18:4, a passage which emphasizes not only the removal but the breakage of idols. Stahl, "Die Wallfahrt", 178-9.

<sup>390</sup> The avid supporter turned critic (by 1521), Balthasar Hubmaier was burned as an Anabaptist in 1528. Wood, "Ritual and Virgin", 103; For destruction of statue, see Stahl, "Die Wallfahrt", 178-9.

ambiguity and passionate response, the cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg produced a multitude of iconic images within a sea of replicas.

A number of key features warrant the inclusion of the Regensburg icon and other panel paintings within this category of replicative paintings. Her mantle with stars and gestures conforms to the traditional model of “she who points the way.”<sup>391</sup> These aspects are, however, not unique or definitive evidence to support the assumption that the local icon is the Schöne Maria. Many artists referenced aspects of the early icons in order to portray a likeness as close to Mary’s earthly body as possible, since the form was unique in that legend holds that the painter, St. Luke, had seen the Virgin in her mortal life. The position of the Christ Child is also opposite of most of the paintings of this type. In such a rigid style that privileges adherence to traditional models, these changes constitute stimuli for further investigation. Even if this or another panel was the image inside of the church, the painting was unable to retain the interest of the pilgrims, who divided worship between the internally housed panel painting and the external statue.<sup>392</sup> If we accept that either the icon or Altdorfer’s panel painting is the miraculous devotional object, contemporary actions in relation to the two- dimensional paintings are complicated, if not undermined, by the attention paid elsewhere. Two additional problems preclude identifying Altdorfer’s panel painting as the locus of miraculous agency of the Virgin Mary of Regensburg. First, the artist likely painted more than one work of this type in 1519 and the immediately subsequent years.<sup>393</sup> The work has been

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<sup>391</sup> Boros, “Myth and Miraculous Performance.”, Getty (2014); Wood, *Viewing Renaissance Art*, 178, 188.

<sup>392</sup> Wood, “Ritual and the Virgin,” 95-7.; See also Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 202-216.

<sup>393</sup> Wood, “Ritual and the Virgin,” 95-7. There are two known works; one located in the Regensburg Historisches Museum and the other in St. Johann in Regensburg.

described as a private commission used by a member of the upper class, much in the same way a print would serve as a souvenir or instrument of private devotion for those of humbler means.<sup>394</sup> Furthermore, this panel has been the subject of debate about its original location and function, in part because of its complicated object-history.<sup>395</sup> This panel was restored in 1938, which led to its attribution as Altdorfer's handiwork and even hailed as the primary cult image.<sup>396</sup> Since this initial excitement over the "rediscovery" there have been many alternative readings of the object.<sup>397</sup>

The form of the icon and Altdorfer's works is in the category of the Hodegetria, which he refers not only to the standard Byzantine formula of the Virgin's gesture of reverence to Jesus, but also her mantle and the stars that appear on her shoulders and forehead (Fig. 32).<sup>398</sup> The icon in Regensburg can be further described as an Italo-Byzantine Icon, an example of slight variation from Byzantine icons.<sup>399</sup> One extant example from this period suggests not only a high demand for

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<sup>394</sup> Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin," 95-7.; for information about pricing and variety of retail activities at this shrine, see Landau and Parshall, *Renaissance Print*, 340-342.

<sup>395</sup> The frame that is now presented around the painting by Altdorfer is a reconstruction that was modeled off of the print designed by the same artist. Dodgson, "Two Bavarian Gnadenbild", 147.

<sup>396</sup> Stahl, "Wallfahrt", 87, 204-214.

<sup>397</sup> A statue carved by Leinberger is more likely the replacement image according to Hubel, "Die 'Schöne Maria' von Regensburg", 210-220.; Wood, "Ritual and Virgin", 87-107.; Trapp, *World Heritage Regensburg*, 94, 101-102.

<sup>398</sup> Such forms were widely distributed, and were also liable to subtle changes that can be identified today, though there is little evidence that such subtle shifts were noteworthy in the early modern period. Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin," 95-8; Flora Boros, "Myth and Miraculous Performance: The Virgin Hodegetria," *The Getty Iris*, 2014.

<sup>399</sup> Boros, "Myth and Miraculous Performance." Getty (2014); Another example of this type can be found in the Madonna of Cambrai. While Her gesture is sometimes described as the "Virgin of Tenderness," it is nevertheless an example of Byzantine mantel and stylized portraiture that is shared by icons.; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 438.

icons of the Virgin and Child around the year 1500, but also reveals descriptive terms used to distinguish between types of images of the Virgin Mary. Artists such as Miguel Fuca were contracted to produce such pictures in bulk, hundreds at a time.<sup>400</sup>

Rather than art commissioned on a case-by-case basis, such icons were expected to be sold to a market. This suggests an anticipated demand which would be sufficient for this large quantity and variety of paintings. Such painted images would be more costly than the prints of the same subject, which themselves were apparently able to be sold with enough regularity to inspire artists like Albrecht Altdorfer to create multiple printed versions of the Madonna and Child. In fact, Altdorfer apparently believed there was enough potential to invest significant time and effort into creating a multicolor woodblock print (Fig. 33). Unlike his many single-toned prints of the Virgin and Child, this project required a great deal of time and skillful craftsmanship for both the design and printing, far more than any which would have been allotted for a single or even a chiaroscuro woodcut impression. Regardless of their particular artistic pedigree, single-sheet prints were active participants in devotion as well as material objects of visual culture.<sup>401</sup> This dissertation therefore treats such cases seriously in an attempt to unpack historical evidence of active participation with objects in devotional practices of these early-modern Catholics.

In Regensburg, there are two mentions of the main cult object in the miracle stories. Wolfgang Waldtruner's account states that the Beautiful Mary appeared as she was "portrayed in

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<sup>400</sup> The commission of 200 icons was further divided to describe how many of each "type" of icon he should paint. Fuca was active between at least 1493 and 1500.; Wood, *Viewing Renaissance Art*, 189.

<sup>401</sup> Areford, David S. *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*. Surrey; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2010.

the new chapel of Regensburg.” The second of these explicit connections between visions and the cult object found in the edition of Regensburg miracles closes out the collection. Leonhard Lobmeir of Amberg also sees the Virgin away from the main shrine in Regensburg, but his story explicitly connects his vision to the main cult object. “I have seen the Beautiful Mary, she held a Child in her arm, and was dressed in blue... [he] came to Regensburg, and realized it was the likeness of the Virgin Mary, as it is painted on the choir-altar panel.” In this sixty-ninth “sign”, the devotee Leonhard and his family were saved and healed. Afterwards, when they were “fresh and healthy” they went to Regensburg. There they saw in belief the image of the Virgin Mary, “as she was painted on the altar, appearing the same as she was shown to them in a vision in Amberg.” There is some debate as to which image was the primary cult object of the cult in Regensburg, a problem faced by the shrine in large part because of its rapid disintegration shortly after this miracle book was published. Regensburg offers other few additional clues as to how the Virgin appeared to devotees, for example, holding a rod in her hand. Instead she appears “as she is pictured in the new chapel.”<sup>402</sup>

Dated to 1520, created by the circle of Veit Stoss, one relief carving in wood appears to function as a representation of the cultic activity around the shrine in Regensburg, rather than testify about a particular miraculous intervention. Here, the Virgin and Child appear on an altar, located in an architectural setting. In the background, the ruins of the former Jewish buildings and the exiting of the Jewish inhabitants are shown, a reference to the foundation of the cult after a miracle was performed during the demolition of the former synagogue. The Virgin appears three

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<sup>402</sup> Original German: “Ist ihr erscheinen die Schön Maria in solcher gestalt / als sie auch zu Regensburg in der neuen Kapellen gebildet ist”; Regensburg miracle book (1519), miracle sign “zeichen” 48.

dimensional, her body half emerged from a swirling sea of clouds. This type of half portrait in sculptural form was found in the region at this time, for example the Man of Sorrows by a follower of Niclaus Gerhaert von Leyden (ca. 1510). The two Regensburg votive images show a consistent deference to cult objects as interchangeable representations of the Virgin's presence with the insertion of the Virgin and Child appearing from the heavens in a vision-like form. The panels likewise show that the Virgin of a particular place was able to be depicted in a variety of forms to suit the style of the moment in which the panel was made, but also likely to include a few key markers of her specific visual form. In the case of Regensburg, it is difficult to know whether Altdorfer's workshop was producing images of the Virgin to adhere to the style in which the master artist depicted her, or if that was a desire of the patron specifically. The final miracle in the Regensburg miracle book asserts that the image of the Madonna in the chapel was both legitimate and the central image of the miracle cult.

Devotees of Regensburg's cult coped with the disconnection of being distant from the icon, the central proxy of cult activity, by making or acquiring prints of that main cult image. The prints of the Virgin created by Altdorfer evidence the demand for such images that were able to be met thanks to the replicative technology of print paired with the increased availability of affordable substrate, paper.<sup>403</sup> Icons, whether painted or printed, conveyed legitimacy for potential presence of a proxy. This legitimacy was nominally founded on the replication of an original image created by Saint Luke of the Virgin Mother. Using already established, descriptive categories can help

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<sup>403</sup> Bloom, Jonathan M. *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001.

identify these types of proxy objects which relied (at least in part) on replication to convey legitimacy.<sup>404</sup>

Not all copies were ascribed with the type of agency that was found in miraculous images. It is nevertheless crucial to recognize that agency was at play in examples of both object types, those which point and can be considered “indexes” and those which assert themselves as proxies that function as “envoys.”<sup>405</sup> Both forms of faithful copy reveal that replicated aspects of visual qualities carried meaning for the artist and can therefore provide some insights on their cultural milieu. While replication examples are plentiful in iconic images of the Virgin, turning to an unusual replicative form from the same cult proves more fruitful to the question of similarity and its role in connecting objects across a substitutive web. In each of these cases, we see that icons were unevenly treated as powerful proxies for the divine. The final section reviews the replicated objects which encouraged recognition at Marian shrines of the Germanic South and offers models for interrogating the sporadic historical record concerning these objects and the beliefs that contemporary peoples held about them.

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<sup>404</sup> Print studies in particular are accustomed to descriptive structures that attend to the replication and modification instantiated across multiples, examples of which can be found in each *Catalog Raisonné*. Disciplinary categories, such as those operative in print studies, have already been established and vetted as useful for description of objects from Marian shrines. For examples of rudimentary labels, see Hind, *History Woodcut*, 1.

<sup>405</sup> By envoy here, I mean the representative minister or ambassador which acts on behalf of the authority (in this case the divine agent).

### 3.2.3 Picturing the Virgin across Copies

The Virgin appears in visions and other forms of appearances to those who call out to her. When she is seen by Catholics, it is not often described as seeing an image of the Madonna, but rather as if they are seeing the holy person herself. She sometimes appears as a bright, glowing light. The descriptions of a non-embodied light that does not identify itself as the Virgin are limited; one mention is made in Altötting, and two are made in Regensburg. Visions and apparitions are far more common, but their description varies. There are nine visions described in Altötting and six in Regensburg. Mariazell does not make explicit vision experiences in the printed stories from ca. 1520.<sup>406</sup> While the text does not make reference to apparitions in the case of the Austrian shrine, the images consistently include a Madonna and Child in each scene, emerging from the clouds and engaging with the scene on earth. In many cases, the petitioners are directing their gaze at Mary as she appears, thereby allowing the image of the Virgin to be ambiguously employed without labeling her presence as a vision explicitly.<sup>407</sup>

The way in which the Madonna is depicted and described in objects from Mariazell, Regensburg, and Altötting offers clues about appropriate categories that were used to establish or assert relationships. Such relationships ultimately depended on the process of recognition, which

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<sup>406</sup> The exception is the case of Saint Wenceslaus, who directs the Margrave and Margravine to the Virgin of Mariazell.; Zika, “Emotional Economy”, 10.

<sup>407</sup> Dreams and visions were liable to feature resemblance that echoed local picturing practices. In a Florentine example that is contemporary to the cults considered here, Lippo di Jacopo Lippi had a “dream vision” in which he reportedly saw the Virgin “as she is painted at the Carceri,” thereby referencing and reinforcing the nearby cult image.; Maniura, “Persuading the Absent Saint”, 629-654.

was supported through replication as well as through other buttressing features.<sup>408</sup> Altötting's panels were displayed on the very cult shrine that they referenced (Fig. 11). It seems these pictures were able to alter representations of the Virgin in the pictorial narratives of the miracle cycle, with little risk that the identity would be lost on viewers. Her drastic changes through the scenes that were installed across centuries show the variation of form and the consistency of presence of the Virgin locally. Each of these panels were tied to the cult site they referenced, but votive prints were meant to distribute and can therefore offer further insight into how attribution was ensured away from a central hub of devotional activity.

The panels from Mariazell and Altötting show how the Virgin of a particular place was able to be depicted in a variety of forms to suit the style of the moment in which the panel was made, but also likely to include a few key markers of her specific visual form. Votive panels in Mariazell, as portrayed on a large polyptych, all feature the Virgin Mary appearing at the moment of intercession. In Altötting, there is more variety as to whether the Virgin is depicted in the scene, and if so how she is portrayed. They are also not the only example of cult images (or cult personalities) represented in locations other than the main miracle image itself though<sup>409</sup>. In Mariazell (and in Altötting- and Regensburg in smaller instances) there are painted examples of the Virgin appearing either in clouds or in (what appears to be) corporeal forms in the context of painted narrative panels. In Altötting, for example, the Virgin appears in a woman's bedroom while she is ill. The Virgin's appearance is that of a mere mortal – with the only indication of her divinity

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<sup>408</sup> Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 357.

<sup>409</sup> For more on image cults as constantly changing along with the perceived cult identity, see Garnett and Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles*, 2013.

being her understated halo. She is also normal sized, perhaps even smaller than a normal mortal in the context of the bedside visitation. Her style is, however, more akin to the “Fair Virgin” than an attempt at mirroring the statue in human form.

There are other instances that can be found in the published miracle accounts from other sites. For example, in one story from Altötting, a well-known priest from Reichenhall, near Salzburg, was saved from drowning by the Virgin through an image.<sup>410</sup> He believed that he would die, and had surrendered his fate to drowning. But, under the water where he had fallen was *a portrait of the Virgin Mary, like the one that is on the altar in Altötting* - which caused him to ask “help Virgin Mary, I will visit you there” at that moment he bumped his head on a stick, which he understood as a way to pull himself from the water, and with great effort he was able to pull himself up. His priestly office believed that he must have drowned, as a hundred others would have, that only the Virgin Mary was able to help him, *appearing to him in the form of a portrait*, so that he would call to her.<sup>411</sup>

I visualized the information transcribed in secondary scholarship about miracle cycles to compare their textual and pictorial contents. One visualization in particular usefully picked apart aspects shared and shifted, with an interest towards seeing objects as materialized decisions (Fig.

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<sup>410</sup> Jakob Isseckemer, *Das Buchlein der Zuflucht zu Maria der Mutter Gottes in alten Oding*. Nuremberg, Germany: Kaspar Hochfeder, 1497. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Miracle 65.

<sup>411</sup> Isseckemer, *Buchlein ... alten Oding*. Miracle 65. Original German: “Saget auf sein priesterliche Amt / das er musst ertrunken sein / wäre er hundert mann werde gewesen / dann allein die Jungfrau Maria wäre ihm zu hilf / in der Gestalt der Bildnis / erscheinen / damit er sie hat angerufen.”

34).<sup>412</sup> I found that objects made for Altötting were more likely than those made for Mariazell to mention particular places by name when representing miraculous events. In contrast, Mary is pictured in nearly all of the images produced for Mariazell about the experiences of miracles. In the Austrian case then, the reliance on named persons or places was far less than is found in the Bavarian counterparts, particularly when considering the miracle stories which were printed. A second way of visualizing the information embedded in miracle cycles offers a path of “decisions” made about the object sets (with counts of how many images participate in each line to show yes (1) or no (0)). By moving from right to left the threads of choices visually wind according to how the object does or does not include in each scene. This view also highlights the trends on what was included in images as a whole set. For example, outside places are named 75% of the time, while Mary is pictured in only 63% of the images, and she is named only around half of the time. This third visualization shows the same information in another way, highlighting how locational text correlates with whether or not Mary is pictured in the particular scene (Fig. 50). The saturation of blue shows how many of the images that share those features of representing Mary include text about external (to the cult site) locations. In Altötting, outside place names are favored, and Mary is more consistently named in the painted panels, however, Mariazell favored (in both print and painting) the visual depiction of Mary over text of her name.

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<sup>412</sup> Described (R-L): Object groups serve to cluster scenes according to their source from ca. 1520 (T-B): Mariazell Print Cycle, Mariazell Wunderaltar, and the Altötting Miracle Cycle. Each number appearing to the left of the vertical lines indicate total scenes registering decisions. Each of the lower numbers in each text/number grouping indicate how many scenes participated (or did not) in particular features of miracle stories ( 0 no, 1 yes). The lower counts aid in recognizing the shrinking number of scenes in the total for each “decision” (R-L) Location named, Mary pictured, Mary named).

What seems clear from this grouping is that most images from this set of all miracle cycles from the Germanic South during this time are either picturing or naming Mary. However, Altötting shows the most variation in these features, and even occasionally excludes both Mary's name, the cult site name, and the Virgin's image. Altötting's panel location seems to offer the necessary scaffolding to make such information valuable but not necessary for the functioning of the object. Another potential insight is that the image, were it not still located in Altötting, would be difficult to include in the set if not for its proximity to the whole corpus of related miracle panels. It is possible that there are other panels that could be included in Mariazell's collection would be difficult to connect once removed from the main cult context.<sup>413</sup>

Transformation and multiplication by fragmentation are central practices of early modern European Catholic visual culture. In Altötting's Miracle Cycle, we see the Virgin change in appearance from panel to panel, both early modern and modern viewers at this site understand that all of these figures represented in these narratives are the Virgin.<sup>414</sup> Each story is organized by small groups or individuals who experienced the miraculous effects of Mary's divine agency. They are all simultaneously Our Lady of Altötting and the Madonna enthroned in heaven. This variation in multiples is characteristic of Marian images and associated miracle images writ large. The digital models in this section offered so far have provided a few opportunities to compare features which were shared by three similar cults, objects that used image and text to convey stories about

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<sup>413</sup> Mariazell's painted altar is one unified piece, rather than a set of differently sized panels like those found in the Bavarian shrine of Altötting.

<sup>414</sup> Seventeenth century "restored" this example by showing a darkened Madonna, unlike the fifteenth century representations. For more on this object type and its complications, see Foster, "The Black Madonna of Montserrat", 18-50.

miraculous events. These connections will continue to be explored as the study moves towards modeling based on specific objects and their connections to each other. The following section challenges these models by interrogating an object set that uses copy and representation in even more distributed and confounding ways.

### 3.3 Represented in Replication: Offerings

Central to the most famous image of a *Mariensaule*, Ostendorfer's representation of the virgin on the column shows candles which were affixed to the sides of this pillar (Fig. 1). Behind this, further anatomical and agricultural votives hang heavily on the rafters of the temporary church structure. Offerings like these were invested with signs of identity which persisted throughout the late medieval and well into the early modern period.<sup>415</sup> In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the number of anatomical ex votives skyrocketed.<sup>416</sup> In the evidence of offering practices available today, these objects and actions seem to adhere to a formula, or at the very least, a set of shared conventions.<sup>417</sup>

Offerings given to the Virgin at Marian shrines around the turn of the sixteenth century have been largely lost, as seventeenth-century impulses to declutter and order these collections

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<sup>415</sup> Megan Holmes, "Ex Votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult" in *Idol Age of Art*, 166.

<sup>416</sup> Holmes, "Ex Votos", 167.

<sup>417</sup> For example, see Robert Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*, 15-16.

drastically reduced the corpus of extant cases.<sup>418</sup> This is also the period in which such collections were pictured and described, which preserves a partial and highly curated record of this set. However, these traces are valuable to modern historians, as later monastic reforms and waves of secularization further dissolved much of the remaining objects of this type.<sup>419</sup> This section therefore considers all available records about offerings given at Marian shrines during this period in this region. The available evidence emphasizes the importance of objects and related acts of exchange which required presence. Through each of the following cases, the representations of offerings demonstrate that such objects were required and material objects that were centered on materializing relationships between human and divine agents.

Existing records about offerings were not made for reconstruction; offering records were made by accountants to track the income of shrines or published by cult stewards to promote their own interests. There are significant challenges to modeling this form of representation because it is a context that benefited from the ambiguity or apparent anonymity of persons that they nominally symbolized. While the individual information about these objects can be modeled, resultant models are problematic in their reliance on particulars – anonymous persons connected to lost objects. As this section progresses, various modes of connecting related information between example and object type will be explored as an attempt to circumvent the centrality of persons in network models. The relationships between people and objects operate at varying levels of abstraction. Connectedness can be signaled through non-mimetic means. The potential

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<sup>418</sup> Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, “Media, memory and the Miracoli della SS. Annunziata,” 277.; Holmes, “Ex Votos”, 171.

<sup>419</sup> Holmes, “Ex Votos,” 171.

collection of anonymous proxies found in miracle sites were particularly open to projection and human connection within a structured and framed environment. In this space, witness becomes less about one individual and more about any and all persons at once. Sacred space intentionally provided the framing necessary for witnesses to transform into collective memory by providing a persistent marker of human belief that could serve as testimony about the power accessible around these objects even though the human depositor was unable to be wholly bodily present at the shrine for the majority of the time.

In appendixes of publications, like those found in the two volume work of Maria Angela König, are valuable resources for transcribed archival documents.<sup>420</sup> These transcriptions are therefore more available to be used when the books are digitized, thanks to the advancements being made in Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technologies. Furthermore, these transcriptions often preserve the original formatting choices made by original record makers, at least in their general construction if not in the particularities of physical formatting present in hand-written documents. In this way, the transcriptions serve as valuable and accessible proxies of the original, historical articles that were created for information collection and organization.

Representations of offerings were replicated in a way that supported the recognition of divine agency present at their cult's location. The patterns in the types of offerings that were given emphasize the importance of recognition to the mortal giving the offering at the Virgin's chapel. The generalized aspects of identity which were presented in visual offerings supported the recognition of the community of cult members who registered their collective witness through images of various kinds. Each of these aspects of offerings are intertwined, and therefore offer a

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<sup>420</sup> See König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*, V2, 440-477.

challenging and productive case for exploring the potential of modeling for understanding the role of objects in these contexts.

Offerings were enigmatic yet recognizable proxies thanks to their material, form, and placement near the central cult image. In order to investigate these important but largely lost corpus of objects, we will return to a few of the sources introduced earlier in this study. The miracle reports which were represented in print and paint, as well as those which carved scenes of the cult shrine during this period, will be used as one type of curated evidence. Such stories will be compared to the records of offerings which were created to quantify the volumes of materials which were documented by the local stewards. These secondary evidentiary forms will be compared with the handful of extant examples of offerings made for Marian shrines of the Germanic South around the turn of the sixteenth century.

The form and material of figural offerings in particular indicate that inhabitants were interested in creating objects that could appeal to both of these legitimizing structures. In fact, witness and subverted authorship is a consistent feature of early modern German visual culture.<sup>421</sup> Given that the Modern collection and organization of data is centered on creation and individuals, these objects are ideal for use in humanistic study that creates data about the relationships embedded in the objects that are perceptible by researchers familiar with the structures and tropes of the period.

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<sup>421</sup> Dieter Harmening, "Mirakel bildzyklen Formen und Tendenzen von Kult propaganda," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 1978, pp. 53-56.

### 3.3.1 Replicating Offering Placement:

Devotees coped with the undesirable disconnection felt when bodily distant from the main cult center by making proxies. The offerings deposited at the cult shrine were representations of presence for mortals who were unable to remain physically present at the shrine. The offered objects which accumulated at Marian shrines are evidence of this desire to be present. The routine cleanups led to paired down descriptions of these many such objects that betray a formulaic view concerning devotional practices in this context.<sup>422</sup> The description of offerings in miracle stories and their representation in printed images emphasize the importance of placement at the main shrine. The replicated offerings in this context was an argument not only that offerings were required as vowed, but also highlighted the agency of the Virgin at that shrine. These representations could be accessed by the regional population, though they were most accessible for distribution from the main cult shrine itself. Miracle books and votive prints were such itinerant ambassadors for the cults, which the cult “authorities” and those involved in the print production were creating for peoples who were not always physically present at the shrine in question. A quality of their originating circumstances is that these pictures necessarily constitute arguments about offering quantity and type. They were not created for scientific or sociological research but rather served the stewards of the cults in whatever way seemed best to the object creators at the moment of making. Printed and painted representations of the central chapel space show consistent

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<sup>422</sup> For the records of offered objects and quantities, see König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*, 470-471 and tables in unpaginated pages at end of, vol. 2.; For cleanups, see Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, “Media, memory and the Miracoli della SS. Annunziata,” *Word & Image*, 25:3 (2009), 272-292.

deference to cult objects though they engage in interchangeable representations of the Virgin's presence.<sup>423</sup>

The framing of a cult shrine placed objects in context as proxy offerings of individuals who did not need to be specifically recognized by fellow devotees. Two painted miracle cycles were created for shrines under investigation here around 1520, supplying a handful of examples of pictured offerings. The recognition of a proxy-object as offering was accepted as evidentiary without necessarily being able to decode who left it. It seems that, for mortal audiences, it was less important to know who had deposited the object than knowing why it was left. Such accumulated offerings within the frame of a cult site was able to act as a mass of witnesses. These substitutes for the devotees who had left the space continued asserting power and legitimacy, gestures of human connection that were visibly accessible to any visitor who shared their space.<sup>424</sup> Here anonymity was fertile ground for projection by visitors who could see themselves in the pain and promise of relief found in the offerings left by those who came before. This is still possible in some ways at active cult shrines today. The theater of human suffering that unfolds at a cult shrine shows accidents from difficult childbirths to automobile accidents. Votive panels are therefore doubly engaged in the category of offering, as offerings, attesting to the power of the divine as concentrated in the Marian shrine.

Regensburg's single example of a carved votive relief is primarily focused on the internal happenings of the cult shrine. On the altar, there are two burning candles and a procession of devotees moving from the left to right. Crutches lay in front of the altar, presumably left thanks to

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<sup>423</sup> As noted in the previous section, the Virgin and Child appear in the heavens as a vision-like form.

<sup>424</sup> Wood, "Public Private Offering", in *Agents of Faith*, 71.

the healing powers of the Virgin. Votive offerings are placed on the altar, a wax leg, eye, hand, and an unused candle.<sup>425</sup> The city's crest, with two crossed keys, is prominently displayed on the front edge of the altar. The year 1520 is inscribed on its base. One kneeling man is praying the rosary, with the beads still in his hand, he looks up at the virgin who appears to be looking down in response to his plight. The man behind him is overwhelmed with emotion as he pleads at the Virgin's side. A pilgrim exits stage right, with his clear signs of identity of a walking stick and a pilgrim hat that has been removed while in the presence of the Beautiful Virgin. A continued procession of pilgrims and devotees extend beyond this scene, hinted to by the man who is entering through the back-left door. In this scene, all of the basic components of proper devotion and orderly conduct is emphasized economically within a compressed visual space. In the chapel space, visitors are surrounded by compressed testimonies – the accumulated offerings which each presumably were placed through the prior actions performed by recipients of divine grace.

### **3.3.2 Recognizing Material Offerings:**

The descriptive words used in the miracle book narratives provide insight into how cult stewards categorized objects or experiences as well as what information they chose to convey the power found at a given site. Text serves as particularly valuable evidence (though not direct registrations

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<sup>425</sup> Wax anatomical ex-votos fragmented the human body which each were able to convey (through materiality of wax) associations of indexicality and identity. Holmes "Ex-Votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult" in *Idol in Age of Art*, 161.; For more on wax as a soft and implantable substance, see Pon, *Printed Icon*, 58.

or objective observations) of what is happening internally. The examples considered here were published between the closing years of the fifteenth century and the year 1520. The practice of publishing such stories continued in later years, but these early examples provide a window into the descriptive language surrounding miracle cults, including clues about the perceived appearance of the main cult object as well as the role of images and apparitions in this region. Each of these records were created as arguments about the events that unfolded at Marian cult sites across the Germanic South. Rather than assert models as a “reality” reconstruction, it is worth teasing apart the key elements of visual experience embedded in the texts and images produced by people with their own biases and motives.<sup>426</sup> By considering the set as a whole, we can identify the persistent themes across Marian sites and carefully attend to those aspects which emerge as unusual.

The cult of the Schöne Maria in Regensburg appears to be the most interested in specifics about the offerings. In part, the miracle books from this site are more descriptive thanks to its longer texts. However, this remarkable interest is not entirely due to the length of the written narrative. The texts produced for the shrine in Altötting often spend more space describing miracles, but are less consistent than Regensburg in describing the offerings given in petition or thanks. That being said, the texts produced for Altötting describe offerings that are more unusual than those listed in Regensburg. For example, Regensburg often distinguishes when the offering is a wax cast of a body part or an image of the petitioner. Altötting more often says things like “worthy offering” rather than “a wax arm”, though wax appendages are not entirely omitted. This might be a scaffolding move which opened up the possibility for petitioners to use many avenues

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<sup>426</sup> For more on truth and reality reconstructions, see Bernard Williams, *Truth and Truthfulness : An Essay in Genealogy*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 257.

to connect with a visible object and its unspoken origins. “Worthy” offerings are therefore more flexible because they place the assumptions about type of or amount of offering under the control of the “reader”.<sup>427</sup> This is not to say that all of Regensburg’s offerings are thoroughly described in text. In fact, thirteen times there is merely a mention of “an offering”.<sup>428</sup>

Objects were part of the expected exchange that constituted a key marker of relatedness between mortals and saints. There is evidence that offerings were non-fungible from the point at which they were promised, and value was certainly a consideration.<sup>429</sup> In miracles, this is articulated unambiguously as an expectation of any such request. As one case from Regensburg phrased it, “for this reason she promised [the Madonna] that she would go to Regensburg to the Beautiful Mary with an offering.”<sup>430</sup> This type of mutual exchange is woven throughout many Catholic ritual practices, such as when partaking in one of the seven sacraments.

The apparent ambiguity of the votary for wax body parts and other visual objects in the context of votive offerings makes it difficult to trace connections that require specific entity relation. The issue of particular offering descriptions compounds this confusion. Wax or silver could be shaped to represent the body part or the body of the person offering the object to a cult

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<sup>427</sup> I place “reader” in quotes because it is not clear whether or not these stories were meant to be read in solitude, but it is likely that many of the texts of the time (including miracle books) were read aloud to groups in various settings.; For more on this, see Camille, “Seeing and Reading,” 26-49.

<sup>428</sup> Text about offerings in Regensburg (1519) Miracle Book describes the petitioner giving an offering “einem Opfer” a total of thirteen times, in signs: 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 29, 30, 34, 37, 40, 46, 51, 55.

<sup>429</sup> For example, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 93.

<sup>430</sup> This is seen in Regensburg fifty-fifth zeichen/ “sign” of the 1519 printed miracle book. Translation my own. Original German: “deshalb ihr Hauswirt sie geheiss gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Mariam mit einen Opfer.“

site.<sup>431</sup> The discussion of the lost wax *ex votos* has largely been centered on their alleged high degree of verisimilitude.<sup>432</sup> However, these could also be shaped in some other meaningful way, though that meaning may or not be accessible to a third-party viewer. For example, silver is named in at least four of Altötting's texts about miracle stories. Three of these mentions are made in the printed miracle book, and one is included in the miracle cycle of an offering made of silver that was shaped like a ship.<sup>433</sup>

The Virgin was the recipient of an offered gift, and she was able to attribute each offering to the devotee who gifted the object. That personal connection of donation was not immediately legible to the human viewers – as it was presumably to the divine recipient of the offering. While connection was crystalized materially, its meaning stemmed from the relationship and act of exchange. In visual objects printed or painted, pictured wax is nearly impossible to identify. Nevertheless, candles are a distinct and repeated form taken by wax, and this form was freely pictured in prints and panels from these shrines. The printed images of candles and their carved representations discussed above are further reinforced by their depiction in contexts with no other pictured offerings, as was the case in the Altötting miracle cycle and the contemporary printed series of Mariazell.<sup>434</sup> The term for image or picture is not particularly common in miracle texts.

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<sup>431</sup> Holmes, "Ex Voto", 161.

<sup>432</sup> Hugo van der Velden, 'Medici Votive Images and the Scope and Limits of Likeness', in Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (eds), *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (British Museum: London, 1998), 126-37.

<sup>433</sup> Altötting miracle book (1497) stories 30, 42, 74 mention silver offerings; Miracle cycle text 19: names the offering of a silver ship.

<sup>434</sup> One small caveat should be stated in the case of Altötting's miracle cycle: Rosaries are also pictured in this set and there may be a miniature figural offering on the altar in scene 14, but it was not particularly visible to those

The final section of this chapter attends to various evidence of wax pictures and their place in Marian shrines of the Germanic South.

### 3.3.3 Representing the Collective Body:

The most common use of “Bild” in early modern miracle story texts from the Germanic South are in reference to offerings, rather than to the main cult images. While *Bild* allows for an ambiguity in the original German, when translated this term splits into related but separate realms of mental image and physical picture. Images are perhaps best understood in contrast to many of the features of the icon. Images, rather than being defined by their materiality, are accessed semiotically, as “disembodied and idea-like.” In Altötting, four explicit uses of “Bild” are used to refer to wax images offered at the shrine. Wax’s weight in reference to images of wax are sometimes tied together, once in Altötting and twice in Regensburg.

Votive offerings are at once mimetic and staunchly non-mimetic, representational yet abstract, figural and material. Anatomical offerings have been given at sites of worship since before the dawn of Christianity.<sup>435</sup> Wax however, gained favor as the material of choice beginning

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viewing the panels from their installed location along the porch of the chapel. Pictured candles in AO panels: TV,22; TIX, 45; TXII, 55; TXII, 57; TVII, 35 (founding); Pictured candles in MZ print (and altar): 5(6); 17(7); 22(44); 7(13); 18 (8); 26 (34); 15 (26). Numbering conventions followed from Wonisch and Bauer.

<sup>435</sup> The practice dates back at least as far back as classical Rome; Holmes, “Ex Voto”, 161.; Andree, *Votive und Weihgaben*, 4-6.

in the eleventh century. By the century before the cases explored in this dissertation, the fragmentation of the human body into wax replicas was widespread across the European continent.<sup>436</sup> As Holmes pointed out, “wax was a modeling material that carried with it powerful associations of indexicality and identity.”<sup>437</sup> Wax, and later silver, figures of human bodies or their parts constitute a genre of transformative representation.<sup>438</sup>

Wax has been recognized for its role in votive offerings of this region.<sup>439</sup> Just fifty kilometers, or thirty-one miles, north of Munich, this example of a shop that could serve a community of devotees by providing wax images for offering was not a single shop type, rather it provided populaces with baked goods and other wax objects like candles. Wax was important to connecting bodies to images; this material was a powerful signifier in the early modern period.<sup>440</sup> The affinity for wax was so widespread that it registered as the subject of critique in contemporary publications. For example, In a fictitious letter published as a pamphlet in 1523, a protective wax lamb is rejected by a son after his mother sent it to him for protection.<sup>441</sup> While this pamphlet is unabashedly Protestant in tone, it is a record of the existence and logical (at the time) use of wax

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<sup>436</sup> Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto*, 76.

<sup>437</sup> Holmes “Ex-Votos,” 161.

<sup>438</sup> Jagla, “Wax in Votive”, 59-74.; Holmes “Ex-Votos”, 161; figural votos were “responsive to specific historical contingencies and transformations, including growing concerns about idolatry associated with cultic devotion”.

<sup>439</sup> Nina Gockrell, “Votive Wax: The Hipp Workshop in Pfaffenhofen”, in Weinryb (ed), *Agents of Faith*, 182-188.

<sup>440</sup> Jowita. Jagla, “From a Noble Substance to an Imitative Body. The Image and Meaning of Wax Figures in a Votive Offering,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 67:4 (2019), 60.

<sup>441</sup> Carlos M. N, Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 95.

shapes as an apotropaic [sign], in this case activated at least in part by its association with the agnus dei, the Lamb of God. Wax was a favored substance for offerings at these Marian shrines as well. Digitized or transcribed, published versions of historical records that were created about such objects constitute relevant and rich sources of data available for comparison.<sup>442</sup> At least six scenes in Altötting's Miracle cycle include mention of a wax image that was donated to Our Lady in thanks for miraculous assistance.<sup>443</sup>

As a meaningful and malleable material, wax was among the most common offering types mentioned in miracle stories, wax was persistently meaningful in its representational capacity by weight. There were many types of waxen figures that represented the ailing body parts.<sup>444</sup> Three of the weighty wax offerings described in Altötting's miracle cycle were made to figurally represent the person who received the miracle.<sup>445</sup> In the miracle book of the Beautiful Mary of Regensburg, the word "Bild" is used for a description of the goods that were given by humans. These are generally *images* or *pictures* made of wax, as is seen in the example of the thirty-first "sign" found in the 1519 miracle-book of Regensburg. "In such danger, she called upon the Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg, and to her in that place she troth-plighted herself with a wax

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<sup>442</sup> For example, see König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vol. 2. , 470-1.

<sup>443</sup> Wax images pictured in Altötting's Miracle Cycle panel numbers: 11, 42, 49, 22, 25, 58; text transcribed in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 8-13.

<sup>444</sup> Wood, "Public Private Offering" in *Agents of Faith*, 67, 77.

<sup>445</sup> The figures are for two children and one soldier, no further description is given; Weighty wax images panel numbers: 21, 34, 50; reproduced in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 39, 52, 68.

image.”<sup>446</sup> In this case, there is not a clear description as to how the image appeared. It is possible that there was a full-bodied person shape, which when made in wax it would be an “image”. It is also possible that it is just a more general way to describe the more prevalent type of waxen votive offerings, those which were shaped to resemble certain body parts that were ailing or injured. Nearly ten percent of the miracle stories make mention of a wax image in regards to offerings given to the Virgin in Regensburg.<sup>447</sup> If we include all instances of wax which occur in these stories, be they shaped into an arm, a ship, or some other meaningful representation of the devotee or their plight, this number more than doubles.<sup>448</sup> Wax itself was a marker of legitimacy, as for centuries seals were used for assuring authoritative messages.<sup>449</sup> Indeed, this use likely affirmed its employment as a meaningful symbol of witness in Marian chapels of this period.<sup>450</sup> One pictorial representation of this type of wax is visible in Mariazell’s Wunderaltar (Fig. 35). This trompe-l’oeil wax is the only thing which dissects the black painted gutters which divide each of the triptych’s forty-eight scenes. It is a marker of legitimacy from the Benedictine monastery which stewarded the functioning of this shrine for centuries, the abbey of St. Lambrecht. Such

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<sup>446</sup> Original German: “...in solchen Noten hat sie angerufen die Schönen Maria zu Regensburg / und sich da hin verlobt mit eine wachsen Bild...” For more on verlobten as “plighting one’s troth,” see especially sign 19 in Appendix B.3.

<sup>447</sup> Regensburg miracle “zeichen”: 15, 31, 43, 52, 58, 68- wax image

<sup>448</sup> Regensburg miracle “zeichen”: 20- wax head; 26 - wax feet ; 27- wax man; 33- wax arm; 42- wax hand; 56- wax eyes; 56- wax shinbone; 48 - wax belt; 50- wax ship

<sup>449</sup> For more on this history, see Baader and Weinryb, *Sign and Design: Script as Image in Cross-Cultural Perspective, 300-1600 CE*, 2016.

<sup>450</sup> Homes, “Ex Voto”, 161.

legitimizing symbols are intertwined with issues of action and event, topics tackled in the final chapter of this study.

### 3.4 Recognizing Conclusion:

The central object in Ostendorfer's famous broadside woodcut was perhaps the most controversial aspect of the cult's practice, the Virgin on a column (Fig. 1). "Centripetal worship" was associated with the bacchanalian rites<sup>451</sup>. The image on a column was closely associated with the commonly pictured idolatry of the tribe of Israel as condemned by Moses (Fig. 36).<sup>452</sup> The rituals being performed around an image on a column is precisely the moment in which devotional behavior became dangerously close to paganism. Pilgrims threw themselves on the ground in front of the statue of the Virgin, explaining that they felt a "sudden overheating of the blood".<sup>453</sup>

This Marian statue inspired devotional acts but also inspired iconoclastic violence against herself. As early as 1520, a preacher in Niedermünster was urging citizens to ignore the new pilgrimage church in Regensburg.<sup>454</sup> Within five years of the Marian cult's founding, the Bishop

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<sup>451</sup> Christopher Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape*, 221.

<sup>452</sup> This story is told in Exodus 32.

<sup>453</sup> Stahl, "Die Wallfahrt zur Schönen Maria in Regensburg." *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg*, 67-70; translation by Wood, "Ritual Virgin Column" 89.

<sup>454</sup> Stahl, "Die Wallfahrt Schönen Maria", 71-18; Wood, "Ritual Virgin Column", 89.

of Chiemsee asserted that the worship there had become idolatrous.<sup>455</sup> By the end of the century, the cult had been dissolved, its chapel became the town's first Protestant church, and the statue of the Virgin on the column had been destroyed.<sup>456</sup>

Spiritual salvation and gratitude was engaged through the use of objects in actions. Donors purchased objects that were displayed or consumed in the church space. Devotional constancy was supported by both ephemeral candles and costly altarpieces. Material mentions of wax appear in texts about miracle stories which were reported at these Marian shrines. By considering the way that early modern people represented miracle stories and the objects that surrounded them, this chapter tracks important visual information registered by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century makers. This focus emphasized the features of iconic pictures across a variety of media, each inviting connection and prompting devotional behaviors.

As evinced in painted votive panels and their printed counterparts, the representations of visions and objects are particularly useful for uncovering how seemingly disparate images could serve to represent the same entity – the Virgin Mary as manifested in a geographically distinct location. Modern readers and viewers cannot assume precisely how people of the past understood these same objects. For early modern audiences, there was a great potential for visual variation without sacrificing recognition. Seeing is more about expectation than stimulus, particularly for images of the Virgin.<sup>457</sup> She was understood to be beyond any mortal form, so a direct depiction

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<sup>455</sup> Wood, "Ritual Virgin Column", 89.; Landau and Parshall, *Renaissance Prints*, 337-342.

<sup>456</sup> Wood, "Ritual Virgin Column," 87-107.

<sup>457</sup> Lisa Feldman Barrett, *Seven and a Half Lessons About the Brain*, 64-82.; This is also at play in Baxandall's concept of period-eye in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*.

of the natural world was not sufficient to her status. All images of the Virgin that attended to representing her extraordinary identity as a mortal who was elevated and bore the divine, required a filter of exceptional stylistic representation.

There are necessarily formal differences between the printed “copy” and the “original” to which it referred.<sup>458</sup> To mitigate this, buttressing attributes could serve to reinforce an attribution, and perhaps even permit extra flexibility for the picture-creator. This flexibility was desired for likely very practical reasons associated with manual replication.<sup>459</sup> What was created is a clue to viewer expectations, but it is not a direct record of vision. Prints and painted scenes offer a type of fragmented gaze, reproducing a certain view of the cult object, thereby producing something new and interesting in what it both includes and excludes from the image. Images are social products, and their increased variety of form in the late medieval and early modern prior allowed them to expand to new audiences in myriad versions, leaving behind a rich (though partial) archive. “Images both affect and reflect the changing course of human history,” and history itself can be understood as a sign – legible through their material, form, and placement.<sup>460</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> This has been shown in the previously done study by Robert Maniura about in the case of Santa Maria delle Carceri: The Virgin and Child are reversed/mirrored, the Christ Child is standing rather than seated, and the flanking saints are looking at the Virgin, rather than at the viewer. However, there is a prison grate below the throne of the Virgin, assuring the viewer that this is indeed an image of the Virgin on a prison wall. Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 125-6.

<sup>459</sup> For discussion of devotional print as a secondary relic, see Pon, *Printed Icon*, 63-64.

<sup>460</sup> History is the “ephemeral sign of memory evoked between past and present between absence and presence.” Wei Cheng Lin, “Sign”, in *Key Terms in Material Religion*, 27.

Painted panels that offered up witness testimony of miraculous events have been given and displayed at miracle shrines for centuries. At active cult sites, these panels overwhelm the visitor, and enthusiastically argue that the power at that site is sufficient for the needs of the congregation (Fig. 37). Beholding of these panels are not necessarily identical across the centuries, and this question requires concerted attention. Perception is central to how Belting describes images, “internal images connect with the physical production of external pictures that we stage in the social realm.”<sup>461</sup> Offering practices altered the objects around which they were performed. Indeed, one theory of the origins of Black Madonnas is that their darkness was attained due to a buildup of soot on the surface of these objects, a result of the many candles burned near it – lit by generations of petitioners and devotees in acts of prayer. Such accumulation takes time, thereby serving as a marker of persistent prayer before a powerful proxy. The layers of smoke are a condensation of time and collection of human action that support the legitimacy of the object. In this way, the patina is akin to the anonymous witness testimonies provided by figural votive offerings, anonymous wax body parts deposited at this and comparable sites.

Reconstructing a type of “period eye” for images like icons and the pictures that engaged in replication allows us to better situate ourselves in the context of miracle cults’ early modern viewers. Realizing that our response as humans to what we see is greatly affected by our own experiences, this reeducation in ways of seeing takes into account a cultural and or historical position that is distinct from our own viewing situation. Votive paintings were not meant to be viewed in isolation, and so by considering a larger set of extant examples, we may glimpse the

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<sup>461</sup> Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, 9.

collective testimony that these objects offered to those that visited miracle shrines near the turn of the sixteenth century.

Votive prints could travel farther away from the primary locus of worship, and were able to evoke the memory of a panel type that was wide-spread and familiar to contemporary audiences. These printed versions of the longer standing panels were able to reference a larger set, whether or not they were originally sold or viewed as a larger set. As prints, interactions with them were likely diverse and whatever original intent may or may not have been, they were able to be used for personal devotion individually, or pasted onto a wall or piece of furniture (like many prints of their time) to recreate a sort of facsimile of the original large miracle altar, from which many of these stories seem to have been modeled. The communal viewing area of places like Altötting's porch allowed these large narrative panels in painted form to offer supportive and historical foundations, to which more recent panels have accreted around. As a set, they attest to the continued miraculous events that unfold at this shrine.

Visual descriptions found in printed miracle texts highlight the kind of words that were used to describe the objects and events surrounding miracles in the early modern Germanic South. The emphasis on non-material apparitions is a productive point in which the painted panels and printed texts overlap. When objects are not engaged in times of need, the Virgin often appears herself, sometimes as a personality who engages in conversation with the petitioner, and other times as an image that reminds the person in danger to call upon her in her place of worship. By bringing together and highlighting the words that were used to describe miraculous events visually and the objects that participated in devotion at Marian shrines helps untangle the priorities of devotees who consistently turned to objects to facilitate connection with the divine.

The role that objects play in these interactions are not always obvious to modern observers, but the traces of these events have allowed their importance to be uncovered and partially reconstructed. This has first taken place in the form of narrative in this first part of the study, and the implications will be further explored in the form of network models in the following chapters. Images can be considered “foci for constructive performances of devotion,” which assert themselves through the miraculous visual transformation or through more amorphous action on people.<sup>462</sup> These viewing practices left traces in text and image which are essential to understanding the relationships between mortals and the divine as aided through objects and images.

Even today, offerings which accumulate and are displayed serve as material witnesses for absent persons (Fig. 37). Encased in vitrines with a slot for ongoing deposits, each object placed in these containers at Marizell serve as material traces of devotional precedents. Even viewers less familiar with Catholic devotional practice can likely perceive of this, as each deposited veil represents a wedding, each cane a person who came to the shrine with difficulty walking. For congregants who are familiar with the Catholic faith, the presence of individual offerings are engaging in an exchange that assists in connections with the heavenly.<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 177-8.

<sup>463</sup> For articulation of the divine as able to be whole and present in each fragment or outward “sign,” see *Catechism of Trent*, 151.

#### 4.0 Chapter 3: Abstraction in Action

To the right of the Virgin on a Column in Ostendorfer's print, one barefoot pilgrim encircles another column in a steady embrace (Fig. 1). Within this tightly-packed woodcut, this figure visibly strains under the weight of a particularly massive candle, its height extending to nearly twice that of its porter.<sup>464</sup> By the time this print was made, wicks and wax had been calibrated to the devotee's own height or weight, "as if they were in some sense giving themselves by offering their measures," for more than a century.<sup>465</sup> The ephemerality of the human was represented by the consumable wax and wick of a candle. Offerings, like the ones our encumbered acolyte bears, were objects, but they were also actions – ephemeral yet substantive. This detail illustrates a number of issues that confront modeling object-centered research, that is, how to represent an object within its context of undeclared actions. Recovering and reconstructing these inaccessible moments, personal experiences of intercession, is the central action in the process of translating humanistic narrative into alternative forms suited to computational modeling.

Offerings were performed gifts of self-representation that were made in the "language" of presence as it was understood by Catholic inhabitants of this region. This is to say that the object

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<sup>464</sup> This candle bearer wears a twisted head piece and, like many in this scene, is shown barefoot. On this massive candle offering supported by a sling and both arms, there appears to be a piece of paper or parchment affixed to the shaft. The particulars of what was on this paper are not apparent. However, it would be within pilgrimage practice to affix any number of things onto such an offering, such as a print of the Virgin herself or a representation of the mortals or mortals who were presenting this offering, including but not limited to prints of particular saints.

<sup>465</sup> Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 29.

was not only understood as an object in a fixed space, but the object, particularly those which engaged in representation by weight or length, had to be transported with effort across space.<sup>466</sup>

I find the term “events” as a useful frame for productively clarifying the moment in meaning-making which expresses a relationship between the action of offering and abstraction evidenced in what was offered. The French philosopher, Alain Badiou defined “event” as a process which causes a subject (such as a human viewer) to notice a disruption in a current situation.<sup>467</sup> In computational fields, “event modeling” is the method by which information is tracked and acknowledged for its variability through time.<sup>468</sup> For example, it is particularly useful to model offerings as events because the objects themselves were materials which registered the important event of vow-fulfillment. It is in this way that my concept of offerings as “events” support my inclusion of offerings and their visual representation in this dataset that preserves historical alignment between objects and actions at cult sites. The next section surveys the sources of numeric information available about offerings and suggests some quantitative limitations of such numerical information, such as the offering’s weight, totaled in chapel ledgers, for researching questions of agency. I then conclude this chapter by attending to the symbolic aspects of images that have parallels in extant, early modern data sources. This chapter, “Abstraction Requires Action,” therefore articulates the notable cases of abstraction which were presented in cult objects that ostensibly required action, indicating key decisions researchers make when translating abstracted events into a computationally useful form.

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<sup>466</sup> For example, see the figure carrying a massive offering at the right of Ostendorfer’s aforementioned broadside.

<sup>467</sup> For more on this topic, see Alain Badiou, *Being and Event*. United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007.

<sup>468</sup> <https://eventmodeling.org/>

In the first section, I focus on actions as a mode or form of abstraction. Abstraction here is referring to a condition of being removed from the material world – such that the idea becomes an entity of study or attention itself. Abstraction evinces action. An action is some act performed, a thing done which is evidenced materially. Therefore, in this first section, abstraction’s relationship to action is considered as practically equivalent to that of action. For example, at the Alötting shrine, a sixteenth-century visitor’s encounter with a sea of wax body-parts at the Virgin’s chapel could be a moment of recognition between the object and its placement there by another person.<sup>469</sup> Alötting’s Catholic inhabitants would have a set of experiences wherein they recognize the objects and their purpose hanging along the porch. For example, a silver pair of eyes could reliably motivate Alötting’s pilgrim to project a series of general assumptions about this class of offerings: for example, that the silver is expensive, and the eyes reference the issue with which other pilgrims petitioned the Madonna for aid. There is plenty of evidence that pilgrims extended figural offerings at shrines of the Virgin across the Germanic South during this period.<sup>470</sup> Evidence of offerings are found in visual objects like the title page of the Alötting miracle book authored by Jakob Isseckhemer (Fig. 2). This woodcut scene collapses space and transforms objects in a way which necessarily registers aspects about the societal context for which and in which it was produced.

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<sup>469</sup> The relationship of exchange has been noted across a variety of miracle shrines from the late medieval and early modern period. For example, for the French context, see Pierre André Sigal, *L’homme et le miracle*, 79-116; for the English context, see Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*; as seen in Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 29.

<sup>470</sup> For example, see Andree, Richard. *Votive und Weihegaben des Katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland*. Braunschweig: Verlag Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1904.; *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen: Katalog Der Ausstellung*. München: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1984.; König, Maria Angela. *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Alötting*. Vols. 1–2. Band Rahmen der Zeitgeschichte, 1492-1750. Munich: Stahl. 1940.

Both the woodcut on the title page and the subsequent pages of the miracle book's text that reports miracles of Our Lady of Altötting represent offerings as a central aspect of miraculous events, both as physical objects and performed actions.

In order to record or communicate about past performed actions, research actions of historical inquiry can also be understood as abstractions, from the theory employed in a study to the ways in which files are stored by an individual scholar. The practice of research consists of many moments of reduction from the complexity of the inexhaustible physical world to a condensed form that attends to the aspects of reality that are important to the aims of the human agent who created the records and objects. Researchers engage in complexity reduction when using metaphors to convey a point or when including graphs to communicate some aspect of a larger phenomena. Data are abstractions that can be thought of as caught in mid-action. Data requires mental acts of abstraction, such as categorization, in order to represent an aspect of the world within its structures and values. Likewise, to engage with data requires an act of abstraction in order for researchers to investigate aspects of the world that are represented in both qualitative and quantitative data. In this study, I engaged in mental acts of abstraction when using spreadsheets to track information originally located in primary sources like miracle books.

The second section surveys miracles that have been quantified in primary sources. As any records taken of inventory, quantities are numbers, and in my study, quantities, as well as biographical information associated with those quantities, are abstractions. Miracles' numeric information is not ready-to-use data; scribes, of course, did not use spreadsheets to diligently catalog miracle and pilgrim quantities or Mary's potency in her intercession, nor did they standardize their records according to stylesheets. However, we can piece together some standardized forms of this data using visual analysis and historical context. See Bauer

We can therefore apply a standardizing methodology to, for example, the thirty-fourth scene of Altötting's Miracle Cycle. In this story, a child is saved through the miraculous agency of the Madonna in an offering of an image made of wax made to look like a child which was made in the weight of the child who had been delivered from danger. Weight is consistently recorded as a meaningful aspect of offered objects. The cult's shrine custodians recorded the weight of such offerings in the chapel ledgers.

The chapel of Our Lady in Altötting recorded offerings by weight, which is compelling because there is a strong association between the weight of the offering and the weight of the child.<sup>471</sup> From this association, we can consider the potential of cross-referencing these weight records with other records of weight, records that have been published and preserved over centuries, hinting at their value over time. Even given reasonable estimations of weight and value, these records are too varied to expand a scale of the inquiry to include both records to illuminate the same question. What this variation does show, however, is the creative variety of gift-giving practices – replicative abstractions that reflect and represent the human experience of suffering as varied as the weights themselves. Such mimetic rituals – rituals repeated relatively consistently over time – suggest creative engagement, generative abstraction in form and in content, in the variety of objects which register these types of actions.<sup>472</sup> The church set precedent for these offering practices when it sanctioned the transference of holy matter into quantifiable forms, such as weight and length. Thus, the miracles' quantifiable qualities and their replication over time

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<sup>471</sup> See Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*, 8-16.

<sup>472</sup> For more on this phrase and a discussion of "mimetic rituals" in the Italian context, see Maniura, "Ev Votos Pious Performance," 422.

provide a new image of agency in the translation of actions into recorded information. Numeric information was indeed valuable for replicable, personal acts, but, and it may not come as a surprise, despite the translation of acts into quantities, they do not function well in reconstructing historical models. This is one of the pitfalls of applying such data to historical questions.

Symbolic abstraction is another data source. It is the recognition of the encoded information in visible symbols. In early-modern studies, this may be considered a subset of the methods which are in line with Michael Baxandall's concept of "period eye," which acknowledges the social contexts that impact beholding.<sup>473</sup> The amphibian-shaped votive offerings of the Germanic South are now largely only visible in the context of museum spaces, with pictorial representation and personal effects representing the majority of offerings made at the active shrines today. In Mariazell, tall and narrow vitrine-like cases sort and display, vertically and almost like a bar graph, the ongoing offerings of devotees aiming to connect with the divine, registering their presence at the chapel by leaving behind canes, wedding veils, and rosaries (Fig. 38). For visitors to a twenty-first century Tyrolean folk museum, such wax and iron turtles benefit from the support of wall-text that specify the symbolic meaning to viewers outside of their particular intended context (Fig. 39).

The moment of connection could be sparked from the moment pilgrims beheld these objects. However, sight alone was not enough for what was being communicated through the wax frogs was dependent on recognition and a shared set of symbols – recognizing that the Virgin has come to the aid of women experiencing infertility, followed by consolation that she might help

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<sup>473</sup> For more on period eye in northern context, see Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 143-163.

them too. Thus, recognition is a moment of symbolic abstraction, that is, the reduction of an image (i.e., wax frogs) into an emotion (i.e., consolation).

Recognition is evidenced in Lisa Pon's study of a printed icon through the devotional practices including prayer and process by the members of its cult.<sup>474</sup> This term is also used in Fredricka Jacobs' study on Votive Panels, in which the author uses "recognition" as determined for individuals and collectives at cult shrines.<sup>475</sup> Symbolic abstraction, like the moment of offering-Virgin-consolation recognition, is worthy of modeling, even though it is ultimately inaccessible and entwined with the messiness of human subjectivity. An impressive hoard of offerings is characteristic of early-modern, European, and Catholic sites of cult worship or cult chapels. Accumulated offerings arrest viewers in the chapel space. At minimum, this "shock factor" constitutes how these objects actively demand encounters with visitors in their visual volume. Many of the social cues represented in encoded meanings were conveyed in symbols in cases like miracle publications and painted cycles. There are a variety of ways in which the community is represented in the miracle cycles of Altötting and Mariazell.

The variety apparent in the objects created for these Marian shrines makes apparent the importance of the translation process between document and data. Researchers act as data stewards when making decisions about the importance, meaning, and prevalence of visual features. This is in order to represent an abstraction of the objects' existence in the dataset. The miracle recipients on the cycle of Altötting's porch were, for the most part, represented as doctors by title, and

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<sup>474</sup> Pon, *Printed Icon*, 15.

<sup>475</sup> Jacobs, Fredrika H. *Votive Panels and Popular Piety in Early Modern Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, (2013) 91-97, 114.

Mariazell's contemporaneous *Wunderaltar* and print series reveal a significant number of stories regarding the intercession of the Virgin in the lives of the clergy and nobility. Nevertheless, the remarkable percentage of priests are easily recognizable even today by their tonsured hair. I compare the social markers discernable in Mariazell's representations of miracles with the available demographic records from the same site. Social information made available through those records is central to understanding and tracking relationships, yet such categories are potentially misleading or even damaging to the goals of this study. For example, the practice of pilgrimage and the forms of data collection and community record-keeping each inform the ways in which data collected from those records can be used. Pilgrimage records offer just one aspect of my study's cult communities, specifically information related to traveling, and not the records that actively stewarded, maintained, or served the masses of pilgrims that dwelt there briefly. Each of these investigations of offering events can be understood as evidence of abstraction and labors toward defining an apparatus of thinking – a tool with which humanists can explore, communicate, and compare different patterns of cognition.

Humans feel connected with each other when we share pain and feel heard. Each of the images of miracles as presented in prints and paintings from this period show mortals suffering. Votive offerings are therefore pain that has been recast as hope and shared with a community of believers. As the outward signs of internal conditions, these offerings that share pain are the links by which the divine agency of Mary was accessed or encouraged through objects made for these Marian cults.

#### 4.1 Abstraction is Action: Events

Even toads and frogs represented active emotion for particular body parts.<sup>476</sup> Sometimes these symbols were doubly present; for example, in the case of a particularly bawdy fabliau written in German, a woman's sex is mistaken for a toad when it separates itself from her and roams the streets independently.<sup>477</sup> In this case, the amphibian is both a symbol of the female genitalia and a reference to the danger of desire inherent in *luxuria*. Therefore, it is possible that some of the frog or toad offerings were representative of more nuanced meanings than those articulated or recorded. Such pictorial offerings were given in conjunction with ritual actions which they implied by their presence in the main cult site, a remnant of a larger devotional process. Particularly in the case of mentioned wax offerings, about which no additional information is included, pilgrimage acts such as collecting alms while traveling to the chapel were jointly offered as gifts to the divine.<sup>478</sup>

Such representations of the central cult space are found in those miracle cycles created for Mariazell and Altötting. Within the context of the main altar, offerings are occasionally pictured

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<sup>476</sup> For the many meanings of toads, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The Strange Case of Ermine de Reims (c. 1347–1396): A Medieval Woman between Demons and Saints." *Speculum* 85, no. 2 (2010), 345-346. Though wax frogs have fallen in favor, the accumulation of offerings like crosses carried on pilgrimage which have been left by devotees are still recognizable traces left by a distributed community of believers.

<sup>477</sup> Berlioz and Polo de Beaulieu, "Le saint," 234. ; as seen in Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The Strange Case of Ermine de Reims", 346.

<sup>478</sup> Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 16.

in Altötting's Miracle Cycle (Fig. 40).<sup>479</sup> In one story, Hanns Zehentmair is shown kneeling before the image of Our Lady. Before him is his offered clothing item that is described in the text below as a "long tunic" (Fig. 41).<sup>480</sup> Scattered around this offering are small remnants of beeswax candles and around Hans' hands are his rosary which may well have also been left behind after his miraculous restoration of sight before this altar. Depicting rosaries is pervasive in many of the painted miracles of Our Lady at this shrine. Though there are miniature details of figural votives in the fourteenth scene of this Bavarian cycle, the altar is most often depicted with candles and occasionally shown surrounded by rosaries. Such objects have remained powerful deposits by the faithful in both Bavaria and Austria to this day.<sup>481</sup> Anatomical votives in particular are powerful vehicles for sharing pain, outward and visible signs of suffering bodies. Each offered object materialized both a representation of people and ritual action.

The potential power of these objects and their meanings are not always reliant on visual signals that are readily accessible to any given viewer, past or present. Offerings could also be about sacrifice or value that was intimately tied to the position of the devotee.<sup>482</sup> The Bavarian cases each mention "living offerings," Regensburg only surpassed Altötting's count by one case. However, Regensburg does identify which animals were given more often than the general

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<sup>479</sup> Specifically, the altar is pictured with offerings in: TI,7; TII,14 ; TXII,55; The altar is pictured without offerings in: TIII,15; TVII,32; TXII, 57 (founding). As reproduced in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 17-80.

<sup>480</sup> Original German: "einen langen Männerrock dorthin zu spenden." 7; reproduced in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 24.

<sup>481</sup> <https://www.altoetting.de/en/tourism-altoetting/pilgrimage/typical-altoetting-devotional-objects-of-altoetting/>

<sup>482</sup> This has Biblical precedent, for example see the story of the widow Mark 12: 41-44.

description provided by its regional counterpart.<sup>483</sup> In contrast, many of Altötting's miracle books describe offerings simply as "worthy" in printed texts.<sup>484</sup> Worthiness is mentioned two more times in the painted cycle's text from the same site.<sup>485</sup> While both Bavarian shrines mention the giving of currency to shrines, Regensburg does name this three times as often as publications originating from Altötting.<sup>486</sup>

Offerings are more than visual symbols. These objects exist in excess of any perceptions of them.<sup>487</sup> Additionally, the engendered experiences were not prescribed or limited to only a particular path for encoding and projecting meaning in material things. For example, surrogates of Christ's body or portions of his body were brought back by pilgrims returning to Europe from the Holy Land through their measures in strings and strips of leather.<sup>488</sup> These powerful objects were not operating like badges, because measures were ill-suited to proof of travel or as memory aids.<sup>489</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> Regensburg miracle book (1519) sign 20: Lamb and Hen; sign 58: Hen; 21: Living offering; sign 63: Horse; Altötting's Miracle Cycle names "living offering" in panels: 10, 45, 26.

<sup>484</sup> Printed Descriptive Text about Offerings: Texts printed for Altötting (1497) Miracle Book by Issekhemer; Altötting story 7, 10, 12, 15, 25, 32, 69 "mit ermöglichen Opfer"; Altötting story 39, 50, 51, 61, 68 offering.

<sup>485</sup> Altötting's Miracle Cycle mentions "worthy offerings" in panels: 24 and 51.

<sup>486</sup> Regensburg miracle book (1519) signs 60, 63, 69 offer Gulden (currency); Altötting miracle book (1497, Issekhemer) story 33 offered a gulden.

<sup>487</sup> This is related to many philosophical and theoretical arguments, which is used here because of its ability to reconcile both Belting's Image/Picture distinction as well as the social historical method of Baxandall's "Period Eye"; Belting, *Anthropology of Images*, 9-61.; Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 143-163.

<sup>488</sup> Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 29.

<sup>489</sup> For measures and the transfer of power in relation to "likeness", see Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 264, n.31.

However, the agency of objects was not wholly reliant on their ability to act as visible signs. Instead, objects like offerings benefit from being recognizable as actions.

#### **4.1.1 Offerings: Abstraction in Object and Action**

Offered *objects* were materialized forms of offering *actions*.<sup>490</sup> Like the sacraments which were articulated and defined at the Council of Trent beginning in 1545, the offerings appear to enact or deepen the relationships they represent. A twenty-first century viewer catapulted into a sixteenth-century miracle shrine would be confronted with a number of wax figures, many of which would be “readable” by their very shape. For example, a wax figure of a pair of eyes could be understood as referring to some ailment of the eye or sight that was performed through this organ. However, there were also forms that were apparent referents to the natural world, which resisted fluid, straightforward decoding. Offerings of wax figures were inherently purposeful acts.<sup>491</sup> How then would past viewers “understand” the many frogs that adorned chapel walls? Since at least the late medieval period, wax candles and anatomical votive objects began to be seen in places of worship.<sup>492</sup> Material like wax is therefore one way to untie the actions and objects of offerings. By the sixteenth century, this was a well-established substance imbued with marvelous properties and

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<sup>490</sup> Pilgrimage acts were offerings. - see Maniura “Ex Votos Pious Performance,” 421

<sup>491</sup> Merback, “Ex Votos Pious Performance”, 413.

<sup>492</sup> Richard Andree, *Votive und Weihegaben des Katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland*, (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg und sohn, 1904), 77–85.

apotropaic agency; the facture of a figural votive was therefore the creation of an extraordinarily powerful object.<sup>493</sup> Such figures are enmeshed in mortal action on at least three fronts: as actions themselves, as prompts for action, or motivations of action. Robert Maniura characterized this in stating that, “votive images enact the relationship between votary and holy person in physical space.”<sup>494</sup>

Great effort was made going to and registering presence at these Marian shrines. Devotees coped with their disconnection from the central cult space by making offerings. In order to categorize pictured offerings, we must turn to textual descriptions of such objects to look for evidence of early modern traces of conceptual groupings or terminology. Some scholars working on this topic have asserted that there were two basic “kinds” of offerings: ornamental and evidentiary.<sup>495</sup> Ornamental offerings, in this framework, are meant to please the heavenly agent and point back toward the shrine in which the divine was believed to dwell. In “contrast”, the evidentiary offerings are those which point back towards the individual votary and their life as evidence of divine agency experienced. However, these types are not particularly useful for understanding the records of offerings from the shrines under consideration here. Not only is it nearly impossible to separate these two functions from any single offering, but the form as delineated in this way did not have any effect on the evaluation of an offering in its original

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<sup>493</sup> Jacek Olędzki, “Wota woskowe ze wsi Brodowe Łąki i Krzynowłoga Wielka,” *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* 14, issue 1 (1960): 5, footnote 13.; as seen in Jowita Jagła, “From a Noble Substance to an Imitative Body. The Image and Meaning of Wax Figures in a Votive Offering,” 62.

<sup>494</sup> Maniura, “Ex Votos Pious Performance,” 423.

<sup>495</sup> Wood, “Public and Private Offering” in *Agents of Faith*, 69.

context.<sup>496</sup> During the process of descriptive labeling, I found wax to be a persistent quality of an otherwise widely varied set of objects. Candles in particular are present in depictions of altars of each of these Marian cults.<sup>497</sup>

I created a network visualization in which this data about material visibly unites examples from multiple sites (Fig. 43). Each node represents objects such as anatomical figures. Edges of relatedness were established according to the labels I assigned according to established conventions of scholarly description. I was then able to find affinity with the materiality of quickly consumed candles upon the altar. Depicting active forms of devotion is key to this object set and the insights it can provide to modern research efforts. However, especially in many of its pictorial representations, the relationship between two objects, one depicting and the other depicted, the relationship asserted between them is itself an argument. That argument is my own, which is based on the research outlined in the narrative form of this chapter. Articulating this tension between forms of representing knowledge is vital to this and similar projects which aim to engage various methodologies emergent from disparate fields.

The work of data stewardship is a central scholarly endeavor in this project.<sup>498</sup> For example, the question of pictured offerings is itself an argument which is not only deeply situated in the mind of the beholder/steward, but also because it requires the necessary knowledge and experience to distinguish between a story's "shorthand" way of identifying entities and those objects which

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<sup>496</sup> "Some offerings point in both directions... deities seem satisfied with both kinds." Wood, "Public and Private Offering," in *Agents of Faith*, 69.

<sup>497</sup> This visualization was made using data I compiled from these shrines and expansion run in Gephi.

<sup>498</sup> Langmead et al, "Roles-Based Model", <https://doi.org/10.11588/dah.2018.3.34297>.

are present and cast in the role *as* offerings. For example, the case in Mariazell of a man who was broken on a wheel, his instrument of torture is only pictured in the chapel space when it benefits the artist's rendering of the narrative and thereby secures the identity of the miracle story.

Both the frog, the candle, and the human figurine were inseparable from devotional action. The procedure of giving the wax voto to the Virgin in her chapel space was part of a contractual exchange that required the action of both the votee and the votary.<sup>499</sup> The material deposit of offerings was a tangible registration of the devotional performance. Its very existence in the worship space was itself a record of action performed.<sup>500</sup> Its presentation implied associated behaviors such as petition and prayer. Each object that was deposited in this context was understood to represent the mortal who beseeched the divine. However, the particulars of each instance were occluded from fellow devotees. There were a variety of ways to represent individual devotees through a part that could stand in for the whole. The form of devotional objects themselves were well suited to repetition because "generic rather than verisimilar portrait images" were prevalent in images made for offering.<sup>501</sup> Further compounding the complexity (of tracing early modern concepts of agency) is the fact that both the *subjects* and *methods* of historical inquiry are composed of actions which become crystalized as abstractions.

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<sup>499</sup> Merback, "Lob und Dank" in *Agents of Faith*, 159- 181.

<sup>500</sup> Holmes, "Ex Votos: Materiality, Meaning, and Cult," in *Idol Age of Art*, 178-9.

<sup>501</sup> Maniura, "Ex Votos Pious Performance," 419-420.

#### 4.1.2 Research: Acts of Abstraction

The act of research is also an act of abstraction. The visual repetition of objects and actions support the devotional practices at Marian shrines and likewise aid pattern-detection for historians today. There are many types of available data and conspicuous patterns in published miracle accounts which span generations. German scholars in particular have published the counts of historical names of people and places to understand the past.<sup>502</sup> Those who have focused more on the action at the sites have taken up the types of miracles performed as a foothold for creating organizational schema to assist scholarly investigation. Others have focused on the accounts of miracle cults, comparing the offerings made by quantity and type. Each of these earlier investigations has shown some new side of what miracle cults have preserved through time, records of human action that can be used to understand a range of phenomena otherwise inaccessible. Meaningful groups, such as children or housewives, within miracle collections have been identified in previous studies. For example, the prevalence of proper names that can be found in miracle stories have served etymological studies, many of which have been conducted by historians of names and illnesses.<sup>503</sup>

These earlier studies are valuable resources for connecting research across sites and provides the foundation for deeper computational techniques to be used for understanding the actions and beliefs of early modern peoples. The goal of moving from tables of data to interconnected network graphs is to take the accounts of miracles seriously in order to understand

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<sup>502</sup> For example, see König, Maria Angela. *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. especially v2, tables 1-7.

<sup>503</sup> Previous scholars have also noted the rich data about disease that is presented in the records of miracle stories.

For example, see Midelfort, *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (1999).

what they believed, rather than constraining them to structures to which we expect them to adhere. While the concepts of indivisible presence and appearance as veil to matter, Catholic theology was deeply engaged in these very questions by the first half of the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent articulated the importance of sacraments - symbols of sacred things which grant visible form to invisible grace.<sup>504</sup> As part of the Council of Trent's published text on catechism, in a section entitled "Christ Whole and Entire Present in Every Part of Each Species," Christ is described as being undiminished by the distribution of his presence in the Eucharist.<sup>505</sup> Part of the three mysteries of the Eucharist includes a warning to pastors about the dangerous potential of relying solely on the senses and appearance to determine the substance or agency of an encountered "object."<sup>506</sup> Instead of relying on the senses, which "will of necessity fall into enormous impiety," the catechism instructs that the faithful be "withdrawn from subjection to the senses and excited to the contemplation of the stupendous might and power of God."<sup>507</sup> In fact, the catechism text goes on to specifically answer the question of why things are neither visibly or even nominally reliable for determining substance or presence. Instead, the council insists that this custom of *calling things by their appearance* (rather than their substance or name) is in accordance with

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<sup>504</sup> [www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1545-1545,\\_Concilium\\_Tridentinum,\\_Canons\\_And DECREES,\\_EN.pdf](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1545-1545,_Concilium_Tridentinum,_Canons_And DECREES,_EN.pdf)  
Chapter 3, 13th session.

<sup>505</sup> Catechism of Trent - <http://www.saintsbooks.net/books/The%20Roman%20Catechism.pdf>, pg. 151.

<sup>506</sup> Catechism of Trent, 147.

<sup>507</sup> Catechism of Trent, 147.

Biblical texts.<sup>508</sup> Therefore, for both original audiences and modern researchers, both the written name and visual appearance of offerings are potentially misleading.

Particularly since the organization of collected information about miracles and offerings were fluctuating in the period under study, I aimed to find another avenue by which information could be translated and transformed into usable data. The parsing out of various aspects of ritual is also in accordance with Catholic practice, as each of the sacraments are often described by their matter, form, and minister. When breaking apart miracles into their predictable and general parts – opening, problem, petition, miracle, closing – I attempted to abstract what the miracle story offered based on apparent recurring moments within the testimonial convention. This practice required routine reflection in an attempt to minimize the imposition of my own idea of action or narrative or indeed divine agency onto the stories.

Categorization like this is an act of abstraction. The *desire* to collect and therefore the *need* to categorize exploded in the period under study here.<sup>509</sup> Categories and labels present exciting inroads for historical inquiry in part because some metadata has already been created for other purposes which can now be accessed and utilized by intrepid researchers; and museums are increasingly open to making their collections' data available to researchers. While this data is “object centered,” it provides an interesting window into the concerns of the institution and its

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<sup>508</sup> Catechism of Trent, 153. “as may be seen from the words of Genesis which say that Abraham saw three men, when in reality he saw three Angels. In like manner the two Angels who appeared to the Apostles after the Ascension of Christ the Lord into Heaven, are called not Angels, but men.”

<sup>509</sup> Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 6-9.

collections database. For example, the role of artist, department, and year are about search and retrieval, not about “centrality” or tracing relationships between information about each object.

The pervasive metaphor of discrete moments of action throughout art historical scholarship stimulated the experimental use of event modeling. In multiple theoretical frameworks, the object predicates some human action. From the perspective of Hans Belting, the existence of an object implies at least two symbolic acts of picturing: the event of its creation and that of its perception.<sup>510</sup> Viewing acts multiply through time as each engagement with an object produces a new image in the mind of viewers who encounter the object in question.<sup>511</sup> Mariazell presents challenges for descriptive reconstruction, not least because it was least specific about offering types. This is particularly true in the text and image presented in its woodblock series of 1520. In the printed set, there are only three places in the text about offerings, none of which are descriptive of their physical form.<sup>512</sup> This is perhaps explained by two features unique to the Mariazell example. First, the text included in the early miracle print series were not aiming at book form, and accordingly limited the textual account of the miracle. Secondly, the text is tightly coupled to the image that appears above each written story. The printed images, like their painted predecessors, are communicating miracles, not the contract of petition and thanks. Even so, offerings are not entirely omitted from the text. They are mentioned, yet remain undescribed.

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<sup>510</sup> Belting, *Anthropology of Images*, 3.

<sup>511</sup> David Axford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, 64-103.

<sup>512</sup> As seen in Mariazell’s print series (1520) as numbered by Wonisch, *Vorbaroke*, 134-135.; as transcribed and translated by author (me); examples include: offered a prayer “gebet opfert” in print 7 ; einem Opfer “An offering” in prints 3 and 17.

The title page of Issekhemer's 1497 miracle book of Our Lady appears intensely interested in offerings (Fig. 2). This intensity became striking only through the process of carrying out the process of data entry and exploration. However, the particular aberrant nature of its also belonging to the title pages of earlier books goes some ways towards explaining its perhaps disregard for the idolatrous accusations that would flair in the following decades. Its early date might also be one explanation for why this shrine did not produce a *Mariensaule*, particularly since it was so near to Regensburg and would have witnessed the effects of this and foreseen the danger to the site itself. While the shrine did not engage in the column phenomena that registered in the others of our study, it perhaps did take part in more risky "offering" depictions.<sup>513</sup> It has more representations of various offering types, including anatomical offerings, than any comparable print from our set of shrines in this period. The miracle books which were printed for decades pictured the Virgin and occasionally associated heraldic crests. It is also an altar scene, rather than a portrait-like image. The engraving attends to aspects of detail but unfortunately it seems concerned with depicting the space more than the particulars of the central statue. The space seems frozen in time, no active petitions but a perfectly manicured archive of testimony and favor.

The inspiration for treating objects as events came from multiple directions. The German art historians such as Belting and Bredekamp have maintained that the image is itself an action, though the specifics of how this action unfolds is the subject of much debate. The prominent art historian Erwin Panofsky uses the example of "events" as a way to describe the research of an

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<sup>513</sup> For the idolatrous connotations of ex votos, see Holmes "Ex-Votos: Materiality, Memory, and Cult" in *Idol in Age of Art*, 159.

unavailable “original”.<sup>514</sup> Engaging in abstraction is the central action of historical inquiry, as he described it, records have to be “decoded” and interpreted before being “classified and coordinated into a coherent system that ‘makes sense’.”<sup>515</sup> In fact, Panofsky also characterizes the central aim of the humanities as an endeavor to “transform the chaotic variety of human records into what may be called a cosmos of culture.”<sup>516</sup> This transformation almost exclusively takes the shape of written narrative in humanistic discourse.<sup>517</sup> However, diversifying the modes of articulating knowledge, even if it is for the purpose of exploration rather than communication, is too valuable to ignore. For example, the alternative mode of articulating knowledge took the form of maps in the first chapter entitled “Curating Co-location.” What more could be learned if knowledge articulation in the humanities expanded to incorporate network models as a prevalent form of communication and collaboration? Even the most traditionally trained humanists in the twenty-first century are habituated to technological aids for cognition. Indeed, by using the written word, scholars have been utilizing technologies to support research since well before the sixteenth century.<sup>518</sup> Rather than see computational models as statements of fact, their use in humanities can aid in

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<sup>514</sup> “Unless a scholar is exclusively interested in what is called ‘events’ (in which case he would consider all the available records as ‘secondary material’ by means of which he might reconstruct the ‘events’) everyone’s ‘monuments’ are everyone else’s ‘documents’, and vice versa.” Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 10.

<sup>515</sup> Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 7.

<sup>516</sup> Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 6.

<sup>517</sup> Panofsky states that viewers are effected by art’s “...three constituents: materialized form, idea (that is, in the plastic arts, subject matter) and content.”; Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 16.

<sup>518</sup> For example, see Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*. United Kingdom: Yale University Press, 2010.

demystifying the arguments embedded in their use in other realms, such as those operative in science and government. Actions abstracted knowledge, critically engaging with emergent technologies requires a mindful practice to reflect human agency – identifying actions which abstracted knowledge.

Secondary scholarship constitutes a valuable source for digital modeling. In his 1980 publication, Lionel Rothkrug collected and published information about shrines which he asserted were defensibly existent across Western Europe, particularly in German speaking lands, in the late medieval and early modern period.<sup>519</sup> This amassed dataset could be paired with or modulated by incorporating layers of the vigorous debates about Rothkrug's proposed set that were recorded in publications.<sup>520</sup> These debates are ultimately about arguing the strength of relationships by scholars like Steven Sargent – based on the particulars of relationships which connect entities as extant at a given time and place. Historians have created their own abstractions to convey the actions they believe they have identified to have occurred in the past. Each record then becomes a form of data predicated on the mental action of abstraction.

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<sup>519</sup> For example, see Lionel Rothkrug, *Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation*. Waterloo, Ont: Dept. of History, University of Waterloo (1980), 214-215.

<sup>520</sup> See Rothkrug, *Religious Practicees* and Steven D. Sargent, "A Critique of Lionel Rothkrug's List of Bavarian Pilgrimage Shrines" *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78, no. jg (1987): 351-358. <https://doi.org/10.14315/arg-1987-jg16>

### 4.1.3 Data: Abstraction Predicated on Action

Data is created through the process of abstraction which renders the messy real-world data into manageable and processable information. The definition of data is partially reliant on further action and processing needed in order to be meaningful.<sup>521</sup> The interactions between actor and world that are paired with the dynamic and emergent structures of the social world are well suited to a graph network.<sup>522</sup> Networks are formal abstractions, specifically, they are an abstraction of information that is organized into a system of nodes (i.e., entities) and edges (i.e., relationships which connect the nodes). The benefit of this abstracted system offered by networks is the promise and potential to bridge the explanatory gap between the part and whole. The overlap between abstraction and action encourages the turn to modeling using “events” in order to make sense of an informational set that finds equal importance in objects and actions, registering each of these only through the external sign constituted by objects.

Social behaviorism considers stimuli to be gestures and social objects with meanings, rather than physical objects. Pragmatism is one way to orient the method by which data is created in humanistic contexts that attend to the social history of people as well as objects. There are four main tenets of pragmatism. One, that true reality is not present outside of its active mental creation. Two, people behave in ways that “work” for them and only alter this behavior when it is necessary. Three, definitions of social and physical “objects” are shaped by how we use those objects. And

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<sup>521</sup> Blair, *Too Much To Know*, 2.

<sup>522</sup> George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) *The Individual and the Social Self: Unpublished Essays* by G. H. Mead, edited by D. L. Miller. Chicago (1982)

fourth, in order to understand actors, we have to identify their actions. Each of these tenets appear to suit the translation process of data-creation, but they also introduce a core paradox. If there is no true reality out of individual cognition, how might we model historical subjects? One answer is to embrace the subject position of the researcher, wholly embracing the human effect on data construction and interpretation.

It is perhaps too easy to forget that humanists are already deeply entwined with technologies of abstraction, from the research process now aided by search algorithms to the very technology of writing that is used to convey information.<sup>523</sup> This presses on a second concern that should be addressed as a core research act, the issue of stating the ambiguous as aura-demolishing, reducing the experience of a viewer to prescriptive or descriptive labeling. This concern has been levied by scholars working on the contexts of Marian cults in the Early Modern Period, across Europe.<sup>524</sup> As discussed throughout this dissertation, the inviting and intriguing nature of such objects was productive and protective in the object's original contexts. However, literalizing any connection is more controversial, as Caroline Walker Bynum stated "simultaneity cannot be stated; it can only be evoked."<sup>525</sup> Likewise, Christopher Wood wrote that "substitution had worked better when it was imprecise."<sup>526</sup> He and Nagel argued that "print converts meaning into mere

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<sup>523</sup> For a discussion of technologies of reproduction and art history, see Langmead, Alison. "[Art and Architectural History and the Performative, Mindful Practice of the Digital Humanities.](#)" *The Journal of Interactive Technology & Pedagogy* 12 (February 12, 2018).

<sup>524</sup> For example, see Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 337

<sup>525</sup> Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 286; see also Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 79-84.

<sup>526</sup> He goes on to say, "As the replicas conversed on visuality and accuracy, on one-to-one mapping, they lost psychological force." Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 337.

information.”<sup>527</sup> Such contradiction is typical of the objects from Marian cults – paradoxical traces of human behavior and agential objects.

Replicated images could be both powerful and informative. Some prints were personal surrogates distributed amongst the community while others were primary cult images which worked miracles. For example, the Madonna of the Fire in Forli, Italy is a printed icon that performed miracles, around which a cult formed. Some images textually asserted their spiritual power, as is evident in printed indulgences that were paired with engravings of the *Imago Pietatis*.<sup>528</sup> The Roman Vera Icona is an exemplar of an “indulgence image,” as it was granted Papal approval for a ten-day indulgence for anyone who, “directed a special prayer to this image.”<sup>529</sup> Icons have been described as enacting “performances of representation” which add “surplus to existence of the depicted.”<sup>530</sup> The data created are therefore based on abstractions that appear to act in contradictory ways. Both in the cases of individual historical offerings to the data sets which aim to represent these entities, these tensions are typical of abstractions due to their quality as crystallized actions.

Not only have many of the original objects that would have flooded these shrines around the dawn of the sixteenth century been lost, each aspect of the information which remains about offerings presents significant challenges to digital modeling. Tracing disparate pieces of

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<sup>527</sup> Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 8.

<sup>528</sup> Peter Parshall. “Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance,” 556-558.

<sup>529</sup> Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, translated by Bartusis and Meyer (1990, New Rochelle, NY: Ad Caratzas), 14.

<sup>530</sup> Alexander, *Iconic Power*, 15-23.

information produces a model that is not particularly useful for running calculations which are generally useful for prediction and pattern detection. By using such created data as exploratory, we can mindfully experiment with filters and structures as another tool towards teasing out the complications present in material objects. For example, by using the expansion feature in Gephi, we can toggle back and forth between model shapes that stimulate insights for the researcher who has been so deeply focused on particulars necessary for data entry and stewardship. Moments of investigation spurred on by curiosity support iterative patterns of viewing information distantly, as a whole, and prods multiple deep-dives as well. For example, in investigating the network of information modeled about these offerings, wax came to the fore, but not in the form of human bodies as might be anticipated. Instead, the exploration of these details in a new form shows how the seemingly mundane are, in fact, the backbone of connective tissue for replicative practices intertwined in devotional contexts.

Catholic devotees in the early modern period were giving gifts in the “language” of the church as it was understood by regional inhabitants. The objects and actions recorded at these Marian shrines evince good-faith efforts to give the best offering that they could to the divine person with whom the petitioner wished to connect (in this case, the Mother of God). As part of the three mysteries of the Eucharist, the clergy were warned about the dangerous potential of relying solely on senses and appearance to determine the substance or agency of an encountered “object.”<sup>531</sup> The Catechism produced by the Council of Trent encouraged believers to withdraw from “the subjection to the senses,” to prevent necessarily falling “into enormous impiety.”<sup>532</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> Catechism of Trent, 147.

<sup>532</sup> Catechism of Trent, 147.

In this first section, we have considered the ways in which data are products of action. Further, datasets and resultant arguments are abstractions that appear to be caught mid-action, based on and requiring more action. Data's demand for further "processing" (that is, performing a series of procedures on information) in order to be "meaningful" (that is, communication of a discerned, previously-unstated or obscured aspect of importance) is at least in part due to its quality as numerical information.<sup>533</sup> As Bynum phrased it, "objects could carry presence, power, or even identity by mathematical rather than visual similarity."<sup>534</sup> While visual similarity can obscure the referent by replicating symbolic or stylistic models, numbers abstract the material world in a distinct manner. Therefore, the following section outlines available sources for numerical information and their associated actions.

#### **4.2 Abstraction relies on action: numbers**

When they appear in records of Marian cults, numbers are able to stimulate action by their quantity and by their inherent engagement in abstraction.<sup>535</sup> However, the case of the frog-shaped votive offerings presents a mystery for contemporary investigators. If shapes of amphibians are so common and if they were a continued practice since antiquity, why are there practically no

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<sup>533</sup> Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 2.

<sup>534</sup> Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 29.

<sup>535</sup> For mathematical similitude, see Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 265 n.32.

mentions of them in the images or texts produced for the Marian sites of Austria and Bavaria in the sixteenth century? One reason has already been discussed: the ephemerality of wax offerings has caused only very few extant surviving original objects from the original corpus of total offerings. The paucity of written frog information is perhaps explained by the types of descriptions used for these objects. For example, the painted miracle cycle of Altötting only mentions a frog once.<sup>536</sup> However, it describes an affliction in such a way that the tongue's abnormal growth is comparable to the shape of a frog, which would likely be described by health historians as more indicative of a mislabeled infirmity, such as cancerous tumor or severe infection.<sup>537</sup> Where, then, are the remaining mentions of the supposedly ubiquitous frog offerings? In order to address this question, we must return to the descriptive terms used for the now-destroyed original objects in order to see if there are ways in which such offerings were described that did not forefront their symbolic connection to the animal. While there is reason to believe that the shrines were once home to hundreds or even thousands of such offerings, they have largely been lost, only a handful of examples are currently visible in diocesan or folk museums (Fig. 53).<sup>538</sup>

I use mental frameworks like computational thinking to investigate information routinely discussed about early modern Marian cults of the Germanic South. I argue that the connections between devotees and the divine audience were available in the offered objects. However, the

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<sup>536</sup> Altötting Miracle Cycle scene 42, transcribed in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*, 11.

Original German: "Krankheit is auf seiner Zunge eine Kröte gewachsen... gen unser liebe Frau allher verlobt mit einer wachsen Zunge und einer Kröte darauf."

<sup>537</sup> For example, see Metzler, I. (2005). *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment in the High Middle Ages, c.1100–c.1400* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203016060>

<sup>538</sup> For example, the Tyrolean Folk Museum of Innsbruck.

particulars of these connections which were signified and demonstrated by the offering were ultimately inaccessible by visual-sign alone. Further compounding this challenge of investigating such objects is the loss of nearly the entire original corpus of offerings from this period, instead records about these proxies now themselves proxy the lost, original objects under investigation.

Numbers used in secondary scholarship have traditionally been used for supplemental features to the publication, such as indexing dates and tables of quantities.<sup>539</sup> Modeling, even without attending directly to the physical processes that the computer engages in in order to complete tasks, requires the translation of experience into some reduced form of representation. Numbers are seen, therefore, as both “true” and abstract. Is the particular case or fictitious example more accurate in its representation of the material world? It is not always obvious that abstractions offer less distorted demonstrations of shared experience than factually precise instances, particularly because they can get at truths which do not always present neatly or clearly in the messiness of human experience.<sup>540</sup>

Devotees coped with the discomfort of disconnection from the main cult site through deposits of representational objects made by humans. One powerful representational strategy that is not immediately accessible visually are the meaningful weights or measures of the objects given to the Virgin. The numeric information as recorded in texts of miracle books and administrative records convey a widespread use of length and weight as vehicles of meaningful representation.

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<sup>539</sup> Lionel Rothkrug, “Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions,” 204-215.

<sup>540</sup> See Rachel Bloom, “The End of the Movie.” *Sheet Music*. 3. Accessed April 13, 2022. <https://www.racheldoesstuff.com/download/sheet-music/cxg/s03/The-End-of-the-Movie-07E280A226E280A219.pdf>.

Particularly in the two Bavarian cases under investigation here, descriptions of wax images are doubly representative when made to reflect the weight of the moral in peril. In both painted and printed stories of miracles, persons are represented the measure of their body by weight in offerings made at Altötting.<sup>541</sup>

Numeric information produced in and about this context is available in weights of offerings, particularly in those offerings made of wax which are recorded in chapel records and published miracle stories. However, there are significant limits to using this information, because the use of weight is not consistent enough to extrapolate away gaps in the historical record. Since we cannot aim for a “complete” record, I instead consider each of the data sources as layers which may be superimposed to construct an inexorably partial yet increasingly rich picture of the past which benefits from increased numbers of represented perspectives.

#### **4.2.1 Offerings: Abstractions Stimulate Action**

Offerings evince a variety that suggests the engagement elicited from devotees was balanced between constricted form types and the potential for productive personalization. Their abstracted nature and the freedom allowed by not needing fellow devotees to fully decipher gifts to the divine seems to have encouraged myriad meaningful gifts. The particularities of such variety are not

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<sup>541</sup> See miracle 34 of the painted cycle, transcribed in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*, 52.; see also Isseckhemer, *Zuflucht Maria*, miracle 76.

easily discerned from the written descriptions available about these now lost objects. However, more original offerings are preserved from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The symbol of the frog as an object of offering represented a variety of female reproductive ailments and concerns.<sup>542</sup> In this and adjacent regions, frogs have long been associated with the origin of life.<sup>543</sup> In the Tyrol region of Austria, the folk belief held that women had something “similar” to frogs in their wombs.<sup>544</sup> In Croatia, there is a location where a Marian shrine was established at the preexisting apparition site of a mythical frog – the protectors of mothers and babies.<sup>545</sup> Across the Germanic South, the votive offering in a toad-like shape was visibly associated with the vagina.<sup>546</sup>

In a case study of early modern Italian cult, Maniura argues for expanding the boundaries of mimesis to include ritual behaviors that contextualized devotional objects.<sup>547</sup> In this framework, there are both mimetic rituals as well as mimetic objects, each intertwined in devotional practice. The reptilian figure made with wax was mimetic within its own visual conventions, such as its mandorla body, but that mimesis depended on viewer cognition. This tension between mimetic and symbolic representation encouraged repeated enactment, a mimetic ritual in line with concurrent practices. While personal accounts are relatively rare, the surviving records provide insights on the special nature of iconic images.

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<sup>542</sup> Andree, *Votive und Weihegaben des Katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland*. 131-132.

<sup>543</sup> Jelka Vince Pallua, “What Can Mythical Frogs Tell Us”, 63.

<sup>544</sup> Mirko Kus-Nikolajev, *Votivi nerotkinja*. [The Votives of Barren Women.], Ljubljana, Vol. 2, (1928), 36–45.

Available at <https://www.dlib.si/details/>, 39; as seen in Pallua, “What can Mythical Frogs Tell Us,” 64.

<sup>545</sup> Jelka Vince Pallua, “What Can Mythical Frogs Tell Us”, 80-81.

<sup>546</sup> See <https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/toad-votives-religion-medieval-saints>

<sup>547</sup> Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 174-8.

While the specific term used for frog or toad is not used in the early miracle books and painted cycles from these investigated cases, this gap is not necessarily proof that this type of symbolic or figural offering was not present in this period. For example, Altötting's miracle cycle describes most of the offerings in relatively vague terms. A wax image of a frog could have therefore been referenced in miracle books as "wax" or even "wax images" given at the shrine. The image could itself also be given in an amount that was representative of a measurement of the human petitioner.<sup>548</sup> In this replication of measurement, the weight of offerings are meaningful referents. However, not every offering used weight as a representational method. It is therefore inappropriate to use single cases of meaningful measures, like weight, to extrapolate for modeling the incomplete record of particulars from the sparse chapel records of offerings. What this mismatch between two records of weight does suggest is the fluent use of various representational strategies by these [social-class-diverse] devotional communities.

#### **4.2.2 Weight: Abstract by Measure**

Consistent and repetitive measurements of weight and length, as recorded in the devotional practices across Medieval Western Europe, suggested a belief in replication's powerful ability to transfer agency by measure. This representational custom sustained ritual as an imitative,

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<sup>548</sup> For example, the soldier who gave a weighty image of himself, see Altötting Miracle Cycle, Scene 50, Bauer, Robert. *Die Mirakelbilder*, 12.

generative practice. The relic of the Virgin's girdle had potential as both a political instrument as well as a means to personal healing and prompt to personal devotion.<sup>549</sup> Through the transitive property of contact that transformed the saint's possessions into powerful proxies that "restored the promise of contact," that was desired upon the Virgin's bodily ascension to heaven upon her death.<sup>550</sup> This material token became the stand in for Her bodily absence, as "a promise of communication with the sacred."<sup>551</sup> Numeric displays of information can appear to reduce the agential potential by transforming experience into a mere "record."<sup>552</sup> However, it is clear that in sixteenth century devotional contexts, both numbers and measures were understood to preserve or promote the flow of divine agency.

Measures' capacity for transferring miraculous agency apparently became a prompt for creativity which was registered in offering practices at these shrines in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The power of both images and relics were able to be transported by their measurements.<sup>553</sup> Print's efficient ability to replicate objects' measurements was useful both within and beyond devotional contexts. For example, one value of replicable measurement was in its practical ability to standardize the reproduction of objects across time and space. This is seen in broadsides like those for early archery competitions, which include measures to recreate practice shooting ranges,

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<sup>549</sup> Maniura, "Persuading the Absent Saint," 629-654.

<sup>550</sup> Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 82.

<sup>551</sup> Maniura, *Art and Miracle*, 76.

<sup>552</sup> Wood, "Ritual and the Virgin," 102-103.

<sup>553</sup> Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 29.

as well as in prints which were used for reproducing the physical body of Christ.<sup>554</sup> The representative affordances of measurement were also used in a variety of replicated objects present at these shrines. Wax is mentioned by weight six times in the painted text of Altötting's miracle cycle, once with the stipulation of annual offering of wax for every year of life the devotees were given.<sup>555</sup> Giving alms was also commonly paired with wax offerings that were made by weight.<sup>556</sup> The Miracle Cycle of Altötting includes three different types of meaningful weight used in offerings, but weight does not correspond to the mortal referent in the same way it does divine referents among these cases.<sup>557</sup> But weight is not the only type of numerical data that is available from these contexts, and each source of quantitative data demands critical attention in order to be useful for investigating questions about history or agency.

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<sup>554</sup> For more on the competition broadside, Anonymous, Announcement of a Shooting Contest, 1501, Cologne, Woodcuts, hand colored, sheet 615 x 466 mm, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.; see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 237-240, fig. 243.; For more on the printed measures of Christ, see Catalog Entry 78 on "The Measure of the Side Wound and the Body of Christ," Schoch and Parshall, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 258-260.

<sup>555</sup> Wax offerings by weight are in Altötting's miracle cycle panels 16, 49, 44(annual quantity); reproduced in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 33,62, 67.

<sup>556</sup> Alms with Wax by weight found in Altötting Miracle Cycle panels: 53, 8, 15, 20, 33; reproduced in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 25, 32, 38, 51, 71.

<sup>557</sup> Bauer, Robert. *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*. Scenes

### 4.2.3 Numbers: Abstraction and the Data Steward

Since before the proliferation of personal computing, scholars have turned to graphical visualizations of numeric information from miracle shrines.<sup>558</sup> These earlier visualizations are often made with an economic perspective about the information which was recorded in chapel ledgers, based on the monetary value of goods as a useful point of comparison. However, this is not what I found to be the most operative notion of value as it was registered in the evidence I encountered during the course of researching contexts surrounding miraculous events.

While those interested in quantifying the objects and assets which were constantly flowing in and out of the cult sites is a useful indicator for other research questions, it can also obscure the very economic perspective as de facto. Methods permit researchers to identify distinctive interests of predictive and mathematical computational techniques when dealing with historical data. Even before the ubiquity of personal computing, there was a palpable desire to use numbers and graphs to convey the massive amount of fluctuations in accounts of miracle shrines in publications about Marian cults. For example, Angela Maria König included unpaginated tables which were tipped into the last portion of her second volume of *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*.<sup>559</sup> The multiple tables in her 1940 publication aid in conveying the areas of archival gaps, without necessarily stating the fact that this information has been lost. Instead, these drastic dips in the line

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<sup>558</sup> König, Maria Angela. *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vols. 1–2. Band Rahmen der Zeitgeschichte, 1492-1750. Munich: Stahl. 1940. Unpaginated “Tabelle”, v2.

<sup>559</sup> König. *Weihegaben Altötting*,. Unpaginated “Tabelle”, v2.

graphs are areas of interest for inquiry for those researchers not already familiar with the shape of a particular archive, such as the chapel records of Altötting.

By placing the numerical information into proximity with one another in the form of a graph or chart, these visualizations prompt further questioning and stimulate potential avenues for inquiry. These abstractions that aim to convey offering quantities of shrines prompt interested viewers to make meaning while presenting a form of meaning which was argued by the person who made or designed visualizations like charts and graphs. There is a tension between notable and noted behavior and what may have happened more commonly. However, there are other records of behavior that may help to guide future scaling up of generalized features in graph networks.

For example, there are significant record counts for the shrine in Altötting. Members of the imperial nobility, including both the Holy Roman Emperor and the generations of Wittelsbach dukes, donated conspicuous gifts to the site. Their offerings have been tracked in multiple arenas, as the ruling families of Europe have elicited attention from scholars and historical nonfiction enthusiasts prior to the founding of art history in the nineteenth century.<sup>560</sup> Records about these famous characters are preserved in higher volume than that of “ordinary” devotees, though the chapel registers do have evidence of elite and non-elite devotion by quantity. For example, in 1492 the revenue for the Chapel of Our Lady was equivalent to the value of 4,000 horses or 6,600

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<sup>560</sup> For example, there are already exciting opportunities for exploration of Wikipedia entries by their links, see the various games created for this at <https://wikitrivia.tomjwatson.com/> and Wiki Games, “Wikimedian in Residence” <https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/help-consultancy/is-skills/wikimedia/ways-to-contribute/wikigames>.

cows.<sup>561</sup> By the early sixteenth century, the shrine was wealthy enough to lend money for military purposes.<sup>562</sup> Arguably, the most famous art object in the town, the *Goldenes Rössel*, was used to secure a loan which was not repaid, which is, therefore, the reason this object is now in Altötting.<sup>563</sup> This extraordinary object was originally an elite gift intended for use in private devotion. However, it became part of the Altötting treasury as part of the French monarch's pledge for confiscated treasures from the ducal treasury. In this relatively small city in Bavaria, the wealth, calculated through livestock and collateral objects, was a product of its position as a favored center for both dukes and the divine.

The quantity of offerings and some rudimentary, descriptive information, such as livestock or clothing, are available for the period under investigation here, beginning in 1492. That year marks the start of the miraculous happenings attributed to Our Lady in the Bavarian chapel. The amount that has been estimated to be worth 4,000 cows has also been used to compare the amounts of certain types of offerings that were presented at the chapel in that year. Money is the de facto scale for comparing the value of goods, particularly for the ledger-keepers who made chapel records and were responsible for the practical needs of the shrine. In secondary scholarship, the categories used for discussing these objects fall generally into the list of: currency (i.e., cash

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<sup>561</sup> 12,375 pfund pfennig total. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 27.

<sup>562</sup> It funded the Bavarian duke's engagement in the war known as the Landshut Succession.

<sup>563</sup> ["500 Jahre Goldenes Rössel,"](#) *Gnadenort Altötting*, accessed April 15, 2018.; The sculpture was housed in a new wing, which was built to increase security and conditions for their most valuable items; *Haus Papst Benedikt XVI-Neue Schatzkammer und Wallfahrtsmuseum*. Dafna Nissim, "Knight, Horse, and Groom Called to the Rescue: Secular Figures in the Goldenes Rössel," *Journal of Arts & Humanities* 4, 10 (2015), 2-5.

money), clothing and textiles, wax, flax (i.e., harvest and grain), livestock (i.e., cows and sheep though not chicken), chickens, and food stuffs (ie., eggs and fat).<sup>564</sup>

However, these labels are not historical formulations of categories, at least not in the traditional or intentional sense. They are products of the historian's pattern-detection within the written ledgers, a surreptitiously executed pattern of recognition that uses the repetition of language in the notes, along with pre-existing categories and used in the researcher's brain. Pattern recognition reflects the descriptive groups used by each human record-maker. The scope and scale that these categories aim to address shapes the resultant form of the proposed labels or groupings. For example, in her study, Maria Angela König attempts to make sense of centuries of offering practice from the shrine in Altötting. In doing so, she grapples with a large set of objects that change in popularity and use throughout the late medieval and early modern period. However, her graphs are valuable snippets of offering practice. Even more than this, they offer a forced condensation – because visualization demands it, even when it's hand-drawn like König's – that produces something like a "label." Not only that, but the author's decision to create various scales for each type and to compare such a large corpus is engaging. This provokes researchers that follow her example to evaluate patterns of unspoken decision-making when compiling datasets for analysis.

One valuable point of comparison in this example is found in the "value ratio" table, in which König compares the relative worth of offerings from a single year, 1492.<sup>565</sup> However, these

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<sup>564</sup> See König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*, Table 2 (no page number).

<sup>565</sup> Original German: "Wertverhältnis der Opfergaben im Jahr 1492"; König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*, Table 2/"Tabelle 2" (no page number).

values are monetary, and so they require reversing her process of calculation in order to get at any semblance of weight. Even considering that step is a reminder of how even the “simplest” of condensations are reliant on subjective, human arguments.<sup>566</sup> Values on connections are also based on a variety of conceptual categories. For example, Wood lists referential operations that crossed contexts and media as sampling, description, mapping, and naming.<sup>567</sup> Such operations are one way to distinguish between relationship types (i.e., edges) within a network of interconnected entities (i.e., nodes).

A central requirement of data incorporation requires that the scale of comparable entities are the same or regularly correlated to the other included examples. For offerings, weight is one measure that was important to individuals and institutions of this period.<sup>568</sup> Two of the stories represented in the Miracle Cycle of Altötting use measurement in their descriptions of offering practices that reveal how weight was used in representation of devotees. For example, the fiftieth miracle scene along Altötting’s porch tells of a soldier who offered an image of himself made in wax that weighed the same amount as his own body. However, another story from this same cycle differs in how weight is used to represent a mortal donor. One couple uses the amount of a half-pound of wax to represent each additional year of life that the couple was given.<sup>569</sup> This repeated

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<sup>566</sup> The critique of Lionel Rothkrug by Sargent highlights this issue of data compilation about miracle shrines.; Steven D. Sargent, “A Critique of Lionel Rothkrug’s List of Bavarian Pilgrimage Shrines,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. vol. 78, 351-358.

<sup>567</sup> Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 353.

<sup>568</sup> For more on people giving themselves by giving lengths or weights of themselves, see Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 98-99.

<sup>569</sup> Yearly offering of a half-pound per individual per year of life granted, Scene, 44 in Bauer, 16.

and non-replicative use of weight stands in contrast to the aforementioned soldier who gave his sizable offering once.<sup>570</sup> Even more common than these weighty mentions are wax images that do not apparently participate in weight-meaning, representation by measured quantity. Though we do have some weight information about the wax offered at this shrine, it is not useful for extrapolating this information toward reconstructing the “original” offering numbers or variety. Exacerbated by the distributed and irregularly formatted records of the early modern period, the variety of offering categories and descriptions suggests that this information is obscured, while offering tantalizing windows into particulars that seem to betray meaningful patterns.

From information organization to icon picturing, human action is implicated in each form of materialized abstraction. In each source, there are layers of human filtering which occurred at least during the moment in which records and objects were created. Therefore, it is not possible to take any such record as perfect replica of the lost objects they purport to describe. Instead, each perspective offers potentially rich insights about the humans which aided in its existence and persistence through time.

The meaning associated with measurement also engages in the desire for reproducibility of a replica.<sup>571</sup> Such numerical information constitutes a tempting invitation to connect to other

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<sup>570</sup> Scene 50 in Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder*, 16.

<sup>571</sup> On measures as transporting the presence of a holy person, see Adolf Jacoby, “Heilige Längenmasse: Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Amulette.” *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 29.1 (1929), 1-17, and *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 29.4 (1929), 181-216; Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Bilder und Zeichen*, 40-41, 68, 115, 137-38, and plates 81-85, 215, and 240; David Areford, “The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ,” in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, H. N. B.

known quantity information. There is a tension between notable and noted behavior and what may have happened more commonly. However, there are other records of behavior that may help to guide future scaling up of generalized features in graph networks. Looking for “bigger” data from the period is one possible measure by which we can piece together the individual details from recorded behavior against what kind of information was recorded by those who were more interested in quantifying the objects and assets that were constantly flowing in and out of these cult sites. This section articulated the actions perceptible in replicated objects and records by critically engaging with numeric information as a type of abstraction. However, the original audiences are not the only persons to be affected and in some way moved to register this experience with objects from Marian cults. Researchers and viewers across time have been prompted to action when encountering these materialized abstractions.

### **4.3 Abstraction requires action: image**

Who were these people that flocked to Marian shrines some five-hundred years ago? Walking into my first votive-object display in Bavaria, I was at once overwhelmed, inspired, and confused. Amidst the offerings that were easily deciphered as human body parts, arms, legs, and hearts

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Ridderbos, and Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 220-221 and 238; as seen in Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 262-263.

(which look nothing like anatomical hearts), I wondered if there was a plague of frogs like those in Moses's Egypt that petitioners requested help from the Madonna to rectify. I was familiar with the famous art historical example of frogs as iconographically associated with sin, but that did not adequately explain their presence amidst clear anatomical figures. This moment of tension, the stumble in accessing meaning of symbolic representation, is the pause that calls attention to the actions' very presence. In arenas of fluency, we perform this action so quickly, that it becomes nearly invisible. The *Gnadenbild*, especially a cult icon, is a form of "abstracted, 'chastened' image."<sup>572</sup> At these Marian shrines, central cult objects serve as gravitational centers around which multitudes of offered-replicas orbited, each depending on shared modes of representation and meaning. Whether effortless or obvious, the action of the viewer engaging necessary cultural knowledge is particularly palpable in encounters with objects from devotional contexts.

As a visitor strolls along Altötting's covered chapel porch, they are still surrounded by a dizzying number of offerings. While the individually deposited images continue to accrue, the backbone of miracle stories remain the massive painted panels from ca. 1520. Within this represented community of suffering and delivered mortals, the group includes doctors, wounded soldiers, the nobility, children, spouses, and those subject to acute natural disasters (Fig. 40). Individuals belonging to the cult community coped with the disconnection by making objects that addressed the discomfort of being a distributed community that was necessarily living apart from the central cult site. Social descriptors of community members, for example textual or visual indications of occupation, are displayed in communal spaces like Altötting's porch. These accreted

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<sup>572</sup> Zorach, Rebecca and Michael W Cole (ed.). *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*. Aldershot, 2009. ; also see footnote 8, Pon, *Printed Icon*, 218.

collections of offerings register aspects of the social makeup of the congregation which oriented around the hub of a miraculous proxy object.

#### 4.3.1 Offerings: Acts of Encounter

Offerings demand actions from their viewers.<sup>573</sup> Perhaps the most practical of these actions is fueled by the desire to make sense of the visual stimulus which confronts offering-viewers. The action such objects require is application of cultural knowledge. The intentionally cultivated period eye and its employment is the researcher's act in response to objects like the wax offerings shaped like toads or frogs. Context clarifies that such votive offerings and amulets made in the shape of a frog are representative of a womb; frogs and toads were associated with childbirth and considered vaginal symbols.<sup>574</sup> In such confrontations with images, viewers are thwarted yet invited. This tension encourages cognitive action of meaning-making. This action is predicated on the expectation of such objects to represent individual suffering which prompted the object's deposit. The Council of Trent confirmed the benefits of an active practice of penance by saying that, "penitence was indeed at all times necessary, in order to attain grace."<sup>575</sup> The expectation of

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<sup>573</sup> For more on Marian devotion as associated with pain of remembering, see Fulton Brown, *Judgment to Passion*, 199-203.

<sup>574</sup> Folk belief maintained that women had something similar to frogs in their wombs "What Can Mythical Frogs Tell Us", 64.

<sup>575</sup> *Canons and Decrees of Trent*; Fourteenth session, chapter 1.

meaning embedded visually and materially encouraged the viewer to understand the object without demanding particular legitimizing symbols that were commonly used elsewhere.<sup>576</sup>

The ways that different object types and shrines described offerings is revealing. Gifts did not have to resemble the request or thanks; however, it could also take the form of a “saddled horse” or a silver cup.<sup>577</sup> Objects that were involved in the miracle, for example a chicken bone that had been stuck in a young boy’s throat, were placed on the altar in conjunction with the other, more common types of offerings. There are many cases in the miracle book printed in this shrine’s first year of existence that describe offerings, including those which were more personal artifacts of the event.<sup>578</sup> Clothing is both mentioned and depicted in one story in Altötting’s miracle cycle.<sup>579</sup> Two of the stories from Isseckhemer’s miracle book do make mention of clothing being offered, with the additional information of the clothing’s high quality in that it was their “best” dress.<sup>580</sup> Such offerings are pictured often in the context of action. However, these depicted actions tempt

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<sup>576</sup> For example, see Wood, *Forgery Replica Fiction*, 109-118.

<sup>577</sup> On social and anthropological theories and the way they redirect notions in other fields of study, see Gadi Algazi, “Introduction: Doing Things with Gifts,” in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, eds., *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen, 2003), 9–27.; Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object* (Berlin, 2015).

<sup>578</sup> Regensburg miracle book (1519) sign 12: Silver cup and wedding ring; sign 17: Small bone (from miracle event); sign 19: Bundle of Flax.

<sup>579</sup> Altötting’s Miracle Cycle includes images and words that refer to “clothing” in panel 7; Original German: “einen langen Männerrock dorthin zu spenden.” (dated 1520).

<sup>580</sup> Altötting (1497 Isseckhemer) miracle story 19 offering her “best damascan dress” ; 57 “best dress and her veil”; Original German: 19, “zu opfern ihren besten Damascan Rock”; 57, “zu opfern ihren besten Rock und ein sei des schliere”

viewers to take their “reenactment” pictorially as objective observations. However, as we have seen in the case of Ostendorfer’s 1519 broadside of the events in Regensburg, there is good reason to critically view each of these depictions. For example, in this broadside, the frenzied behavior appears to be the subject of the woodcut, with various actions unfolding from fainting to breastfeeding. The offerings are also portrayed as amassing even before the cult was a year old. The central *Mariensaule* itself has offerings that accrete, candles apparently affixed to the pillar and in the process of burning. Candles, tools, and clothing are each shown in this scene, and though there is no way to “scale” up the representation responsibly to understand the “actual” offering numbers at this shrine, its depicted offerings are all found in contemporary records of Marian devotional practice. For example, Altötting’s miracle cycle mentions “singing praise” in a large percentage of its panels.<sup>581</sup> How to group or describe such offerings requires we revisit their textual descriptions, which above all emphasize the need for presence when issues of recognition occur.

With the exception of the depiction of a temporary altar represented in the scene of the origin of the Austrian shrine (Fig. 27), there are offerings pictured on Mariazell’s *Wunderaltar*. When the panels are opened, two scenes in the large miracle altar picture adjacent offerings which are positioned around the image of the Virgin (Fig. 45).<sup>582</sup> In the sixth scene, the main altar is pictured and the story’s text emphasizes that the man’s healing occurred, “as soon as he grasped the gate at the middle altar.”<sup>583</sup> The texts found on Mariazell’s painted *Wunderaltar* are distinct

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<sup>581</sup> As seen in Altötting’s (1520) miracle cycle panels 11, 12, 20, 31, 58.

<sup>582</sup> Mariazell *Wunderaltar*, Scene 6 and 8; numbered by Othmar Wonish, *Vorbaroke*, 132-135.

<sup>583</sup> Mariazell *Wunderaltar*, Scene 6; Original German: “... als bald er das gatter pei dē mittern altar pegreiff warden im all sein pain gantz.”

from the printed stories, but they do not vary widely enough in their mentioning of offerings from the printed group to warrant separate consideration at this juncture.<sup>584</sup> Like the printed counterparts, the Austrian painted miracle stories provide almost no descriptive information about the particulars of offerings which were promised to the Virgin of Mariazell. Instead, they appear to prioritize the act of promising to the Madonna, only twice mentioning an offered object explicitly.

The Austrian case provides an additional image to our set of depicted offerings in the predecessor object of the large altar already discussed, the small Mariazell *Wunderaltar* (Fig. 46). Created in 1512, it contains one scene depicting the altar with a man and the wheel which broke his body (Fig. 47).<sup>585</sup> This is the same story which is depicted in the sixth scene of the large altar as well as in the print series (Fig. 48). However, unlike its representation in the large altar, there are not any additional offerings pictured around this fourth scene of the small altar story.<sup>586</sup> All around this space, there are candles and prayerful positions which signal its devotional context. The final scene of this six-part painted panel does depict a miniature view onto the altar, above which two crossbows hang (Fig. 49). These two weapons are depicted in a distinct narrative moment, showing the miraculous intervention of their use by the assistance of angels. Weapons

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<sup>584</sup> For a transcription of the Mariazell miracles, see [Graz Kunstgeschichte 2007 pdf, unsure how to id it]; For the differences between the text found in the printed miracle series of 1520 and its contemporary *Wunderaltar*, see Wonisch, *Vorbaroke*, 145-146.

<sup>585</sup> This injured figure is accompanied by two other mortals who appear to have assisted in his delivery.

<sup>586</sup> There are also no texts in this altarpiece, unlike the prints and large *Wunderaltar* from 1520.

could be transformed by placement into offerings were recognizable proxies for miraculous events which were experienced by people.

#### **4.3.2 Picturing Anxiety: Violence and Miracle**

It is possible to characterize some visual features of these objects under consideration as registering anxieties of the period in which they were made. One example of this is the case of the gun in Mariazell's print series. The set of votive prints each show a different type of miraculous intervention, with some areas of overlap that may indicate the interest in showing that the Virgin was able to intercede on a variety of matters. There are miracles regarding children, illnesses, and violent injuries both intended and accidental. For example, a man was saved after being mistaken for a bear and shot with a crossbow by his neighbor (Fig. 50). In another print, a priest was saved from imminent martyrdom by fire when he was captured by "nonbelievers" (Fig. 51). There are also more ambiguous stories of injury, where the intent of the antagonist is not made explicit (Fig. 52). This is true in the miracle featuring an arquebus matchlock, "a man was shot through the body with a gun. He called Mary of Zell, and came away [from his mortal danger]."<sup>587</sup>

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<sup>587</sup> Original German: "Ein Man ward mit einer Büxen durch den Leib geschossen. Mariam zu Zeil ruft Er an / und kam davon." Mariazell print 23 (Wunderaltar scene 16).

The gun pictured is a common “handgun” of the early sixteenth century, the matchlock arquebus.<sup>588</sup> This firearm could be used with a support [pole], for extra stability and support that would lessen the fatigue of firing such a weapon repeatedly.<sup>589</sup> This type of gun was ubiquitous in the region by the second decade of the sixteenth century, but concern grew about the innovative wheel-lock that proliferated across the landscape at this time and made guns faster and easier to use.<sup>590</sup> The Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I repeatedly attempted to control the proliferation of these new weapons during the second decade of the sixteenth century, apparently unsuccessfully as evidenced by repeated decrees and increasing fines.<sup>591</sup>

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<sup>588</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "harquebus." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 7, 2012.

<https://www.britannica.com/technology/harquebus>. It is not a wheel-lock which means that it needed a burning “match”, a rope that was smoldering and provided a fire by which to light the gunpowder on fire. This is considered a “handgun” though it does not appear as small as twenty-first century handguns

<sup>589</sup> That support was apparently not necessary, as the man shooting in this miracle is not shown with the support rod.

<sup>590</sup> Three years prior, Maximilian I attempted to legislate against the problem of this new and increasingly popular firearm. ; For more on the subject of firearms in this region and period, see *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*. Netherlands: Brill, (2021), especially József Kelenik, “The Military Revolution in Hungary,” 72-117.

<sup>591</sup> Claude Blair, “Further Notes on the Origins of the Wheellock,” *Arms and Armor Annual VI*, ed. Robert Held, Northfield, Illinois: Digest Books Inc. (1973) 28-47.; Jonathan J Tavares, “Interpreting Early Modern Gun Culture: An Art Museum's Dilemma?” (Early Modern Gun Violence Invited Talk, Cathedral of Learning 501, University of Pittsburgh, February 20, 2020.) For event information, see *Medieval & Renaissance Studies*: <https://www.medren.pitt.edu/event/interpreting-early-modern-gun-culture-art-museums-dilemma> archived March 17, 2022 Internet Archive, Wayback Machine.

One printed scene presents an act of intercession occurring in a rural landscape. In this woodcut, the main action unfolds at the very front of the stage-like picture plane. Wild trees that are prevalent in the style often called the “Danube School” frame the scene, opening up to show a small mountain or hillside with a fortified town or castle in the distance. Though it may refer to a specific place, due to the gestural quality of the background, it seems more likely that it is a generic rendering that could apply to many places.<sup>592</sup> What is striking about the details of this image is the ambiguity it leverages to make this a believable scene that seems to describe a specific moment, yet it is nonspecific enough to encourage projection by the viewer. As Merback argued about objects from this context, “consumers of these stories [...] knitted themselves into ‘emotional communities’ around sympathy.”<sup>593</sup> The stories selected for replication at Mariazell appear to support this sympathetic role of the visual culture surrounding Marian sites of the Germanic South, the artists producing these prints were engaging modes of meaning that were emerging in art produced in and around the Danube River Valley during this period from 1450-1550.<sup>594</sup>

This single case is not statistically significant in a way that would draw attention by scale to its existence. However, the process of categorizing during the iterative process of data stewardship provides a productive friction in the research process, particularly because it is a “weapon” miracle that could otherwise be categorized as “archery accidents.” It also suggests exciting future possibilities for research methods that could connect information about gun regulation to the indexing of these objects and or related concerns in the future. What seems

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<sup>592</sup> Wood, *Altdorfer Landscape*, 188-189.

<sup>593</sup> Merback, “Lob und Dank” in *Agents of Faith*, 177.

<sup>594</sup> Wood, *Altdorfer Landscape*, 188-189.

evident is the heightened levels of concern about the wellbeing of the self and community which is registered in the actions and objects that were made around the turn of the sixteenth century. In fact, this heightened anxiety is arguably the defining feature of the most famous cult of this set, the Schöne Maria in Regensburg. Indeed, there were contemporary attempts made by the stewards of this shrine to dampen the devotional enthusiasm which occurred at this new shrine. The town council enlisted multiple monastic orders as well as the local bishop to circulate in the crowds of pilgrims found at the shrine to “provide reassurance.”<sup>595</sup> In addition to the increase in working ministers at the site, the council also hired people to transport those who had fainted to a recovery area. However, each campaign to quell the carnivalesque atmosphere unfolding at the shrine apparently failed.

The subsets of information are not currently accessible in a way that would lend to rapid exploration at this time. However, there are other datasets that are available for comparison with this set of examples, such as demographic and social information which was created and maintained for governments and regional archives. Next, these records will be explored for their dangers and affordances.

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<sup>595</sup> Stahl, "Die Wallfahrt zur Schönen Maria," 58-69.

### 4.3.3 Social Categories and Abstraction

Image cults and the perceived cult identity is constantly in flux.<sup>596</sup> Another way of investigating the objects active in social contexts of Marian cults is to track and compare the social descriptors in the representations created for these cases. Individuals and groups participate not only in the creation but the constant maintenance that collective identities require.<sup>597</sup> The particular blend of social groups are distinctive for each site.<sup>598</sup> The process of data stewardship, such as labeling or categorizing individual cases, draws attention to the variations in social groups represented in each image collection of miraculous stories, such as the Miracle Cycles and prints, which were representations of mortals at the shrine or performing devotion to the Virgin. The importance of identity and representation in images has been recognized by scholars working on truth claims in images from this region.<sup>599</sup> Such pictures actively constructed the public-facing identity of the social groups which were represented in the cult community.<sup>600</sup>

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<sup>596</sup> Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles: transforming images in Italy from Renaissance to Present*, 2013.

<sup>597</sup> For more on collective identity, see Melucci (1989). Collective identity relies on a shared and interactive definition produced by members of a group through three processes: cognitive definition, active relationship, and emotional investments.

<sup>598</sup> Social history of pilgrimage use miracle books as sources, in part because of the consistent reference to the professions of devotees described as part of their miracle event report at the shrine. See Sargent, *Miracle Books*.

<sup>599</sup> Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta," 564.

<sup>600</sup> As Maniura has argued about comparable images in Italian Marian devotion, "the painting actively constructs the relationship it shows.;" Maniura, "Ex Votos Pious Performance," 424.

Social information has been persistently gathered for centuries. The regularity with which this information was collected supports its use as a tool for comparison between sites across time and distributed space. For example, exhibition catalogs have used social categorizations to represent religious communities, like that of the Mariahilf confraternity in the early seventeenth century.<sup>601</sup>

The Benedictine Monastery of St. Emmeram served as the intellectual core of Regensburg in the sixteenth century.<sup>602</sup> Resulting from its position as a free-imperial city teeming with merchants and politicians, the wealth of information about this site includes registers of humanists who traveled to the renowned monastic library.<sup>603</sup> Indeed, one monk recorded the early moments of the cult's formation in Regensburg.<sup>604</sup> The description that Ostofrancus provides is striking and represents the scene as massive and carnivalesque. There are few visual representations of the cult community around the Schöne Maria of Regensburg outside of those produced by Ostendorfer. In these images, the community is represented as largely agricultural, an excited hoard of peasants

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<sup>601</sup> *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenze*, 291.

<sup>602</sup> Wood, *Landscape*, 286.

<sup>603</sup> Including: Hartmann Schedel, Jacob Locher, Johann Cuspinian, Conrad Celtis, Aventinus, and Erasmus Daum Astralis; see Wood, *Altdorfer Landscape*, 286.

<sup>604</sup> "Ostofrancus, a Benedictine at St. Emmeram's monastery in Regensburg, wrote, "Die weil die Synagog iesst zerbrochen war, was das Vorhaben eine Kirche darauff bauen, darum ein solches Arbeiten war von Geistlichen und Weltliche, das unglaublich ist, je einen Tag 3 oder 4,000 Menschen; so schwarkert 4 oder 500 Wagen, die Koth ausfuhrten. Es was schier jedermann toll. Man spricht aber omne ranem carem; vilescit quotidianum" (Gemeiner, *Regensburgische Chronik* 3:363-364).; as seen in Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 58.

and farmers. Unlike Regensburg, the two surviving cults in Mariazell and Altötting included elite representations in the images produced around the start of the sixteenth century.

Mariazell's visual culture evinces a particular focus on representing priests and kings. The percentage of inhabitants which were tradespersons in the town of Mariazell was unusually high for its relative overall size. In 1390, the crafts represented included construction, saddle-making, fishing, cooking, metal-working, tanning, and undertaking along with multiple instances of shoe makers, bakers, weavers, threshers, tailors, butchers.<sup>605</sup> Pilgrims traveled long distances over rough terrain on foot, and the cobbler's records reflect such influxes of pilgrims in certain years. By the close of the sixteenth century, the recorded trades expanded to also include locksmith, goldsmith, silversmith, book-binder, glass-blower, belt-maker, furrier, milliner, glover, brewer, miller, paper-hanger, carpenter, and wax-maker.<sup>606</sup> Duke Albert II granted permission in 1342 for an iron foundry to be established in the town.<sup>607</sup> From this point, the foundry and the local supply of iron became an important component of the local economy. By the close of the seventeenth century there were at least twenty-four inns within this rural town.<sup>608</sup> In the following century, this number would nearly double.<sup>609</sup>

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<sup>605</sup> Kinsey states, "The gender imbalance probably reflects the large number of single, young women who came to Mariazell to work as cooks, shopkeepers and kitchen help at the many inns and shops within the town.;" Waid, *Mariazell und das Zellerthal*, 283.; Laura Lynne Kinsey, "The Habsburgs at Mariazell," 16.

<sup>606</sup> paper hanger "Tapezierer", wax maker "Wachsler,;" ; Waid, *Mariazell und das Zellerthal*, 300-368. Kinsey, "The Habsburgs at Mariazell," 16-17.

<sup>607</sup> Iron foundry "Eisenwerk"; Waid, *Mariazell und das Zellerthal*, 291.; Kinsey, "The Habsburgs at Mariazell," 17.

<sup>608</sup> Waid, *Mariazell und das Zellerthal*, 370.; Kinsey, "The Habsburgs at Mariazell," 17.

<sup>609</sup> Sterz, *Grundrifi einer Geschichte*, 183.; Kinsey, "The Habsburgs at Mariazell," 17.

In Altötting, there is a marked representation of doctors and dukes. In the thirteenth century, Wittelsbach Louis “Kelheimer,” Duke of Bavaria, founded a collegiate church with twelve secular canons.<sup>610</sup> It was this diocesan institution that oversaw the cult of Our Lady in Altötting during the period under investigation here. Isseckhemer, the author of the 1494 miracle about Our Lady of Altötting, was the administrator of this collegiate church.<sup>611</sup> The author Altötting’s early printed miracle book about the agency of Our Lady emphasizes a broad scope when stating that, “people from many lands and foreigners of every estate, both clerics and laymen—cardinal, archbishops, bishops, provosts, abbots, and other prelates; learned masters and doctors; emperor, kings, dukes, margraves, counts, free lords, knights, soldiers, burghers, and people of both sexes – came to report and rejoice that they were helped by the Virgin Mary.”<sup>612</sup>

These variations are useful for comparison not only across sites, but also as a point of investigation about the ways the community was registered by records made for differing purposes. For example, the image production made specifically for the cult shrine to be viewed and used in Mariazell can be compared to the records of those who were running the community locally. However, these religious centers were not intended as long-term residences for the majority of devotees. Instead, the travel to this “center” was an important aspect of penance that was part of a central community practice. However, the inclusion of information about larger social distributions

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<sup>610</sup> Unlike other cases of religious orders, this is a case in which canons were secular clergy, meaning they were not held to the same vows of chastity, poverty, or obedience. Altötting had an existing benedictine monastery for just over three decades when it was destroyed by an invading attack in the tenth century; Bauer, *Wallfahrt Altötting*, 6-11.

<sup>611</sup> Isseckhemer, *Zuflucht der Maria*; Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 33.

<sup>612</sup> Sargent, “Miracle Books”, 461.

and their relationship to the specific meeting-point of the cult shrine is one inroad into learning about how each group included or excluded inhabitants and travelers in representations of community around the Marian shrine.

There is further linking potential of information about individuals, which could strengthen or challenge identity markers as represented in any single source. There are significant records of individuals who held offices or positions of responsibility, honor, and/or power. For example, there are nearly entirely complete records of the church abbots and clergy from each shrine.<sup>613</sup> Unfortunately, these records are largely still dispersed; but they are becoming ever more available thanks to the transcriptions provided by scholars such as König paired with the increasing digitization of archives and library collections.<sup>614</sup> Another case that reveals the evident enthusiasm for the promise of graphical visualization can be found in the major exhibition and catalog, *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen*.<sup>615</sup> This bar graph illustrates the distribution of social descriptors amongst members of a Marian confraternity that was recorded just over one hundred years after the period under investigation in this dissertation. The availability of social descriptors however, is typical of the sorts of information available from these early modern contexts. Though there is some demographic information about the regional population, we cannot use this to “fill in the gaps,” however. We can use this to see how similar or different these population distributions appear in comparison to what the miracle shrine is representing. Rather than answering for missing

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<sup>613</sup> See König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*.; “anhang”/ appendix 6, 470-473.

<sup>614</sup> For discussion of the various forms of digital work in the humanities, see Roth, Camille. “Digital, digitized and numerical humanities,” *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, Vol. 34, No. 3, (2019). 616-632.

<sup>615</sup> *Wallfahrt Kennt Keine Grenzen: Katalog Der Ausstellung*. München: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 290-291.

data, comparison between these two quantitative records of community members and their professions serves primarily to elucidate further gaps in available records.

This is a powerful benefit of technology, the increased ability to trace relationships across documentation types and understanding that these are ultimately arguments based on linked data that can be paired with historical expertise. This form of argumentation is promising on a number of fronts, it opens up the formats of communication while reducing the threshold of memory and attention, which is increasingly taxed by modern life. In fact, as soon as access to information increases, humans recognize the value of organizing such information in order to facilitate its use.<sup>616</sup> Structures designed to cope with the problem of cognitive overload reveals a desire to maintain and even likely increase the volume of readily accessible information. This desire suggests a valuing of information and its ability to be accessed, at least by someone at some time around which the design of the system was presumably tailored. The solutions to classification and other structures aimed at organization are themselves abstractions, materializations of human agency which can be interrogated for insights about the corpus' creator as well as aid in identifying areas in which the collector significantly warped the knowledge they aimed to record. In this way, the information organization structures of the sixteenth century and of this ongoing research project produce materialized abstractions that, if not demand at least, ask action of human agents in encounters.

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<sup>616</sup> For example, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.; Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*. United Kingdom: Yale University Press, 2010.

#### 4.4 Concluding Action:

Offerings like wax images were paradoxically action and object, ephemeral and substantive. The final figure in Ostendorfer's tightly packed broadside that warrants our attention is the bearer of a gargantuan candle which is nearly twice the size of its custodian (Fig. 1). This pictured pilgrim uses a harness and both arms to steady this gargantuan load.<sup>617</sup> By the preceding century, wicks and candle wax were calibrated to the devotee's own height or weight, "as if they were in some sense giving themselves by offering their measures."<sup>618</sup> This detail illustrates the issues confronted in modeling object-centered research, the important but unglamorous moment of translation between humanistic narrative and a form suited to modeling that was designed for comparatively enormous datasets. However, the offerings made at Marian shrines are more attuned to connection through shared suffering. Human connection occurs when we share pain. Wax votives in particular are a vehicle for sharing pain, as outward signs of suffering and the hope gained through devotion. The benefits of enduring pain are intertwined with the Catholic sacrament of penance, a sacrament which was both defended and described by the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century.<sup>619</sup> The

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<sup>617</sup> This candle bearer wears a twisted head piece and, like many in this scene, is shown barefoot. On this massive candle offering, there appears to be a piece of paper or parchment affixed, though the particulars of what was on this paper are not apparent. However, it would be within pilgrimage practice to affix any number of things onto such an offering, such as a print of the Virgin herself or a representation of the mortals or mortals who were presenting this offering, including but not limited to prints of particular saints.

<sup>618</sup> Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 29.

<sup>619</sup> For the sacramental description of Penance see Waterworth, ed. and trans. "The Council of Trent: The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent," 150-165.

theological language of the sacraments serve as useful guides into the belief shared or utilized by makers of objects destined for display or distribution at Marian shrines.

The modes of making were based on a continuous practice of replication and ritual practice as it was modeled by the clergy and in objects on display at pilgrims shrines. Abstraction was common in the sixteenth century, and “mimetic rituals” of pilgrimage and other devotional behaviors have been remarked upon by scholars working on comparable miracle cults, particularly those in Italy.<sup>620</sup> However, there are plenty of mimetic behaviors which have been identified in the context of the Germanic South. For example, Habsburg rulers garnered praise for imitating “popular pilgrims” in the rare moments that they performed pilgrimage by foot.<sup>621</sup> Both action and representation took multiple forms beyond visual mimesis. For example, the amount of wax or other material goods could refer to the individual by matching weights of their body.<sup>622</sup> This also was used in lengths – a length of a braided rope made of flax could represent the devotee by corresponding to their height.<sup>623</sup> This type of replication is found in multiple powerful images.<sup>624</sup> Such images, when activated by a pious kiss, were promised to protect the body and soul of the

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<sup>620</sup> Maniura, “Ex Votos, Art and Pious Performance,” 411-425.

<sup>621</sup> Kinsey, “Habsburgs in Mariazell”, 182.; Examples in Siemegger, *Sechstes Jahrhundert*, 324.

<sup>622</sup> Measures as gift of person, see Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitudes*, 262 n.18.

<sup>623</sup> For more on the representation by lengths of body or body-parts, see John Shinnors, ed. *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader*, 161, 165, 259-260.

<sup>624</sup> The former seen in the case of the side wound and the latter in the case of the Cross, it equaled one-fortieth the height of Christ “in his humanity” or in his embodied form.; Parshall and Schoch, *Origins*, 258-260. The side wound and the cross in this example correspond to the exact size or a particular scaled-down or fractionated size.

person who performed the activation. Scholars working on this subject have articulated the central tensions that confound traditional structures of explanation.

The process of engaging tools for tracking and visualization in this project was illuminating in a number of ways. First, the process was iterative and attempted employment of various structures and categorizations. Abstraction may seem like a dangerous reduction of the richly interwoven fabric of the lived experience. However, there is no need for an either-or approach in this regard. The strength in using categories and forms of abstraction is the ability to communicate, to change viewpoints and see things from a distance between deeper investigations of specific examples. Second, the making and remaking of data that guided multiple readings. Third, the explorations rarely if ever resulted in something entirely expected, though sometimes guessed at during the process of data entry. Though I anticipated that this process would reveal unspoken connections between stories, those relationships thwarted these attempts due to a reliance on named-entities, information not often included beyond a single miracle story. The other connections are those which are resultant from the process of information structuring that was baked-into the categories used or the types of information tracked which were for particular, not universal, concerns. For example, this chapter considered the use of related data sources from a single site, finding that their use for comparison, not extrapolation, is appropriate.

This chapter engaged mindfully in abstractions and each digital project itself makes structural abstractions that have stakes (i.e., formatting data and period eye) the role of scholar as data steward. I used a variety of network models because each type proved useful for exploring one facet of the events at the cult sites. Still, no single model adequately handles the variety of production and human action at any one site, let alone the wider phenomena under investigation in this study. It was important to expand my study of cultic behavior and particularly the role

images played in human lives because each of these sites depended on connecting and individuating itself to the larger web of Marian devotion.

Each of the sections in this third chapter were positioned at the intersection of abstraction and action. First, abstraction was considered as equivalent or representative of action itself. From categorization of particular examples to engaging in event models, this opening section grappled with the issue of relationships in offerings and their associated behaviors, each of which are only partially accessible for historical research due to their disappearance. The second section focused on how abstraction stimulates actions. The use of numbers in offering records from diverse contexts lead ultimately to questions of scalability – highlighting some potential pitfalls as well as encouraging potentials for merging data sets which nominally register the same subject. Finally, abstraction was described as deeply reliant on action itself, the action of visual decoding depends on a cultural context and period eye. Visual symbols constitute a key example set which demands decoding, yet historical forms of categorization are difficult to pinpoint.<sup>625</sup> I then briefly outlined a handful of historical forms of categorization evident in the case of miracle stories before exploring the most telling example of categorization in early modern publications from this set.

There are many ways to describe the phenomena in which part is taken for the whole.<sup>626</sup> One case is the practice of relic division in the Catholic church, based on the powerful conveyance by factoriality or properties of synecdoche. This concept is perhaps best illustrated in the theology

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<sup>625</sup> See Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. 1-25.

<sup>626</sup> Such relationships can be described as factorial. In semiotics it can be described as symbolic, in rhetorical contexts it shares features with synecdoche. See Knappett, “Networks of Meaning: A Sociosemiotics of Material Culture,” in *Thinking Through Material Culture*, 85-106.

of concomitance.<sup>627</sup> Part-to-whole relationships have also been acknowledged outside of the European Christian context by anthropologists like Carl Knappett.<sup>628</sup> In religious studies, the conceptual habit that allows part to transfer the whole or mimetic object which manifests what it “represents” is also called “the devotional logic of presence” or “the contagion of holiness.”<sup>629</sup> The Catholic doctrine of concomitance was articulated in the eleventh century in response to debates about the Eucharist. In 1415, at the council of Constance, the doctrine of concomitance meant that the wafer alone, rather than requiring wafer and wine, was the full presence of Christ, as his presence was indivisible.<sup>630</sup>

This chapter functions as the next intellectual step from the most concrete forms of relationship indexing into the object set that functions through non-mimetic means. All are a measure of belief and each show signs of connection between two or more entities. Relationships between part and whole are here taken as a strong signifier of relatedness and occasional

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<sup>627</sup> For the theology and the “habit of concomitance,” see Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, 208-215.

<sup>628</sup> Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture*, 100-101.

<sup>629</sup> Bynum, *Dissimilar Similitude*, n. 29. 264; Also see Bynum sources: Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of the 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*, 3rd ed (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 2010) xvi, and Janet Bord, *Footprints in Stone: The Significance of Foot- and Hand-prints and Other Imprints Left by Early Men, Giants, Heroes, Devils, Saints, Animals, ghosts, Witches, Fairies, and Monsters* (Loughborough, UK: Heart of Albion Press, 2004) 6-7.

<sup>630</sup> James Clifton, "A Fountain Filled with Blood," 77, this same ecclesio-political body condemned Jan Huss, whose reform movement championed the return of “communion in *both* kinds,” (emphasis my own) ; see also William R. Cook. "The Eucharist in Hussite Theology." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 66 (1975): 23-35.; as seen in Mitchell B. Merback (2005) “Fount of Mercy, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece,” *The Art Bulletin*, 87:4, 589-642.

equivalency. This type of relationship was based more on belief than physical comparison between material substances, as evident in the continued practice of relic division. This type of representation could be materially legitimate, but such transference of agency could also be accomplished by measure or even no longer extant objects. Such lost materials are only accessible for inquiry in relatedness through their index-surrogates that serve as proxy-records, particularly for offerings which largely do not survive from the moment under study.

Efficiency is a double-edged sword. The conceptual distance afforded by well-operating tools threatens to obscure the issues enmeshed in each source. Indeed, a marker of well-functioning design is its invisibility to users. For example, the interface of our modern smartphones operates in a way that allows the technology's functioning to become so unremarkable that it disappears. Moments of friction slow progress towards a completed deliverable, or material product of the study, yet it is precisely these curious moments that prove most illuminating. On the other hand, it is prohibitively impractical to manually transcribe, translate, and transform information into computationally manipulatable data.

In this investigation, objects were initially considered as records that lend insights about the distribution and appearance of cult communities. In this final chapter, objects were considered as events, occasions for objects and persons to gather and act. If one “correct” definition of an art historian is as a humanist whose “primary material” is art, then the assumption is that artwork is accessible and known. However, if we broaden the realm of art historical purview to include “visual culture,” then this issue of primary and secondary materials becomes even more blurred.<sup>631</sup>

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<sup>631</sup>A work of art is defined by Panofsky as a “man-made object demanding to be experienced aesthetically.”

Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 14.

Objects visualized as events can be created for both *abstract* and *concrete* objects.<sup>632</sup> The path for studying such historical objects is only made clear through the process of investigation. Humanists investigate human creations and actions and according to Panofsky must therefore, “engage in a mental process of synthetic and subjective character: he has mentally to re-enact the actions and re-create the creations. It is in fact by this process that the real objects of the humanities come into being.”<sup>633</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> For the purposes of this study, I define abstract and concrete objects in the following way: Concrete Object: (metaphysics) a physical object that is or has been present in time and space, capable of engaging causally with the world, examples include the Wunderaltar of Mariazell (as opposed to the abstract object of “miracle cycles”); Abstract Object: (metaphysics) objects not present in time or space, removed causally from the world, as in examples of grouped or classes of concrete objects. For more on this, see José L.Falguera,, Concha Martínez-Vidal, and Gideon Rosen, "Abstract Objects", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2021 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2021/entries/abstract-objects/>>

<sup>633</sup> Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 14.

## 5.0 Conclusion

The decades surrounding the turn of the sixteenth century were host to violent snapping of ties which bound the previous generations of the comparatively unified inhabitants of Christians in Medieval Europe. German speaking Christians living in Western Europe in the second decade of the sixteenth century was suddenly either holy or heretical, based on where someone fell along the confessional divide. Large systems of societal connection faced threats from invasion and infighting.<sup>634</sup> The threat to social connection was real, as it bubbled up in moments of violence such as the multiple peasant revolts in France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Bavaria.<sup>635</sup> During this moment of disconnection, the Catholic inhabitants of the Germanic South sought out connection – modes of being seen, heard, and valued by the divine as well as by their devotional community. Marian cults served as hubs of pain, gratitude, and devotion for flocks of pilgrims who sought consolation through connection. This emotional aspect of devotional practice is at least one reason why so many people turned to these shrines at a moment when the systems that organized the Western world were being challenged by internal schisms and external invaders. Such threats to connection created the conditions for a palpable registrations of a desire for connection because it exacerbated human suffering. This shared suffering is central to the objects that were made for Marian cults.

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<sup>634</sup> See Carlos Eire, *Reformations*, Yale University Press.

<sup>635</sup> See Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley. *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity : Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, 33-51

The frenetic energy and heightened emotion has been used as a powerful narrative tool, as evidenced by the persistent use of Ostendorfer's 1519 broadside in secondary scholarship over the past century.<sup>636</sup> Within this and other prints made for shrines like Altötting and Mariazell, there is evidence of the administrators of cult shrines using co-location as a way to reinforce association between entities. In the cases of miracle books published between 1490 and 1520, this takes the form of miracle records that are largely in the form in which they were recorded for the clergy, reproduced in print for sale and distribution around Marian chapels. While individual lay devotees of Marian shrines in the Germanic South did not create any surviving records addressing the specific question of connection, they nevertheless dealt with how to cultivate meaningful and persistent connection in their own lives. This aim of connection is evident in the objects created for and about communities which surrounded miracle working images of the Virgin in Bavaria and Austria around the turn of the sixteenth century.

One form of connection explored in this dissertation was the link desired between heaven and earth by devotees of Marian shrines. Representation that was supported by replication supported the substitution of images for the lack of bodily relics left by the Madonna after her ascension to heaven. Marian shrines therefore serve as a point of confluence for powerful representation by replication as well as hubs for human suffering. In no small part, this was because Mary served as a model of holy suffering and compassion, a source of relatable empathy for mortals suffering in their own lives.

Individuals belonging to a cult community assuaged the discomfort of being distant from the main worship site by contributing to an accretion of offerings that represented the experiences

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<sup>636</sup> For example, see Freedberg, Belting, Wood, and Bynum.

of individuals who testified about power present at the cult site. For example, the offerings on display along Altötting's porch contain social descriptors of community members which surround visitors as they process towards the central devotional space of the octagonal chapel.

Offerings appear to participate in the modes of representation which were actively used in Catholic devotion to represent a proxy of mortal witness in Marian chapel spaces. These ambiguous yet recognizable proxies were able to stand for absent cult members by their material, form and placement. The community members of Marian shrines coped with the disconnection of necessarily being bodily distant from the main cult shrine by making something which represented their presence. These representations of humans in pain accumulated at shrines and were described by cult administrators using conventions of categorization which seemed most useful to them and their purposes of record creation. While this information has been transcribed and published, now constituting a rich data source for descriptions and quantities, the display of offerings continues to stand in for human experience at active cult sites like Mariazell.

Objects displayed in the cult space were impressive material testimonies that gained further impact in the minds of early modern Catholics thanks to experiential knowledge gained during pilgrimage or in encounters at other devotional centers. For this portion of the viewing audience, each offering was understood to be part of an action – brought to the chapel. Therefore, the large weights and lengths which represented the bodies of petitioners were doubly performing representation through their difficult delivery and striking encounter through display. These gifts were performed acts of self-representation that were made in the language of presence as it was understood by Catholic inhabitants of the Germanic South. Wax votive offerings in particular were about sharing pain, human suffering which was recast with hope and shared with a community of fellow sufferers. The relationship instantiated by sharing pain is the connective tissue across which

the divine agency of Mary as it appeared in objects made for these Marian cults. The outward sign of suffering and devotion that was wed to penance supported ritual actions and material deposits made at miracle shrines.

The corpus of objects investigated here as participants in the events of Marian devotion of the sixteenth century were regularly created with attention to replication more than creativity or invention. Due to this primacy placed on repetition, there is less information about artist or creator than the objects that have held pride of place for much of art historical discourse. However, in recent generations, the set of available objects for art historians to consider has been expanded to include the objects that were cherished by both elite and non-elite communities.

As part of this shift, the set of examples are often referred to as “visual culture,” rather than the smaller set of “fine art” objects which are distinguished by characteristics like refinement.<sup>637</sup> For example, in *Image Acts*, Horst Bredekamp questions rigid distinctions and highlights the overlap between images, nature, and humans.<sup>638</sup> The effect of the image in this framework is not beholden to the intentions of the patron or artist, but is rather located in the viewer's experience.<sup>639</sup> Investigations like this provide exciting new inroads to studying objects that were important to

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<sup>637</sup> Horst Bredekamp, “A Neglected Tradition? Art History as *Bildwissenschaft*,” *Critical Inquiry* 29 (2003): 419.

<sup>638</sup> In juxtaposing a theory of image acts with speech act theory, Bredekamp argues for image as *agens*. The author, who was part of the Warburg school, contests the traditional divisions between “High” and “Low” art, by challenging the boundaries between subject and object, animated and inert, and art and craft. Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, Image Word Action, (DeGruyter, 2018; orig. ed. 2010), 59-63.

<sup>639</sup> Foucault argued, “resemblance is visible only in the network of signs that cross the world from one end to the other.” Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 29.

early modern people. In an effort to manage translational, philosophical, and theological ambiguities, Art History has accordingly expanded the set of objects suitable for inquiry to better account for the spiritual, physical, and mental positions of images in pre- and early modern religious contexts.<sup>640</sup>

Throughout this investigation, I engaged with a variety of primary sources, such as a set of miracle books that were published in the decades around 1500. The stories published were selected to portray the cult in the most compelling or beneficial way to its creator(s) as possible. These stories were framed by legitimacy-granting information but publications before 1540 were not yet drastically departing from the original miracle record's phrasings.<sup>641</sup> Data structures and formats are themselves important acts of representation laden with consequences, particularly in the twenty-first century.<sup>642</sup> Counterintuitively perhaps, my partnership with the rigid rule-follower (the computer), produced multiple moments of "friction," moments of pause which rendered underlying *structures* or *things* perceptible.<sup>643</sup>

For example, the consistent inclusion of place by name as part of miracle stories is one way that the distributed community mitigated the challenges imposed by distance. They used a new

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<sup>640</sup> For more on studies of different media with special interest in their particular nature, see James Elkins, *The Domain of Images* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). For an example of political and theological aspects to cultural and social history, with particular focus on visual communication, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

<sup>641</sup> Philip M. Soergel, "Wondrous in His Saints: Popular Pilgrimage and Catholic Propaganda in Bavaria, 1470-1620 (Volumes I and II)." (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1988), 260-266.

<sup>642</sup> For example, see Noble, Safiya Umoja. *Algorithms of Oppression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism*.

<sup>643</sup> Used in discussions of invisible and therefore good design as well as in philosophical discussions of objects.

technology (print) to reproduce an existing record type (the miracles reported at a shrine) which was originally designed for an older problem (register a compelling report of a miraculous event). As prints like the miracle *büchlein* traveled with their owners, these prints represented a community by where its members could be found. Mapping these co-located place names revealed an interesting difference in the distribution of Regensburg's community, which appear to cluster along waterways. While this difference was striking, this alone does not distinguish the cult markedly from the other two shrines under consideration from this same linguistic and temporal context.

I visualized the printed information about geographic locations, using the information I gathered from printed *büchlein* which associated the Madonna with particular locations on the earth where she was reportedly encountered. Mapping these named locations revealed evidence that suggests divergent strategies of representation were employed by the cult administrators in Altötting that were distinct from those of Mariazell. While Altötting's cult stewards were relatively consistent in the regions mentioned as part of their painted and printed texts, the Austrian shrine appears to have catered the representation of where Mariazell's community of witnesses could be found depending on the media in which the words were made. For example, the print series of Mariazell attends to the eastern reaches of the Germanic South, while the painted panels are more focused on naming places in the heartland of the German speaking area. The variation found in these contemporary examples suggest that the cult stewards creating prints were at least somewhat attuned to the power and potential risks of miracle publication.

In addition to printed texts like the miracle books, cult administrators also commissioned painted representations of miraculous occurrences around the beginning of the sixteenth century. Association between cult and community was supported by visual co-location of place names that

were displayed together in painted miracle cycles at the cult chapel. The co-located place names asserted were the community of witnesses could be found in the world. Mapping the locations named in the painted miracle stories facilitated a comparison between the places named in paintings with those that were printed for distribution. Comparing these two different sources using maps revealed that Altötting was generally consistent between the named locations. However, Mariazell seemed to tailor the places named in the miracle story based on the media in which it was made. The places named on the stationary altar were centered toward the heartland of the Germanic South, while the traveling media printed more generalized place names that expanded towards the eastern borders of the region.

One example explored associative power of co-location from a completely different perspective, visualizing information as a mode of understanding a cult community's distribution by mapping places where pilgrims badges have been found. The benefits of these tokens were based on a body's physical proximity with this object. The object's power, in turn, was gained by contact with the place of worship which was central to the cult, the main shrine. Pilgrims badges register the shared human desire for connection with a place that they are physically distant from. These tokens were carried by a community of devotees who were scattered across the landscape, most living away from the cult chapel and undertaking pilgrimage to visit. The data available about the sites in which pilgrims badges from the investigated sites were found is scarce. While this sparseness warrants further investigation, the varied connection making mode which is registered by a community in the space that they lived.

Icons of the Virgin Mary, in two dimensional forms as paintings and prints, evince attempts to mitigate the undesirable disconnection imposed by physical distance from a cult-proxy, such as a *Gnadenbild*. By considering the examples of icons which were co-located in representations of

key cult entities offered one example of how signs might be transformed into entities suitable for tracking and modeling using computers. The prints of icons, such as the multi-color woodblock print by Altdorfer. Icons, whether they were printed or painted, were able to convey legitimacy for potential presence that was founded on replication. Using categories of description can help identify these types of proxy objects that depended on substitution to prompt mental images in the minds of devotees, whether they were physically near or far from the main cult space.

Network graphs, those diagrammatic models which are composed of nodes that are linked together, are well suited to tracking and visualizing the relationships between entities. I therefore aimed to use this model type as an trial run for representing a variety of information from the context of early modern miracle shrines. In order to work towards a network model, I traced out the currently available information and easily accessible tools for the purposes of art historical investigation. As part of this investigation, I performed trial runs of databases and data visualizations to explore how objects were used in the mediation of divine agency in the context of Marian devotion. My aim was to use a network model to trace the ways that humans apparently understood the flow of or access to divine agency of the Virgin Mary as mediated through or registered in objects. I wagered that a partnership with the computer would help to mitigate the mental bottleneck induced by the wealth of objects and ideas about this topic. This practice demands routine reflection about issues that might otherwise be obfuscated in narrative. Foundational to this endeavor was the belief that modeling a great number of specific instances would aid in critique of theoretical and categorical frameworks through which early modern miracle cults have been described. Therefore, my use of digital tools was aimed at engaging directly with theories about miraculous agency.

With the increase in the existence and availability of digitized texts, researchers are able to gather and include more sources and examples than would be previously feasible without the technological aid of digital representations which are findable on commonly used search engines.<sup>644</sup> These valuable texts are becoming even more accessible for transformational online tools that are refining OCR (Optical Character Recognition) technologies for services from screen reading to translation. While collecting information for this dissertation, I was intrigued by the shared terms I encountered in both computational and art historical scholarly realms. I therefore turned to familiar forms and methods that showed promise for data collection, visualization, and interpretation which might be useful for this or future studies about the historical agency of objects. Graphical display of information is an established communication tool used to enrich narrative writing. However, the potential of models that prioritize connection as arguments between entities promises to open up new areas of conversation and collaboration for researchers if we embrace the facet of visualization and making in general – that things made are always and inextricably wed to their makers.

From information organization to icon picturing, human action is implicated in each of the materialized abstractions that we make. While each case is useful as a window onto the past, I considered how each data source might be layered or superimposed in order to construct an irretrievably partial yet increasingly rich model about the past. As part of this, I considered the ways in which signs and symbols of social role were represented as part of the commissioned sets of miracle stories. Social information has been recognized as persistent and useful information for

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<sup>644</sup> For example, Google Books has many of the Bavarian collection held in Munich available as digitized and downloadable files.

researchers studying religious communities. This scholarship and the aggregated information that was produced in the course of such studies are useful for comparison across ranges in space and time. Each of these abstractions, whether they were produced by the original stewards of the shrine, by scholars writing books in the twentieth century, and by myself as I collected and visualized information about this context through the course of this dissertation. Like numerical data, these abstractions require multiple moments of human action. At minimum, those two events are the moment of data creation and the act of making sense of or using said data.

Another record that sheds light on aspects of objects that represented the cult community can be found in the numerical data produced about offerings that were made by cult administrators. The quantification of the amounts of offerings were recorded for the apparently practical purpose of sustaining the cult and maintaining its devotional center. However, these numerical values are tempting to combine with the numerical information found in the weights and lengths used to represent mortal bodies in the offered objects. Though persons did represent the measure of their bodies by quantities such as weight (which were then translated into wax), the use of weight is not consistent enough to extrapolate outward from in order to “fill in” gaps present in the historical record. However, these early records and their subsequent visualizations in secondary scholarship reveal how information registered in this way has been largely shaped by economic values. However, this was incongruous with what I found to be the most operative notion of value as it was registered in objects created for Marian devotion.

Connections between the devotional community and the divine audience were embedded in the offered objects which did not disclose their contents through visual signs alone. However, these visual signs have been studied in depth over the past century. I used mental frameworks like computational thinking to investigate the information which has been routinely discussed about

these Marian cults in secondary scholarship. Compounding the challenge of studying objects made to represent human suffering is the fact that most examples of offerings from this period have been destroyed, leaving behind only records of their existence to serve as partial proxy for the lost originals.

The significant effort made to travel to a shrine and register one's presence at that shrine is evident in records of pilgrimage and offering practice. Devotees of a cult used offerings to mitigate the disconnection of being physically removed from the central chapel; offerings thereby registered a curious set of representational objects which are motivated by visual concerns ill fitted to the descriptive categories of canonical objects types like painted panel portraits. . The ways that this presence was registered however, is as palpable as it is varied. Particularly in the case of objects made of wax, I found material to be a powerful way to unite the actions and objects of offerings as they were registered in objects like the painted miracle cycle of Altötting. In order to make a dataset which preserved the importance of both action and material, I found it useful to turn to "events" as a way to structure collected information about these investigated examples.

The rich body of secondary sources about the three key shrines of Altötting, Mariazell, and Regensburg offered comparative models and provided helpful gatherings of information which propelled the exploration of models and variety of data which I could not have collected and made sense of without access to a staggering number of published and unpublished works. While many have investigated the phenomena of late medieval devotion surrounding saints, no satisfactory theory has emerged to explain the counterintuitive and seemingly paradoxical actions of how

objects are used in devotion.<sup>645</sup> Miraculous images and their multiplication in divergent media stalwartly resist rigid classification. Religious objects both adhere to the traditional forms that are often defined as “late medieval”, that are made at the same moment as innovative styles that fit with narratives of artistic progression in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. In a single cult site, we may see multiple temporalities unfolding at the same moment, because of this variety in visual form, compounded by the collection of objects that have accreted at cult sites over generations. One of the central paradoxes of Catholicism may aid in translating the evidence perceived by scholars into exploratory models about the past – the fusion of sign and signified that occurs in transformed holy matter.

Catholic viewers of the sixteenth century had good reason to believe that an object’s appearance could suggest but not disclose the proxy potential of an object. For example, each of the seven sacraments of the church were made up of both an outward sign and an internal change. For Catholic inhabitants in the Germanic South around the year 1500, the sculptures of the Madonna stood in for her bodily relics without fabricating said relics directly. The central proxy object of a Marian cult did not visually mimic bones or appendages, which were common forms of relics enshrined at other saints shrines during this period. However, because of the established cult of saints located across Europe, congregants would be familiar with the ability of the divine to be whole and present in fragments, whether or not those fragments appeared as expected. Trust

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<sup>645</sup> For example, see the recent exhibition and catalog edited by Ittai Weinryb. *Agents of Faith: Votive Objects in Time and Place*. Bard Graduate Center Gallery, New York: Yale University Press, 2018.; See also the full bibliography for Hans Belting; see also Horst Bredekamp, *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency*, Image Word Action. DeGruyter, 2018.

in such signs was essential to salvation according to the Church, and this was confirmed routinely as it was enacted in rituals like Mass. Throughout the year and when death seemed near, the Eucharist was ritually transformed by an priest before. Even though it visually appeared as a wafer, the Council of Trent confirmed that the proxy of Christ was distributing the literal body and blood of Christ. Examples of outward signs of invisible truth included more than the transubstantiated substance of the Eucharist, such signs are present in each of the sacraments of the Catholic Church.

The sculptural images of the Virgin which were visually akin to the figural reliquaries made for saints relics in the medieval period became the central images at many of the miracle cults of Mary between 1490 and 1520. The founding *Gnadenbilder* of Mariazell and Altötting are medieval sculptures that were experienced as powerful conveyors of recognizable presence. Even in Regensburg, where the statue was not framed for appropriate devotional use, was engaged with in ways that betray its recognition as a powerful proxy for the Virgin Mary, as the man hoisting his hat to touch the statue illustrates in Ostendorfer's 1519 broadside about this cult. The viewers of these pictorial representations were able to consistently conjure mental images of the entity to which they referred, particularly when that entity was a central religious figure like the Mother of God. The replication of Mary's image and the records of the treatment of these images as divine proxies is evidence of the persistent and widespread desire to connect with the Madonna.

## Appendix A Figure Captions

Illustrations have been redacted due to copyright considerations. Archived links to images available online have been provided where possible.

### Figure 1: RB Broadside

Broadside print of the shrine of Schöne Maria in Regensburg in 1519.

*The Pilgrimage to the Beautiful Virgin at Regensburg*, woodcut image by Michael Ostendorfer, 1519-1520. The British Museum, 1895,0122.77 (582 x 389 mm). Another impression is held by the Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, pictured on [Bavarikon](#). Inscription: Signed "MO" on the wall at left of the church. Lettered in lower margin with three lines of Latin text: "O insignem et benignam dexteræ excelsi ... miraque operatur."

### Figure 2: AO Book 1497

Title page of miracle book printed for Altötting in 1497.

*Das Buchlein der Zuflucht zu Maria der muter gottes in alten Oding Mit Widmungsbreif des Autors an Johann Graf*, by Jakob Isseckemer, 15.10.1497, BSB (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), Ink-651, MSM (Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum Digitale Bibliothek), Rar.847. Image available courtesy of [MDZ](#)

### Figure 3: AO Map 1940

Map visualizing the geographic reach of Altötting by Maria Angela König.

Maria Angela König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vols. 1–2. Band Rahmen der Zeitgeschichte, 1492-1750, (Munich: Stahl. 1940), v1.

“Der geographische Zustrahlungsraum Altöttings”

The geographic reach of Altötting: Map from the end of the eighteenth century.

Color of line indicates a record of at least one person traveled to the Marian shrine from indicated locations during the: sixteenth century (green); seventeenth century (red); and eighteenth century (blue).

### Figure 4: RB Miracle Books

Title Pages of Regensburg miracle books from 1519 and 1522.

Title Page of *In diesem büchlein sind begriffen die wunderparlichen zaychen beschehen zu Regenspurg zu der Schönen Maria der mutter gottes*. Nuremberg: Hölzel, 1519. BSB. Available courtesy of [Google Books](#); Title Page with hand-colored woodblock print by Michael Ostendorfer for *Wunderberliche czayche[n] vergangen Jars*, 1522, Munich, BSB. Paul Kohl. BSB Munich. Res.4 Bavar. 2095, 8. Available courtesy of [Google Books](#).

Figure 5: RB Book Map

Map of locations named in Regensburg's 1519 miracle book.

*In diesem büchlein seind begriffen die wunderparlichen zaychen beschehen zu Regenspurg zu der Schönen Maria der mutter gottes.* Nuremberg: Hölzel, 1519. BSB. Map created by Sarah Reiff Conell using *My Maps* by Google. Archive of [image](#) available courtesy of IA.

Figure 6: RB Map Detail

Detail of the mapped locations of places named in a miracle book published in the first year of the Marian cult's founding in Regensburg.

*In diesem büchlein seind begriffen die wunderparlichen zaychen beschehen zu Regenspurg zu der Schönen Maria der mutter gottes.* Nuremberg: Hölzel, 1519. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Map created by Sarah Reiff Conell using *My Maps* by Google. Archive of [image](#) available courtesy of IA.

Figure 7: Ettal Broadside 1517

The Ettal Broadside, also known as the Schoffau Broadside (1517).

Inscription: „Von aim grossen wunderzaychen das unser fraw gethan hat vor dem birg in aim dörflin Scheffau genant nach bey Etal...“ (345 x 235 mm), BSB 6307623, MDZDB Einbl. I, 22 d. Image courtesy of [MDZDB](#). See full transcription in Appendix B.4.

Figure 8: Marian Atlas 1657

Title Page of *Marian Atlas*, 1657 edition, by Wilhelm Gumpfenberg.

Wilhelm Gumpfenberg, *Marianischer Atlas Das ist wunderthätige Mariabilder: So in Aller Christlichen Welt mit WunderZaichen berhuembt.* Hänlin, 1657. Available courtesy of [Google Books](#)

Figure 9: Marian Atlas Register

Index pages of *Marian Atlas* printed in 1657.

*Marianischer Atlas Das ist wunderthätige Mariabilder: So in Aller Christlichen Welt mit WunderZaichen berhuembt.* by Wilhelm. Gumpfenberg, Hänlin, 1657. Available courtesy of [Google Books](#)

Figure 10: RB Broadside 1610

Example of continued use of woodblock print, evident by altered text areas, of the Marian cult in Regensburg despite the dissolution of the shrine.

Michael Ostendorfer (woodcut, 1519), *The Pilgrimage to the Church of the "Beautiful Virgin" at Regensburg*, 1610, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, [39.5](#), (674 x 410 mm).

Figure 11: AO Chapel Porch

Interior of porch and collection of votive images which wraps around the church of Our Lady in Altötting. Photograph by Heiner Heine, available courtesy of [Altötting Herz Bayerns](#)

[Tourism](#)

Figure 12: AO Schärding Flood

The flood of Schärding (Austria) and miraculous intercession portrayed in scene 59 of Altötting's Miracle Cycle.

See reproduced image and transcription in Robert Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*. ed. Administration der Hl. Kapelle, (Altötting, Germany: Altöttinger Kunstverlag, Geiselberger, 2007), 77. [Photograph](#) of panels archived via Wayback Machine IA.

Figure 13: MZ Wunderaltar

The painted triptych known as the *Wunderaltar* (Large Miracle Altar) of Mariazell.

*Mariazeller Wunderaltar* (ca. 1519) by unknown artist known as the „Master of the Miracles of Mariazell” (Danube School), [Imaged](#) in open position, collection of Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum, Alte Galerie. Graz, Austria. Full object pictured in *Ungarn in Mariazell-Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*. Ausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Budapest im Museum Kiscell. (Budapest: 2004), 313-314.

Figure 14: RB Kuntz Votive

The Votive Panel of Kuntz to the Schöne Maria of Regensburg.

Painted scene attributed to the workshop of Albrecht Altdorfer, 1521; Text panel added in 1643. Votive images of Cuntz Seytz (L-R): The wounding of Cuntz Seytz. The Miraculous Healing of Cuntz Seytz, *Votivbild des Kuntz Seytz*, Historical Museum Regensburg. Inv. H.V.1256, 25.8. Text panel transcribed in Joachim Gruber, “Chirurgische Operationen am Magen im 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert, eine Analyse der zeitgenössischen Quellen” (PhD Diss) Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 2005. 11-12. Image available courtesy of [Europeana](#).

Figure 15: Regensburg Facsimile of Mariazell Prints

Facsimile print series of one collection of Mariazell Woodcuts (1520 original).

A partial set pictured in *Die Wunder von Maria Zell, Facsimilie-Reproduction der 25 Holzschnitte eines unbekanntenen deutschen meisters, um 1520, nach der Sammlung des Herrn Alfr. Coppenrath in Regensburg*, G.Hirth's Kunstverlag, Munich and Leipzig, 1883. A [digitized version of this facsimile](#) courtesy of the Internet Archive. Map made by Sarah Reiff Conell using *My Maps* by Google

Figure 16: RB Pilgrims Badge

Cast lead pilgrims badge from the Marian cult in Regensburg.

*Pilgrims Badge of the Schöne Maria of Regensburg*, ca. 1520, hld in Historical Museum of Regensburg, Germany. Inscription: (top) “1519”, (right) “Amica Mea”, (bottom) “Regensburg”, (left) “To[ta] Pulchra Es”, Historical Museum Regensburg, Inv. K 1932/2, 25.6. Imaged in [PZDB](#).

Figure 17: RB Habsburg Badge

Regensburg gilded silver bracteate and additional pilgrims badges in a Habsburg book.  
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, MS s.n. 2624. *Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I*, 1520,  
fol. 253r. Digitized by [ÖNB](#).

Figure 18: GS and Swiss Badges

Map of findspots of pilgrims badges from Marian shrines of the Germanic South.  
Pilgrimage site denoted by color: Altötting (brown), Mariazell (purple), and Einsiedeln (blue).  
Map made by Sarah Reiff Conell using *My Maps* by Google. [Image](#) archived courtesy of IA.

Figure 19: AO Pilgrims Badge 1490

Cast led pilgrims badge from Altötting (1490).  
Altötting pilgrims badge, ca. 1490. Tresor des Pfarramtes Passau-Innstadt bei der Kirche St.  
Gertraud. Passau, Germany (68 x 41mm). Image and description courtesy of the [PZDB](#).

Figure 20: AO Badge Passau

Example of visible and current location of known pilgrims badge find-spot.  
Pilgrims Badge from Altötting (ca. 1490) affixed on Saint Severin Statue in Passau, Germany.  
Image available courtesy of [Wikipedia Commons](#).

Figure 21: AO Bracteate

Silver Bracteate Badge from Altötting  
*Altötting Bracteate*, ca. 1510. Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich. Inv.12-00039, (30x30mm)  
Image and description available courtesy of [PZDB](#).

Figure 22: MZ Pilgrims Badge 1490

Fifteenth century pilgrims badge of Mariazell and a replication cast onto the surface of a bell in  
Hirscheegg, Austria (ca. 1490).  
Images and descriptions of the [badge](#) and replication on a [bell](#) available courtesy of the PZDB.

Figure 23: MZ Pilgrims Badge 1400

Fifteenth century pilgrims badge from Mariazell, Austria.  
Imaged in [PZDB](#).

Figure 24: AO Statue Gnadenbild

*Gnadenbild* of Our Lady in Altötting.;  
Sculpture of Our Lady in the shrine, clothed in a *Gnadenrockeln* (since 1518). Image available  
courtesy of [WMC](#).

Figure 25: AO Pictured Mary 1

Miracle Cycle installed on walls of chapel porch in Altötting.

Panel 1, scene 9, pictured and transcribed in Robert Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*. ed. Administration der Hl. Kapelle, (Altötting, Germany: Altöttinger Kunstverlag, Geiselberger, 2007), 26. Photograph above by Sarah Reiff Conell, 2018. [Image](#) archived courtesy of IA.

Figure 26: AO Pictured Mary 2

Our Lady of Altötting pictured in scene 48 of the Miracle Cycle.

Miracle of Dorothea, scene 48 reproduced and transcribed in Robert Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*. ed. Administration der Hl. Kapelle, (Altötting, Germany: Altöttinger Kunstverlag, Geiselberger, 2007), 66. Archived [image](#) of panel installed available courtesy of IA.

Figure 27: MZ Scene 01

Founding Scene of Mariazell in first scene of the *Wunderaltar*.

Painted detail picturing a wooden sculpture of the Virgin. "Scene 1," *Mariazell Wunderaltar*, Johanneum Graz, Austria, ca. 1520. [Image](#) courtesy of Europeana.

Figure 28: MZ Tympanum

Tympanum of central portal at Basilica Mariazell.

Photographed by Sarah Reiff Conell 2017. Image of portal and tympanum available courtesy of [WMC](#).

Figure 29: Entity Label Diagram

Entity label diagram example using the lower scene of Mariazell's tympanum.

Diagram above made by Sarah Reiff Conell using *Raw Graphs*. [Image](#) of diagram archived courtesy of IA. Image of bottom-register scene available courtesy of [WMC](#).

Figure 30: MZ Mariensaule

*Mariensaule* (Mary on a Column) in the central nave of the Basilica in Mariazell, Austria.

Picture with the statue oriented towards the high altar in the Basilica of Mariazell, Austria. Image courtesy of [WMC](#).

Figure 31: MZ Icon

The Marian Icon in Mariazell.

*Schatzkammerbild* (Treasury Image) donated by King Ludwig of Hungary. Basilica of Mariazell, Austria. (540 x 455 x 60 mm). [Image](#) available courtesy of IA.

Figure 32: RB Altdorfer Icon

Schöne Maria of Regensburg pictured in panel painting by Altdorfer.

Albrecht Altdorfer, *Madonna (Schöne Maria von Regensburg)*, c. 1519, Kollegiatstift St. Johann, Regensburg. (758 × 650 mm), Image courtesy of [WMC](#).

Figure 33: RB Print Icon

Printed Icon by Altdorfer of Schöne Maria of Regensburg.

*The Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg*, by Albrecht Altdorfer, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. 1964.8.1235. (339 × 246 mm). Image courtesy of [NGA](#).

Figure 34: Pictured Miracles Vis. A

Visualization of objects and scenes as registered decisions (flowing L-R).

Comparative distribution of contents in pictured miracles from Altötting and Mariazell as decision tree for individual miracles which are grouped by object source.

Graph made by Sarah Reiff Conell using *Raw Graphs*. [Image](#) of visualization archived courtesy of IA.

Described (R-L): Object groups serve to cluster scenes according to their source from ca. 1520

(T-B): Mariazell Print Cycle, Mariazell Wunderaltar, and the Altötting Miracle Cycle. Each number appearing to the left of the vertical lines indicate total scenes registering decisions. Each of the lower numbers in each text/number grouping indicate how many scenes participated (or did not) in particular features of miracle stories ( 0 no, 1 yes). The lower counts aid in recognizing the shrinking number of scenes in the total for each “decision” (R-L) Location named, Mary pictured, Mary named).

Figure 35: MZ Painted Wax Scene

Detail of Painted Wax Seal on the Wunderaltar of Mariazell.

Donor scene on altar visible when in closed position, [Image](#) available courtesy of Europeana.

Figure 36: Golden Calf on Column

Idoltrous worship of the Golden Calf as pictured in *The Nuremberg Chronicle*. 31r.

Image available courtesy of [Wikimedia Commons](#).

Figure 37: AO Porch 2018

Votive images displayed in Altötting along the church of Our Lady’s exterior porch.

Photographed in [context](#) and [detail](#) of accreting objects, images courtesy of WMC.

Figure 38: MZ Offerings 2017

Sorted offerings in transparent boxes in the Basilica of Mariazell.

Photograph by Sarah Reiff Conell, 2017. [Image](#) courtesy of IA.

Figure 39: Offering Wax Tirol

Museum display of figural votive offerings made in iron and wax.

Image of similar offerings available courtesy of [Europeana](#). See also the image of a related [mold](#).

Figure 40: AO Offerings 2018

Offerings at the church of Our Lady in Altötting along exterior porch.

Photographs of ongoing offering practices available courtesy of [IA](#) and [WMC](#).

Figure 41: AO Scene 07

Example of offerings pictured in Miracle Cycle of Altötting.

Miracle of Hanns Zehentmair, Scene 7 of Miracle Cycle, Scene pictured and transcribed in Robert Bauer, *Die Mirakelbilder der Hl. Kapelle in Altötting*, 24. Photograph by Sarah Reiff Conell (2018) [image](#) archived courtesy of IA.

Figure 42: AO Souvenir Rosaries

Example of continued rosary sales in Altötting on city website. The City's official tourism webpage is archived using the [Wayback Machine](#) courtesy of IA.

Figure 43: Network Offering Wax

Network visualization centered on the entity of wax in the set of related objects that register offerings. Graph made by Sarah Reiff Conell using *Gephi* to visualize the trial bespoke dataset. [Image](#) of network visualization archived courtesy of IA.

Figure 44: AO König Table 1

Combined line graph representation of quantities in König's unpaginated charts.

Maria Angela König, *Weihegaben an U.L. Frau von Altötting*. Vol. 2.

Figure 45: MZ Scene 6 and. 8

Pictured altar of Mariazell in miracle stories on the *Wunderaltar*.

Detail of Figure 17: Details of *Wunderaltar* (1520). Images of Scenes [6](#) and [8](#) available courtesy of Europeana.

Figure 46: MZ Small Altar 1512

The Small Miracle Altar of Mariazell (1512). Johanneum, Graz, Austria.

[Image](#) available courtesy of IA.

Figure 47: MZ Wheel Scene 1512

Miracle of the man broken on a wheel in Mariazell's Small Miracle Altar.

Detail of Figure 46. Pictured in scene four of the Small Miracle Altar (1512). [Image](#) available courtesy of Europeana.

Figure 48: MZ Wheel Print 1520

Print of a man broken on a wheel and healed in Mariazell.

*Ein man wardt auf ain Rad*, by the Master of the Miracles of Mariazell, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. 1964.8.1235. (265 × 179 mm). Public domain image courtesy of [NGA](#).

Figure 49: MZ Weapon Scene 1512

Miracle of the dueling knights in Mariazell's painted Small Miracle Altar (1512).

Detail of Figure 46. Miracle pictured in scene six of the Small Miracle Altar (1512), Johanneum Graz, Austria. [Image](#) available courtesy of Europeana.

Figure 50: MZ Crossbow Print 1520

Crossbow accident and miraculous outcome in Mariazell's Miracle Print Series.

*Ain Man Schöß seinen nagsten*, by the Master of the Miracles of Mariazell, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. 1964.8.1233. (266 × 180 mm). Public domain image courtesy of [NGA](#).

Figure 51: MZ Priest Print 1520

A priest saved from martyrdom by Mary of Zell in printed miracle series.

*Ein Briester wardt gefanngen*, by the Master of the Miracles of Mariazell, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. 1964.8.1242. (263 × 180 mm). Public domain image courtesy of [NGA](#).

Figure 52: MZ Gunshot Print 1520

Gunshot pictured in one print of the Miracles of Mariazell series.

*Ain Man ward mit einer Buxen*, by the Master of the Miracles of Mariazell, Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. 1964.8.1235. (265 × 179 mm). Public domain image courtesy of [NGA](#).

## Appendix B Transcriptions and Translations

In the four subsections that follow, the left column of the text is a typed record of words as they were read by me in each of the three digitized books and one digitized broadsheet. Subtitles of each section are followed by key information and abbreviated citation. The words transcribed in the following left column are, with the exception of areas marked by ellipses, the complete text. The right column contains a rough and ongoing translation.

### Appendix B.1 1497 Altötting Miracle Book

Transcription of *Das Buchlein der Zuflucht zu Maria der Mutter Gottes in alten Oding*. Written by Jakob Isseckemer,. Printed in Nuremberg, Germany by Kaspar Hochfeder, 1497. Held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Digitized version available courtesy of [MDZ](#)

Das Buchlein der Zuflucht zu Maria der Mutter Gottes in alten Ötting Darin auch / Ursache verklärt/ und verzeichnet / sind / viel der merklichsten und namhaftesten Wunderzeichen / und werken / durch die hochwertigsten Gottes Mutter / und Jungfrauen Maria erzeigt / den ihnen / die in ihren Noten / die selbe Mutter der Gnaden / angerufen / und sie zu Alten Ötting heimsuchen gelobt / haben.

Jacobus Issickemer in unser lieben Frauen und der heiligen Sant Philippen / und Jacobs Stift-Kirchen zu alten Ötting / das man nun nennet Ötting / Chorherr / und die zeit der selbigen unser Frauen Kappellen Kostor / Enbeut den Vornamen Johann Grafen Burger und Gerichtsschreiber zu Nürnberg seinem lieben Ohm alles heil und gut nach dem der allmächtigen Gott Schöpfer und Herr Himmels und Erden und aller ding die in den sind / in seiner aller würdigsten Mutter der Himmel

The little book of refuge to Mary the Mother of God in old Ötting. Therein also / being transfigured / and recorded / are many of the most noticeable and well-known miraculous signs / and works done by the most cherished Mother of God / the Virgin Mary shows / which when they who are in their danger / call upon the same Mother of Grace / praising and vowing to visit her in at her home in Altötting.

Jacob Issickhemer, in Our Beloved Lady and the Holy Saint Phillip and Jacob's monastery churches in Altötting/ which is now called Ötting / Canon in the same time of Our Lady's cloister chapel/ Was built first in the name of Johann Grafen, citizen and court clerk to Nuremberg, in his love of all which is good and holy according to the almighty God Creator and Lord Heaven and Earth and all things that are contained there in / in his most worthy

Königin Jungfrau Maria / von den zeit etwas des  
 aller Christlichen Kleisters Karoli Magni / In ihrer  
 Kapellen zu Alten Ötting / Durch den selben  
 heiligen Kaiser / den Abgöttern (nach Inhalt  
 etlicher Geschichte und anderer berühmtes)  
 entfremden / und der Himmel Königen Marie der  
 Jungfrauen zu geeignet / auch in ihren ehren zu  
 weihen geschafft worden / gelobt und geehrt / und  
 doh zwo bei uns / in die / da kommen die letzte  
 der Zeit / aller meist von dem vierzehnhundert  
 und Neunzigsten Jahren der Geburt Christi / bis  
 auf heutigen tag hat wollen / und noch will gelobt  
 und geehrt werden / und alle menschen die die in  
 gutem willen und ganzen vertrauen angerufen  
 haben / und noch anrufen / und in der gemalten  
 ihrer Kapellen oder an den Händen Heimsuchen /  
 gelobten er hört gewährt und noch erhören und  
 gewähren will / und das bezeuget durch viel  
 seltsame wunderliche gezeugtes / das da  
 menschen aus mannigfaltigen landen und fremden  
 Geburten Aller Stände / geistlicher Cardinal  
 Erzbischöfen Bischöfen Pröbsten / Äbte und Ader  
 Prälaten hochgelehrten Meistern und Doktorin  
 Auch weltlicher Kaiser Könige Herzogin  
 Markgrafen Grafen freien Herren Roter Knechte  
 Burger und Beider Geschlechter Mann und  
 Frauen kommen sein Sagend und berühren das in  
 hilf von Maria der Jungfrauen geschehen sei /  
 durch des willen / das sie zu ihr gerufen und sie  
 heimzusuchen an dem genannten ende mit ihren  
 opfern gelobet und versprochen haben. Ist nicht  
 zugedeckten als etliche der ding nicht Unterricht /  
 das solche ding aus eignem Gewalt und  
 vornehmen Sunder aus des hochwertigsten  
 Erzbischofs zu Salzburg Erlaubnis Bestätigung  
 und ordentlichem Gewalt der ding / aus genug  
 sam er verhöre mit samt seinen geistlichen und  
 hochgelehrten Retten gründlich Unterricht Auch  
 nicht aus anderer Bewegung / dann allein Gott  
 und seiner würdigsten Mutter der hochgelobten  
 Himmel Königen Marie der Jungfrauen / aus  
 gerufen und erkühnt / damit das Pfund des Herrn  
 zu gewinnen dar gelegt / nicht unfrühnglichen in  
 die er den Sunder zu geistlichen gewinn ausgeteilt  
 werde Auch in keinen weg der meinigen / das  
 durch solche Verkündigung die Heiligkeit der  
 mutter Gottes Arrest zu diesen Zeiten bewiesen  
 Sunder das im Gott die Stat Altötting aus sunder  
 Gnaden und Göttlicher Vorsichtigkeit / der  
 Gleichnis als er etwas zu Jerusalem /

Mother of Heaven Queen Virgin Mary/ from  
 the time of all Christian ruler Charlemagne / in  
 the chapel of Altötting/ by the same holy  
 emperor / to destroy the idols (according to the  
 content of several stories and other famous  
 things) / and to consecrate the heavens to  
 Queen of Heaven, the Virgin Mary/  
 consecrating them in her honor / with praise  
 and honor/ and so it came to pass/ in the  
 coming of the end times / many occurring from  
 the fourteen hundred and ninetieth years after  
 the birth of Christ /continuing until today / and  
 still being praised and honored / all people who  
 have called with good will and complete trust /  
 and those who still call / which is pictured in  
 her chapels or on their hands vowing visits / he  
 hears granted and still answers and wants to  
 grant / and which testifies to something strange  
 and wondrous / that there people from diverse  
 lands and foreign births of all classes / clerical  
 cardinal archbishops bishops provosts / abbots  
 and veins prelates highly learned masters and  
 doctor also secular emperors kings duchess  
 margraves counts free lords rider servant  
 knights and both sexes men and women come  
 saying and saying what happened in times of  
 help from the Virgin Mary/ by her will/ that  
 they called to her and promised to visit her with  
 their offerings and vows and promises. Is not  
 covered as some of the thing is not teaching /  
 the such thing from own power and make from  
 down to the highest quality Archbishop of  
 Salzburg granted permission and confirmation  
 and proper authority of the thing / from enough  
 before including his spiritual and highly  
 learned rescuers thorough instruction also not  
 from other movement /

then only God and his most worthy Mother of  
 the Highly praised King of Heaven the Virgin  
 Mary / called out and proclaimed / in finding  
 the Lord presented / not unfruitful. In which he  
 will distribute amongst the sinners for spiritual  
 gain. Also in no way of most / that by such  
 proclamation the holiness of the Mother of God  
 protects in these sinful times proved that in the  
 Lord's city of Altötting from sincerity and  
 divine prudence / like Jerusalem/

ihm / den heiligen Tempel / darin er von allen  
keiner Königen Fürsten und allen Geburten unter  
den Himmel / also auch da in seiner von Ewigkeit  
auserwählten / ohne Sunde empfangen / und aller  
heiligsten geboren und angerufen und gelobt  
werde Im Herzen des heiligen Römischen  
Christlichen Kirchen / aus Ordnung der heiligen  
Vatere und Concili gewidmet und gegründete sein  
solle / an den Händen dazu und von dann / am  
bequemlichsten durch die andächtigen und die / an  
den hilf Gottes durch verbitte der mutter der  
Genaden geschehen / erscholl / offenbare der  
heilige christlichen glaub vor lang / bestätigt / und  
doch / al zu besorgen und der sündigen werk  
halben etwas offenbar der heilige christlichen  
glaub vor lang / bestätigt / und doch / als zu  
besorgen und der sündigen werk haben etwas  
offenbar / ihn etlichen / ja viel Menschen /  
klarlichen erscheinen / ist aus gelescht und  
gezweckt wiederum erstreckt unndgefistigt in den  
ganz ungläubigen dem heiligen Reich anstoßend  
gepflanzte / oder doch das Christliche Volk / als  
gütlichen zu gedenken ist / vor der grossen Trübsal

him / the holy temple / in which he will be  
received by all kings princes and all births  
under heaven / thus also there in his chosen  
from eternity / without sin / and born of all holy  
ones and invoked and praised in the heart of the  
holy Roman Christian Church / should be  
dedicated and founded by order of the holy  
Father and Conciliar / on the hands to and from  
then / most comfortably by the devout and / to  
the help of God by the request of the Mother of  
Mercy / resounded / reveal the holy Christian  
faith long / confirmed / and yet / al to worry  
about and the sinful work something apparently  
the holy Christian faith before long / confirmed  
/ and yet / as to worry and the sinful work have  
something obvious / him quite a few / yes a lot  
of people / appear clear / is erased and  
softened, in turn, extends unconsciously into  
the completely unbelieving planted / or do that  
adjoins the holy kingdom of the Christian  
people / is to be commemorated as amicable /  
before the great tribulation.

[...]

[...]

Das erst Kapitel / das von der Jungfrauen Maria /  
der gefangen Mensch nehme die Erledigung seiner  
Gefängnis: Mutter der Barmherzigkeit

The first chapter / that of the Virgin Mary / let  
the prisoner be released from his prison:  
Mother of Mercy

[...]

[...]

Und des zu Exempel kam Heinz Keiter von  
Multern im Inntal gen Altötting zu Ostern. Anno  
Domini 1495. Pracht glaubhaftige briefliche  
Kunst Schaft wie er zu geiluhausen / in ein silber  
gruben fast tief mit seinem Pferde gefallen das  
Pferd darin gestorben und Tod auf im gelegen /  
und in so hart gedruckt / das im das Blut zu Mund  
Nasen und oren aus geflossen und als er also in  
schwere Gefängnis gelegen ware biss zwo stund in  
die nacht / und kein Trost noch enigerlei hilf von  
dem menschen gehaben macht hat er Maria  
angerufen von Stunden wer ein Frau in  
scheinenden Kleidern über die gruben kamen zu  
ihm gesprochen was schreit da. Reiche here deine  
arm hat er geantwortet / liebe Frau es ist zu hoch

And for example, Heinz Keiter from Multern in  
the valley came to Altötting on Easter of the  
year 1495. Reported in a trustworthy letter was  
the following story – A man fell into a deep  
silver mine with his horse - and his horse died  
in that place / He was hit so hard/ that blood  
flowed from his mouth and nose and when he  
was lying trapped for two hours into the night /  
and with no consolation nor much help from  
people, he called Maria at that moment when a  
woman in shining clothes appeared over the pit  
and spoke to him saying – “reach your arm  
here”. He replied , “dear woman it is too high  
up / and the horse is laying on me and is dead.”  
Speaking again, “Reach out your hand” and

hinauf / und das Pferd leit auf mir / also Tode hat sie wiederum gesprochen. Reiche here dein hand und in also begriff in heraus gezogen sagen dazu im / du bist auf dem erbrich / gehe hin gen Altötting und sage dein Erledigung / lob Gott und sein mutter Mariam.

upon saying this he was pulled out / “you are regurgitated [Erbrich] / go to Altötting and say your settlement [Erledigung]” / praise God and his mother Mary.

2 Auch kam zu der jetzt bestimmten zeit ein Kaufmanns geseilter von räubern in dem Boheme Wald mit Händen und Füßen an gebunden ware gewesen / an einem baum / Stände / nur in einem Hemd oder feiten sechs tage und nacht / da er als er saget. Rufet Mariam / sich versprechend gen Altötting / kam Maria und löset auf die strick damit er gebunden was.

Also at the appointed time a merchant became ensnared by robbers in the Bohemian forest with his hands and feet tied to goods / to a tree / standing / clothed only in a shirt [unrested] for six days and nights / because he said as he was, he called Mary/ promising to Altötting / Mary came and loosened up the rope which tied him.

3 Darnach an Sant Marks Tag saget Georg Feldmulner / zu alten Baumheim / bei Wasserburg im Lande zu Bayern gesessen / das in ein Kampfrad hätte begriffen bei einem arm zerbrochen und die Hand zu rissen hätte / und also gefangen gelegen was ein halbe Stund / da ehre nicht konnte schreien nach rufen dich zu Altötting heimsuchen / mit eines wachse arm von Stunden wäre im stimm bleiben zu schreien ums hilf / das er also durch Leute / di zu liefen erledigt auch ohne Lähmung und schaden frisch und gesund wer worden

Then, on Sant Mark's day Georg Feldmulner / from old Baumheim / said he sat near Wasserburg in the state of Bavaria / was broken on a wheel, his arms and hand torn / and so was trapped for half an hour /since he truly could not scream after calling to Altötting for hours, he silently cried for help/ with a wax arm, from that moment and through help of people, he was able to walk well without paralysis or harm - becoming fresh and healthy.

4 Erhard Mor von der Stat Trient zwischen dem Etschlande und Welischen Landen / kam gen Ötting am Dienstag oder Erichstag nach Sant Ruprechts Tag. Sagt das er an der gesucht so krank wäre gewesen / das im die Erz sein leben ganz abgesagt hatten / wann er in wendig ganz faul wäre / hatte er angerufen Mariam die Mutter Gottes / und sich versprochen sie heimzusuchen zu Altötting. Hätte sich sein sich von Stunden in Besserung begeben wäre auch gar kürzlich und über natürlich gesund worden. Aber darum er sein gelob / nicht hat gehalten. Hätte Gott über ihn verhängt das er ums eines Totschlags willen in einem Auflauf und Gefecht geschehen / in Gefängnis wäre kommen.

Erhard Mor from the city of Trent between [Tirol] and Italian lands / came to Altötting on Tuesday or Erich's Day after Sant Ruprecht's Day. He said that he was previously so sick that he wanted to die / when he was so fatigued/ he called Mary the Mother of God / and promised to visit her in Altötting. Within hours he recovered supernaturally. But for this reason, he did not keep his vow. God imposed on him that for this reason the charge of manslaughter as happened in a crowd and a skirmish / he found himself in prison

Also versichert das man im grosse starke ketten und eisen / an Hände Pein und hals gelegt / hätte / und was gewiss das Mann in richten sollte wie wollen er den in zehren und in Rachen / das der selbigen / den er erlagen / ihn gestochen hat / das im das Gedärm aus ging / da er wiederum rufet zu Maria ums hilf und Erledigung / zu hand gedenket in / wie die Jungfrau Maria vor im Stunde in dem Turn und spreche er sollt die ketten und eisen brechen / also hub er an zu brechen mit blossen Händen / da zu brechen sie als gering als ein kleine Ruben. Und da er also ledig was im Turnen / kam er an ein grosses eisernes gegittert das ging on alle muhe / da er es nur angriffe / von ein andere / das er also ausfiel sechs Klaftern hoch / ohne alle Verzerrung.

5 Magdalena Leonharden deckers hausfrau zu Wien / kam gen Altötting an Sant Hieronymus Tag in dem sechs und Neunzigen Jahre saget das sie vor unser Frauen tag ihrer Scheidung / vierzehn Tage wer von dem Richter ungerecht bezichtigt halben in Gefängnis angenommen worden / gestockt gedruckt und hart gemartert / an der Frage / Funde aber nichts an ihr / über das wollte er sie am Mittwochen nach den genannten / unser Frauen tag fur Gericht fuhren / als die mann an wahrer Tat erfunden hat / Gürtel zu stellen / die sie doch angeheuerte vorgehen / die eines Gürtlers laden / abgestoßen hätte. Aber in der nacht als sie um hilf schreien zu der Mutter Gottes sich gen Altötting versprechen zu gehen / da gedeucht sie wie etwas vor ihr stunde und sie tröstet / und darnach an den eisen und ketten damit sie versichert was / umging / kürzlichen griff sie dazu/ da waren sie alle ab und ganz ledig / und gingen zu der Tür / auf Eingebung / und zog die an sie / da gingen die schloss und Tür willig auf / und kam also erledigt mit ihrem oben genannten Mann gen Altötting / ihr gelob zu verbringen / Gott lobend und sein werde Mutter / die Jungfrau Mariam.

So assuredly the man was placed in big, strong chains and irons / binding his hands legs and neck / would have / and know what the man should judge his inability to eat / that like the same as the man whom he killed / stabbing him / such that his intestines spilled out / because he again called to Mary for help and assistance / immediately remembered that the Virgin Mary had before come to him in his hour of need, in the turn he realized he should break the chains and irons / so he began to break with his bare hands / to break it as easily as a little tree. And since he was alone in the tower / he came to a large iron grille that went to the outside of the jail/ after he only attacked it by himself he fell/ falling from a height six fathoms high / yet he survived without any harm.

Magdalena, Leonharden Decker's housewife of Vienna / came to Altötting on Sant Jerome's day in the sixty-ninth year before our Lady's Day, speaking of her troubles / fourteen days she was unjustly accused by the judge and imprisoned / captured, pressed and harshly treated [martyred] / on the question [of the reason of her imprisonment] / they could find nothing against her / about that he wanted to take her to court on Wednesday after the mentioned / our women's day / when the man actually invented / to put belts / which she hired to proceed / the of a belt man would have loaded / repelled. But on the night when they shouted for help to the Mother of God to promise to go to Altötting / then she shook up like something in front of her and comforted her / and then on the irons and chains so that she could be sure of what / was going around / she recently reached for it / they were all single now and then / and went to the door / on inspiration / and pulled them to her / then they closed and the door willingly opened / and came to Altötting with their above-mentioned husband / to spend their vows / praising God and his mother / the Virgin Mary.

Hernach Vollen Zeichen des 97. Jahrs.

What follows are the full signs of the 97<sup>th</sup> year:

6 Ulrich Stahell aus Wellhamer Pfarre Ober Eistat  
zwo Meilen Wegs / kam gen Altötting / am  
Mittwochen der Pfingsten Anno 1497. Saget  
glaublichen das er Kirch-fahrten wäre gingen / von  
den heiligen Vierzen Nothelfern / rastend zu  
Reutlingen / und da er kam bei Papenheim am  
Tage des Heiligen Kreuz / wart er gefangen und  
angenommen von der selbigen herschafft die von  
ihren Feinden nächst davor mit merklichem brande  
angegriffen worden wehren und ihnen schaden  
getan hätten / vermeinten er wäre einer durch den  
solche Brust / durch Geschick ihrer feinden /  
geschehen wäre / und auf ein nacht / als man ihm  
hat zugesagt / das man in des Tages darnach wurde  
recken / läge er mit ganzer in Brust an seinem  
gebet / und ruft zu der mutter Gottes / mit ganzen  
vertrauen / sich versprechend / sie heimzusuchen  
zu Altötting / so er durch ihr hilf erledigt wird /  
und in seiner grossen Traurigkeit entschlief er / da  
wurde ein grosse Erleuchtung und schein in dem  
Kirch / und er höret ein stimme / sprechend / dir  
gewirrt nicht / davon biss getrost / wann morgen  
kommet deiner herschafft Pflieger der Wirt dich  
erledigen / und das geschah als im die Stimme  
versprochen hat / das er also mit Freuden von  
seiner Gefängnis werde erledigt.

7 Matheus von Wanstorfft etwas Landrichter zu  
Boten Brun kam gen Altötting am Donnerstag  
oder pfintztag nach Pfingsten in den 97. Jahre ist  
gefangen worden / als er saget / ums unwahre  
bezeigt / und in starker Gefängnis / mit ketten /  
einer am Hals und einer an einer Hände / voll  
bewahrt / eingelegt worden / sich versprechend /  
sie heimsuchen in herum Gotteshaus zu Altötting /  
wühlen und barfuss / mit ermöglichen Opfer / von  
Stunden / er sechs er rostigen Brettnagel / den  
bracht er zu ihm / und über natürlich feilt er mit  
dem selben Nagel / den er auch mit ihm da  
hinbrachte / die grossen starken eisen ketten in  
acht Stunden ganz von einander / darnach kam ein

Ulrich Stahell from Wellham parish above  
Eistat two miles away / came to Altötting / on  
the Wednesday of Whitsun Anno 1497.  
Believing that he would go to church / from the  
holy fourteen emergency helpers / resting to  
Reutlingen / and there he came to Papenheim  
on the day of the holy cross / he was captured  
and accepted by the same who had been  
attacked by their enemies with noticeable fire  
the next time before and had done them  
damage / thought he was someone through  
whom such breast / through the fate of their  
enemies / would have happened / and for one  
night / when one has promised him / that one  
would stretch out the day after / he would lie  
with all his chest to his prayer / and call to the  
mother of god / with whole trust / promising /  
to visit her in Altötting / so he is dealt with by  
her help / and in his great sadness he fell asleep  
/ there was a great enlightenment and shine in  
the church / and he hears a voice / speaking /  
you didn't get confused / bite of it confidently /  
when tomorrow you will bring you the  
caretaker the landlord will take care of you /  
and that happened when the voice promised  
him / that he would be gladly done by his  
prison.

Matheus von Wanstorfft some land judge  
from Boten Brun came to Altötting on  
Thursday or first day after Pentecost in the  
97th year was caught / when he said / to prove  
the untrue / and in strong prison / with chains /  
one around the neck and one around a hand /  
kept full / inserted / promising / they visit her  
at her church in Altötting / well and barefoot /  
with allow sacrifice / of hours / he was with  
his rusty board nail / he brought to him / and  
of course he files with him the same nail / that  
he brought there with him / the big strong iron  
chains in eight hours completely from each  
other / after that a boy came into the dungeon

Knabe in den Kerker / ihm speise bringen / der lief / bring him food / he ran from him / that he  
von ihm eilend / das er die Tür an dem Kerker left the door of the dungeon open / with that  
offen ließ / damit kam er durch viel hüte he came out of the castle through a lot of  
wunderlichen aus dem schlosse / das sich der dasig strange hats / that the man there / who has  
/ der in gefangen hat auf heut verwundert daran. been astonished about this himself to this day.

8 An dem obgenannten pfintstag oder Donnerstag On the above-mentioned Pentecost Day or  
Saget Erhard Steinbrecher / wie ihr Sohn von den Thursday, Erhard the Stonebreaker said / how  
Grafen zu Gortz drei Jahre in schwerer Gefängnis their son was held in heavy prison by the  
gehalten sei / und auf anrufen zu der Jungfrau Count of Gortz for three years / and called to  
Maria und versprochen / sie heimzusuchen zu the Virgin Mary and promised / to visit her in  
Altötting durch sie un ihren Sohn sei er Altötting. Through her and her son, he said,  
wunderlichen auskommen. he was miraculously delivered.

9 Hans Waldner ein Edelman in Österreich / ist ums Hans Waldner a nobleman in Austria / having  
sein väterlich erb und Schluss zu verlassen / to leave his paternal inheritance / was caught  
gefangen worden auf das schloss genannt in the castle called Gutenstein / Near Neustadt  
Gutenstein / bei der Neuen Stat auch in Österreich in Austria, was fully bound in strong chains  
liegende und in starken ketten und eisen voll and iron. He called the Mother of God  
versichert. Hat er angerufen die Mutter Gottes sich promising himself. To visit her in Altötting /  
versprechend. Sie heimzusuchen zu Altötting / mit walking with bread and water / and he saw a  
Wasser und Brot zu Fuss gehend / und auf das dull wood / closed it with his teeth / and  
ersichtlich er von Stunden ein stumpfes Holz das sharpened it / and with it stabbed the lock of  
bracht er zu ihm / und Kloß das mit seinen zähnen the chains / they went off wondrously soon /  
von einander / und spitzet es auch also / und stach and broke along with the same thick wooden  
damit in die schloss der ketten / die gingen davon base / and was free / through help from Marie  
wunderlichen bald auf / und brach mit dem / came immediately to Altötting on Friday  
selbigen Holz durch einen dicken Boden aus / und after the day of the Holy Trinity of the 97th  
wart ledig / durch hilf Marie / kam von Stunden year in question.  
also erledigt gen Altötting am Freitag nach dem  
Tage der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit des ob berührten  
97. Jahres.

10 Hans zu Guntzen zwischen Buxen und Stertzing/ Hans from Guntzen between Buxen and  
Saget am Samstag nach Bonifacij / das er kurz Stertzing / Said on the Saturday after the feast  
davor / hat holz gehauen / da wäre ein langer of Boniface/ that as he was just about cut wood  
dicker baum auf ihn gefallen / der ihm das recht when a long, thick tree fell on him / which  
Pein alles vermischet / läge also unter den baum mixed everything up for him / he was trapped  
gefangen / was niemands bei ihm. In taucht auch under the tree / no one was with him. He began  
wahrlich das er ein Stund nicht also hat mögen to believe he would die within the hour, he  
leben Rufet an Marian sich gen Altötting called out to Mary, promising himself to  
versprechend / mit seinen ermöglichen Opfern / Altötting / with his worthy offerings / and  
und hübe an zu schreien / hilf Jungfrau Maria / screamed for help from the Virgin Mary / three  
drei Stund / und in dem dritten schrei / wurde er hours / and in the third scream / he was  
wunderlichen ledig das er nicht weisse wie / dann strangely free – though he doesn't know how /  
das ihm wahrlich die Mutter Gottes geholfen hat / then the Mother of God really helped him / he  
kam auch also aus dem Wald heim gegangen auf came home from the forest on his knees/ It was  
seinen knien durch ihr hilf / damit er nicht erfroren through her help that he didn't freeze to death /

/ der sonst nieder hat mögen kommen / eines  
schritt weite.

who would otherwise have not come / one step  
further.

11 Am Tage des vor festen oder Abend Sant Achaicij  
/ kam Ursula ein ledige deren zu Sant Ulrich bei  
Schering / im lande Bayern bracht mit ihr  
genugsam Zeugnis / das sie ums Unschuld  
gefangen in ketten und eisen gelegt / und sonst in  
Kerker voll verhüte wurde An einer Samstag nach  
Rufet sie an Mariam mit ganzen vertrauen / das sie  
ihr Aushilfe / sich zu ihr zagend versprechend /  
gen Altötting / also erschein ihr die Jungfrau  
Maria sprechend / warum sie nicht auf stand / wie  
lange sie da wollt liegen / sie sollt sich von dannen  
heben / Antwort sie du mutter Gottes Jungfrau  
Maria / mage ich doch nicht von dannen / Sprich  
Maria / Ei versuch dich / da rütteln sie die eisen /  
und ketten die gingen willig von ihr / ging zu der  
Tür des Kerkers / greif die an / ging die willig auf.  
Also kam sie davon unversehrt durch hilf Marie.

On the day of the festival or evening of Sant  
Achaicij / an unmarried woman named Ursula  
from Sant Ulrich near Schärding / in the state  
of Bavaria brought with her sufficient  
testimony / that she was imprisoned in chains  
and irons though she was innocent / and was  
fully guarded in a dungeon On a Saturday  
after she called Mary completely trusting that  
she would help her / tentatively promising to  
herself / towards Altötting / the Virgin Mary  
appeared to her speaking / why she did not get  
up / how long she wanted to lie there / she  
should herself Lift up from there / answer her  
mother of God the Virgin Mary / I don't want  
to go from there / speak Mary / try yourself /  
there they shake the iron / and chains that left  
willingly from her / went to the door of the  
dungeon / shaking it vigorously / the door  
opened willingly. She got away unharmed  
through the help of Mary.

12 Jacob Reiter von Heidelberg am Rhein gelegen /  
ein voll berühmter hantierender mann / kam gen  
Altötting / am Sonntag nach Sant Matheus Tag.  
Anno 1497. Sagend im Wahrheit das er an Sant  
Loyen das ist am nächsten Tage nach Sant  
Johansen des Täufers / sei im Boheme Wald von  
vier unbelebteren / angetastet / von dem weg ein  
halbe Meile weg gefahren / seiner Bereitschaft und  
Kleidung ganz entblößt / allein in einer  
Niederwald / sein Hände stark auf den Ruck / und  
darnach Rücklings mit einem dicken starken strick  
trifach ums den leibe an einen baum gebunden /  
und also gebunden von ihr einem mit einem  
Schwert durch das Haupt merklich tief gespalten /  
und verwundet / und auch als sterbend verlassen  
worden Also auf sieben Stunden an dem Baum  
nackte und gebunden gestanden / da hab er  
angerufen Mariam / sich gen Altötting  
versprechend mit ermöglichen opfern / und als er  
schreien war damit lauter stimmen. Hilf Jungfrau  
Maria und sich spreizen wider dem baum. Rufet zu

Jacob Reiter from Heidelberg on the Rhine /  
a fully noble man / came to Altötting / on  
Sunday after Sant Matheus day. Year of 1497.  
Telling in truth that he sent to Sant Loyen that  
is the next day after Sant Johansen the Baptist  
/ was attacked in the Bohemian forest by four  
unbelievers / from which when a half a mile  
away / completely stripped of his things and  
clothing / alone in the forest/ his hands tightly  
tied behind his back / and then backwards  
with a thick strong cord triple around the body  
tied to a tree / and thus tied by her one with a  
sword through the head noticeably deeply  
split / and wounded / and dying. He stood  
naked and tied to the tree for seven hours /  
then he called Mary / promising to make  
sacrifices to Altötting / and he screamed so as  
to make it louder. Help Virgin Mary and push  
against the tree! So he called again. He took/  
the triple rope that two horses would not have  
wanted to move away from each other / it just

dem andern mal also. Nimmt ware / der trifach  
strick den zwei Pferde in keinen weg hätten mögen  
verziehen von einander / der brach eben / als hat  
man ihn mit einer hacken von ein anderer  
geschlagen. Also kam er mit gebunden Händen zu  
Priestern / die werfen ein Rock über ihn / und  
führten ihn auf gelöst zu eine Wundt Arzt Also sei  
er durch hilf Marie ledig und heil worden.

broke / as if someone had hit him with a heel  
from another. So he came with tied hands to  
the priests / they throw a skirt over him / and  
led him to a wound doctor, so he was free and  
healed through the help of Mary.

Das ander Capital / das von der Jungfrau Maria der  
krank mensch gesundheit empfehlet

The other chapter / which health is granted to  
the sick by the Virgin Mary.

Aller sueste Jungfrau Mutter Maria / wir geprägt /  
hafftigen Sün Eve / schreien zu dir  
Suss tua protectionem confugimus. ubi infirmi  
acceperunt virtutem et propter hoc psallimus Tibi  
dei genitrix virgo. Mutter unter deine Beschirmung  
flohen wir / da die kranken genommen haben die  
kraft / das ist gesundheit ihres Leibs / und darum  
so lobsingen wir dir / du Gebärender Gottes O  
Jungfrau Maria Davon spricht der Lehrer  
Cassidorus. Tu medicina Singularis Du bist ein  
Hauptfrau des menschlich Geschlechts. Ein Trost  
der gepeinigten Ein wundere Arznei der kranken /  
nicht allein der kranken Sonder auch der  
geistlichen kranken Darum O ein Artzen der  
tödlichen wunden unser Sunden / wirst zu  
begleicht der Blumen zu Latein gennant  
Solsequium / in Deutsch weg warten / die in ihrer  
Natur ist kalt feucht in dem anderen graden / und  
ist allen gemein ihr sanft ist vorgibt / auch fur die  
biss der Hund. So mann sie vermischt und auf die  
wurden leget / so zeugt sie Ansicht die gif / tet  
cetra. Also du Jungfrau Maria / hast ganz kein  
Hitze in dir einerlei Sunden / du bist feucht und  
ganz übergossen nicht mit einem tropfen als  
andere heiligen / sonder mit der ganzen Guss / der  
Göttlichen Genaden / die auch in uns ganz trocken  
mensch / in den kein feucht der Gnaden ist  
ausflösset. Du bist auch gemein allen den  
gerechten und auch den sondern / dein sanft der  
Gnaden ist gut / fur die Vergiftung unser Sunden/  
O du Artzen / und ware Arznei / so man dich  
trocken oder zermanschet / das ist so man dich  
ganz im Herzen betrachtet und angerufen / so bist

All hail the Virgin Mother Mary / we who are  
stamped with the great sin of Eve / cry to you  
Suss tua protectionem confugimus. ubi infirmi  
acceperunt virtutem et propter hoc psallimus  
Tibi dei genitrix virgo. Mother, we fled under  
your protection / since the sick took their  
strength / that is the health of their bodies / and  
that is why we sing praises to you / you who  
give birth to God, O Virgin Mary. This is what  
the teacher Cassidorus says. Tu medicina  
singularis You are a chief woman of the human  
race. A consolation for the tormented A  
wonderful medicine for the sick / not only for  
the sick but also for the spiritually sick  
Therefore O a doctor of the deadly wounds of  
our sins / you will pay for the flowers in Latin  
called Solsequium / in German wait away /  
which in their nature is cold wet in the other  
degree / and is common to all, it pretends to be  
gentle / even for the bite of the dog. If you mix  
them up and put them on / then you see the  
poison / et cetra. So you Virgin Mary / you  
have absolutely no heat in you, no matter what  
your sins / you are moist and completely  
doused not with a drop like other holy ones /  
but with the whole pouring / of divine grace /  
which is also completely dry in us people / in  
which there is no moisture of grace has flowed  
out. You are also common to all the righteous  
and also to those but / your gentleness of grace  
is good / for the poisoning of our sins / O you  
physicians / and would be medicine / if you are  
dry or crushed / that is how you are looked at

du ein Arznei für die sündigen biss der Höllischen Hund / das ist der bösen geist / O Jungfrau Maria das dir sagst also die ware Arznei / gibt uns Gott durch sein Barmherzigkeit zuerkennen / das wir in diesen letzten Zeiten / So wir durch unser Sunde ganz verwundet / vergiftet und biss in Todt geschwächt und gekrängt sein / Zuflucht suchen zu dir Mutter der Barmherzigkeit / über alle erste ein ersten / durch gezeugtes der menschen aus allen Landen / die da vergehen und bekennen / das sie an leiblichen gebrechen / durch dich gesundheit erlangt haben / das ein gewisses Zeichen ist / so wir dich anrufen und zu dir flohen / das du uns gesund machest an unsern tödlichen Krankheiten unser Sunden. Des etliche Exempel folgen hernach.

13 Hans Fischer Knecht zu Neukirchen im obern Land Osterreich / kam gen Altötting an der Mittwoch nach Ostern. Anno 1496. Bracht briefliche Kundschaft von Bürgermeister und ganzem Rat mit zwei Erbe Männer aufgedrucktem In Segel / vor den sie auf gelobte und Eide die Wahrheit zusagen / Bekannt / hätten / das auch gesehen / das der genannt Fischer-Knecht als er eines Nachts auf der Gassen heim wollt gehen / kamen an in andere widerwärtige menschen / und einer aus in / Stach ihn mit einem Schwein oder Bern Spieß / vom durch den Bauch ein / durch den Magen zu beiden Seiten / auf das es an dem Rückgrate Anstand / und vorne ganz offen was / und das geweiht in den leibe aus dem Magen ran / da er aber also läge und laute schrei / zu der Jungfrauen Maria / wart alles Volk bewegt auf zu stehen / und zu zerlaufen / verwunderten / wie er leben möchte / wart ihm gezeigt / das Sacrament des Fronleichnams Christi / und bewahrt mit peigt und der heiligen Ölung / und nach den sich sein leben / als über natürlich länger / wurden zwei gebracht die im den Magen und lieb des geweidet halben aus räumten / wann der Leib vorn so weite offen was / und näherten im den Magen / and beiden Seiten wiederum zu / legten ihn an sein gebührlige Stat in dem leibe. Befahlen den menschen weiter zu Arzneien / der Jungfrauen Marie / die er dann Aalwegen in seiner Verwundung anrufet zu Altötting / durch der hilf er angezweifelt bei leben und gesundheit bleibe.

with all your heart and called / so you are a medicine for the sinful bites of the dog from hell / that is the evil spirit / O Virgin Mary that tells you the real medicine / God grants us through his mercy / that we in these last times / So we through our sin completely wounded / poisoned and bit into death weakened and injured / seek refuge in you, mother of mercy / above all first / through what has been conceived of people from all countries / who perish and confess / that they have physical defects / through you have gained health / which is a certain sign / if we call on you and flee to you / that you heal us from our deadly diseases our sins. Several examples follow.

Hans Fischer Knecht from Neukirchen in Upper Austria / came to Altötting on the Wednesday after Easter. Year 1496. Told by letter from the mayor and the whole council with two honorable men imprinted in seals / in front of whom they promise the truth on vowed and oaths / known / have seen / that also / that the Fischer-Knecht called when he was on the one of the so called "Fisher Knights" who wanted to go home / came to other disgusting people / and one out of / stabbed him with a pig spit through the stomach / completely through the body on both sides / on the structure of the spine / and in front all the way open what / and that consecrated in the body from the stomach / since he would lie and cry loudly / to the Virgin Mary / all people were moved to stand / and to dissolve / amazed / how they would like to live / was shown to him / the sacrament of the Corpus Christi / and preserved with confession and the holy unction / and according to his life / than of course longer / were brought two who cleared the stomach and love of the grazed half / The body was so wide open in front / and approached the stomach / on both sides again / placed it in its due position in the body. Ordered the doctors to continue treatment / the Virgin Mary / which he called through his suffering to Altötting / through this help he remains alive and healthy.

14

Herr Sigmund Held der Römischen Königlichen Majestät Hauptmann im Land anderen Etsch / schicket ein Kundschaft unter seinem In Siegel / die auch in den anderen Jahre hernach bestattet / der Pfarrer zu Tysens N. nidertorer Tumher zu Burgen / und zu Augsburg das ein Knabe was gefallen von einem Fels / oder Kobel / bei Sant Christoffer dem Höchsten / Gebirge / nähend bei Tysen / dreihundert klafften hoch / auf härte Stein / unter dem Felsen liegen / da aber durch zwei Knaben das seinen Vater verkündet wart. Rufet er an Maria die Jungfrauen / sich versprechend / sie heimzusuchen zu Altötting wühlen und barfuss / mit den Almosen / und als er mit anderen mehre dann einen halben Tag suchen / fand er den Knaben als wäre er Tod mit fast viel Wunden / kniet er nieder auf den Stein Rufet an Mariam mit auf gereckten Händen / in den Himmel / auch den Knaben Marie gen Altötting geloben / und nimmt wäre / da wart sich der Knabe regen / als er aus den schlaffe er wachet / das kein glide an ihr zerbrochen / noch verrückt. Hätten ihn doch die Knaben zum dritten mal auf sehen fallen / ist ein wunder so doch ein gembss sich zu Trümmern 20. Oder 30. Klafter hoch ab gefällt / das dem Knaben nicht auch also geschehen ist / aber Gutich zu bedecken das Gott durch Dienstbarkeit der Engel den Knaben / gegläntzt habe / uns darin zu bestätigen den Artikel des heiligen glauben / der verstände / oder die Jungfrau Maria / sei vor da gewesen / mit ihrer hilf / wann es spricht Bernhards. Quid si invocata est qui etia- non vocals presto e-. Was / ob die angerufen ist die auch / so sie nicht angerufen et Wirt / bereit ist / verstehe mit ihrer hilf der Knabe kam gen Altötting nach Ostern darnach Anno 1497 mit samt seinen Vater / Gott loben und sein gebenedeite Mutter Maria.

15

Ein Frau bei Pfarrkirchen im lande zu Bayern gesessen kam gen Altötting zu der nächst bestimmten zeit / die was drei ganze Jahre Bett-Risse gelegen / an dem Steine am letzten in ihrem grossen Noten Rufet sie an Marian die Jungfrauen / sich mit ermögliehen Opfern heimzusuchen / gen Altötting. Entschliefe also in ihrer angst in dem schlaffe / ging der Stein als gross / als ein Enten ay fünf lot schwere / on alle wehe / übernatürlich von ihr / das sie erwachet / was sie frisch und gesund / fand den stein bei ihr in dem Bette / legend Pracht

Herr Sigmund Held of the Roman Royal Majesty captain in the land across from Etsch / send a letter under his seal / who stated in the years following / the pastor to Tysens N. Castle Tower / and to Augsburg that one boy was fallen from a rock / or Kobel / near Sant Christopher the highest / mountains / sewing near Tysen / three hundred gaped high / on hard stone / lying under the rock / but since two boys announced that his father had been announced. If he calls to Maria the virgins / promising / to visit them to Altötting and rummage barefoot / with the alms / and when he and others search for half a day / he found the boy as if he were dead with almost a lot of wounds / he kneels down Call on the stone to Mariam with outstretched hands / to heaven / also vow to the boy Marie towards Altötting / and take would / there the boy was moving / when he woke up from the limp / that no glide broke on her / yet crazy. If only the boys had fallen for the third time to see him / it is a miracle so it is a pleasure to go to rubble 20 or 30 fathoms high / that did not happen to the boy / but to cover Gutich that God through servitude of the Angel the boy / shined / to confirm us in the article of the holy faith / of the understanding / or the Virgin Mary / had been before / with her help / when it speaks Bernhard. Quid si invocata est qui etia- non vocals presto e-. What / whether she's called who also / if she's not called / is ready / understand with her help the boy came to Altötting after Easter afterwards in Anno 1497 with his father / praise God and his blessed mother Maria.

A woman from near parish churches in the state of Bavaria came to Altötting at the determined time / which was three whole years bedridden / on the stone at the last in her big trouble, called the Virgin Mary / promising to make offerings and a visit to Altötting. She fell asleep afraid / the large stone went from her/ like a duck weighing five tons / without trouble / left supernaturally from her / that when she woke up/ she was fresh and healthy / and found the stone with her in her bed / arising in splendor she went to

onuerzuck den gen Altötting lobend Gott und sein Mutter die Jungfrau Maria.

Altötting praising God and his mother, the Virgin Mary.

16 Pauls Weiss ein Junglein 16. Jahre alt / von Apfhalting zwei Meilen von Straubing / was zu Altötting zu der o bestimmten Zeit / in beimesen Viel glaubhaftere Männer / seiner Gehilfen oder Nachbarn / zeigt einem stein lang und gross drier lot vollgelegen schwäre / daran er vier Jahre grosse schmerzen gelitten hätte durch Anrufung Marie / sich versprechend / mit einem Pfund Wachs heimzusuchen / zu Altötting von Stund an Viel der Stein von ihm / ohne alle weh.

Pauls Weiss a young boy 16 years old / from Asphalting two miles from Straubing / came to Altötting at the a certain time / with more credible men / his assistants or neighbors / showing a stone long and big three plumb bones full of blackness/ because of this he suffered great pain for four years/ invoking Marie he promised himself / to visit with a pound of wax / to Altötting. From that moment a large stone came from him / without hurting.

17 Claus weiss ansässig zu Leimrith bei Hilburghausen bracht zu der Zeit gen Altötting briefliche gesigelte Kundschaft / von Bürgermeister und Rat daselbst liegend im lande zu Franken / das er mit einem grossen messer / weidwund gestochen was worden / das ihm auch die weide ausging zu der wunden / und niemands getrosten dort / das er bei leben bleibe. Aber durch anrufen und gelobe zu Marian gen Altötting erlanget er Fristungen seines Lebens und ganz Gesundheit.

Claus known from Leimrith near Hilburghausen, brought letters signed and sealed to Altötting / from the mayor and council there in the country of Franconia / that he was stabbed with a large knife / wide wound / that he was also running out of pasture to the wounds / and no one comforted there / that he would stay alive. But by calling and pledging to Marian in Altötting, he achieved the term of his life and in good health.

18 Dorthea von Kremetau in Beheb / ist Blind gewesen vier Jahre So bald sie anrufet Marian et cetera an sich zu ihr versprechend zu Altötting / heimzusuchen / ward sie so soviel gesehen das sie ging wo sie wollt / und als sie kam gen Altötting / erklärt sich ihr Gesicht ganz / als vor je gewesen was / bezeuget das mit zehn glaubhaften Personen / die darum voll festen / und mit ihr gingen waren.

Dorthea from Kremetau in Beheb / was blind for four years. As soon as she called Mary et cetera to her promising a visit to Altötting / she was seen so much that she went where she wanted / and when she came to Altötting / she explained herself Face whole / as it was ever before / testifying to that with ten believable people / who were therefore fully committed / and went with her.

19 Bangraz Jud der Seiten und Geschlechts ein Edelman / Pflieger auf der Graftschaft Schaumburg / im Oberland Osterreich in dem alter siebzig Jahre / den hat der schlag gesalzen am Dienstag oder Erichstag vor unsers Herren Auffahrt tag / also das im die recht Seiten von Haupt biss auf den Fuss / ganz ertötet was / auch kein wort kund reden / kniet sein hausfrau nieder und rufet an Marian die

Bangraz Jud of the sides and position of a nobleman / nurse on the Graftschaft Schaumburg / in the Oberland Austria at the age of seventy years / the hit was salted on Tuesday or Erichstag before our gentlemen's ascension day / so that in the right sides of head bit on the foot / everything killed / no word to speak / his housewife kneels down and calls to

Mutter Gottes / sich mit samt den mann / so ihm geholfen wurde versprechend gen Altötting zu gehen barfuss / und zu opfern ihren besten Damascan Rock / von Stunden ward ihm Vernunft / das er selbst anrufen Maria / mit Gedanken im Herzen / der Sacrament mit Zeichen begehende / und pate das im rede wurde verliehen / das er das er mögt Beichten / von Stunden ward ihm die Genaden getan / das er anhöbe zu reden / und das erst wort sprach aus Vale der Zungen löte für Altötting und zu-Hand Stund er auf und ward in dreien Stunden also gesund / das er ging wo er wollte / und aller seiner glider mächtig aber in dreien Tagen so mächtig / das er hat mögen gehen 20. Meilen Wegs / das sich auch erzeiget in des / das er darnach gen Altötting zu fussen gegangen kam am pfinztag oder Donnerstag nach unsers Herren Fronleichnam tag / und lobet mit samt seiner Hausfrauen / got und sein werde Mutter die Jungfrauen Mariam.

20 Erhard Wustumb zu Kirchenlauben in Regensburger Bistum / Saget in den Tagen / und bezeuget das mit glaubhafteren Leuten / as sein Tochter vier Wochen so krank lege / das sie die selbigen Zeit / weder Hände nich Füsse kund regen / Rufet er an Marian et cetera. Sie Heimzusuchenden versprechend zu Altötting - von Stunden ward sie sich übernatürlich besseren / das sie in dreien stunden ging / wo sie wollte.

21 Matheus Eberhard ein glaubhaftere berühmter mann zu Sumerhausen / im Lande zu Franken Saget und bezeuget das genugsam / das er wäre von eine gerusst gefallen / darauf ihn ankommen wäre der hinfallenden Siechtum / das er zu Tage und Nacht an unterlass / auf achtzig mal gewöhnlich fiele. Hilfe kein Arznei noch gelobte / weder gen ach / noch zu Sant Valentin / noch anderswo hin an viel ende Sunder da er Maria rc. anrufen und gelobet / heimzusuchen zu Altötting barfuss / und mit die Almosen zu gehen / doch daneben zwo andere person mit ihm zu nehmen / denn zu lohnen und zuerzeren / da wurde er von Stunden gesund / als sich dann an ihm ausweiset zu Altötting.

Mary the mother of God / himself and her husband / so he was helped, promising to go to Altötting barefoot / and to sacrifice her best Damascan skirt / from hours he became reason / that he himself invoke Mary / with thoughts in his heart / committing the sacrament with signs / and pate that was given in speech / that he liked to confess / from hours he was given the garb / that he lifted to talk / and the first word spoke from Vale of the tongues soldering for Altötting and to-hand he got up and was so healthy in three hours / that he went where he wanted / and all his gliders were powerful r so mighty in three days / that he liked to walk 20 miles / which is also shown in the / that he then walked to Altötting came on the pintails day or Thursday after our Lord Corpus Christi day / and praises with his housewives / God and his worthy mother the Virgin Mary.

Erhard Wustumb from church arbors in the Regensburg diocese / said one day/ and testifies to this with more believable people / that his daughter was so sick for four weeks / that at the same time / neither her hands nor feet were functioning / he called Mary et cetera . promising to visit her home in Altötting - from that moment she became supernaturally better / that in three hours she went where she wanted.

Matheus Eberhard a credible and well-known man in Sommerhausen / in the land of Franconia says and testifies sufficiently / that he fell from a soot / and in declining infirmity / that from day and night usually fell eighty times. No help came from medicine nor through vows made towards Ach nor to Sant Valentin / nor elsewhere to much end/ Because he called to Maria rc. and vowed / to visit Altötting barefoot / going with alms / but taking two other people with him / So that he could pay what was owed / from that moment he was healthy / he then identified himself to Altötting.

22

Erhard Strobell zu Schonach im Lande zu Bayern / saget das er durch schwere Arbeit empfangen hat das er Blut härmet / vier tage aneinander. So bald er anrufet Marian et cetera. Sie heimzusuchen versprechend zu Altötting / wird er gesund Aber da er sein gelobt verspreche / sagte er das nicht ahne / da er heim kam stieß ihn die gebrechlich-keit wiederum an / da er sich aber hin wider zu gehen verheisse / und das an zusagen / von Stunden höret auf die Krankheit.

23

Conrad Schwarz zu Allendorf bei Bayenreut in Bamberger Bistum / in gutem glauben / das ihn angestoßen wäre / ein Krankheit / das er zu Mund und Nasen überflüssig geschweißte hat / und seiner sinne wurde beraubt / das mann ihn / in einem trog gebunden / Rufet sein hausfrau an Mariam rc. So er gesund wurde. Sie heimzusuchen mit einem halben Pfund wachs zu. Altötting / also käme er von Stunden zu Vernunft und gesundheit. Aber als er sein gelobt verbrechete / sagt er das nicht an zuerkunden / darum / da er wider heim käme / stiesse in die vorige Kranket wiederum an / und da er zum dickermal fiele / als hat er den fallenden Siechtum. Suchet viel Rates und Arznei / helfen nichts / Erhoben sich darnach aus gelobt zu gehen zu Sant Valentin gen Rufach / kam etwas fern / konnte aber einen schreitet weiter gehen. Also kehret er wider mit grossen zittern / aller seiner Glieder / und zu Nuremberg ihm viel Volks nach folget / sehend und erbarmend solch grausames wunderliches erzittern / Da er entdecket seinen Handel / wurde ihm von weisen Leuten geraten / das er sich wiederum verspreche zu Maria gen Altötting und so er dann dahin käme / sol er das Gott zu lob und seiner werden Mutter der Jungfrauen Marie in Dankbarkeit ansagen zu erkunden / da er das grob täte / kehret er wider auf den weg und im antreten des Wegs / wurde er ganz frisch und gesund / als wäre ihm nicht gebrochen versprach sein Gelübde mit grossem lobe Gottes und der Jungfrauen Marie.

Erhard Strobell from Schonach in the state of Bavaria / said that he has bled due to hard work / four days together. As soon as he called Mary et cetera. promising to visit her in Altötting / he was healed since he promised his praised / he did not suspect / when he came home the frailty hit him again / since then he promised against this / and to promised to go again / from that moment the sickness stopped.

Conrad Schwarz from Allendorf (near Bayreuth in the Bamberg diocese) / in good faith / attests that a disease offended him / which had closed his mouth and nose / and his senses were robbed / as though he were bound in a trough. The housewife called to Mary rc. So he became well, Troth-plighted with half a pound of wax to Altötting / so he came to sanity and health after hours. But when he did not promise his vowed / he does not announce this / because of / because he would come home again / struck the previous sickness again / and since he fell heavily / as if he had falling sickness. Seek a lot of advice and medicine / do not help anything / then rose up vowed to go to Sant Valentin in Rufach / came a bit far / but was able to go one step further. So he returned with great tremors /in all his limbs / and in Nuremberg many people follow him / seeing and pitying such cruel and strange trembling. Once this happened/ he was advised by wise people / that he again promised himself to Mary of Altötting and if he then got there / he should praise God and His mother the Virgin Mary in gratitude/ since he would do that roughly / he returned on the way and in the start of the way / he became very fresh and healthy / as if he had not broken promised his vow with great praise to God and the Virgin Mary.

24

Andres Siegel zu Schrobenhausen in Lande zu Bayern rc. kam gen Altötting am Samstag vor Mathei. Anno. 1496. gebe Kundschaft der Jungfrau Marie / das sie offen habe die schoss ihrer Gültigkeit / sagend / das ihm wäre ein fuss entzündet / Rufet an Mariam sich versprechend / sie heimzusuchen zu Altötting / und als vor Übelschmach niemands mehre bei ihm kühner bleiben / und von andern Menschen darum wäre abgesondert. Hat er bestellt den fuss abzuschneiden aber da alle dink dar zu wehren Gericht/ käme ihn solche schmerzen an / das er nicht dar zu könnte halten / also läge er eines Tages in grossen schmerzen und weh. Rufet gar kläglichen zu der Mutter der Barmherzigkeit / das sie ihm der Marter ab helfe / und käme also in einem qualm / schliefe doch nicht / da käme ein schönes Weibsbild / ihn sanfte angreifende / und den fuss anrührende / da er zu ihm selber käme / wehren ihm alle wehe vergangen / Funde den fuss alberledigt bei ihm liegend / den er auch frisch und gesund am dem bestimmten Tage mit ihm dahin brachte / Gott lobende und sein aller würdigste mutter Mariam.

25

Hernach Volgend Kundschaft das Maria die Mutter Gottes offen habe ihr schoss der gehuckelt des 47. Jahres. Hans Schmach holz von Kaufring im Gebirge / kam am vierten pfiingstage gen Altötting bekannte sein Härteigkeit / das er nie hat wollen glauben / der Zeichen davon er höret / geschehen an denen / die da anrufen Mariam rc. Sie heimzusuchen zu Altötting. Darum sich hätte gefugt / das er einen Hasen streifte / und des Bluts davon seiner Hausfrauen / zu der zeit als sie schwanger was / füttern ihre äugen sprenget / Und darnach gebäre sie ein Kind / unter seinen äugen / voll Bluts tropfen. Rufet er an Mariam mit ganzem vertrauen / sich ihr versprechend gen Altötting mit ermöglichen opfern / von Stunden / ohne alles mittel / vergingen dem Kinde über natürlich die Bluts meil ohne alle mensch Hilfe.

Andres Siegel from Schrobenhausen in Bavaria rc. came to Altötting on Saturday before Matthew's Day in 1496. Giving praise to the Virgin Mary / that validly saying / that his foot was inflamed / he called to Mary promising to visit her in Altötting / because of this disgrace no one would stay with him / and from other people would therefore be separated. Has he ordered the foot to be cut off which everyone thought was just / he was in such pain / that he could not bear it / one day he was in such great pain and ache. He shouted pitifully to the mother of mercy / asking she help him out of his torture / and then came in a smoke / would not sleep after all / there appeared a beautiful woman [schönes Weibsbild] / gently touching him / and touching his foot / since he would come to himself / defending him from all past woes/ He found the foot lying with him / which he brought there with him who was fresh and healthy on the aforementioned day / praising God and his most worthy mother Mary.

Afterwards follows a letter that attests that Maria the mother of God had opened the lock in the 47th year. Hans Schmachholz from Kaufring in the mountains / came to Altötting on the fourth day of Pentecost to confess his sins / which he never wanted to believe / the signs of it he heard / happened to those / who call Mariam rc. To promise you to Altötting. That is why it would have happened / that he grazed a rabbit / and the blood was given to his wife at the time when she was pregnant / feeding her the eyes / and then she gave birth to a child / his eyes were dripping full of blood. Because he called Mary with all his trust / promising her in Altötting with worthy offerings / within the hour/ without any means / naturally the child passed the blood from the eyes without any human help.

26. Magdalena Schonbrunnerin von Freising in Bayernlande / kam an den obgemelten vierten Pfingstage / die da an eine äugen in 19. Jahren ganz nichts hat gesehen / und zu jungst angerufen die Jungfrauen Maria / sich zu ihr gen Altötting versprechend mit einem wachsen Augen. Von Stunden ward sie gesehen an dem selben Augen.

27. Magdalena Polweinen von Petta in der untern Steiermark dreizehn Meile weit hinter Graz / hat gehabt den hin fallenden Siechtum / also das sie einen Tag zu acht oder neun Malen viel / versprach sie ein andere der mutter Marie gen Altötting / von Stunden liess der Siechtum ab. Aber sie verzog das also zutundvile sie in Krankheit / das sie beläuft an der halb Jahre verkrüppelt lagen / an Händen und an Füßen / keines Glieds gebrauch hätte / das sie selbst weder essen noch trinken mochte / dann wann mann ihr etwas vorlegte / als auf einen Tisch / so naschet sie das auf mit den Munde / als ein unvernünftig Tier / zu letzte nächst vor den Pfingsten des gemalten 47. Jahres / finge sie wieder ums Hertz / zu Rufen an Mariam die Mutter der Barmherzigkeit / unser und Gottes Mutter / sich ihr versprechend / gen Altötting zu gehen mit dem Almosen und einem Pfund wachs / von Stund brauch nehmend / auch stehen und gehen möchte / wie voll kränklich jedoch erhob sie sich auf den Weg / ohne länger Verzug / und auf dem weg ist sie ganz frisch und gesund worden.

28. Katherina Petterin von Goblitz im lande zu Boheme / im ertzpriester Kramau / saget in den tagen der Pfingsten / das ihr ein Kind im dritten Jahre seines alters an unsers Herrn auffahrt Tagesabend nächst davor / in einen tiefen Bach gefallen / und völligen ein Stunde darinnen gelegen sei. Und do sie der ding nicht gedacht / über den Bach ging / sehe sie das Kind in den Bach / das Haupt unter sich zu Boden und die Fuss über sich / schreie sie laut / das ihr mann zu lief / der mögt vor schrecken nicht in den Bach da luff ein andere zu / der zog das Kind heraus / da wäre es alles erstarrt / empfunden kein leben in ihm / wäre auch des kein Tröstung von niemands. Aber sie / ihr mann und neun andere menschen / knieten nieder rufen an Mariam / die Mutter des der das leben gibt / sich gen Altötting versprechen mit einem wachsen Bilde. In dem gäbe ihr Gott ein /

Magdalena Schonbrunnerin from Freising in Bavaria / came on the fourth day of Pentecost mentioned above / she saw absolutely nothing in one eye in 19th year / and called the Virgin Maria / promising a wax eye to her in Altötting. From that moment she could see in the same eye.

Magdalena Polweinen from Petta in Lower Styria thirteen miles away from Graz / had a falling disease / so that she would fall eight or nine times a day / she promised herself to the Mother Marie of Altötting / the disease left her in hours. But she was so spoiled by this illness so much that she was sick / she was crippled for half a year so that she had no use of her hands and feet / she herself neither wanted to eat nor drink / then when someone presented her something / than one Table / so she nibbles on it with her mouth / as an unreasonable animal / at the last next before Pentecost of the shown 47th year / she began calling again from the heart / calling to Mary the mother of mercy / our and God's mother / promising to go to her in Altötting with alms and a pound of wax / from that moment / she wanted to stand and walk / she was sickly but she got up on the way / without long delay / and on the way she became and has since been very fresh and healthy.

Katherina Petterin von Goblitz in the land of Bohemia / in the arch priest of Kramau / said in the days of Pentecost / that a child in the third year of his age at the eve of our Lord's ascension day / fell into a deep stream / and was in it a full one hour before being located. And seeing the child in the stream / the head on the ground and feet above her / she screamed loudly / that her husband ran to her / he swam without fear in the stream/ he pulled the child out / whose body was frozen/ no life could be felt in him / there would be no consolation from anyone either. But she / her husband and nine other people / knelt down calling Mary / the mother of the one who gives life / promising to Altötting with a wax image. Her God gave her / that she put a hot kiss on the child / and put hot bread on the

das sie auf das Kinde ein heisses Küssen / und auf den Mund ein heisses Brot legte und ihren Finger darnach täte in des Kindes Mund / und rufet zu Maria / da Schüsse Wasser und Blut von ihm / Rufet da mit ganzer klage und vertrauen zu Maria / da täte das Kind ein Auge auf / und in einer Stund / nach den es aus dem Wasser kam ward es ganz frisch und gesund / und lebte auf heute Tage.

mouth and then put her finger in the child's mouth / and called to Mary / then shots of water and blood came from him / call out in lamentation and trust in Mary / then the child opened an eye / and in an hour after the child came out of the water it was very fresh and healthy / and lives still today.

29 Lorentz Oesterreicher der Römischen Königlichen Majestät Diener ist vor Montrom in welischen Landen / in dem berennen mit seine Ross in ein gruben gefallen / zweier reiss Spieß tief im falle rufet er an Mariam / sich ihr versprechend / im Herzen gen Altötting / ist unversehrt bleiben auch sein Ross.

Lorentz, an Austrian servant of the Roman Royal Majesty, fell into a pit in front of Montrom in Italy / in the Brenner with his horse / two spits deep in the fall he called to Mary / promising her / in his heart to Altötting / He and his horse were unharmed.

30 Georg Erbschneider von Wiset / ein Dorf liegend zwei Meile von Dinkelsbuhel. Saget auch in den tagen der Pfingsten / das in sein leiblicher Bruder von nächst vergangen Fasnacht mit eines Schwein speiss bei den Herzen oder Brüste / einer vordern spannen tief gestochen hätte / das im der Atem so streng zu der wunden aus ging / das er voll ein grosses leicht hat ausläget / wäre kein Trost seines Lebens / konnte nicht empfahlen das Sacrament des Fronleichnams unseres Herren / dann mit der Heiligen Ölung wurde er bewahrt. Rufet er an Marian. rc. sich ihr versprechend / mit einem silbern Opfer / von Stunden wurde er also stark / das er auf stunde und ginge als ein ganz gesunder wo er wollte.

Georg Erbschneider from Wiset / a village two miles from Dinkelsbuhel. Also said in the days of Pentecost / that his biological brother from the past carnival was stabbed with a pig-spit in his breast by his heart / a front stab that stung deeply / that the breath went out so s to the sore / that he was full Great easy interpreted / would not be a consolation of his life / could not recommend the sacrament of the Corpus Christi of our Lord / then with the Holy Unction he was preserved. He called to Mary. rc. Promising to her / with a silver offering / at that moment he became strong / he could go where he wanted with complete health.

31 Auch was davor am Ostertage zu Altötting ein ehrbar Mann von Schwatz im Intal mit viel glaubhafteren Männern / das bezeugend das er am Sonntag der nächste ergangen Fasnacht von seinen feinden hinter Ruck mit einem Schwerte unter der denken schultern ein gestochenes worden / das es vorn / Ober der rechten Brust Warzen / aus gegangen sei / des er dann entblösst die Zeichen zu Gesicht weiset / und in dem hab er angerufen Maria das sie eingedenk sei/ das er sie allewege gebeten habe das sie ihn nicht lasse ersterben / er sei dann vormals noch eines bei ihr zu Altötting gewesen / und ihn den grimmen heim in sein Haus gelaufen / und da nieder gefallen und gelegen schweissend / in den Blute / das Mann kaum ein wenig Wärm an ihm empfinde / da wahren auf sechzehn oder achtzehn Mann bei ihm nieder

Also on Easter day in Altötting a respectable man from Schwatz in the Intal with much more credible men / testified that he was stabbed by his enemies behind with a sword under the shoulders on the Sunday of the last carnival / that it was in front / Warts on the right breast / which showed the signs of in face / and in that he called Mary, saying that she was always mindful of him/ that he had always asked her not to let him die / he was then as before, once more with her at Altötting / and ran grimly home to his house / and fell down there and lay sweaty / in blood / that men could hardly feel any warmth in him / sixteen or eighteen men knelt with him / and called to Mary. rc. Promising him to Altötting with one gulden / he gained strength at that

gekniert / und hätten angerufen Mariam. rc. ihn ihr versprechend gen Altötting mit einen Gulden / von Stunden wäre er zu Kraft kommen / und auf gesessen und daselbst sich versprochen mit einem gesungen Amte der mess / und hätte bestätigt der gedachten Männer gelobt / stunde auf ward frisch und gesund / als das aus weiset sein gegen Würdigkeit.

32 Sigismund Gestand aus der Rausriss im Gebirge / hat einen Sohn dem was ein Kriegen im Halb besteckt / das er nicht Atem mögt habe / viel er auf dem Felde nieder das da reitende Leut einen der da vorging / fragten / ob er den toten menschen kannte / der da lege kehret der selbigen ihn ums auf den Ruck / kannte ihn lief etwas fahren / seinem Vater das ansagend / der fand über ein Stunde bei im sitzend seiner Nachbarin eine / spreche er in Trübsal zu ihr / find ihr kein leben an ihm / Antwort sie / ich hab ihn nun wohl ein Stund erschauet und bewegt / ich empfind keines Lebens in ihm / und habe angerufen die jungrauen Maran am seiner Stat / ihn versprechend gen Altötting / ich empfinde aber keiner hilf. Rufet ihr an die Mutter Gottes rc. da schüttet er und beweget ihn auch hin und her empfand keines Lebens / da kniet er nieder / anrufet die Jungfrauen Mariam mit ganzem herzen sich selbst mit samt den Sohn gen Altötting versprechend / mit ermöglichen Opfern / und neppt ware / von Stunden ward er ein Auge rühren / und darnach ohne Mittel stunde er auf frisch und gesund.

33 Darnach am vierten Pfingstage / kam Leonhard Schnurre von Tirhaupten am lech in Schwaben. Saget das beschwerlichen hätte gehabt die Blattern der male Franzosen / das er weder Tage noch nacht kann ruhen / Rufet er an Maria. rc. Sich versprechend / gen Altötting zu gehen wühlen und barfuss / auch einen gulden zu opfern von Stunden wurde sein Sach gut / das er in dreien Tagen keines wehes empfunden und waren bald die Blattern alle zu einzigen vergangen.

moment/ and sat up and there and promised himself with a sung office of mass / and vowed with the praying men / stood up fresh and healthy / as this worthy example shows.

Sigismund from the Mountain Pass / had a son that was stabbed in the war / that he did not like breathing / he lay in the field for long with people riding there one who went by there / asked / whether he knew the dead person / who was lying there turned him around on the back of his hand / knew him / announcing this to his father / he quickly found his neighbor while sitting / he spoke to her in distress / did you find no life in him / she answered saying / I have now looked at and moved him for an hour / I don't feel any life in him / and called the Virgin Mary at his place / promising him to Altötting / I don't feel any help. Do you call on the Mother of God rc. there he pours and moves him back and forth also felt no life / there he kneels down / calls the virgins Mariam with all her heart promising herself and her son to Altötting / with possible sacrifices / and would be stunned / from hours he began to stir in his eye / and afterwards without a means he would wake up fresh and healthy.

Then on the fourth day of Pentecost / came Leonhard Schnurre from Tirhaupten am Lech in Swabia. Said he had the arduous boils of the French Disease / that he could rest neither day nor night / he called to Maria. rc. Promising to go to Altötting bare and barefoot / also offering a gulden/ from that moment his personage was good / that he felt no pain in three days and soon the boils were all gone.

- 34 Katherina Zeheterin aus Steinböcke Pfarre in Österreich / hat einem Wurm in einem Ore gehabt / ein ganz Jahre / mit grossem schmerzen und alles ihr gut unter den Erzen des Halben verspendet da sie kein hilf mögt gehabt natürlich. Rufet sie an Maria rc. sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend von Stund an ward sie gesund übernatürlich.
- 35 Erhard Zan von Tatigen bei Mannheim bei schwäbischen Werd / ist erlahmt gewesen an einem arm das er des keinen gebrauch hat / verzehret viel ums Arznei / daran half nicht / rufet er an Marian. rc. sich versprechend zu Altötting heimzusuchen mit dem Almosen von Stunden ward sein Sach gut / das er nach den gelobt in zweien Tagen des arms ganzen gebrauch gewann und daran ganz gerade ward.
- 36 Matheis Körper von Boten Stein bei Bamberg in Franken Lande / des Sohn / was seiner Sinn und Vernunft beraubt etwas lange So bald anrufet Marian. rc. sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend / gewann sein Sohn ganzen vorkommen gebrauch seiner Vernunft.
- 37 Cuntz Bayer von Tättning in Schwaben Lande / hat sieben Jahre das geschoss gehabt in einem Bein. Hat ihm geronnen und fast übel geschmeckt. Hat auch daran weder stehen noch gehen mögen / und viel Arznei daran versucht / ist kein hilf noch Trost gewesen Rufet an Marian sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend / von Stunden ward er gesund.
- 38 Margareth Leinterin von Linz in Österreich / hat lange zeit ein grossen gebrechen gehabt in ihrem Haupt das aus den / ihr der Mundt verkrümmt ward / und verriebe biss zu dem rechten Ohren / hilf kein Arznei. Sie kann auch auf das letzt weder essen noch ertrinken. Rufet an Marian. rc. sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend von Stunden ward sie ohne alles mittel gesund / das sie mögt wider essen und trinken / und ganz nicht mehre empfand.
- Katherina Zeheterin from Steinbock parish in Austria / has had a worm in her Ear/ for a whole year / with great pain and after donating everything to the cause she was unable to find any help, of course. She called to Maria rc. From the moment she promised herself to Altötting she became healthy supernaturally.
- Erhard Zan from Tatigen near Mannheim near Swabian Werd / was paralyzed in his arm to the extent that he had no use of it / he consumed a lot of medicine / which didn't help / He called to Maria. rc. Promising to bring himself to Altötting with alms, from that moment his personage was good / in two days after this promise he gained full use of the arm and was completely able.
- Matheis Körper from Botenstein near Bamberg in Franconia / had a son / who was robbed of his sense and reason for a long time. As soon as he called Mary. rc. Promising to go to her in Altötting / his son won full use of his reason.
- Cuntz Bayer from Tattung in Swabia / had been shot and wounded in one leg for seven years. The wound had curdled and smelled bad. He didn't like to stand or walk on it either / and tried a lot of medicine on it / which was no help or consolation. Within hours of calling on Mary and promising to her in Altötting he was well.
- Margareth Leinterin from Linz in Austria / had a large break in her head for a long time that crooked her mouth and ran to her right ear / no doctor could help. Even in the end, she could neither eat nor drink. She called Maria. rc. Promising to visit her in Altötting, from that moment she became healthy without anything / to the extent she liked to eat and drink / and felt no more issues after that.

39 Elsbeth Michel fröhlichem hausfrau von Rottenbach bei fussen in Schwaben / ist der Hals verschwollen gewesen / von Sant Mathias Abend biss auf den Karfreitag des 97. Jahres / das sie zuletzt weder essen noch einerlei speist / zu ihr nicht mögt bringen aber an den genannten Karfreitag / da sie anrufet Maria .rc. sich ihr versprechend / gen Altötting mit ihrem Opfer / ward sie von Stunden gesund / das sie in der stunde des anrufend und geloben esse und trinken ganz von aller Geschwulst erledigt und ward gesund.

40 Georg Putz zu München hat gehabt das verglicht fünf Jahre aneinander in einem Pein / mit grossem schmerzen / am Donnerstag oder pfintztag zu nacht vor Sonntag Jubilate des 97. Jahres / sagt er / sei ihm erschienen Maria .rc. und habe ihm gesagt / so er sie heim wolle suchen zu Altötting. So werde er gesund da hat er sich zu-Hand dahin verheissen / von Stunden haben auf gehört alle sein schmerzen / das er ganz nichts mehre empfunden.

41 Heinrich Nabirt in obiger Pfarre / ist an einem Pein erlahmt / in grossen schmerzen / das er in dreien Jahren weder gehen noch stehen hat mögen. Nach Ostern nächst vergangen hat er mit samt seinen fetteren Hansen Nabirt / angerufen Marian .rc. sich ihr versprechend gen Altötting / und auf die selben Stund ist er gesund und gerat worden / das er ohne alle Irrung ging wo er wollte / als ob ihm nie nichts hat verbrochen.

42 Am Donnerstag oder pfintztage in der Pffingsten des nächst bestimmten Jahres / kamen zwei Frauen gen Altötting / der ihr jegliche was gross auffangen / als wären sie schwanger / und da sie merkten das es kein Frucht sunder ungesundheit währe / versuchten sie bei gelehrten Artzen Arznei viel / hilf nicht / kamen beide in Tödlichen Not / die eine Elssbet von Zell im Inntal versprach der Jungfrau Marie / sich zu ihr zufügen mit Wasser und Brot / it einer Kerzen und silbern Opfer / die anderen Margareth von Pfaffenhofen bei Ingolstadt in Bayern mit eines wachsen Kindesbildchen / von Stunden nach anrufen und geloben / ward ihr jegliche gesund / und verging die Materie ohne allen Ausgang / als sie vormals nie wäre gewesen.

Elsbeth Michel the cheerful housewife from Rottenbach near Fussen in Swabia / her throat was swollen / from Sant Mathias evening till Good Friday of the 97th year / for which reason she ate nothing/ She was brought on the named Good Friday / as she called to Maria .rc. Promising herself / towards Altötting with her offering / she was healthy from that moment/ such that she ate and drank in the hour of calling and vowing, she was completely rid of the tumor and was well.

Georg Putz in Munich has had this for five years together in pain / with great pain / on Thursday or Sunday night before Sunday Jubilee of the 97th year / says / he appeared to him Maria .rc. and he said that he wanted to visit her at her home in Altötting. He became well there and immediately he promised himself there / from that moment all his pain stopped / and he felt no more pain.

Heinrich Nabirt in the above parish / was paralyzed in his leg/ in great pain / that he has neither walked nor stood in three years. After Easter, he and his fatter Hansen Nabirt / called Maria .rc. Promising to her in Altötting / in that same moment he was healthy and whole / thereafter he went where he wanted without any issue / as if nothing had ever broken him.

On Thursday or Pentecost day in Pentecost of the next certain year / two women came to Altötting / who absorbed things as if they were pregnant / and since they noticed that there was no fruit for unhealthy health / they tried medicine with learned doctors / which did not help / both came in fatal distress / the one Elssbet from Zell im Inntal promised the Virgin Mary / to take a pilgrimage with water and bread / with a candle and silver sacrifice / the other Margareth from Pfaffenhofen near Ingolstadt in Bavaria promised with a small wax image of a child / after hours of promising and calling out / everyone was healthy / and the issue passed without any discharge / as it had never been before.

- 43 Anna Schusterin zu Geisenfelt in Bayern hat einen Bruch gehabt dreissig Jahre / ist auch damit geboren worden zu Sant Michels Tag nächst vergangen da sie grosse tödlichen Not daran leide / in einem Kindbett und anrufet Mariam / doch nichts Gedecken an Altötting / in der nacht / erscheine ihr die Mutter Gottes / sie unterweisend sie heimsuchen zu Altötting mit ihrem pesten Schleier. So bald sie das gelobt also täte / auf die dasigen Unterweisung ward sie ganz vollkommen gesund / kam an dem nächst bestimmten Donnerstag oder pfintztag / saget das sie keines Bruchs mehr empfunden noch empfunden hätte / von Stunden darnach als eine / die nie keinen gehabt hätte.
- Anna Schusterin from Geisenfelt in Bavaria had a break for thirty years / gave birth born on Sant Michel's day and since that time she was in dire straits / in her birth bed she called to Mary / but nothing was set at Altötting. In the night / The Mother of God appeared to her / instructing her to visit Altötting with her plague veil. As soon as she promised it / after this instruction she was completely healthy / arriving on the next determined Thursday or Sunday / saying that she didn't feel nor had felt any more break / from that moment she never have had one.
- 44 Anna Seusin Hammer-Meisterin zu Trauschnitz bei Naburg im Vogtland ist beraubt gewesen ihrer Sinn anderthalb Jahre / und ums ihr grosses toben mit ketten angelegen und voll versichert / in der nächsten fasten des 47. Jahres / hat ihr Hauswirt angerufen Marian .rc. sie ihr gen Altötting versprechend / mit einer wachsen Hirnschalen / von Stunden hab ihr sich angefangen sich zugbesseren das sie am Freitag nach Pfingsten des bestimmten Jahres gen Altötting / kam mit gebrauch guter Vernunft ganz vollkommen.
- Anna Seusin Hammer-Meisterin from Trauschnitz near Naburg in Vogtland was deprived of her sense for a year and a half / and was secured with large chains / in the fast of the 47th year / Her landlord called to Maria .rc. She promised her to Altötting / with a wax skull / from that moment she started to improve and she went to Altötting on the Friday after Pentecost of the specified year / coming with good reason quite well.
- 45 Michel Krieger Burger zu Ingelfing unter Schwäbischen Hall drei Meile weit / ist gebrochen gewesen sechzehn Jahre / und hat daran gelitten grosse Schmerzen / so bald er sich Marie .rc. versprochen hat gen Altötting / wart er ganz frisch und gesund / als wäre er nie gebrochen gewesen.
- Michel Krieger Burger in Ingelfing unter Schwäbische Hall three miles away / was broken for sixteen years / and suffered great pain from it / as soon as he promised Maria .rc. in Altötting / he was fresh and healthy / as if it had never been broken.
- 46 Wolfgang Keiserer vom hoff im Vogtland ein Student hat gehabt die Male Franzosen / von Lichtmess biss auf Ostern / das er an Händen / Füßen armen / Pein / und allen seinen gliedern erlahmet und erstarret / das er musst liegen wo mann ihn hin leget / könnt selbes weder essen noch trinken. So man im etwas speise vorlegt / so naschet er die auf / als ein Hund. Am dritten Ostertage Rufet er an Marian .rc. in seinen grossen schmerzen sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend / barfuss zugehen / und ein mess lassen lesen in ihren ehren da selbst / und nimmt war von Stunden an dem selbigen Tage / verschwunden alle seine Blattern und wehe / das er auch aller seiner glider
- Wolfgang Keiserer from Hof in Vogtland had a student who had the French disease / from Candlemas to Easter / that his hands / arms/ feet / leg / and all his limbs were paralyzed and frozen / that he had to lie where you put him / could neither eat nor drink. If you put something in front of him / he would nibble on it / as a dog. On the third day of Easter he called Maria .rc. in his great pain promising to go to Altötting / going barefoot / and having a mass read in his honors there/ and from that moment on the same day / all his boils disappeared as well as his woe / this which he and all of his associates had brought/ And on

gebrauch hätte / und an den dritten Tage ging ohne alle Irrung / wo er wollte.

the third day he went where he wanted without any issue.

47 Mertein Brettschneiders hausfrau zu Kassel im lande zu Hessen. Hat ein Knebeln geboren / ohne Bein und Fusse / auch ohne Hände / daran er erschrocken ist / das sie gewann den fallenden Siechtum / so schwerlich / das sie zu Tage und Nacht zu dreissig malen fiel / hat also gewehrt ein halbe Jahre / zu Jungst in den nächst vergangen Ostern / des 97. Jahres / hat sie angerufen Marian .rc. sich ihr versprechend gen Altötting mit einem Kreuz auf ein Messgewand / von Stunden verliesse die gebrechen / so vollkommen / als hätte sie ihn nie gehabt.

Mertein Brettschneider's housewife in Kassel in the state of Hesse. Gave birth to a boy / without legs and feet / even without hands / because [Mertein] was frightened / that his wife had the falling sickness / which she suffered with great difficultly / to the extent that she fell thirty times during the day and night / thus resisted half a year / In the Spring on last Easter / of the 97th year / she called Maria .rc. Promising her to Altötting with a cross and chasuble / from that moment the break left her/ so completely / as if she had never had it.

48 Hans Grieswerdt von Esting bei Fürsten Feld Ober München im lande zu Bayern / hat gewöhnen die Male Franzosen / in der erst Fastwochen des 97. Jahres mit großen wehe / und schmerzen Am Mitwochen mitterfassten (als er sagt) erschein ihm Maria .rc. mit grossem schein / ihn lehrend das er sich ihr versprach gen Altötting. So bald er das täte huben die Blattern an zu dorren / und vergingen alle sein schmerzen.

Hans Grieswerdt from Esting at Fürsten Feld of Upper Munich in the state of Bavaria / had the French disease / in the early fasting weeks of the 97th year with great sorrow / and pains On the Wednesday during the fast (as he says) Maria appeared him .rc. as a great shining light. She instructed him to promise (himself to) her in Altötting. As soon as he did that, the boils began to wither / and all his pain passed.

49 Cuntz von Augsburg und Heinz Guten der Römischen königlichen Majestät Diener / haben an unsers Herren Fröhlich Names Tage des bestimmten Jahres gesagt / das sie in dienst des Königs mit andern seiner Majestät Diener und Volke / sein gelegen auf den mehre vor einer Stadt / genant alle Cornu. Und in ihrer Nauen mit ihn versammelt gewesen Wahlen und andere Deutsch habe sich am Sonntag zu nacht nach Sant Martins Tage ein gar grosse ungestüme auf den mehre erhebt / das etwa viel Verslagen und ein grosse Naue das Land geschlagen / in den drei Segel baumen in der mit / von einander gebrochen sein / als der ein kleine Ruben breche. Hätten sich alle an einander gepeycht und zu dem verderben und sterben ganz Gericht / darauf huben ein Teil der Deutschen / anzurufen Marian / sich ihr gen

Cuntz von Augsburg and Heinz Guten of the Roman royal majesty servants / said to our Lord's happy name day of the given year / that they were in the service of the king with other of his majesty's servants and people / which were located several times in front of a city / all Cornu. And electorates were gathered with him in their vicinity, and other Germans rose up on Sunday night after Sant Martin's day in a great boisterous manner. A great trouble struck [as a storm]. The three masts with a central sail / they were broken from each other / as a small branch breaks. They all confessed to one another that they believed they would perish in all judgment. Then some of the Germans suggested / to call Maria / promising to her of Altötting. Half of the

Altötting versprechend die Wahlen ein Teil rufen  
an Sant Niclasen / ein teil Sant Herman / von  
Stunden erscheinen drei fast klare leicht / als drei  
schöne Stern auf den dreien Segel baumen / fast  
hell zulachten das dann viel Tausend in anderen  
Nauen sehen / und von Stunden höret auf die  
ungestüme / das sie mit heil zu den lande kommen.

electors called to Sant Niklous / the rest called  
to Sant Herman. From that moment three clear  
points of light appeared / as three beautiful  
stars on the three sail masts / shining brightly  
so that many thousands witnessed it nearby /  
and from that moment the storm calmed / and  
they came ashore safely.

50 Hans Rausch und sein hausfrau Barbara / Sagten  
am Donnerstag oder pfintztag nach der heiligen  
Dreifaltigkeit tag das ihr Sohn / den sie entgegen  
hätten auf einer Seiten gebrochen geboren / wäre /  
ihm den Weib zu Lichtmess in der nacht  
erscheinen Maria .rc. hätte sie gelehrt / sie sollt mit  
samt den Sohn ihr gen Altötting versprechen mit  
ihren opfern. So bald sie darnach das gelobe und  
anrufen täte / wird er heil an den Bruch / als hätte  
er nie keinen gehabt.

Hans Rausch and his housewife Barbara / said  
on Thursday the Pentecost day after the holy  
trinity day - that their son / whom was broken  
on one side when he was born / after the  
woman brought him to Candle Mass, that  
evening Maria .rc. appeared and instructed her  
/ that she and her son should trothplight to her  
in Altötting with offerings. As soon as she  
made this the vow and called out / he was  
healed at the break / as if he never had one.

51 Michel Starer zu Regensburg und sein hausfrau /  
haben bei einander in der Keuschafft einmütig  
gelobet und gewohnt zehn jähre und kein Frucht  
erlanget. Haben sie angerufen und benetzen  
Marian .rc. sich versprechend gen Altötting zu  
opfern so sie ein Frucht durch ihr hilf erlangten /  
so schwäre wachs / als das kind sei / so es werde  
alt drei Wochen und drei tag / feind sie von  
Stunden erhört worden und gewertet / haben auch  
das Gelübde ausgerichtet / jedoch versäumt / Gott  
zu lobe das anzusagen / als sie heim sein kommen  
so in kurz vergangen zeit / haben sie verbring das  
kind / in letzter und sterbender Not / erstarret und  
ganz verblichen erfunden / hat die Mutter  
angerufen Marian .rc. sich mit dem Kinde ihr gen  
Altötting versprechend / mit einem Pfund Wachs /  
von Stunden als sie nur die wort aus dem Mund  
liess / nimmt ware / ward dem kind der Mund  
schön rot stunde auch zu hand auf ward frisch und  
gesund.

Michel Starer of Regensburg and his  
housewife / had lived with each other as  
husband and wife for ten years but did not  
conceive. They called out to make use of  
Mary .rc. Promising to go themselves to with  
offerings to Altötting if they conceived  
through their help / promising wax that was as  
the child. So when the child was three weeks  
and three days old / they had spoken and been  
heard / had also made the vow / but they  
failed to praise God. A short time after  
arriving home, they brought the child in a  
final and dying distress. Frozen and  
completely stunned / the mother called Mary  
.rc. / promising a visit herself to Altötting with  
the child / with a pound of wax / as soon as  
the words left her mouth / taking these things /  
the child's mouth was red and he was  
immediately fresh and healthy.

52 Georg Bader zu Papenburg hinter Amberg im  
Vorland / hat gehabt neun Pest vor einem Jahre /  
sein nach ihm gestorben daran Weib und Kinde /  
hat er gesund / doch das er an Krücken ging / in  
dem viel er ihn Ungeduld / als er dann selbst sein  
Sunde bekannte / das er ein grossen Schwüre täte /  
Gott sein heiliges Herrn üblichen nennend / von  
Stunden viel er in grosse Krankheit / das er diss  
ganz Jahre läge / das er schwinden ward. Das weit

Georg Bader from Papenburg behind Amberg  
in the foreland / had a new plague a year ago /  
his wife and children died / but he survived.  
After this he walked on crutches, which made  
him impatient. When he himself confessed his  
sin / promising that he would take a great oath  
and calling God his holy lord / at that moment  
he was in great illness / that he believed he  
would be unable to walk for years / that he

/ das kein Fleisch mehre ihm bleibe / allein die Haut spannet Ober dem Gebein / also das er also erstarrt / was auch von jedermann verlassen / dan einen fremd seines Bluts het er / der kniet fur sein Bette nieder und rufet an Marian .rc. ihn versprechend gen Altötting zugehen so er gesund wurde / mit den Almosen / von Stunden hub sich sein Sack an zu besseren / das er sich auf erhob / gen Altötting zugehen / und auf dem weg ward er ganz wider Liebig / und als gesund / das er am Freitag nach Bonifacii vor der Kapellen unser Frauen zu Altötting vor Freuden sprang Gott und Marian von herzen lobend.

53 Georg Hilbrand zu Niederndorf Prauneck / in des Grafen con Goertzen land ist von einem Tach gefallen fünfzehn Klaftern hoch / das er an einer Seiten zerbrach / und als gross ward als ein grosser Filzhut erlanget aus anrufen Marie und Gelübde sie heimzusuchen Altötting / das er ohne alle menschen hilf gar kürzlichen heilet ganz gesund ward. Aber nach den er Verzug täte zu halten sein gelobte / hat er nach den nächst vergangen Pfingsten gewonnen den hinfallenden Siechtum. Rufet er wiederum zu Maria .rc. mit bereuten Herzen / seines Verzugs versprechend / nicht langer zuerzygen machet sich also auf den weg in besondren vertrauen / und Hoffnung zu der Mutter Gottes / auf den Wege hat ihn der siechttag und alle Krankheit verlassen / das er kein Zuneigung an im mehr empfand des Siechtums.

54 Hanns Ott zu Berneck drei Mein von Würzburg / im lande zu Franken / hat gehabt das vergicht ein halbes Jahre / das er ganz verkrümmt und erlahmet weder gehen noch stehen kann. Hätte nun verzagt und kein Hoffnung mehre / das er immer mehre gesuhlt oder gerade wurde. Aber nach den nächst vergangen Ostern des 97. Jahres Rufet er an Marian .rc. sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend / von Stunden an hub sich sein Sack an zugbesseren / das er in neun tagen von Berneg biss gen Altötting auf die viertzig Meilen Wegs ging / kam dahin an Sant Johansen des Täufers Abend nächst darnach / frisch und gesund.

would vanish. At this point/ no flesh remained on him / only the skin which was stretched over the bones / so that he became paralyzed. Every person abandoned him /and he felt his blood was a stranger to him / Then, he knelt down at his bed and called Maria .rc. He promised to go to Altötting when he got well / with alms / From that moment his issues began to improve / such that he rose up / to go to Altötting / and on the way he was completely alone/ and as he was well / that on Friday after Bonifacii he was in front of the chapel of Our Lady in Altötting, he jumped with joy, praising God and Mary from the heart.

Georg Hilbrand from Niederndorf Prauneck / in the Count of Goertzenland fell fifteen fathoms from a roof/ causing him to be broken on one side / and when his wound was large he got a big felt hat and called Marie, vowing to visit her in Altötting / and he without help from all people was healed and was completely healthy. But after he delayed to keep his vow / he infirmity returned and his situation declined after that Pentecost. He called again to Maria .rc. with a regretful heart / promising to correct his delay / not to wait any longer, so on the way with exceptional trust / and hope to the mother of God / on the way the ailing and all illness left him that day / that he no longer felt any affliction or infirmity.

Hanns Ott from Berneck (three Mein von Würzburg, in the country of Franconia) / had that lost half a year / such that he could neither walk nor stand, he was completely crooked and slack. He despaired and had no more hope / and he became more and more wallowed and flattened. But after Easter of the 97th year he called Maria .rc. Promising to go to Altötting / from that moment his issues lifted and improved / such that he walked forty miles from Berneg to Altötting in nine days / arriving there on Sant John the Baptist's evening/ fresh and healthy.

55 Dorothea Fränkin zu Landshut / im lande Bayern / hat ein Bruch gehabt zwanzig Jahre / und grossen schmerzen gelitten / zu jungst hat sie angerufen Marian / sich ihr versprechend gen Altötting mit einem wachsen Bild / Nehmt wahre / von Stunden ist sie ohne alle menschliche hilf heile worden / als hab sie nie keinen Bruch gehabt. Dorothea Fränkin from Landshut / in the state of Bavaria / had a break for twenty years / and suffered great pain / [in Spring] she called to Mary / promising to Altötting with a wax image / Taking this / from that moment and without all human Help, she was healed / as though she never had a break.

56 Andre Schmid zu obern Gerolzhausen bei Woltzei in Regensburger Bistum / den hat Verwehrgung angestoßen ein Seltsame Krankheit / das er von unten auf an seinen Leib gross auf gangen ist / als ein schwangere Frau / biss zu den Herzen / und auf das letzt kam in Todes Not Leide solche schmerzen / aus er sein Lebtag nie het gehabt / kann keinen Priester gehabt / das er wird mit den Sakramenten bewahrte / da rufet er mit grossem seufzen zu Maria / sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend / und nehmt ware von Stunden verliefen ihn alle schmerzen / und ihn zwei stunden verschwand die Materie / das er wider ward / wie vormals / und ganz gesund. Andre Schmid (From Upper Gerolzhausen near Woltzei in the Regensburg diocese). A strange illness befell him / which caused his body to be as a pregnant woman below / to the heart. At last, such pain came in the distress of death / [for his life] he could not be provided with the sacraments by a priest. Then, he called with a great sigh to Mary / promising her in Altötting / and these things at that moment, and all which ached him. Within two hours, he was healed, as he was before, completely healthy.

57 Agnes Pernerlin von Werde im Sack drei Meile von Regensburg / hat ein ganz Jahre den Frauen Fluss also überflüssig gehabt / das man ihr zu dreien malen als in Todes Noten das leicht ihn die hand geben hat Also gar versiegen gewesen und schier als kein Blut in ihr bleiben ist / das sie einerlei menschen färbe mögt haben / sunder ganz verblichen Wasser / zu Jungst täte sie ihren Hauswirt bieten / das er ihr vergönnt ein gelob zu unser Frauen gen Altötting zu tun / zu opfern ihren besten Rock und ein sei des schliere / da ihr der mann das nach gäbe und nur das Gelübde verbracht / ward ihr Sack besser / das sie mit gutem vermögen kam gen Altötting / Am Montag nach Sant Johansen Tag des Täufers im 97. Jahre / lobet Gott und sein werde Mutter die Jungfrauen Mariam. Agnes Pernerlin from Werde (in Sack three miles from Regensburg) / bled superfluously [her woman river overflowed] for a whole year / that three times it seemed as though she was dead. She was dried up with almost as no blood staying in her / her color was the same as people colored with faded water. She soon asked her land-lord to grant her a vow to our Lady in Altötting / to sacrifice her best coat and one of her veils. The man gave in to that request and made her vows / her condition was better / such that she came to Altötting with good fortune / on the Monday after Sant John the Baptist's day in the 97th year / praise God and his mother the Virgin Mary .

58 Wolfgang Bernhards von der Conrad zu Sant Kastell Sohn / hat achtzehn Wochen grosse schmerzen gelitten an seinen Augen. Hat kein Rat noch Arznei geholfen / zu Jungst ist er erblind / das er in dreien Tagen ganz nichts mehr mit offen äugen hat gesehen / Rufet an Marian .rc. sich gen Altötting versprechend / ein halb Meile hinzu zugehen auf seinen knien. So bald er sein gelobe und anrufen verbracht / täte er auf seine äugen / da Wolfgang Bernhard's son from Conrad of Sant Kastell / suffered great pain in his eyes for eighteen weeks. No advice or medicine would help / and soon he went blind. For three days he didn't see anything with open eyes. Then he called Maria .rc. Promising to go towards Altötting / walking half a mile on his knees. As soon as he had finished his vow and called, he could see with his eyes. Then

gesackt er wohl ohne alle Irrung und ging wo er wollte / das die Natur nicht auf ihm trägt / Sunder der Herr über die Natur das gewirkt hat zu ehren seiner werden Mutter der Jungfrauen Marie zu gezucknuss das sie zu Altötting geehrt werden / und wir sie anrufen und Zuflucht zu ihr als zu unser aller liebsten Mutter haben sollen.

he said he went where he wanted without any faltering. And nature did not bear any hindrance to him/ because the lord of nature has worked to honor his mother the Virgin Mary be honored in Altötting / and all should call on her and take refuge in her as our dearest mother.

59 Hans Geyer zu Einsingen bei Ulm im Lande zu Schwaben ist kommen gen Altötting mit samt seinem Weibe / und Sohn am Freitag nach Fransisci in den 97. Jahre Saged in beständiger Wahrheit / das der selbigen Sohn gelegen sei sieben ganze Jahre pettryse und erlahmt / an Händen und Füßen / armen / Bein und allen seinen gliedern. Also das er hat müssen bleiben / wo man ihn hat hingelegt / und sollt er verbrennen sein / ytzo ihn kurz zu ergangen Tagen nach unser Frauen tag ihrer Himmelfahrt / haben man und Weib mit einander einmütig angerufen Marian .rc. sich beide mit samt den Sohn gen Altötting barfuss gehen versprechend / so er so ermöglich werde das er auf Krucken möge gehen / und neppt ware / von Stunden hub sich sein sack merklichen zu bessern / kamen mit ihm an den vorgenannten Freitag zu Abend / in unser Frauen Kapellen / so bald er auf seinen Krucken kränklichen in die Kapellen ein trat empfang er solch kraft / das er sein Krucken auf hübe und ihn das kohle trug / in vollkommen gang und also zu Gesicht viel menschen mit grossem fröhlichen wider also daraus ging on Krucken / und wie wollt er einfältig und anreden in der Krankheit worden ist / so lobet er doch mit seinem erzeigen Gott und Marian die Himmel-Königen.

Hans Geyer from Einsingen (near Ulm in the state of Swabia) came to Altötting with his wife and son on Friday (Fransisci day) in the 97th year. Saying in constant truth that the same son was lying in bed for seven whole years and slackened / without use of his hands and feet / arms / legs and all his limbs. Such that he had to stay where he was put / and should he be burned. In the days immediately following Mary's ascension day / his mother and another woman called together with one another unanimously Maria .rc. . Both of the women and the aforementioned son promised to go barefoot to Altötting / if he would be able to walk on crutches. Next, within hours his issues had improved noticeably, so they came with him on the aforementioned Friday evening / in Our Lady's chapel . As soon as he stepped into the chapel on his sickly crutches, he received such strength that he lifted his crutch and carried them with him/ in perfect gait he stood before many of people with great joy. So he left without his crutches, stating how simple it was to address himself in illness / afterwards he demonstrated praise to the King of heaven God and Maria.

Das Dritte Kapitel das vor der Jungfrauen Maria der Traurig oder Betrübt mensch nähme die Tröstung.

The third chapter that before the Virgin Mary the sad or afflicted man would take consolation.

Reinigte Jungfrau Maria du Mutter Gottes / wir  
armen betrübten Christen Menschen.

[...]

des hilf uns / o ein Trösterin der Christenheit / o  
Jungfrau Mutter Maria

Zeugnis das wir Zuflucht haben sollen zu Maria  
wo wir in Noten Ängsten und Trübsal werden  
begriffen.

60

Cuntz Schuster von der Stat Plauen / im lande zu  
Turingen. Auch Katerina Hafnern Petter Hafners  
genannt Bayer Hausfrau von der Stat Wertingen /  
kamen zu Ostern des 96. Jahres brachten von ihren  
Stettin Brief und Sigel der Mutter Gottes zu lobe  
das ihr jegliche im Trübsal / seiner sinn was  
beraubt worden / und durch anrufen zu der  
Jungfrau Maria / und versprechen sie  
heimzusuchen zu Altötting / wart ihn von Stunden  
wider geben guter vollkommen gebrauch ihrer  
Vernunft / das auch fast grosse eisen und ketten /  
darin der genannt Cuntz versichert läge (do man  
ihm nicht wollt vertrauen / das er beständig in  
Vernunft bleibe / auf sein Wort das er sprach. So  
hilf mir aus Jungfrau Maria) ohne allen Verzug /  
aufgingen als der sie mit einer schere von einander  
als ring als ein Weichtuch scheidet.

61

Ein Eroberin Bürgerin von Nürnberg / was zu der  
genannten zeit zu Altötting antworten ein Zettel  
ihrer eigen handgeschrieben das sie ein  
wunderliche Betrübnis an käme in einer nacht /  
nächst vor Sant Michels Tag des bezeichneten  
Jahres / und ihr den Hals krümmet / und die äugen  
verkehret und verdunkelt / als sam ihr fehl darüber  
waren gewachsen / und das sie in Griesgramen ihr  
sende auf einander bisse / fast grausam / fast zittert  
auf ihren Pein / krümmte auch ihr die Hand / auch  
alle ihr glider / das sie von Vernunft käme und in  
grosse anmachten viele / solches geschehe ihr oft.  
So sie dann etwas wider zu Vernunft käme und  
dann gedacht zu beten / und ihr Herz als ein Mauss  
/ und beraubet sie dann ihrer Vernunft / und gab  
ihr dann Aalwegen etwas / damit sie sich sollt

Purest Virgin Mary, Mother of God / We poor  
afflicted Christian people.

[...]

help us / O a comforter of Christianity / O  
Virgin Mother Mary.

Testimony that we should have refuge in  
Mary where we are caught in the anguish and  
tribulation of Danger.

Cuntz Schuster from Plauen ( in the land of  
Turingen) and Katerina Hafnern (Petter  
Hafners wife, a Bavarian from Wertingen)  
came at Easter of the 96th year, bringing  
letters and seals of the Mother of God from  
their town, to publicly praise the deliverance  
from tribulation. Having been robbed of her  
senses, she called on the Virgin Mary / and  
promised to visit her in Altötting, from that  
moment she regained perfect use of her  
reason. Soon and without any delay, the big  
iron and chains that bound the named Cuntz  
(if one does not want to trust him / that he  
constantly remains in reason / on his word that  
he spoke. So help me Virgin Mary). They  
opened up as though cut with scissors – like it  
was a ring made of soft cloth.

A female citizen of Nuremberg / came at the  
time mentioned in Altötting with a letter of  
her own writing stating that a strange sadness  
fell on her one night, just before Sant Michel's  
day of the year indicated. Her neck was bent,  
and her eyes turned upside down and  
darkened. Emitting biting and cruel pain/  
trembling in pain / she bent her hand too /  
along with all of her associates- which she  
came from reason and turned on many in large  
numbers / such things often happen to her.  
She then came to reason and thought to  
pray, though her heart was as a mouse, and  
which robbed her of her reason and gave her  
the idea that she should kill herself. She was  
steadfast in her despair, and because of this

selbst Toten / und übte sie Stetige zu Verzweiflung / dar zu habe sie gelitten unmeslich schmerzen. Aber ihr wird die gnade / das sie anrufet die Mutter Gottes / aller Welt ein Trösterin / in ihren Ängsten Noten und Trübsalen / sich ihr versprechend gen Altötting mit ihren Opfern / von Stunden liess von ihr alle Trübsal / was auch da frisch und gesund.

62 Katherina ein Jungfrau Hansen Tremels Tochter zu kennen im lande zu Franken in Mainzer Bistum. Kam zu Sant Michels Tag des oben bezeichneten Jahres / die von Jugend auf zu der Mutter Gottes gesunder andächtig ist gewesen / und doch ward sie kürzlich davor angefochten / und betrübet von den Bösen geist zu dritten Mal / das sie sich eines sollt erhängen. Hätte auch den strick dazu ihr selbst an Hals gelegt / Zum anderen das sie sich selbes sollt Erstecken. Hätte auch das messer dazu an den Hals angesetzt. Zum drittem das sie sich sollt selbst ertrinken / käme auch an das Wasser darein sie sich wollte werfen / käme aber ihr allewege in ihren Sinn / sie sollt vor treu Ave Maria beten / so sie dann das täte ward sie erledigt / da gedachte sie wie die Anfechtung und Trübsal nicht abliest / und rufet an Marian / ein Trost aller betrübten / sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend / So bald sie das vermocht. Aber von Stunden ward sie bewegt / das sie an alles verzeihen umbereit dazu / in grosser eile kam gen Altötting Gott lobend und Marian / das sie erliegt was.

Zu den Zeiten davor kam ein Man mit seiner eignen handgeschrieben also bezeugend.

63 Ich hans Hochstätter von Bumerfelden Bamberger Bistums / die Zeit Stat-schreiber zu Bettau / bekenne das ich in vergangen der Zeit in wider Wertigkeit und Trübsal gestanden bin / und die Zeit nich west / wie oder was / damit ich daraus käme / viel mir ein wie ich mich zu der Jungfrau Maria gen Altötting mit etwas Verspechen sollt / das ich dann täte. Und habe mich also mein Lebtag

she suffered immeasurably. But grace came to her / so that she called on the Mother of God / the comforter of the world / in her terrifying danger and tribulations. The woman promised herself to Altötting with offerings / from that moment all tribulation left her / and all was fresh and healthy there.

Katherina the virgin, Hansen Tremel's daughter, known from the land of Franconia in the Mainz diocese. Came on Sant Michel's day of the above-mentioned year / who from her youth has been particularly devout to the Mother of God, and yet she was recently challenged, saddened by the evil spirit for the third time, with the idea that she should hang herself. First to hang herself, she would have put the rope around her own neck. Secondly, that she should stab herself in the neck with a knife. Thirdly, that she should drown herself. When she would come to the water she wanted to throw herself in. Yet she then came to her senses and knew she should faithfully pray Hail Mary [Ave Maria] / Then, having done this, she thought on how these troubles and tribulations would not stop/ and therefore called on Mary / a consolation for all who are sad / promising to her towards Altötting / As soon as she had done this, from that moment that she was ready to do everything / in great haste came to Altötting praising God and Maria / telling of her experience.

Along with the prior sign, there came a letter.

I, Hans Hochstätter from Bumerfelden in Bamberger Bishopric, the current city-writer of Bettau), confess that in the past I stood in opposition and misery. I did not know the when, how, or by what means I would come out of it. I thought about how I should make a promise to the Virgin Mary in Altötting, which I did then. And so I did so, my life

nach meinen Vermögens einsbar daher gemacht /  
darauf bin ich aus bemehlter Trübsal und wider  
Wertigkeit kommen / das ich Gott und der  
hochgelobten Jungfrauen Marie lobe / er und dank  
sage / mit urkund meiner Handschrift am Erichstag  
vor Colomanni .Anno .rc. im 95. Henket also sein  
Handschrift an einen täfele ave / in der Kapellen  
zu Altötting.

64 Lucia Hansen Lederers Hausfrau zu Dorfes  
bezeuget mit ihren Nachbarn / das sie an Sant  
Peters Kettenfeier abend zu Dorfes ober einer  
Mullen von einem Stege in das Wasser gefallen sei  
und darauf also in schwären gewande in einer  
tiefen werben darein sie Run untergingen / und so  
ihr ein grosse unaussprechlichen Fenster entgegen  
gingen sei / da hab sie gedacht. Hilf Jungfrau  
Maria zu Altötting von Stunden ging ein fasslicher  
Glantz als ein Schöne Morgen Rot gegen ihr / die  
vertreibe die Finsternis / aber sie funke als zu  
Grund des Tümpels / der wäre mehr dann dreier  
mann lang tief / das sie an den Boden und greis  
aufstand / dort sie ihren Mund nicht auf tun /  
jedoch gedacht sie stete / hilf Mutter Gottes  
Jungfrau Maria zu Altötting / der lang als über ein  
halbe Stund / als dann auch ihre nachbarn sagten /  
wäre sie übersichtlich aufgeschossen / het  
niemands mehre gedacht das sie noch im leben  
wäre / da het sie einer in einen schiff / da wartend  
mit einem hacken begreifen / und als fur Tod  
hinaus gezogen / het man sie geschaut / wäre kein  
tropfen Wasser in sie gingen gewusst / und von  
Stunden zu ihr selbst / und zu gutter voriger Kraft  
kommen / da het sie Arrest ihr gelob gen Altötting  
wühlen und barfuss / fastend mit Wasser und Brot  
/ zu gehen versprochen. Also ist unbezweifelt / sie  
sei allein aus hilf Gottes durch vorbete der  
jungrauen Marie also bleiben.

65 Herr Johans Steinhauff von Reichenhall bei  
Salzburg sin vollberühmter Priester / kam zu der  
Zeit sagend ihn guten glauben das er geritten sei in  
ein Wasser / genannt die Sura bei Salzburg Höfen /  
irrend an den hufslag kante sein Ross in keinen  
weg gründen / käme also abfliessend zwischen  
zweien reinen / das er nicht aus mögt kommen  
auch das Ross zwar mit im ganz untergingen ware  
/ wann es nicht kennt schwimmen / und da er  
merket / das er nicht aus mögt mit ihm arbeiten /  
leiste er das Ross / vermeinet selbst aus zu  
schwimmen / da wäre er zwar unter gingen vor

according to my ability, and thus I came out  
of painful misery and was restored/ for which  
I praise God and the highly blessed Virgin  
Mary / With truth and thanksgiving/ with a  
document of my handwriting on Erichstag  
before [Colomanni] 95<sup>th</sup> . As it hangs in his  
handwriting on a panel in the chapel at  
Altötting.

Lucia Hansen Lederer's housewife from the  
village testifies with her neighbors that she  
fell from a jetty into the water on Sant Peter's  
chain celebration evening in the village above  
a Mullen. She was dragged down by her  
robes, and then a large, ineffable window  
came towards her. She then thought- Help  
Virgin Mary of Altötting! At that moment a  
visible gleam as beautiful as a red morning  
came to her and drove out the  
darkness, sparkling at the bottom of the pool  
which was more than three men deep. She  
was grabbed and brought ashore / but she did  
not open her mouth / but she thought  
constantly - Help me Virgin Mother of God in  
Altötting. For more than half an hour / her  
neighbors said she must have been surely  
died. Nobody thought that she was still in life  
/ then someone in a ship / waiting there /  
grasped her heel / in order to remove the  
body/ looked at her / would not have known a  
drop of water in them went / and from that  
moment she came to good and previous  
strength / there she vowed to seek her in  
Altötting and to go barefoot and fasting with  
water and bread. So it is undoubted / she was  
delivered only with the help of God by  
praying to Virgin Mary.

Mr. Johans Steinhauff, from Reichenhall near  
Salzburg, was a famous priest. / He came at a  
time saying in good faith - that he had ridden  
into a body of water / coming from the Sura at  
the court of Salzburg. Stumbling from the  
courtyard, his steed fell in between and could  
not escape, such that the horse was completely  
submerged. Not knowing how to swim / and  
realizing the danger, the man decided to  
abandon his horse to swim out himself / yet he  
was pulled under the water. Then, he  
completely surrendered to death, and God

muhte. Zum dritten hat er sich ganz ergeben / zu sterben und Gott befohlen / wäre also untergingen / aber under den Wasser wäre im zugefallen die Bildnis der Jungfrau Marie / wie das ist zu Altötting auf den alter da gedacht er hilf Jungfrau Maria / ich will dich da heimsuchen / von Stunden stiesse er mit dem Haupt unter dem Wasser an einen Stock / den begriff er und Zug sich mit den Händen an dem Stock hinaus an das gestattet / da lange biss das er wider zu kraft käme. Saget auf sein priesterliche Amt / das er musst ertrunken sein / wäre er hundert mann werde gewesen / dann allein die Jungfrau Maria wäre ihm zu hilf / in der Gestalt der Bildnis / erscheinen / damit er sie hat angerufen.

66 Ein Witte von Dinkelsbuhel einer Reichstat / zwischen den landen Schwaben und Franken was nach ihres Hauswirts Abgang einem schuldig zweihundert gulden der sie von allem gut haus und hoff treiben wollt / da sie nicht hat Bezahlung / half auch ein ganzer Rat nicht den sie anlief / dadurch sie in grosse Trübsal kam / mit ihrem Kinder / Jedoch rufet sie in den Trübsal an Maria .rc. sich ihr gen Altötting mit einem wachsen Häuslern versprechend da erscheinen ihr die Jungfrau Maria sie Tröstend und angehend / das sie von den Römischen König ein geschafft gar mit leichter muhe erlanget / das sich der schuldiger zu einzigen von Jahre zu Jahre musst lassen bezahlen / das sie also durch hilf Marie .rc. bei häuslichen ehren bleibe.

67 Ein Erbe vollberühmter Handwerks mann aus Österreich kam am Samstag vor den Tage der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit / des 97. Jahres / sagend das er in grosse geldschuld und heimlich Armut wäre kommen / das er auch seinem Verleiherin die Stift Zins oder Gelt nicht hat zugeben / darum er in von haus und häuslichen ehren wollte treiben / dadurch er in grosse Trübsal käme / het von niemandes weder hilf nach Rate / jedoch rufet er an Marian .rc. sich ihr versprechend gen Altötting / das sie im aus Not und Trübsal helfe / von Stunden wird ihm eingeben / das er durch ein Hage oder Welten zu einen guten Freunde ging / wurde bewegt / durch das selbigen eingeben von dem weg zu gehen zu einen kleinen Stein Häuflein / und das er sollt stein von dannen raumen / so wird er etwas finden da er etliche von dannen beraumet / gedacht er ich bin ein gor was such ich da in der

decreed that he would have perished. However, under the water the image of the Virgin Mary appeared/ as it is in Altötting on the altar – and so he thought - Help Virgin Mary. / I want to visit you at your home / from that moment he felt a stick with his head under the water. He understood that he should pull himself out with his hands using this stick / though it would long before he could come back to strength. The priestly office said he that he must have drowned / as would have a hundred men. That the Virgin Mary alone helped him / in the form of the portrait that appeared / so that he would call her.

A widow, from Dinkelsbuhel (an imperial city between the lands of Swabia and Franconia), which, after the departure of her landlord, owed two hundred guilders for house and everything. However, because she did not have this payment / even her entire council did not help. And so, she came into great tribulation with her children. However she called in this tribulation to Mary .rc. Promising to her in Altötting with (the offering of) a wax housekeeper. The Virgin Mary appeared to her comforting her and stating that she managed to get one from the Roman King with ease / that the guilty one had to be paid from year to year / and by this she was so saved from eviction by Mary .rc.

An heir of a well-known craftsman from Austria came on the Saturday before the days of the Holy Trinity / in the 97th year / saying that he was in great financial debt and secretly poor / because of which he did not return the interest or money to his lender / that is why he wanted to do domestic and domestic honors / thereby he would come into great tribulation / no one had help or advice / but he called to Mary .rc. Promising to visit her in Altötting / if she would help out of misery and tribulation. From that moment it was given to him / that he went to a good friend / who was moved / and entering the from the way it occurred to him to go to a small stone Pile / and that he should remove stone from there. Doing so, he found something as he cleared them / wondering what he was looking for

Wildnis / und ging also führen von dann da käme /  
ein starkes einsprechen das er Hinwider ging und  
mehrere von dannen räumt / da er das täte fand er  
in einem gefasst ein grosse mischte Sum an Golde  
und alter Münz / damit er sich aus allen schulden  
und Armut durch hilf der Mutter Gottes Trösterin  
aller betrübten erledigt.

there in the wilderness / and so led there came  
a strong voice that drew him to a spot where  
he cleared several things away. Doing so, he  
found a large mixed sum of gold and old coins  
/ Such was the amount that he could get rid of  
all debts and poverty with the help of the  
Mother of God, Comforter of all afflicted.

68 Margarete Geschmeiden Burgering zu Straubing  
im Bayerland / kam am Donnerstag oder Pfintztag  
nach Bonifacij des bemehlten 97. Jahres bracht  
einen brief versiegelt des Copey hernach folget  
von ihren Beichten Vater.

Margarete Geschmeiden ,citizen of Straubing  
in Bayerland, came to on Thursday or  
Pfintztag of the aforementioned 97th year, and  
brought a sealed letter from her priest  
[“confession-father”], which is copied  
hereafter.

Es ist zu wissen das die ehrbare Frau Margret  
Geschmeiden Bürgerin zu Straubing drei Jahre  
sonderlich Krankheit betrüben / leiblichen  
schmerzen und madiger Anfechtung gehabt hat /  
damit sie zu den dicken mal / ihrer wütigen  
Vernunft umgewaltig ist gewesen / auch madig  
mal von dem bösen geist durch Verhängung  
Gottes (als gütlichen Zuglauben ist) als hoch an  
gefochten / als sie endlichen sollt auslaufen / und  
sich selbst ertöten darin ihr nichts anders dann des  
Leibs und der Säle der Fahrigkeit / zu ewiger  
Verdammnis vor gelegen ist. In welchen ihren  
aller höchsten Noten / durch heilsame rate / ist sie  
mit ganzer de Müdigkeit und andächtigem Gebete  
geflohen / hat sich ganz mit leibe und Säle  
befolgen der geben deinen und aller würdigsten  
Königin der Himmel Marie / ihr verheissen in  
eigner person heimzusuchen / ihr löbliche  
andächtige Gotteshaus zu Altötting / daselbst sie  
ehren mit ihrem Gebete und andern Opfern nach  
ihrem Vermögen. Als bald sie das verbracht hat.  
Ist sie durch das gross verdienen und aller heiligst  
Fürbitte der Jungfrau Marie / als sie dann ganz  
tröstlich hoffen ist / von ihrem einigen Sohn erhört  
/ und von aller obgemelter betrübten / schmerzen /  
Krankheit und tödlicher Gefährlichkeit / erlöst  
worden. Darum sie dann alle die Zeit / so ihr Gott  
auf erden zu leben verleihen will / mit sonderlich  
liebe / Andacht und de Müdigkeit / den Herren  
Christum / und sein würdige Mutter Marian / zu  
loben und ehren nimmer will vergessen / des alles  
zu wahrer urkund / gib ich ihr mein eigne  
handgeschriebene bittend um Gottes willen / Gott  
und seiner Mutter zu lob und ehre ach den

It is known that the honorable Mrs. Margret  
Geschmeiden citizen of Straubing had three  
years of particular illness / she experienced  
physical pain and bad contestation / so that  
she was overwhelmed and became angry.  
Amidst these bad times by the evil spirit  
through imposition God's (as amicable belief  
is) as highly contested / when it should finally  
expire / and kill itself in it nothing else then  
the body and the halls of frenzy / is before  
eternal damnation. In which of her very  
highest notes / by healing advice / she fled  
with all the tiredness and devout prayer / has  
obeyed herself with body and hall the give  
yours and most worthy Queen of Heaven  
Marie / promised to visit her in her own  
person / her praiseworthy Devout place of  
worship in Altötting / there they honor with  
their prayers and other sacrifices according to  
their ability. When soon she spent that. Is she  
through the great deserving and most holy  
intercession of the virgin Marie / when she is  
then hoping quite comfortingly / heard from  
her one son / and from all the sadness / pain /  
sickness and deadly danger / that has been  
mentioned above. So they all have the time /  
so their God wants to live on earth / with  
special love / devotion and de tiredness / the  
Lord Christ / and his worthy mother Marian /  
to praise and honor never want to forget /  
everything to be true document / I give her my  
own handwritten pleading for God's sake / to  
praise God and his mother and to honor the  
Christian people for the betterment of life that

Christlichen Volk zu Besserung des Lebens das öffentlich zu Erkunden / welches geschehen ist nach Christi Geburt .rc. In dem 97. Jahre zu Pfingsten. Georgias Brenner Pfarre Gesell zu Straubing.

publicly explored / which happened Pentecost on the 97th year after the birth of Christ .rc. Georgias Brenner of Straubing Parish.

69 Barbara Wolfgangens Kropfes hausfrau zu weben im Gebirge / hat zu Sant Jacobs Tag gesegelt / damit ist ihr haus brennend worden / und hat hohen lohen geben / das niemand tröstet / das haus zu erretten / da ruft sie an Marian / in ihrer grossen angst und Trübsal / sich ihr gen Altötting versprechend / mit verglichen opfern / von Stunden ward das Feuer abnehmen / und wurden die Leute getrost / und das Feuer durch sie gelöscht. Also das ganz ledige kein schade geschah.

Barbara, the housewife of Wolfgang Kropfes from Weben (in the mountains), was blessed on Sant Jacobs day. Her house was on fire and she gave a high praise with faith, which no one found comfort in. She, in her great fear and affliction, called on Mary to save the house, promising herself to Altötting and pledging offerings. From that moment, the fire was reduced, the people were comforted, and the fire was extinguished by them. Also, apart from that one thing, nothing else happened.

70 Georg Pestensöder aus Saumenkircker Pfarre in Scherdinger Herrschaft / im lande zu Bayern. Hat mit anderen viel menschen am Samstag nach den heiligen Auffahrt tage / in einer Ross zollen gefahren auf dem Wasser genannt das Inn / weite / tief und schnelle und bei Frauenstein oder Müning trat ein Ross ein grosses loch in das Schiff / damit es unterging und vierundzwanzig menschen ertrunken / kannte er ihm auch selbst weder mit schwimmen noch sonst mit einiger Vorteil helfen / also das er ganz trostlose was. Dann er sich kehret zu der Jungfrau Maria die anrufende und sich ihr versprechend gen Altötting / von stunden gab Gott / das das zu rissen schiff nun ganz ausgeleert und umgestürzt über sich ging das begreif er / liess er nicht nach zuschreien / hilf Jungfrau Maria / also kehret sich das schiff um // und ging recht mit dem orten entbot das er also daran sich mit andern dreien die auch ihr gelobt und angerufen hätten die Jungfrau Maria / als er / täten henken und also mit dem Schiff aus ronnen zu land mit heil durch hilf Marie der Jungfrauen.

Georg Pestensöder (from Saumenkircker parish in Scherdinger Herrschaft, in the state of Bavaria) with many other people, said that on the Saturday after the holy ascension days, drove a horse into the River Inns at Frauenstein or Müning. There, where the river was very wide, deep, and fast, the horse kicked a large hole in the ship. The vessel went down and twenty-four people drowned. He didn't even know how to swim or to help himself in any other way, which made him despair. Then, he turned to the Virgin Mary, calling and promising to her in Altötting. From that moment, God intervened by causing the ship to be torn, so that it was both emptied and overturned. Georg understood that he should hold onto the capsized vessel. Though he could do nothing- he let a cry out / help Virgin Mary /. So the ship turned around / and went right side up, setting out on the direction he wanted, with three other people, who would also have praised and called upon the Virgin Mary / as he / did, and thus ran off with the ship , on land, with healing by help Marie the virgin.

71

Niclans Holer und Wentzel Schmidt von Pölitz im land zu Merhern sind gewesen auf dem weg zu gehen gen Altötting und am Freitag vor Barnabe des Heiligen Aposteln / sind in einem Wald zwei stark voll gewaffnet Männer an sie kommen / hagen grausame hacken über sie gezogen und gesprochen / das sie still stunden oder sie wollten die hacken oder Wurfpeil in sie werfen / sind sie hart erschrocken / haben kein wäre gehabt noch ein wort können sprechen / und sich in ihren Herzen gedacht / hilf Jungfrau Maria / lass uns nicht verderben / wir gehen doch in deinen ehren / von Stunden auf den Gedanken sind die zwei erschrocken. Haben sich ihn die flucht geben mit grosser eile. Als wurden sie von andern zu fahren geeilt oder geeicht/ und kamen die zwei genannt Männer ohne Beleiung / also durch die Jungfrau Maria ehret / mit heil dar von / und verbrachten ihren Kirchgang oder Walfahrt / im lobe Gottes und seiner werden Mutter Marie.

72

Georg Wildernder von Passau ist am Mittwoch nach Satz Rylian oder zunächst vor Sant Margarethentag unter Aschach in obern Osterreich / mit seinem Ross oder Pferd in einem treffen Tümpel und werben gefallen / hat sich etwas gearbeitet mit dem Ross / das im einer zuritte ihm zu helfen / da viel der selbigen unter kam von den Ross / und ein anderer begreif ihn mit einem hacken / aber des selbigen Pferd bleib in der gruben / und Tümpel / also ging der genannt Georg auch unter kam von den Ross und treib in der werbe ganz zu Boden / gedacht er hilf Jungfrau Maria zu Altötting. Als er aber an den Boden und Grund des tiefen Tümpels kam / läge er so lange darauf bis beide Pferd vor lange ertrunken bei im lagen / und er das sein noch bei den zäum halte / und viel Leute sich die weil versammelten am lande und in schiffen warten wo der Tode Corner auf Schüsse / das sie in zu Begräbnis brächten / und alle ihre Hände aufreckend gen Himmel / sprachen / gnade dir Gott und Trost Gott dein Säle / und er merket das ihm das Wasser zu oren und Nasen überflüssig mit Gewalt ein ward trinken / gedacht er doch du Jungfrau Maria ich hoff / du lasst mich nicht verderben / und erhör mich armen in meinen Noten / von Stunden höret er ein Stimme / er sollt ihm selbes helfen / so wollt sie ihm auch helfen / er sollt sich aufschlucken und den zäum lassen gehen auf den Trost gefangen / täte er also / kam über sich das in einer / in einen

Niclans Holer and Wentzel Schmidt, from Pölitz in the Land of Merhern, were on their way to Altötting on Friday, and were in front of Barnabe the Holy Apostle. They were in a forest when two strongly armed men came to them and attacked them cruelly with hoes, they were told to stand still or be beaten with hoe and impaled. Niclans and Wentzel were so terrified, they could not speak a word. They thought in their hearts, help Virgin Mary, let us not perish, we will go to you in your honor. The moment they thought this, during their great moment of fear, they were provided with an escape, and left in a great hurry. As if they were being hurried or chased by others. The two men named escaped without issue / thus blessed by the Virgin Mary / delivering them from there/ the two men went to church via pilgrimage / in the praise of God and his worthy Mother Mary.

Georg Wildernder, from Passau, was on Wednesday after Satz Rylian (before Sant Margarethentag), under Aschach in Upper Austria. He rode with his horse into a pond and fell in. He has worked a bit with the horse / to help him. Since a lot of the same came from the horse / and someone else understands him with a hoe / but the same horse stays in the pits / and ponds. So the named Georg went under, came from the horse and drove to the ground in the advertising / thought he was helping the Virgin Mary to Altötting. But when he got to the bottom of the deep pool / he would lie there until both horses were drowned a long time ago / and he was still holding his bridle / and a lot of people who had gathered on land and in ships wait where the death corner for shots / which they would bring to burial / and all their hands stretching up to heaven / said / God have mercy and consolation God your hall / and he notices that he has to ears the water and noses become superfluous in flowing liquid/ he thought you Virgin Mary I hope / you don't let me perish / and listen to me poor in my notes / from hours he hears a voice / he should help him the same / so she wants to help him too / he should swallow up and Let go of the bridle on the consolation caught / he would do so / came upon himself

Scheffle wartend / begreif und kam also mit heil  
aus / durch hilf der Jungfrau Marie.

waiting in a / in a bushle / understood and thus  
got off safely / with the help of the virgin  
Marie.

73 Cuntz Schlanger Wirt zu Sindelsdorf bei  
Benediktiner Beuren von den Gebirge / hat geführt  
Safran auf 16 hundert gulden wert in ballen / und  
bei dem Walhensee / in der hoch umgeworfen /  
das er mit Ross und wagen eines Gadens hoch /  
hinab in den See ist gefallen und zwei Ross auf  
ihm als fur Todt sind gelegen / und die ballen mit  
dem Safran im see geschwommen / hat er  
angerufen Maria .rc. sich ihr versprechend gen  
Altötting mit einem Amte der heiligen Mess in  
ihren ehren lassen singen / von Stunden haben sich  
die Ross geregt und er durch wunderliche Stärke  
sich erledigt hat von ihm und hat da die Pferd  
erledigt / den Wagen auf Gericht und ballen  
aufgeladen / das im nicht um einen haller schaden  
ist geschehen / der sich doch Leibs und guts hat  
verwegen und ganz Verderbens.

Cuntz Schlanger, landlord in Sindelsdorf near  
Benedictine Beuren in the mountains, was  
transporting bales of saffron worth 16 hundred  
gulden. By the Walhensee, he was  
overturned. He with his horse fell down into  
the lake, and two horses were lying on him as  
for dead. Bales of saffron, swam in the  
lake. Then he called Maria .rc. promising to  
her of Altötting, singing an office of the holy  
mass in her honor / from that moment the  
horses stirred, and he was able to extricate  
himself with remarkable strength. There he  
and his horse got out/ loading the wagon on  
bales loaded, so that in no way harm has  
happened, which would otherwise destroy  
body and spoil property.

74 Jacob Punn von Gebunden ein Reichstat im land  
zu Schwaben / hat die geeichte ein Wasser  
getrunken / das in ihm Wald Notern oder  
Schlangen sind gewachsen / dadurch er weite  
Grosser ist aufgingen / dann ein Weib das jetzo  
gebären soll. Hat viel grosse schmerzen gelitten /  
viel Ärzten versucht / und gross verzehrt unter den  
Ärzten / haben ihm nicht können helfen / dann alle  
Arzt ihm wehren / biss auf ein Zeit ist eine von  
ihm kommen zu munde aus / hat er heil und Rest  
gesucht / hat nichts geholfen / dann allein das er  
hat angerufen Marian .rc. sich ihr gen Altötting  
mit einem silbernen Opfer versprechend / da sind  
in kurze nach einander beiläufig fünf hundert  
schlangen und Noten von ihm gingen / etliche  
zweier oder dreihalber Ehlen lang / ward also auch  
frisch und gesund des zeugen sind. Der Erstem  
Weise Thomas Warbeck einer des Indern Rats /  
und Veit hack Burger zu gemündet / die das mit  
viel andern glaubhafteren Personen gesehen  
haben. Dabei wir lernen und verstehen sollen. So  
wir in gutem starken vertrauen fliehen zu der  
Jungfrau Marian / die anrufen das sie uns erwerbe

Jacob Punn, von Gebunden - an imperial state  
in the land of Swabia / has drunk the calibrated  
water that forest danger or snakes have grown  
in him. as a result he has risen up a great, then  
a woman who is now to give birth. Has  
suffered a lot of great pain, tried a lot of  
doctors, and consumed a lot among doctors.  
They couldn't help him, he then all the doctor  
defend him / except for a time one of him came  
to his mouth / he was looking for the rest /  
didn't help / then only he called Marian .rc.  
Promising her to Altötting with a silver  
sacrifice. there were about five hundred snakes  
in quick succession and danger went from him,  
/ some two or three-half meters long / was  
therefore also fresh and healthy of the witness.  
The first way, Thomas Warbeck, one of the  
Indern Councils / and Veit Hack Burger / who  
saw this with much other more credible people.  
In doing so, we should learn and understand.  
So we flee in good, strong trust to the virgin  
Marian / who call that she will acquire us / that  
we will be dealt with by the domestic snakes /

/ das wir von den heimischen schlangen / und  
unsern grossen und herznagenden Sunden und von  
der ewigen Trübsal erledigt werden.

and our great and heart-gnawing sins and by  
the eternal tribulation.

Das Vierte Kapitel das von Maria der Jungfrauen  
der Sunder empfahl ablas seiner Sunden.

The fourth chapter that from the Virgin Mary,  
the sinner is granted indulgence of his sins.

Barbara Rümmlen genannt Jägerin zu herwartigen  
nahen dem land Schwaben / bei der Staat  
Heidenheim / hat aus bösem arckwan angezündet  
einer anderen nach beurin zu herwartigen ihr haus  
/ damit viel anderen Häuser und Stadel daselbst  
verbrennen und verdorben sind / Darm sie zu  
Gefängnis kommen / und wie soll sie ein grosse  
Sünderin gewesen / jedoch sie in der Bruder  
erschafft des psalters unser Frauen von Ingen auf /  
fleissig zu beten gewesen / darum ihr die milde  
belönerin ihrer Diener und Dienerin keinen  
ausgeschlossen die Jungfrau Maria in Kerker  
erscheinen ist / und sie getrost / das die nicht  
verzag in ihren Sunden / sie will ihr bestand tun /  
wie wollen sie Gericht werde / wolle sie doch von  
Gott erwerben / das sie wider mit dem leben  
75 Darvon käme ihr Sunde zu Bussen und das sie sich  
dann gen Altötting in ihr Kapellen verfuge und da  
Gott und sein reine Mutter lobe / welche  
Erscheinung sie ihrem beichtuyater dem Pfarrer  
selbst zu Heidenheim den Vogt und Pflieger der  
Staat Heidenheim und anderen Personen verkündet  
und auch vor dem Gericht / und das sie seid der  
Erscheinung an Betrübniß sei blieben / gesagt hat.  
Aber sie ist zum rechten gestellt / verurteilt zum  
brand / und doch der Jungfrauen Marie und allem  
fraulichen oder weiblichen Geschlecht zu ehren zu  
ertrinken er beten / und darauf in das Wasser  
genannt die Brentz geworfen und in die tief mit  
einer Stangen durch den züchtiger zu Boden  
getrunken / und also drei völlig viertel Stund / und  
biss viel andächtiger Personen. Jegliche beruelich  
hat gebet ein psalter unser Frauen / wachen psalter  
zu bedeuten die genant Barbara auch ein Pater

Barbara Rümmlen, known as the huntress, to  
the nearby state of Swabia / near the state of  
Heidenheim, / has set fire to another neighbor  
to present her house out of bad arckwan. / so  
that many other houses and barns there burn  
and are spoiled. / If you come to prison / and  
how is she supposed to have been a great  
sinner / but you in the brother created the  
psaltery our women of Ingen to / have been to  
pray diligently / therefore you the mild  
rewarder of your servant and servant not  
excluded the Virgin Mary in Dungeons appear  
/ and they confidently / that they do not  
despair in their sins. / she wants to live up to  
her strength / how she wants to be judgment /  
wants to acquire it from God. / that she would  
come back to penalize her sin and that she  
would then go to Altötting in her chapels and  
praise God and his pure mother / what  
appearance she was to confess to the pastor  
himself in Heidenheim, the bailiff and  
caretaker of the state of Heidenheim and to  
other people and also before the court / and  
that they remained in grief after appearing /  
said. But she is put to the right / condemned to  
fire / and yet to honor the virgins Marie and  
all womanly or feminine sex to drown he pray  
/ and then thrown into the water called the  
Brentz and thrown into the deep with a rod by  
the chaste to the ground drank / and thus three  
completely quarters of an hour / and bit a lot  
of reverent people. Every professional has  
asked a psalter our women / waking psalter to  
mean the called Barbara also had a pater

Noster als bald an ihrem hals gehabt hat / und darnach heraus an einem strick gezogen / und den andächtigen Weibern zu Begräbnis betragen / aus Verhängung des Gerichts / vorgeworfen / und doch auf bete und Ermahnung des gemalten Pfarrers in unser Frauen Kapellen / vor der Staat gelegen / getragen / und als die besten dingen menschen durch ermannen andächtig betten / ist die angemalt Sünderin zum leben erquickt in der Kapellen zu ganzem Kräften kommen / der Kleidung / darin sie Gericht ist / entblößt / mit samt den stricken ihrer band darin gelassen und mit andern Gewand bekleidet / also in eigener Kraft in die Staat gingen / wiederum zu Versicherung angenommen / und doch Gott zu lobe / und der Jungfrauen Marie wunderlichen zu ehren / ledig geschafft worden. Und nach dem sie nach der Erscheinung gelobt der Mutter Gottes getan hätte. So ihr die Gnaden geschehe So wollt sie ihr Gotteshaus zu Altötting Also heimsuchen / und dann in wühlen Beleidigungen an ihrem blossen leibe / ein ganz Jahr im Elend umgehen und kein nacht bleiben / da sie die anderen davor gewesen wäre kam sie gen Altötting mit ihr der oft gemalt Pfarrer / ein anderer Priester und sonst glaubhafter Burger drei / der genanten Stat Heidenheim zu erkunden das Wunderzeichen / von Gott auch seiner aller reinsten Mutter der Jungfrau Maria aus solchem Wunderzeichen dazu bewegt. Bracht auch sie einen Brief zu gezeugtes der Wahrheit / und das Wunderwerk zu glauben. Allein Gott zu lobe und Marie zu Sunder ehre mit dreien Anhangenden Insigellen der erben und weisen Ulrichs Tenglers Kastners / Hansen Jägers Forstmeisters / auch Bürgermeister und Rate zu Heidenheim des datum lautet an Sant Alexien Tag des peichtigers. Nach Christi unsers lieben Herren Geburt vierzehnhundert neunzig und fünf jähre.

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Dorothea Mulnerin zu Murnau in Freising Bistum / hat Schadt zu vermeiden / sich lassen überreden ihren törichten Zuhälter / das das sie ihr eigen kind hat ertötet / darum sie in Gefängnis ist kommen / da hat sie angerufen Marian die Mutter Gottes / das sie ihr erwerbe von Gott fristung ihres Lebens / das sie ihr Sund hie auf erden mag büßen / sich versprechend sie heimzusuchen zu Altötting wühlen und barfuss / und mit dem Almosen. Sammelten als schwere wachs als sie wiegte / ein Bild daraus zumachen / und das opfern also dahin / darauf erschein ihr die mutter der Barmherzigkeit /

noster as soon on her neck / and then pulled on a rope / and charged the devout women to burial / from the imposition of the court // and yet at the prayer and admonition of the painted pastor in our women's chapels / located in front of the state / worn / and as the best things people can pray devoutly through mankind / the painted sinner is refreshed to life in the chapels to come to all her strength / clothes / in which she is court / bared / with all the ropes of her band left in it and clad in different garments / so went to the state in their own power / again accepted for insurance / and yet to praise God / and to honor the virgin Marie wonderfully / been made single. And after having praised the Mother of God after the apparition. If the graces are granted to her. So she wants to visit her house of God in Altötting So / and then in raging insults on her bare body. / Dealing with misery for a whole year and not staying a night / Since she would have been the others before, she came to Altötting with her, the often painted pastor / another priest and otherwise credible citizen three / the mentioned state of Heidenheim to explore the miraculous sign / from God even his most pure mother, the Virgin Mary, was moved to do so by such a miraculous sign. Bring them a letter too to witness the truth / and to believe the miracle. Alone to praise God and to honor Mary, the sinner with three appendage signals the heirs and rejects Ulrichs Tenglers Kastners / Hansen Jägers Forstmeisters / also mayor and rate zu Heidenheim the date is Sant Alexien day of the confessor. According to the birth of Christ our Lord, fourteen hundred ninety and five years.

Dorothea Weaver, from the diocese of Murnau in Freising, / has to avoid harm. / let yourself be persuaded your foolish pimp / that she killed her own child / that is why she is in prison. / then she called Marian, the mother of God, / that she would buy her from God for the duration of her life. / that she may atone for her sound here on earth / promising to haunt her to Altötting and rummage barefoot / and with the alms. Collected as heavy wax when she was rocking / making a picture out of it / and then sacrificing there / then the

ein Trösterin aller Sunder und Sünderin / in grossem schein / sie tröstende / das sie nicht versagte in ihren Sunden / ins Begehrens / und bete sollt sie gewehrt und erhört sein. Aber wie will sie werde verurteilt zu dem grausamen Tode und doch barmherziger Gericht. So wolle sie ihr doch von Gott erwerben / das sie wider zu den leben käme und darnach solle sie sich hüten vor Sunden / und abpassen ihr vorige Schulde. Nach den aber sie verurteilt wart / das man sie lebendig sollt begraben / und einen stecken durch sie Stoffen / fugt sich wunderbarlich / das sie zu ertrinken erbeten und begnadet / und in dem Wasser zu Grund ein halbe Stund gehalten / und darnach heraus von meniglich fur Tod gehalten / gezogen / und con dem züchtiger unbarmherziger über weite Feld zu der Straffen / als ein stock / gezogen und den Frauen zu Begräbnis / daran aus gute wartend / vorgeworfen / und darnach in ein Kapellen vor Murnau gelegen geweicht in den ehren unser Frauen / auf den Altar gelegt / und darauf durch Göttliche Kraft / zu ehren seiner werden Mutter / erquickt worden ist. Also das sie auf dem altar am ersten tief geseufzte / und darnach von Stunden / des gleichen auch zu Mitternacht geweint / aufgesessen im Bett / got und sein werde Mutter gelobt / gesessen und getrunken hat. Darnach ist sie durch befleck des Gerichts / im beweisen etlicher trefflicher Personen gefragt worden / was sie im Wasser verfrisst habe.

Hat sie geantwortet die Jungfrau Maria die sie angerufen und zu Altötting heimzusuchen gelobet habe / mit Bedachung ihres weisen Kleides / käme sie gen Altötting (nach den als sie an Sant Dionisi Tag ertrinkt was worden) an Sant Ursula Tag / und mit ihr / ihrer Schwestern zwo / ein Bruder / die auch fur sie hätten angerufen Marian jegliches sein besondere gelobter gen Altötting getan / und ein Erbe glaubhafter Burger der an dem Gericht was gesessen/ sie zu verurteilen / und bei allen gemalten Geschichten gewesen / und die gesehen und gehört hätte / der da sagte das er allein des Wunderzeichens geschehen zugehen mit ihr / got zu lobe / bewegt worden wäre. Bracht auch der Geschichte von Bürgermeister und Rate des Markts Murnau brief und Siegel zu Kundschaft / der Jungfrauen Marie zu lobe / des datum lautet am Sonntag vor Sant Ursula Tag / Anno .rc. 95.

mother of mercy appears to her / a comforter of all sunders and sinners / in great appearance / comforting her / that she did not fail in her sins / ins Desire / and pray she should be resisted and heard. But how will she be sentenced to the cruel death and yet merciful judgment. So she wanted to acquire her from God / that she would come back to life and then she should guard against sins / and pay off her previous debt. But after that she was condemned / that she should be buried alive / and stuff stuck through her / it is strange / that she asked to drown and pardoned / and kept in the water for half an hour / and then out of merry for Death held / pulled / and with the chaste merciless over a wide field to the punisher / as a stick / pulled and the women for burial / waiting for good / thrown / and then soaked in the honors of our women in a chapel in front of Murnau / placed on the altar / and thereupon by divine power / to honor his mother-to-be / was refreshed. So that she sighed deeply on the altar at the first / and then cried for hours / of the same also at midnight / sat up in bed / got and praised his mother / sat and drank. Then she was asked by the stain of the court / in the evidence of a number of excellent people / what she ate in the water.

She did answer the Virgin Mary that she called and vowed to visit Altötting / with her wise dress covered / she would come to Altötting (after what was drowned on Sant Dionisi day) on Sant Ursula day / and with her / her sisters two / a brother / who would also have called Marian for her every special praised towards Altötting / and a legacy of credible citizens who sat at the court / condemned them / and was at all the painted stories / and who would have seen and heard / who said that he would only go to the miracle sign with her / got to praise / had been moved. Also brings the story of the mayor and rate of the market Murnau letter and seal to customers / to praise the virgins Marie / the date is on the Sunday before Sant Ursula day / Anno .rc. 95.

O Virgin Mary, present yourself / as our mother / praying for us poor sinners / and

O Jungfrau Maria erzeig dich / als unser Mutter /  
betend fur uns arme Sunder / und Sünderin den  
dasigen / der da on Ewigkeit geboren ist von Gott  
dem Vater / und gerecht hat hie auf erden zu sein  
dein Sohn / durch dich also abzulegen die Sunde  
der ganzen Welt / darum setzen wir unsere ganz  
vertrauen in dich aus Beispiel der zweier grossen  
Sünderin / von Gott dem Herren / durch dich /  
erhört. Und von leiblichen Todes banden erledigt /  
und zugoffen ist innen ihr Sunde vergeben sein /  
du bittest fur uns und erwerbtest ableugne unser  
Sunden / und Erledigung von dem ewigen Tode  
Amen.

sinner to this one / who was born of God the  
Father from eternity / and has righteousness to  
be your son here on earth / through you to put  
away the sins of whole world / that's why we  
place our complete trust in you as an example  
of the two great sinners / heard by the Lord  
God / through you. And released from bodily  
bonds of death / and open to forgiveness within  
their sins / you pray for us and earn deny our  
sins / and discharge from eternal death Amen.

Das Fünfte Kapitel / das auch von der Jungfrau  
Maria / der gerecht mensch empfahl die Gnade.

The Fifth Chapter / that also of the Virgin  
Mary / the righteous man commended grace.

Aller Gnaden voll / wir armen kinder Eve / in  
diesem Tal der eher singen dir zu lobe. *Paradisi  
porta per Eva cunctis clausa est. et per Mariam  
Virgine iterum patefacta et / Die Porten des  
Paradies ist allen durch Eva worden verschlossen /  
und durch Maria wiederum worden offen / also  
Jungfrau Maria haben wir durch Eva den fluch und  
des Paradies Beraubung empfangen / und durch  
dich sind wir wider zu Gnaden und Öffnung des  
Himmels kommen / und darum das von dir den  
gerechten menschen die gnade Ausflüsse und  
geben wurden wollt Christus durch dein Liebliche  
wort / auch Johann den Täufer zu waren Exempel  
die ndad zu Prophetien tun / die Salbung wann es  
spricht der Lehrer Crisoss. *Ideo Cristus fecit Maria  
salutare Elizabeth. ut sermo procedens de utero  
matris ubi habitabat dominus. et per aures Elizabet  
ingressus descendit at Johanne ut illic ungeret eum  
in prophetam. Darum täte durch Marian Christus  
Elisabeth grüßen / das die rede von dem Leib der  
Mutter / darinnen dann wohnt der Herr /  
Ausflüsse / und einginge / und durch die Oren  
Elizabeth Abstieg zu Johannem / auf das er in da  
salbet zu Propheten. Auch Jungfrau Maria das von  
dir ausflösset den Menschen die gnade wirst du  
darum will zugleich dem irdischen Paradies / das  
da / als Spricht der Lehrer Bazillus / ist auf dem  
aller höchsten berge / in den Aufgang der Sonnen /**

Full of grace / we poor children Eve / in this  
valley who rather sing your praise. *Paradisi  
porta per Eva cunctis clausa est. et per  
Mariam Virgine iterum patefacta et / The  
gates of paradise were closed to everyone by  
Eve / and opened again by Mary / so Virgin  
Mary we received the curse and the  
deprivation of paradise through Eve / and  
through you we are restored to grace and  
opening of heaven / and that is why you  
wanted to give the righteous people the  
outpourings of grace and Christ through your  
lovely word / also John the Baptist to be  
examples that do ndad to prophecies / the  
anointing when it speaks the teacher *Crisoss.  
Ideo Cristus fecit Maria salutare Elizabeth. ut  
sermo procedens de utero matris ubi  
habitabat dominus. et per aures Elizabet  
ingressus descendit at Johanne ut illic ungeret  
eum in prophetam. Therefore, Elisabeth  
would greet Christ through Marian / that  
speaks of the mother's womb / in which the  
Lord dwells / outflows / and enters / and  
through the Oren Elizabeth descends to  
Johannem / on which he anoints prophets  
there. Also Virgin Mary, who pours out grace  
from you on people, you will therefore want  
the earthly paradise at the same time / that**

von des hoch fallend die Wasser / und dabei  
 machen ein grosse Michele lacken / von der  
 ausbrennen / als von einem lebendigen Brunnen /  
 die vier Wasser Physon. Tigris. Nilius. Und  
 Eufrates. Du Jungfrau Maria bist wohl das  
 paradise / in den ist der Brunnen der Gnaden / die  
 du vor an deren heiligen erlanget hast / nicht  
 tropfen weiss / sunder die ganze Vollkommenheit  
 hat sich in dich gossen / von dem auch vier Flusse  
 ausgehen / der erste flusest in die  
 himmelsbetenden menschen / ihn gebende die  
 gnade der Andacht / der anderen in die wirkende  
 ihn gebende die gnade der verharren und  
 Beständigkeit / der Tritte in die Prälaten / ihn  
 gebeten die Gnaden der rechten Regierung und vor  
 zu sein den Untertanen / der vierte in die frommen  
 gehorsamen ihn gebende die gnade der  
 Untertänigkeit. O Jungfrau Maria wer dich anruft  
 ist in pfrencknuss empfängt gnade der Öffnung  
 seiner Unschuld / das dann wohl ein Zeugnis ist  
 das wunderbarlich Exempel hernach folgend  
 nämlichen.

Leonhard Mayer ward durch einer auffuhr /  
 geschehen zu Rothenburg im Intal / ihn Gefängnis  
 so hart über Billigkeit angezogen mit frage in der  
 Marter / das er eins Totschlags oder Mordes vor  
 lange geschehen bekannte / und also verurteilt zum  
 Tode und geradebrecht / und ihm sein Hals und  
 genicke Brust / Arm und Bein kräftig zustoßen /  
 und darnach auf das Rat mitstricken in mittel seins  
 Leibs / Händen und Füßen herzig gebunden. Also  
 das er nicht Atem haben möchte / anzurufen  
 Mariam in seinen Noten / und also an dem Rad auf  
 Gericht ward / und als dem Gericht genügen  
 geschehen und abgewichen was / wie wohl er mit  
 seinem munde nicht mögt. Rufet er doch in dem  
 herzen zu Mariam der betrübten und gepfrenkten  
 Trösterin und Helferin / als er denn vormals in der  
 Marter mit den munde getan hat. Neppt ware er  
 empfand / das alle seine glider wiederum ganz  
 waren / und rufet laut in seinem Herzen um auf  
 Losung der Strick / von Stunden entlasten sich die  
 Strick / das er ledig aufsäßen / von dem Rad sich  
 Liese / einem stecken name und zu Angesicht viel  
 der menschen Darvon ein Meile-weit ging. Als er  
 aber von dem Gericht wiederum behemet oder  
 angenommen und gefragt ward / seines gesund /  
 Genesung der glider und Erledigung Sagt er das er  
 des Totschlags oder Mordes aus großer Marter

there / speaks as the teacher Bacillus / is on  
 the very highest mountain / in the rising of the  
 sun / from where the waters fall / and at the  
 same time make a great painting of Michele /  
 from which burn out / as from a living  
 fountain / the four waters Physon. Tigris.  
 Nilius. And Eurates. You, Virgin Mary, are  
 probably paradise / in which is the fountain of  
 grace / which you have obtained before other  
 saints / does not drip / because all perfection  
 has poured into you / from which four rivers  
 also flow / the first flows into the heavenly  
 praying people / giving him the grace of  
 devotion / the others in the active giving him  
 the grace of perseverance and perseverance /  
 of stepping into the prelates / asked him the  
 graces of right government and to be before  
 the subjects / the fourth in the pious obedient  
 giving him the grace of subjection. O Virgin  
 Mary, whoever calls on you is in a pine nut  
 receives the grace of opening his innocence /  
 which is then probably a testimony to the  
 strange example that follows the same.

Leonhard Mayer came through/ happened to  
 Rothenburg in the Valley. / He was in prison  
 so hard about equity with questioning and  
 torture / that he confessed to manslaughter or  
 murder long ago / and thus condemned to  
 death and straightened / and his neck and  
 nodding chest / arm and leg vigorously  
 stabbed / and afterwards on the advice knit  
 with in middle of his body / hands and feet  
 heartily bound. So that he doesn't want to  
 breathe / to call on Mariam in his notes / and  
 so on the wheel on judgment / and when the  
 judgment was enough, what happened and  
 deviated from what / how well he does not  
 like with his mouth. He calls in his heart to  
 Mariam, the saddened and favored comforter  
 and helper / as he used to do with his mouth in  
 torture. Taking as he felt / that all his  
 associates were again whole / and calls out  
 loud in his heart to solve the rope / the rope  
 relieves himself of hours / that he sits alone /  
 of the wheel / a name stuck and to face a lot of  
 the people who walked a mile from it. But  
 when he was again accepted and asked by the  
 court / his healthy / recovery of the associates  
 and settlement he says that he is known to be  
 innocent of manslaughter or murder from

bekannt unschuldig / und darauf durch Anrufung Marie und sich / sie zu Altötting heimzusuchen gelobend / Also ganz gesund und erledigt. Auch kein weh in den Rederen geschehen wäre / darauf er auch von dem Edeln landstursten / da ihm das wunderlich Gesicht schriftlich verkündet ward legen geschafft gen Altötting mit den Stricken / da er mir gebunden was gewesen / und einen wachsen Rate am Freitag nach Sant Peters Stulfeier kommen ist. Da mann zahlt von Christi Geburt 1495 Jahre / Gott lobend und die werden Jungfrauen Mariam.

O Jungfrau Maria Vergleich uns gnade / das da aufgelöst werden die strick und band unser Sunden / und die glider unser gewissen durch unser Missetat zerbrochen / wider gegen tzeit und gerecht / und unschuldig an unserem letzten ende erfunden werden Amen/

Das Sechst Kapitel / das auch von der Jungfrauen Maria der Engel empfahl die Freude.

Himmliche Königin von dir / als spricht Bernhards nimmt der Engel die Freude. Wann als da schreib der andächtig Lehrer Vincentius de Valencia / von deiner heiligsten empfang / da der drittel der Engel Lucifer mit seiner geschafft um Missetat der hochfahrt / am anfang der Geschöpfe von Himmel verstossen ward / und den Heiligen Engeln / die da beständig blieben in Göttlicher liebe / die auslernen oder wissen der Stuhl / von dene die bösen waren verstopfen als ein grosse Betrübnis und Traurigkeit nach unser Verständnis angesehen ward hat ihn Gott der Herr geöffnet / das solcher val / durch dich Jungfrau wird widersprach und die ausgelerten Stuhle / durch dich von dem menschlichen Geschlecht erfüllet / dadurch die hochwertigen Engel / dich Jungfrau Mariam / mit grossen unaussprechlich Freuden in ihren aller reinigten Gemütern empfangen haben vor Erschaffung aller leiblichen Kreaturen / Darum spricht der weise mann in dem buch der Christlichen Seiten in deiner Person. *Nondu grant abyssi et ego iam concepta eram.* Ehe dann waren

great torture / and then vows to visit Marie and himself / her to Altötting / So very healthy and done. Also, no pain would have happened in the dungeon / on that he also from the nobles/ since the strange face was announced to him in writing, made it to Altötting with the ropes / since he was bound to me / and a growing rate on the Friday after Sant Peter's celebratory celebration is coming. Since one pays from the birth of Christ 1495 years / coming and praising God and the Virgin Mary.

O Virgin Mary, compare grace to us / that the ropes and bandages of our sins will be loosened / and the glider our conscience will be broken by our misdeeds / against this and righteous / and will be found innocent at our last end Amen/

The sixth chapter / also of the Virgin Mary the angels commended joy.

Heavenly Queen from you / as Bernhard speaks, the angel takes away the joy. When did the devout teacher Vincentius de Valencia write / of your most holy reception / when the third of the angels Lucifer with his misdeeds of ascension / at the beginning of the creatures were expelled from heaven / and the holy angels / who remained there constantly in the divine love / who unlearn or know the chair / of which the wicked were plugged up as a great sorrow and sadness according to our understanding God the Lord opened it / that such [measure] / through you virgin is contradicted and the unlearned chairs / through you of filled the human race / thereby the precious angels / received you Virgin Mary / with great inexpressible joys in their all purified minds before the creation of all bodily creatures / That is why the wise man speaks in the book of the Christian pages in your person. *Nondu grant abyssi et ego iam concepta eram.* Before there was the abyss

die Abgrund (verstehe der leiblichen Kreaturen der aller Versammlung wohl ein Abgrund ist) da bin ich empfangen worden in dem Göttlichen und den Englischen Herzen. O Jungfrau Maria wie gar mit grosser begehren haben die hochwertigsten Engel gewartet Diener leiblichen empfangen / und die unbezweifelt der Engel Gabriel / deinen leiblichen Vater Joachim und Mutter Anne mit grosser Freude verkündet hat / und alle Engelchen Ritterschaft unaussprechlich Freude in der Verkündigung / und noch mehre in Diener heiligsten Geburt gehabt und noch gesunder an dem Tage deiner Geburt haben. Als dann schreibt der Lehrer Johannes Beleth / wie ein heiliger mann / ums sie gleich anliegend der Himmels Behang. Ale Jahre an dem sechsten Tage des Monats Septembers in seinem Gebete höret die Engel in aller fraulichsten Gesellschaft Hochzeit begehen das sich an den Tage deiner Geburt ausfindig machet geschehen. Du aller heiligste Jungfrau Mutter Maria ein Freude der Engel er frühe uns an unserem letzten ende. Amen.

(understand the bodily creatures which is probably an abyss for all gatherings) there I was received in the divine and the English heart. O Virgin Mary, how with great desire did the highest-ranking angels receive bodily servants / and who undoubtedly the angel Gabriel / proclaimed your biological father Joachim and mother Anne with great joy / and all the little angels of knighthood unspeakably joy in the proclamation / and many more in servants had holiest birth and even healthier on the day of your birth. Then the teacher Johannes Beleth writes / like a saintly man / with the hangings of heaven right around her. Ale years on the sixth day of September in his prayer hear the angels in the most womanly company celebrate the wedding that is found on the days of your birth. Most Holy Virgin Mother Mary, a joy of angels, he early for us at our last end. Amen.

Das siebente Kapitel das auch von der Jungfrauen Maria name die heiligen ganz Trinität Gloria und Ehre.

The seventh chapter that also of the Virgin Mary naming the holy whole trinity glory and honor.

Gebenedeite über alle Weiber. Bernhardus spricht das auch von dir name die ganz heilige Trinität Gloria und Ehre / wann / als der König Gloria und Ehre nimmt in seinen Thron. Also auch in dir Gott die Heilige Trinität / wann du wahrlich zugleich einem königlichen Thron / der am ersten ist des Königs Stuhl darinnen er allein sitzt. Also du Mutter der Barmherzigkeit / bist der Königlichen Stuhl / darinnen der König der Glorie gesessen ist / von den punkte seiner / in deinem heiligsten Aller reinigten Jungfraulichen leibe / empfang / biss auf sein aller heiligste Geburt / du hast allein den empfangen / getragen und geboren / der allein Königin ist gewesen vor seiner Geburt / das sonst keinen menschen zugeeignet werden. Und also von dir lautend die wort im buch der heimlichen Offenbarung. Hoc nulli matri concessume unquar. Das keiner Mutter je verliehen ist worden. Andere Mutter gebären Fürsten aber nicht Königen /

Blessed over all women. Bernhardus speaks the same of your name, the very holy trinity Gloria and Honor / when / when the king takes Gloria and Honor on his throne. So also in you God the Holy Trinity / when you are truly at the same time a royal throne / which is at the top of the king's chair in which he alone sits. So you mother of mercy / are the royal chair / in which the king of glory sat / from the points of his / in your most holy of all cleansed virginal bodies / received / bit on his most holy birth / you alone received / carried and gave birth / who was the only queen before his birth / which is otherwise not appropriated to any human being. And so the word in the book of secret revelation is from you. *Hoc nulli matri concessume unquar*. That no mother has ever been given. Other mothers give birth to princes but not to kings / sinners

sunder werden hernach gekrönte zu Königen / allein Christus ist geboren ein König. Darum dann die heiligen drei Könige kommend von Orient / im zu Opfern unterweiset durch den Heiligengeist / fragten wo ist der / der da ist geboren ein König / und der Heiligengeist ermahnte die andächtigen sollend sprechend. *Egredimini filie syon et videte regem Salomone in dyademate suo: quo coronavit eum mater sua in die desponsationis sue.* Gehet herfuhr ihr dichter von Sion / und sehet an den König Salomon / das ist Christus in seiner königlichen Krone das ist ihn seiner heiligen Menschheit / damit ihn gekrönt hat sein Mutter an den Tage seiner Vermählung / das ist in seiner empfang / da im Gott der Vater vermählet hat die menschlichen Natur / in dem königlichen Thrones und Gloria Gottes / bist gefestet mit vier Angel Säulen der vier Angel Tugend / Gerechtigkeit / Vorsicht / Stark und Mäßigkeit. Auch mit den dreien göttlichen Tugenden / dem glauben haben Hoffnung und liebe / und das auf das höchste das der weise spricht in deiner Person. In allem Volk und in allem Geschlecht hab ich gehalten dene Vorgang / wann das alles ist geschehen von Gott und ist unehrlichen in unsern Augen.

Zum dritten als der König in seinen Thron niedersitzend / wird gesehen als gedemütigt. Also auch der König der Glorie / wird gesehen in seinem Thron deines jungfräulichen Leibs sitzend / gedemütigt / an sich zu nehmen (als da spricht der Apostel Paulus) ein gestallt eines Knechts dadurch er sanftmütig den zehren des Vaters darein wir gefallen waren durch die Hoffart unseres ersten Vater und Mutter Adam und Eve. Zum Vierten als der königlichen Thron hoch er ist / dann alle die darum stehen / und doch niederer ist dann der König / der darinnen sitzt. Also du königlich Gottes ehre und Thron / bist in Wertigkeit höher dann kein andere lautere Kreatur und doch niederer dann Christus wahrer Gott und mensch / Als da spricht Anselmus. *Nichil equale Marie / nec aliquid maius ea nisi solus deus.* Nichts ist gleich Marie / ist auch nichts mehre dann sie / nur allein Gott / wann du übertriffst die Engel in Reinlichkeit / die Patriarchen im glauben / die Propheten in Kunst / die Aposteln in göttlicher liebe / die Marterer in stärke / die Beychtiger in Mäßigkeit / die kinder in Unschuld / alle Jungfrauen in de Müdigkeit / du Jungfrau Maria ein Thron Gottes / ein Spiegel de Müdigkeit

are afterwards crowned kings / only Christ is born a king. That is why the three holy kings coming from the Orient / instructed by the Holy Spirit in sacrifices / asked where is he / who was born a king / and the Holy Spirit admonished the devout by speaking. *Egredimini filie syon et videte regem Salomone in dyademate suo: quo coronavit eum mater sua in die desponsationis sue.* Come, you poets from Sion, and look at King Solomon, this is Christ in his royal crown, this is him of his holy humanity, so that his mother may have crowned him on the day of his marriage, this is in his reception, there in God the Father has married human nature / in the royal throne and glory of God / are established with four pivots pillars of the four pivots virtue / justice / prudence / strength and temperance. Also with the three divine virtues / faith have hope and love / and that on the highest that the wise speaks in your person. In all people and in all generations I kept the procedure / when all this was done by God and is dishonest in our eyes.

Third, as the king seated on his throne / is seen humbled. So also the king of glory / is seen sitting on his throne / humiliated / taking over your virgin body (as the apostle Paul says) made a servant by meekly feeding on the father in it we had fallen through the pride of ours first father and mother Adam and Eve. Fourth, as the royal throne is high / then all who stand around it / and yet lower then is the king / who sits therein. So you royal honor and throne of God / are in value higher than any other pure creature and yet lower than Christ true God and man / than speaks *Anselmus. Nichil equale Marie / nec aliquid maius ea nisi solus deus.* Nothing is like Mary / nothing is like her / only God / when you surpass the angels in cleanliness / the patriarchs in faith / the prophets in art / the apostles in divine love / the martyrs in strength / the priests in moderation / the children in innocence / all virgins in de tiredness / you Virgin Mary a throne of God / a mirror of tiredness / lay down in us all pride spirituality and impurity that we all sanctify in

/ lege in uns nieder alle Hoffart Geistigkeit und  
Unreinigkeit das wir in Gesellschaft alle heiligen  
mit Gott und dir ewiglich in der ewigen Seligkeit  
Leben uns freien ewiglich. AMEN.

company with God and you eternal life in  
eternal bliss free us forever. AMEN.

[END]

[END]

## Appendix B.2 1520 Mariazell Miracle Prints

Miracle stories transcribed below are linked to images and numbered according to convention used by Othmar Wonisch in *Vorbaroke Mariazell*. Links to object image in numbers at the far left.

- |          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
| <u>1</u> | <p>Markgrafen Heinrich in Mähern / mit seinem Gemahl / lagen verkrüppelt an Händen und Füßen. Do wurden sie von Sant Wentzel gen Zell geweisst. Als sie erwachten / finden sie sich gesund.</p>                   | <p>Margrave Heinrich in Maehern/ with his spouse / lay crippled in their hands and feet. They were directed to Zell by Sant Wentzel. When they awoke they found themselves healthy.</p>                                   |
| <u>2</u> | <p>König Ludwig in Ungern gross Not von den Türken led. Mariam zu Zell ruft Er an / do tut Er mit 20. Tausend Männer / und Marie sagen 80. Tausend Türken niederlegen.</p>  | <p>King Ludwig of Hungary in great danger from the Turkish army. Called Mary of Zell / he was able to accomplish with 20 thousand men / and Mary was said defeated 80 thousand Turks.</p>                                 |
| <u>3</u> | <p>Ein Priester ward gefangen von den ungläubigen / selbst dreißigst / und in ein Gruben zu unten geworfen / und mit Pulver verstreut. Mariam zu Zell ruft Er an / die hilf ihm aus aller Not.</p>                | <p>A priest was caught by the unbelievers / along with thirty others / and thrown down into a pit / and scattered with powder. He called upon Mary of Zell / she helped him out of all danger.</p>                        |
| <u>4</u> | <p>Ein Kind was gestorben / in grosser Andacht verhiess sein Mütter gen Zell / do hat es ein Geschütz / und stünd auf gesund.</p>   | <p>A child died / in great devotion, his mother promised to Zell / so the child was given protection / and arose healthy.</p>   |
| <u>5</u> | <p>Ein Mann wart auf ein Rad gelegt. Mariam zu Zell ruft er an / do fiel er von dem Rad / und ward gen Zell gebracht. Und alsbald er das Gatter bei dem mittel Altar begreif / warden ihm all sein Pein ganz.</p> | <p>A man was tortured on a wheel. He called upon Mary of Zell / then he fell from the Wheel / and was brought to Zell. And as soon as he grasped the gate at the middle altar, all his pain was withdrawn completely.</p> |
| <u>6</u> | <p>Ein Knabe von Mänssee ward beschwert mit dem hinfallenden Siechtum / ein fahrt aus seiner Mutter schoss fiel / in wilder gestalt. Als sie ihn gen Zell versprach / ward Er gesund.</p>                         | <p>A boy from Mondsee was burdened with the falling sickness / he fell from his mother's womb and dropped/ in wilder shape. When she promised him to Zell/ He was healed.</p>   |
| <u>7</u> | <p>Ein Jüngling von Friedrichsbach bei Zwettel / lag am Todbett / und stiess ihn on die Pestilenz. So bald aber ihn Vater und Mütter gen Zell verlobten / stündet er auf Frisch und gesund.</p>                   | <p>A young man from Friedrichsbach near Zwettel / was lying on his death bed / and he was thrust into pestilence. As soon as his father and mother troth-plighted him to Zell, he was fresh and healthy.</p>              |
| <u>8</u> | <p>Ein Frau gebar zu rechter zeit ein Todt Kind / ihm lädt verhiess sie es gen Zell / mit einem gesungen</p>  | <p>A woman gave birth at the correct time to a dead child / she promised the child to Zell /</p>  |

- Amt. So bald ward das Kind lebendig / und getauft / und starb darnach wider an der Stadt.
- 9  
Einer Frauen von Steinenkirchen der Geburt misslang / das sie und das Kind kein Trost des Lebens hätten. So bald sie ihr Mann gen Zell verhiessen / wart Mütter und Kind von Stund gesund.
- 10  
Ein Priester von Mautterdorf im Longau wart beschwert mit dem Franzosen ein ganz Jahr / das ihm kein Arzt könnnt helfen. Als bald er sich gen Zell verheissen / wart Er frisch und gesund.
- 11  
Ein Knabe von Ambstetten / der wär gross brechen am Leib gewesen. So bald ihn sein Vater gen Zell verheiss / wart er volkhuinenlich gesund.
- 12  
Ein Man mit seinen ehelichen Gemahl von Prinn aus Märhern durch lang siechen blind worden / So bald sie sich gen Zell versprochen / ward ihn ihr klares Gesicht wider gegeben.
- 13  
Ein Frau zu Pehamkirchen / an dem Kindbett verkrüppelt / and Händen und Füßen / zehn Wochen. Als bald sie sich gen Zell versprach / wart sie gesund.
- 14  
Ein Frau aus Mähern / von der Stat Olmuntz / den hochfallenden Siechtum / über Jahr gehabt hat / ein Tag zu fünf mahlen gefallen. Als bald sie sich gen Zell verlobt / durch Weisung Marie / ward sie gesund.
- 15  
Hanns Krümmel von Ewsitz / durch schwäre Krankheit seines Gesichts beraubt war sechs Wochen. So bald er sich aber gen Zell verlobet / ward Er derselben abends klar sehen.
- 16  
Ein Böhme verhiess sich gen Zell / und versprach nimmer zu rauben / noch in Krieg zu zeichnen / das hat er nicht gehalten. Und als er nachmalen gen Zell kam / fiel Er vor dem mittel Altar gechling als ein toter nieder auf die Erd / mit püllen und grausamen Geschrei. Do er zu ihm selbst kam / hat Er beichtet / und solch glauben stet zuhalten versprochen.
- with a sung message. As soon as she did this, the child lived / and was baptized / and died after that in the city.
- A woman from Steinenkirchen failed to give birth / such that she and the child had no comfort in life. As soon her husband promised them to Zell / both mother and child were healthy within the hour.
- A priest from Mauterndorf in Lungau suffered for an entire year with the French disease / that no doctor could help him. Immediately when he promised himself to Zell / he was fresh and healthy.
- A boy from Ambstetten / whose body was largely broken. As soon as his father promised him to Zell / he was completely healthy.
- A man with his spouse from Brünn in Märhern was blind for a long time / As soon as they promised themselves to Zell/ their clear sight was given to him.
- A woman at Pehamkirchen / crippled on the birthing bed / in her hands and feet / for ten weeks. As soon as she promised herself to Zell / she was healthy.
- A woman from Mähern / from the city of Olmuntz / who had had high falling sickness / over a year / fell as much as five times a day. As soon as she was troth-plighted to Zell / through Mary's instruction / she became healthy.
- Hanns Krümmel von Ewsitz / stripped of his sight by severe illness for six weeks. But as soon as he was troth-plighted to Zell, he was able to say clearly that same evening.
- A Bohemian promised himself to go to Zell/ and promised to never rob / nor go to war / but he didn't keep this promise. And when he came to Zell again / he fell in front of the middle altar looking like a dead man on the earth / with a loud and miserable cry. Then he kame to his senses/ He confessed / and promised to keep his word steadily.

- 17 Ein Priester wart drei Jahr blind gewesen. Als er sich gen Zell versprach wart er sehen. A priest was blind for three years. When he pledged himself to Zell, he was able to see.
- 18 Ein junger Knecht von Cham gen Zell / dem hat der schlag die ein Seiten und arm seines Leibs verderbt. Als bald er sein gebet opfert / ward Er gesund und bewegt all sein Glieder. A young servant from Cham went to Zell / who, due to a hard hit, one side of his body and his arm was rotting. As soon as he offered up his prayer / he was healed and was able to move all of his limbs.
- 19 Ein Frau war lange Zeit sehr beschwert mit dem hinfallenden Siechtum. Als bald sie ihr Mann gen Zell verhiess mit einem Opfer / wart sie an aller anderen Arznei gesund. For a long time, a woman was very burdened with falling sickness. As soon as her husband promised her to Zell with an offering/ she was healthy on all other medicines.
- 20 Zwei Kind aus Windischland / waren Tod / eins von Krankheit / das andere von Schlag seiner Mütter. So bald man sie gen Zell gelobet / warden sie erneuet-so-gleich von Stund lebendig. Two children from Italy / were Dead / one from illness / the other from the beatings of his mother. As soon as they are promised to Zell/ they were immediately resurrected.
- 21 Ein Priester von Neünhofen wart gefangen / und schwerlich mit ketten und Stricken gebunden. Als er sich gen Zell verhiess / wart er an all menschlich hilf von Stunden ledig und kam davon. A priest from Neünhofen was caught / and harshly bound with chains and ropes. When he promised himself to Zell, without human help, he was free from that hour and got away.
- 22 Zwei ehrbar person aus dem Land ob der Inns / sind drei Jahren unfruchtbar kein kind erworben. In dem haben sie sich der Geberin Gottes gen Zell versprochen zu dem lobwertigen Gotteshaus / und sie ward schwanger. 1503. Two respectable people from the country above the River Inns / were sterile and for three years they were not with child. In this, they promised the Bearer of God in Zell in the praiseworthy place of worship / and she became pregnant. 1503.
- 23 Ein Man ward mit einer Büxen durch den Leib geschossen. Mariam zu Zeil ruft Er an / und kam davon. A man was shot through the body with a gun. He called Mary of Zell / and came away (from the danger).
- 24 Ein Man schoss seinem Nächsten / den er vermeinet ein Bären gewesen sein mit einem Strahl durch den herzhaft bei dem Denken Tüttel ein. Und als er Mariam anrufen / und sich gen Zell mit einem Opfer versprach. Ward ihm geholfen. Als er dann nachmalen am Blössen Leib angezeigt hat. A man shot his neighbor / whom he believed was a bear with an arrow through the heart thought-shake. And when he called Mariam / and promised himself to a victim in Zell. Was helping him. When he then painted on the bare body.
- 25 Eines Armen man kind fiel in einen tiefen Brunnen / darin über nacht gelegen. Do verhiess er es zu unser Frauen gen Zell / es wäre lebendig oder Tot / do fand Er das kind Tod / und als er A poor man's child fell into a deep well / lying in it overnight. So, he promised the child to our lady in Zell / it would be alive or dead / he found child dead / and when he

Mariam mit grosser Andacht anrufen / ward es lebendig und prächtig gen Zell.

called Mary with great devotion / the child was alive and was taken to Zell.

26

Ein Erbe Man von Landshut in Bayern / aus Ungnade seines Landesfürsten / aus dem Land weich / as leid in Gross Krankheit viel. Do er sein Gebet zu Zell hat / do stand er auf gesund.

A nobleman of Landshut in Bavaria / who had fallen out of the favor of his sovereign / was weak and out of the country / was very ill with a severe illness. Because he has his prayer at Zell / he stood up healthy.

## Appendix B.3 1519 Regensburg Miracle Book

Transcription of *In diesem büchlein seind begriffen die wunderparlichen zaychen beschehen zu Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria der mutter gottes*. Nuremberg: Hölzel, 1519. [BSB](#).

Allen und jeden Christ-Gläubigen menschen/ in was werden oberkalten und stehenden die sein ; all hie je zu Regensburg / oder anderswo / zu wissen. Nach dem und das unselig verstockt Volk der Juden/ in gedarrter löblichen Stat Regensburg / etwa lang zeit wohnhaft / heüßlich und gerwelich gesessen / und sich Alda mit gefährlicher / un-ehrsamer / und verbotener handtierung / bemalter stat Regensburg / und dem ganzen land zu merklichem Nachteil / schaden/ und verderben / Aufenthalten rund genert. Solches alles und jedes angesehen / ein ehrsamer weiser Rat und gemein / ehe-gedachten löblichen stat Regensburg on zweifle / mit der Gottes gutes heilige Geistes erleuchteten.

Als man zahlt nach Christi unsers Herren Geburt tausend fünfhundert und Neunzehen Jahr. In dem Monat genant Februarius/ zu deutsch Hornung. Am 21.tag bemehlst Monats / solchen schwere unleidlichen last gedachtst unseligen Volks der Juden fürbass gedachten stat Regensburg / muss geschafft ihre heuser/ auch ihr Synagog / in der sie täglichen unseren Herrn Jesum Christus / auch sein lobesame Muter / die hochgelobte Königin / die schönen Maria geschänt/ geschmäht / und der orten ein löblich Gotteshaus zu erhebe und zu bauen angefangen/ in der ehren der jetzt benannten Jungfrauen der Schönen Maria / da auch grosse wunderbarliche Zeichen hiernach in diesem Buchlein endlich und gründlich / in glauben bezeichnet sein / daran kein Christ-Gläubig mensch einerlei wies kein Zweifel habe sol.

### Das Erst Zeichen.

Erstlich. Do man die Synagog der Jude nieder legt und zerbrach kamen zusammen viel frühem Christen menschen / ihr Andacht und Fleiß dazu erzeigen / unter denen was ein

Everyone and all believers in Christ, in what will they be extremely cold and standing. all here ever to Regensburg, or anywhere else to know. According to the unhappy stubborn people of the Jews, in the laudable city of Regensburg. resided for a long time / sat joyously and happily / and dealt with dangerous / disrespectful / and forbidden behavior there. / Painted the state of Regensburg / and the whole country to a noticeable disadvantage / damage and spoil / contain around nourished. Such anything and everything respected / an honorable wise advice and common / wedded praiseworthy place Regensburg on doubts / with which God's good holy spirit enlightened.

When after the birth of Christ our Lord is counted a thousand five hundred and nineteen years. In the month called February / Hornung in German. On the 21st day of the named month / such a heavy, intolerable burden of the unfortunate people of the Jews in astonishment intended place of Regensburg / must be able to manage their home / also their synagogue / in which they daily our Lord Jesus Christ / also his praiseworthy mother / the highly praised Queen / the beautiful Maria shorn / reviled / and the places to raise and build a praiseworthy house of God / in the honor of the now named virgins of the beautiful Maria / because also great wonderful signs afterwards in this little book finally and thoroughly / in believe his / in it no Christian believer should be indifferent or doubt.

### The First Sign.

First of all. So people- the synagogue of the Jews- lay down and broke together many early Christians came together. show their devotion and diligence for it. among which what a stone mason

Steinhauer / Meister Jacob Kern genannt / der Alda auch mit Fleiß beginnt zu arbeiten. Begab sich aber das ein tram mit ihm nieder ging / und das er viel auf ein Stein. Mehr brach nieder ein Pfeiler / und vielen mehr auf ihn anderen drei Stein / das auf ihm lag ein last bei den 20. Zehnter schwer / als meniglich sagt. Also mit muhe und grosser Arbeit bracht man in herfuhr / do was im das blühet aus geschossen zu Mundt / zu Nasen / und zu oren. Er was auch geschwärzt als ein Moor / das niemand anders gedacht dan das er sterben sollt. Also trüg man ihn anheim in sein haus und gab ihm die Kerzen nach Christlicher Ordnung in sein Hand / wann man gar klein leben in ihm sah. Demnach sein frühem hausfrau in verhiß an die selbe Stadt / da nachmals die Capes gebaut ist / zuhat fing er an zu reden/ und sprach also. Mir ist nichts / mir ist die schön Maria erschienen in meine val / wann ich sie in meinen Noten hab angerufen / als bald empfung sie mich in ihr Hand / und bin also ganz erneuert. Nachmals stundet er auf vor dem Bett / und kam am anderen tag wiederum zu der Synagog / und arbeitet Alda mit Freuden wie vormals / und lobet Gott und die Schönen Mariam. Geschehen Anno Domini 1500 und 19. Jahr.

#### **Das Andere Zeichen.**

Margarete Peckin am Regen zu Regensburg / was verkriuppelt an Händen und Füßen / das meniglichen wohl wissend ist / hat sie angerufen die schönen Mariam zu Regensburg / und sich dahin gestellt mit einem Opfer frisch und gesund / des lobt sie Gott und die schönen Mariam. Geschehen im obgemelten Jahr 1500 und 19.

#### **Das Dritte Zeichen.**

Auch Margarete Bindorfferin von Amberg / was beraubt der Bewegungen ihres Haupts / an Händen und Füßen gelähmt. Ihr Angesicht Hals und Händen gestalt als gebraten Fleisch. Ist sie ermannt worden im Schlaff / sie sol sich verloben mit einen Opfer der Schönen Maria zu Regensburg / als bald sie solche hat getan / ist sie schön und wohlgestalt worden / und gänzlich gesund. Darum lobt Gott und die Schöne Maria.

/ master Jacob Kern called. who then also begins to work diligently. But it came to pass that a trauma came down with him / and that he fell upon a stone. More broke down one pillar, and many more on top of it another three stone. that weighed heavily on him in the 20th tenth, as people say. So with great effort and a lot of work you bring in / do what is in the bloom from shot to mouth / to noses / and to ears. He was also blackened as a bog / that no one else thought that he should die. So you carried him home to his house and gave him the candles according to Christian order in his hand / when you saw him living small. According to his early housewife in the same city / since the Capes will be built later / he started to talk / and spoke like that. Nothing is to me / the beautiful Maria appeared in my val / when I called her in my notes / as soon as she received me in her hand / and so I am completely renewed. Then he got up in front of the bed / and came back to the synagogue the next day / and then worked with joy as before / and praised God and the beautiful Mariam. As occurred in the Year of our Lord 1500 and the 19th year.

#### **The Other Sign.**

Margarete Peckin am Regen in Regensburg / what is crippled in hands and feet / knowing what is plentiful. she called the beautiful Maria in Regensburg, and put herself there with an offering- fresh and healthy. she praises God and the beautiful Mariam. Happened in the above mentioned year 1500 and 19.

#### **The Third Sign.**

Margarete Bindorfferin, too, from Amberg / was robbed of the movements of her head / paralyzed in her hands and feet. Her face, neck and hands were like roasted meat. She was encouraged in her sleep, that she should plight her troth with an offering to the beautiful Mary in Regensburg. as soon as she had done this, she became beautiful and well-formed / and completely healthy. Therefore praise God and the beautiful Mary.

**Das Vierte Zeichen.**

Mehr zwei Arbeiter brachen ab an eine Jude haus / alsdann ging mit ihm ein ein gewellt/ mit mächtiger grosser schwere der Stein/ unter denen auch lagen die zwei abgedachten Arbeiter / also das ihres Lebens kleine Hoffnung was. Als bald man sie herfuhr bracht/ trüg man sie in die Kapellen zu der Schönen Maria/ zur hand stunden sie wiederum auf und gingen an ihr Arbeit wie vor/ und loben Gott und die Schönen Maria.

**Das Fünfte Zeichen.**

Hans Achter Burger und Wolle-Arbeiter zu Regensburg / als er vom Bad heim hingingen was / und sich an seinen Tisch gesetzt / und mit einen Kindern fröhlich geredet. Ist ihm demnach sein red verlegen. Auch in dem Haus hin und her gelaufen / ganz und gar erblichen und geschwärtzt / als halb gestorben. In solchen Noten hat er angerufen die schönen Maria in der neuen Kapellen mit einem Opfer. Als bald er solches hat versprochen / ist er frisch und gesund worden. Darum lobt er billig Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das Sechste Zeichen.**

Wolfgang Berckhamer von Pressla/ was krank an seinen Füßen und ihrer brauch beraubt. Deshalb er unter den Artzen zu Nürnberg lange Zeit gelegen / und viel geld verzehrt. Aber ihn wollt nichts helfen / wart ihm gesagt von der neuen Kapellen der Schönen Maria in Regensburg. Bald hub er sich auf samt den stelzen / und kam gen Regensburg mit seinem Opfer / zu-Hand warst er gesund / und ging on die Stelzen wider an heim und lobt die Schönen Maria.

**Das Siebende Zeichen.**

Etlich Pilgram gingen gehen Sant Wolfgang in das Gebirge / und do sie kam der orten auf den See / kam ein Sollich Ungewitter von wind / das ihr Schiff wahrts ums getrieben / und mit Wasser erfüllt. Also das sie sich ihres leben verwegen hätten. Rufen sie an die Schönen Mariam zu Regensburg / und geheissen sich aldar / zu-Hand kamen sie aus ihren grossen Noten / und kamen al-her gen Regensburg / lobten Gott und die Schönen Mariam die ihnen zu Hilf Kummen was.

**The Fourth Sign.**

Two more workers were breaking apart a Jewish house / then went in with him - a covered one / with a mighty great weight the stone / under which the two workers lay covered / so the little hope of their lives. When she was soon brought in, she was carried to the chapels to the beautiful Maria. at hand they got up again and went to work - like before / and praised God and the beautiful Mary.

**The Fifth Sign.**

Hans Achter, citizen and wool worker in Regensburg / when he went home from the bathroom / and sat down at his table and talked happily with one of the children. He thereafter lost his ability to speak. Also he walked back and forth in his house, completely blighted and blackened / as though he were half dead. In such danger he called to the beautiful Maria in her new chapel with an offering. As soon as he promised this / he became fresh and healthy. Therefore he praises God and the beautiful Maria.

**The Sixth Sign.**

Wolfgang Berkheimer, von Breslau / was sick at his feet and robbed of their use. That is why he was among the doctors in Nuremberg for a long time which consumed a lot of money. But nothing was able to help him. He was told about the new chapel of the beautiful Maria in Regensburg. Soon he rose up with his crutches / and came to Regensburg with his offerings / immediately he was healthy / and went home without his crutches and praised the beautiful Maria.

**The Seventh Sign.**

Quite a few pilgrims went to Sant Wolfgang in the mountains / and when they came to the place on the lake / there came a windstorm/ which caused their ship to drift around / and it filled with water, So that they had fear for their lives. They called on the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / and promised themselves then / they came immediately from their great problems / and came to Regensburg / praised God and the beautiful Mary who came to their aid.

**Das Achte Zeichen.**

Gorg Bruckner aus Ungerland in Graner Bistum / was zehn Wochen blind / verhiess sich gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria / barfuß mit Wasser und Brot. Als bald er aus sein haus ging / ward ihm verleihen ein schein / und je näher er gen Regensburg kam / je größer schein er empfang. Als er aber in die Stat Regensburg kam / wart ihm sein Gesicht gänzlich verliehen / darum lobt er Gott und die Schöne Maria.

**Das Neunte Zeichen.**

Hans Krell Krussner zu Chamb hat ein kind verloren / das was gefallen in den leder-Bach / und lag Alda unter den Wasser eines Man tief / unter sich kehren den Mund / und was also im Wasser gelegen ein viertel einer Stund. Nachmals kam der jetzt-gedacht Hans Krell und fand das kind im Wasser. Als er aber das kind aus den Wasser hat gebracht / könnt niemand kein leben an ihm sehen / wann endlich auch dabei sein gewesen aus den Rat zu Chamb. Do kam dem Voter in seinen Sinn / er sollt der zu verheissen zu der Schönen Maria gen Regensburg / Als bald er solches hat getan / wart das kind vom Todt erquicket. Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen Maria die Mütter der Barmherzigkeit.

**Das Zehnten Zeichen.**

Pangraz Kursier Burger zu Straubing / ist auf ein zeit her auf geritten von Linz / etwa Spät in die nacht. Ist ihm zugestanden solche schwere Gefährlichkeit / das er samt dem Ross / in ein Weiher was gefallen / und sich Alda sterben verwegen. Wann als er sagt / wer nicht möglich gewesen / das er aus kommen wer. In solche grossen seinen Noten hat er an gerufen die schonen Maria zu Regensburg / und sich dahin verheissen mit einem Opfer. Als bald er solches getan / ist er samt dem Ross aus dem Weiher kommen / an dem Ort da der Tham des Weiher am höchsten gewesen ist. Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen Maria.

**Das Elfte Zeichen.**

Matheus Melber Burger zu Landshut / was verkrüppelt an Händen und Füßen / hat angerufen der Schöne Maria zu Regensburg / und sich Alda

**The Eighth Sign.**

George Bruckner from Hungary in the diocese of Gran / was blind for ten weeks. He promised himself to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg, barefoot with water and bread. As soon as he went out of his house / there appeared to him a shining light. And the closer he got to Regensburg, the greater the impression he received. When he arrived in Regensburg, his sight was completely given to him / that is why he praises God and the beautiful Maria.

**The Ninth Sign.**

Hans Krell Krussner of Cham has lost a child / that which fell into the leather brook. and lay then under the water - one man deep. Turn your mouth, and what lay in the water for a quarter of an hour. Later the now-thought Hans Krell came and found the child in the water. But when he brought the child out of the water / nobody could see no life in him. when finally, also be there from the council at Cham. So the father came into his mind / he should promise him to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg. As soon as he did this / the child was refreshed from death. He praises God and the beautiful Mary, Mother of Mercy.

**The Tenth Sign.**

Pangraz Kursier, citizen of Straubing, rode from Linz for a while, around late at night. He was confronted with such grave danger when he and his horse fell into a pond / and therein risked dying. Then he said, it was not possible that he would come from there. In great distress, he called the beautiful Maria in Regensburg and promised himself there with an offering. As soon as he did this, he came out of the place with his horse at the where the water level was highest. He praises God and the beautiful Maria.

**The Eleventh Sign.**

Matheus Melber, citizen of Landshut, was crippled in his hands and feet. He called the beautiful Maria in Regensburg, and then promised

zu kommen versprochen / zu-Hand ist er gesund waren. Des lobt er Gott und die Schöne Maria.

#### **Das Zwölft Zeichen.**

Georg Vogel Zin-giesser Burger zu Straubing / hat ein eheliche Hausfrauen / die stieß so grausame Krankheit an / an dem heiligen Ostertag nach Christi Geburt 1500 und 19. Jahr. Das kein Arzt nicht möchten erkennen oder sagen / was Krankheit doch wer / Die sie auch Sechs ganze Wochen schwerlich hat erlitten. In solcher Trübsal viel ihm ein / er sollt sein Hausfrauen verheissen zu der schöne Maria gen Regensburg / Altar zu vollbringen ein Kirch-fahrt mit einen silbern Becher / dermassen auch die Frau verhiess sich dahin mit ihr zu bringen ihren braut-ring / zu-Hand war sie frisch und gesund. Haben solches alles und jedes vollbracht/ und loben Gott und die Schöne Maria.

#### **Das 13. Zeichen.**

Thomas Innzinger Beck zu Bischofs werd unterhalb Regensburg hat ein kleines Knabe / mit Namen Sigmund / an der halb jähr alt / das war so sämmerlich zerbrochen ein ganz Jahr und etliche Wochen / das ihm niemand helfen möchten / darum sein Mütter das kind verheiss gen Regensburg zu der Schöne Maria barfuß und fastend / mit einen brennende licht zu-Hand wart das kind gesund / des lobt sie Gott und die Schön Maria.

#### **Das 14. Zeichen.**

Item. Mehr Thomas Intzinger abgemalt / hat ein Tochterlein sechs Jahre alt / das hat die Fressen gelitten etliche zeit / so hart / das menniglich sich seins Lebens verwegen hat. Deshalb er bewegt / das kind gen Sant Anna verheiss mit einem Pfund wachs / an das Ort das mann nennt Kreuzberg. Darum gedachte Krankheit das kind ein zeit verliess / doch nachmals bald wider kam / und das sind peiniget wie vormals / kam dem Vater in sein Sinn / er sollt das sind verloben gen Regensburg zu der Schöne Maria mit einem Pfund wachs. Also bald er solches hat getan / verliess die Krankheit das Kind. Darum lobet er Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

to come / he was immediately healthy. He praises God and the beautiful Maria.

#### **The Twelfth Sign.**

Georg Vogel, Tin caster and citizen of Straubing / has a faithful housewife / who was afflicted with a cruel illness / on the holy Easter day after the birth of Christ in 1500 and the 19th year. She was so ill that no doctor could recognize or say what illness she had/ with which she had suffered for six whole weeks. In such tribulation, he promised on his housewife's behalf to go to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / Thereafter he went to church with a silver cup, and the woman promised to bring her bridal ring with her. Immediately she became fresh and healthy. Having accomplished everything like this, and praising God and the beautiful Mary.

#### **The 13<sup>th</sup> sign.**

Thomas Innzinger, of Bischofswert below Regensburg, had a little boy by the name of Sigmund, a year and half old. He was all broken for a whole year and several weeks / such that nobody was able to help him. For this reason, his mother promised the child to Regensburg, to the beautiful Maria barefoot and fasting, with a burning light. Immediately the child was healthy, so she praises God and the beautiful Maria.

#### **The 14<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Item. More Thomas Intzinger painted / has a little daughter six years old / she has suffered from while eating for quite some time / so much / that it mortally risked her life. So he moved / the child to Sant Anna promising her with a pound of wax / to the place that people call Kreuzberg. That's why he thought the illness left the child for a while / but soon came back / and they are tormented as before / came to the father's mind / he should be engaged to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg with a pound of wax. So soon he did this / the illness left the child. Therefore he praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**Das 15. Zeichen.**

Georg Möbel Metzger und Burger zu Landshut / hat gehabt sechs ganze Jahr das glochfeuer / und etwa im Jahr zehn mall / hat er sich versprochen gen Regensburg zu der schönen Maria mit einen W Bild / zu-Hand hat ihn solche Krankheit verlassen. Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 16. Zeichen.**

Friderich Küffer von Neufar / ist drei ganze Jahr an den Franzosen also hard krank gelegen / das er nicht möchten gen oder stehen/ dann wo man ihn hin trüge / hat sich demnach versprochen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria / zu-Hand ist er frisch und gesund worden. Darum lobt er Gott and die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 17. Zeichen.**

Hans Milner zu Imkofen / hat ein Kindlein bei dreissig Wochen alt / dem in den Hals ein Dreispitziges Bein kommen / das ihm niemand her aus möchte noch kund tun. Er rufet an die schönen Maria / und geheißten das kind daselbst hin zu bringen mit einen halben Pfund Wachs / zu-Hand kam das Bein dem kind aus seine Hals. Ist hie gewesen samt die kind und seiner Hausfrauen / hat der Bein der Orten auf den Altar gelegt / und Gott gelobt und die schönen Maria.

**Das 18.**

Peter Girßfrid zu Referring nicht weit von Regensburg Baumann / ist auf ein zeit zu Acker gefahren / und die Ross schiech worden / ist er unter die Ross gefallen / und also geschleift / ein Acker lang Wegs / der halb er sich seins Lebens het verwegen / wann er gegen dem Pflugeisen lag / hat er in solchen tot Noten angerufen die schönen Maria zu Regensburg / zu-Hand standen die Ross still / und er was un-beleidigt . Das haben gesehen etliche glaubwürdig menschen / nämlich Rüprecht von Referring / und anderen mehr. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Mariam.

**Das 19. Zeichen**

Andre Schneider von Nittenau / hat ein Hausfrauen Anna gennant / die hat wehtat gelitten in beide Füßen zweinzig Jahr / hat sich gebrannt

**The 15<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Georg Möbel, butcher and citizen of Landshut, had been suffering with burning pains for six whole years, and about ten times within each year. Thus , he promised himself to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria with a wax picture / and immediately his illness left him. He praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 16<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Friedrich Küffer, from the new parish / has been sick with syphilis for three whole years. that he doesn't want to face or stand, then wherever he's taken. He has therefore promised himself to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria. immediately he became fresh and healthy. That is why he praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 17<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hans Milner, from Inkofen, had a child at thirty weeks old, who had a three-pronged bone lodged in his throat, which nobody was able to help with. He called out to the beautiful Maria, and promised to bring the child there with half a pound of wax. From that moment, the bone came out of the child's throat. Coming with the child and his housewife , he laid the bone on the altar and praised God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 18<sup>th</sup>.**

Peter Girßfrid, a farmer from Referring not far from Regensburg, rode into the field for a time. When the horse was smacked, he fell under the horse and was dragged in the field a long way. Half dead, he was against the plow and in deadly distress, then called the beautiful Maria in Regensburg. At that moment, the horse stood still and Peter was un-harmed. A number of credible people have seen this / namely Rüprecht from Referring / and others more. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 19<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Andre Schneider, from Nittenau, had a housewife named Anna. She suffered pain in both feet for twenty years, as though she had burned herself in

als in eine Feuer. Auch etwa ob den Tausend Blattern gehabt der halb kein Ruhe bei Tag und Nacht nicht gehabt. Hat sie sich in solchen ihrem grossen leiden versprochen gen Regensburg / zu der schönen Maria / mit einer reisten Flachs / und mit einem wixsen Bein / samt einer Kollekten. Nach dem sie solches hat verlobt / wart sie frisch und gesund. Lob under eher sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 20. Zeichen.**

Pauls Pleichmair zu Sarching bei Regensburg / hat ein kind Sebastian genannt / seines alters im Vierten Jahr / dem was ein karren über das Haupt gefahren / und tödlich geschädigt. Hat sein Mutter das kind verheissen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria / mit einem Lamm und einer Hennen / samt einer wixsen Hirnschal / zu-Hand wart das kind frisch und gesund. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Maria.

**Das 21. Zeichen.**

Michel Dachner zu Leirndorff / hat ein Tochterlein das hat so grossen Schmerzen und Pein drei ganze Jahr gelitten / das im sein Angesicht wart ungestalt gleich als ein Birken Rinden. Im was auch ein aug verdorben. Sein Vater nam zu Herzen so grosse Pein und Marter / so das kind hat erlitten / geheissen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria/ mit einem lebendigen Opfer/ zu-Hand wart das kind gesund. Darum lobt er Gott und die Schönen Maria.

**Das 22. Zeichen.**

Erhard Pergerin Fischerin im obern Werd zu Regensburg/ was im Kindbett gelegen / und Alda in den ersten acht Tagen erlangt ein geschwollene Knie / daran auch unleidlich gepeinigt / hat sich deshalb versprochen zu der Schönen Maria / mit einer Kirch-fahrt gen Regensburg / mit fünf Jungfrauen / die sollten all und jede tragen brennend Kerzen / zu-Hand wart ihr verleihen ihr Gesundheit. Des lobt sie Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 23. Zeichen.**

Her Hans Braun Priester und Kapellen zu Alkoven / drei Meilen von Regensburg / hat dreissig Jahr ein Krankheit gehabt / der ihm kein

a fire. Also about a thousand boils covered her so that she had no rest day or night. She promised herself in the midst of her great suffering to Regensburg / to the beautiful Maria / with [a quantity of] flax / and with a wax leg / including a collection. After she plighted her troth [wedding herself in responsibility to the Virgin]/ she was fresh and healthy. Praise be to God and the beautiful Marie.

**The 20<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Pauls Pleichmair, from Sarching near Regensburg, had a child named Sebastian. His age was four years, when a cart drove over his head and fatally wounded him. His mother promised the child to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria, with a lamb and a hen, including a wax brain shell. Immediately the child was fresh and healthy. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 21<sup>st</sup> Sign.**

Michel Dachner, from Leirndorff, had a daughter who suffered such great pain and suffering for three whole years, such that her appearance was like the bark of a birch tree and her eye became spoiled too. Her father said that his heart was in such great pain and torture, when the child suffered, that he called to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria / with a living sacrifice. Immediately the child was healthy. That is why he praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 22<sup>nd</sup> Sign.**

Erhard Pergerin, fisherwoman in the upper burrow of Regensburg, was in bed with a swollen knew for eight days, painfully tormented by it. He therefore promised himself to the beautiful Maria / with a church trip to Regensburg / along with five virgins / with everyone carrying burning candles. Immediately she was granted her health. She praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 23<sup>rd</sup> Sign.**

Mr. Hans Braun, priest of the chapel at a village called Alcove, located three miles from Regensburg / had an illness for thirty years /

Arzt nicht hat ab können helfen / wiewohl er viel  
Gelt Arzt-verneint hat. Demnach hat er sich gen  
Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria nackend und  
bloss von Alkoven zu gehen verlobt. Als bald er  
solches hat getan / hat ihn solche Krankheit  
verlassen. Ist all hat zu Regensburg gewesen in  
der Pfingsten Wochen. Nach Christi Geburt  
Tausend Fünf hundert und 19. Jahr. Lob sei Gott  
und der Schönen Marie.

#### **Das 24. Zeichen.**

Ulrich Höfel Viech-Hüter oder Hirt zu Mütersdorf  
auf dem Noriko / nicht weit von Hohenfeld / hat  
ein eheliche Hausfrau / die batt ihn auf ein Zeit /  
das er sie mit anderen frommer andächtigen  
menschen auch liess heimsuchen die Schönen  
Maria zu Regensburg. Aber sie wart solcher Bett  
bon ihm verzogen. Dann an einem Samstag  
gingen viel frommer menschen von Hohenfeld  
und der selben orten / aus gehen Regensburg zu  
der Schönen Maria / die Hüterin musst anheim  
bleiben aus geschafft ihres Hauswirts. Er treib das  
Viech aus / und bracht in einen graben / nicht weit  
von Hohenbürg / und liess auch also hin und her  
gehen. Auch er leint sich auf seinen Hirten Stab /  
als dann solcher Leut Gewohnheit ist / zu-Hand  
ging ihm ein Schwindel zu / auch gelb und grün  
und gross Unruhe in ihm selbst. Also / das im sein  
Gesicht entging doch behielt er ein kleinen schein.  
In solchem ist ihm eingefallen / es sei ein straf  
von Gott und der Jungfrauen Maria. Er hab sich  
der halb versendet / das er sein Hausfrauen nicht  
hab wellen lassen gehen und heimsuchen die  
Schönen Mariam zu Regensburg. Demnach hübe  
er sich auf samt seinen Stab / als viel er mögt /  
und kam wider an heim in sein Haus / und sagt zu  
seiner Hausfrauen also. Die Schön Maria hat nicht  
geplagt und herzhafft Klischee gestrafft. Nimm  
vier Pfund Schmalz und Verkaufs / und ein Hendl  
/ das du ein Zerrung möchtest haben / und gehe  
gen Regensburg. Die Frau ist her kommen und  
solches alles und jedes meniglichen angezeigt.  
Die weil was der Hüter seines Gesichts beraubt.  
Do aber die Frau Heim kam / macht sich der  
Hüter selbst also blinder auf den weg / und kam al  
her gen Regensburg mit zweien wixsen  
Augäpfeln / samt dem Stab und dem Horen / hat  
da selbst angerufen die Schönen Mariam / das sie  
im sein Gesicht wiederum erleuchtet. Als er aber

which no doctor could not help him with,  
although he lost a lot of money to doctor.  
Accordingly, he troth-plighted himself to the  
beautiful Maria in Regensburg, naked and bare  
from Alcove. As soon as he did this, such illness  
left him. All of this occurred in Regensburg in the  
Whitsun weeks. After the birth of Christ one  
thousand five hundred and 19th year. Praise be to  
God and the beautiful Mary.

#### **The 24<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Ulrich Höfel cattle keeper or shepherd near  
Muttersdorf on the Noriko / not far from  
Hohenfeld / had a housewife / she asked him for a  
time / that he let her with other pious devout  
people also visit the beautiful Maria in  
Regensburg. [But she was spoiled by him for such  
a bed.] Then on a Saturday, many devout people  
went from Hohenfeld and such places / from  
Regensburg to the beautiful Maria / the  
shepherdess had to stay at home as commanded  
by her husband. He drove out the animals / and  
this found him in a ditch / not far from Hohenbürg  
/ and let it go back and forth. He also leashes  
himself on his shepherd's staff / when such people  
are used to it / a dizziness came to him / also  
yellow and green and great unrest in himself. So /  
that escaped his face but he kept a little shine. It  
occurred to him that it was a punishment from  
God and the Virgin Mary. He half sent it to  
himself / that he didn't let his housewives go and  
visit the beautiful Mariam in Regensburg. So he  
lifted himself up and his staff as much as he could  
and returned home to his house and said so to his  
housewives. Beautiful Maria didn't complain and  
tightened up the cliché. Take four pounds of lard  
and sales / and a chicken / that you would like to  
have a sprained / and go to Regensburg. The  
woman came here and such everything and  
everyone indicated. The because what robs the  
keeper of his face. But then Frau Heim came / the  
keeper himself makes his way more blindly / and  
came to Regensburg with two fat eyeballs /  
together with the staff and the hearing / called out  
to the beautiful Mariam / that she in turn in his  
face enlightened. But when he walked around the  
chapel on his bare knees fifteen times / his face  
was completely different from him. He praises  
God and the beautiful Maria.

fünfzehn mall auf blossen Knien ums die  
Kapellen was gegangen / wart ihm sein Gesicht  
gänzlich wider. Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen  
Mariam.

**Das 25. Zeichen.**

Georg Mossholzer zu Oberleirndorf / hat das  
hinfallend gehabt ob Zwölf Jahren. Ist ihm im  
schlaf vorkommen er sol sich geheissen gen  
Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria mit einer  
gesprochen mess. Als bald er solches hat getan /  
ist er solcher erschrecklicher Krankheit ledig  
worden. Darum er billig lobt Gott und die  
Schönen Maria.

**Das 26. Zeichen.**

Hans Fuchs Burger zu Regensburg / hat ein  
kleines Töchterlein / das hat ein Füssen-lein von  
Mütter Leib / das sich zu keiner zeit nicht wollt  
lassen biegen / der halb die menschen besorgten  
die Füssen würden zusammen wachsen. Darum er  
Hans Fuchs das Kindlein zu der schöne Maria  
verlobt mit zweien wachsen Füssen und mit eine  
Handtuch / zu-Hand wart das Füssen-lein gerecht.  
Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen Maria.

**Das 27. Zeichen.**

Paulus Kern zu Landshut wart tödlich mit einem  
Reitschwert durchstochen. Also / das ihm kein  
Arzt nicht helfen könnt / hat sich verheissen gen  
Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria / mit einen  
wachsen man / durchstochen mit dem Reitschwert  
/ zu-Hand hilf ihm Gott und die Schönen Maria.  
Deshalb er sie billig lobt und eher.

**Das 28. Zeichen.**

Ein person zu Regensburg die sich aus Be-  
Müdigkeit nicht nennen will / ist in grosser  
Anfechtung und Widerwärtigkeit gewesen / dazu  
stuess sie ein stich an in der linken Seiten / so hart  
/ das sie sich ihrs Lebens hat verwegen / hat  
angerufen die schönen Maria / zu-Hand ist sie  
gesund worden. Des sie auch lobt Gott und die  
Schönen Mariam.

**The 25<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Georg Mossholzer from Oberleirn village / fell  
down when he was twelve. If it seems to him in  
his sleep he should be bidden to Regensburg to  
the beautiful Maria with a spoken prayer. As soon  
as he did this / he was rid of such a terrible illness.  
Therefore he justly praises God and the beautiful  
Mary.

**The 26<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hans Fuchs, citizen of Regensburg / has a little  
daughter / she has a little foot of mother's body /  
that never wanted to be bent / that half the people  
cared for the feet would grow together. That's why  
he betrothed Hans Fuchs the little child to the  
beautiful Maria with two figures of feet made in  
wax and with a towel / immediately the little feet  
were fair. He praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 27<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Paulus Kern of Landshut was fatally stabbed with  
a riding sword. So / that no doctor could help him  
at all/ he therefore promised a pilgrimage himself  
to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / with a wax  
figure of a man/ pierced with the riding sword /  
from that moment God and the beautiful Maria  
helped him. Therefore he praises them rightly and  
truly.

**The 28<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

A person in Regensburg who does not want to  
name himself out of tiredness / was in great  
temptation and repugnance / she got a stab in the  
left side / so hard / that she risked her life / called  
the beautiful Maria / immediately she was healed.  
She also praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**Das 29. Zeichen.**

Item die jetzt angemalt person / ist auf ein zeit gingen von Freising gen Landshut / auf dem weg hat sie aufgehabt ein Birne unter einen Baum liegend / und die Giften. Demnach solch schwerlich schmerzen und wehtat befunden / das sie sich endlich Tod het begeben / sich da unter einen Baum gelegt / und nicht weiter mögen kommen / in grosser solchen tödlichen Not / hat sich diese person zu der Schönen Maria gen Regensburg mit einem Opfer verheissen / zu-Hand ist solch Gift durch das und-neuen zu de Mund ausgingen / das auch grausam-lich ist gewesen zu sehen. Es vermeint auch gedachte person und glaubt endlich / das ein Kröte oder Schlangen die Birne vergiften haben. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Maria.

**Das 30. Zeichen.**

Ein Frau von Ingolstadt / hat in ihrem Leib gross merklich Stein gehabt / der halb sie auch bei tag und nacht kein ruhe gehabt / sonder gross schmerzen erlitten. Hat sich gen Regensburg zu der Schön Maria versprochen mit einen Opfer / sein die Stein von ihr kommen / und sie solcher Pein ledig worden / des sie billig lobt Gott und die Schöne Maria.

**Das 31. Zeichen.**

Item mehr ein person die sich aus de Müdigkeit nicht hat wollen nennen. Hat gehabt solche grosse unleidliche Krankheit / das sie sich mehrmals Sterbens verwegen hat / in solchen Noten hat sie angerufen die Schönen Maria zu Regensburg / und sich da hin verlobt mit eine wachsen Bild / zu-Hand ist sie gesund worden. Darum lobt sie billig Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 32. Zeichen.**

Steffan Eisenkranz Schmidt zum Wezelberg. Ist gehörlose gewesen am linken mehr als fünfzehn Jahren. Auch sein hausfrau ist gelegen in grosser Krankheit / das ihr niemand das leben geheissen. Ist ihm in sein Sinn kommen / er sollt anrufen die Schönen Mariam zu Regensburg / das tat er für sich und für sein Hausfrauen / zu-Hand warden sie beide gesund. Sind zu Regensburg alle gewesen auf Freitag nach Crucis / nach Christi

**The 29<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Another example. the person now mentioned / went from Freising to Landshut at one time / on the way she picked up a pear lying under a tree / and the poisons. Accordingly, it was found that she was in such pain and pain / that she finally felt like she would die /and laid herself under a tree / unable to go any further / in such mortal distress / this person promised to make an offering to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / immediately poison went out through the mouth and nose / that it was also cruel-horrible to see. People think and finally believe / that a toad or snakes have poisoned the pear. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Mary.

**The 30<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

A woman from Ingolstadt / had a large, noticeable tumor in her body / because of this she had no rest day and night / but suffered great pain. She promised to make an offering to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / that the stones did come from her / and she was free of such pain / for which she justly praises God and the beautiful Maria.

**The 31<sup>st</sup> Sign.**

Further example. Another person who did not want to name themselves because of tiredness. Had such a great, unbearable illness / that she nearly died several times / with such troubles she called the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / and pledged her troth there with a wax picture / immediately she got well. Therefore she praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 32<sup>nd</sup> Sign.**

Steffan Eisenkranz, smith of Wezelberg had been deaf in the left ear for over fifteen years. His housewife is also in a serious illness / that no one thought she would survive. It occurred to him / that he should call the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / he did this for himself and for his housewife / immediately they were both well. All of this was reported in Regensburg on Friday after Crucis / one thousand five hundred and nineteen

Geburt Tausend fünfhundert und 19. Jahr. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 33. Zeichen.**

Veit Lieber von Burghausen / ein Dorf bei Freising / hat ein Hausfrauen die ist an Sant Batholemeus Tag von einem hohem Bierbaum gefallen / das man sie Alda fur Tod hat ums gezogen / und niemand kein leben an ihr erkennen mögen. In solchem grossen Herzeleid / so ihm zugestanden was / ist ihm erscheinen die Mutter Gottes die Schön Maria / und ihm geraten / er soll sein Hausfrauen gen Regensburg mit einem gesungen Amt der heiligen mess verheissen / samt einen wachsen arm / alsdann wurden seinem Weib wiederum das leben. So er aber solches hat getan / ist sein hausfrau gesund auf gestanden. Sind beide alle zu Regensburg gewesen auf Samstag nach Crucis. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 34. Zeichen.**

Margarete Fleischmann von Luppurg nicht weit von Regensburg wart härtig-lichen geschlagen und verwundet in ihr Haupt / der halb der Bater ihr zehn Bein aus dem Haupt nam. Solch Gefecht und Unruhe was verordnet und vermeint ihrem Mann / darum das frommen Weib sich unterstütz solches zu unterkommen. In dieser Gefährlichkeit ruft sie an die Schön Mariam zu Regensburg / sich dahin mit einen Opfer zu stelle / zu-Hand ist sie gesund worden und ihrer Arbeit gepflegt wie vormals. Ist alle zu Regensburg gewesen an Sant Matheus tag nach Christi Geburt 1500 und 19. Jahr. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 35. Zeichen.**

Hans Neumair von Burghausen im ob bemehlten Dorf bei Freising / hat einen Son Wolfgang genannt / der hat gehabt grosse Krankheit die im auch ein Aug gänzlich aus dem Haupt getrieben und verderbt / auch das recht der verstopft hat. Also / das er nicht hat mögen damit gesehen noch gehören / solche hat er erlitten fünfzehn Wochen. Hat ihn sein Vater deshalb gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria versprochen / zu-Hand ist ihm sein Gesicht und sein gehör gänzlich wiederum gegeben worden. Got sei lob und der schönen Marie.

years after the birth of Christ. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 33<sup>rd</sup> Sign.**

Veit Lieber of Burghausen / a village near Freising / has a housewife who fell from a high beer tree on the day of Sant Bartholomew / that she was dragged around for death / and no one wanted to recognize her as being dead. In such great heartbreak / if he was granted what / the Mother of God, the beautiful Maria, appeared to him / and advised him / he should promise his wife to Regensburg with an office of holy mass / together with one wax arm / then his wife would once again regain her life. But when he did this / his housewife got up healthy. Both have all been to Regensburg on Saturday after Crucis. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Mary.

**The 34<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Margarete Fleischmann from Luppurg not far from Regensburg was severely beaten and wounded in her head / the father took ten bones from her head. In this danger she called on the beautiful Mary in Regensburg / to go there with an offering/ right away she was healed and cared for her work as before. All of this was reported in Regensburg on Sant Matthew's day after Christ's birth 1500 and 19th year. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Maria.

**The 35<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hans Neumair from Burghausen in the above-mentioned village near Freising / named a son Wolfgang / he had a serious illness that also drove an eye out of his head and spoiled it / he was right too, he was constipated. So / that he neither saw nor heard with it / such he endured fifteen weeks. For this reason, his father promised him to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / right away his face and his hearing were completely given back to him. God be praised and to the beautiful Maria.

**Das 36. Zeichen.**

Hanns Hunzinger Lederer zu Cham / hat ein kind drei Jahr alt / das was in den Regen gefallen / und zu Boden kommen / auch Alda ein zeit gelegen / das auch allen von Cham gewusst ist. Man zog das kind aus bemalten Wasser / aber von meniglich Tod gedacht / mehr zum anderen und zum dritten mal könnt niemand kein leben an ihm nicht Briefen. In solchen Noten ruft sein Vater an die Schön Maria zu Regensburg / und Gehieß dahin das kind selbes persönlich mit einem wachsen Opfer zu bringen / zu-Hand wart den Kind das leben wiederum gegeben. Ist alle zu Regensburg gewesen samt dem kind / an Sant Heimerans oder Sant Maurizen Tag. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 37. Zeichen.**

Hanns Gibunssgenüg wird zu Landshut / hat im Ruck so gross Krankheit und wehtat lange Zeit gehabt / deshalb er auch bei tag und nacht kein Ruhe einiger weiss nicht hat / hat sich gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria mit einen Opfer verheissen. Ist zu-Hand gesund worden / und in fürbass solcher schmerz nicht mehr berührt. Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 38. Zeichen.**

Hand Pitzner Schneider zu Straubing / hat grossen schaden gehabt and seinen Bein/ Daran im niemand möchte helfen / demnach er solchen schaden gelitten hat drei Jahr/ kam ihm in sein gemuht / er sollt anrufen die Schöne Maria zu Regensburg. Als bald er solches hat getan ist er gesund worden. Darum er Gott lobt und die schönen Maria.

**Das 39. Zeichen.**

Georg Schneider von Geisenfeld / ist lange Zeit an Franzosen Krank gelegen. Ist ihm in sein gemuht kommen / er soll sich versprechen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria. Solches hat er getan mit einem halben Pfund wachs / ist er demnach zuband worden gesund. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Marie.

**The 36<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hanns Hunzinger Lederer zu Cham / has a three-year-old child / something that fell in the rain / and fell to the ground / also happened to Alda for a while / that everyone in Cham also knew. The child was pulled out of painted water / but thought of death as a man / more to the other and the third time no one could live on him without letters. In such distress, his father called on the beautiful Maria of Regensburg / and promised to bring to her to the child himself personally with a wax offering / from this moment the child was given life again. So all went to Regensburg together with the child / on Sant Heimeran's or Sant Maurizen's day. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Mary.

**The 37<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hanns Gibunssgenüg is in Landshut / has had such a big illness and pain for a long time / that's why he doesn't have any rest day and night / has promised to go to Regensburg with a sacrifice to the beautiful Maria. Has been healed at hand / and is no longer afflicted by such pain. He praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 38<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hand Pitzner Schneider of Straubing / had a lot of damage to his leg / no one wanted to help with it / after he has suffered such damage for three years / he raised in his voice / called the beautiful Maria of Regensburg. As soon as he did this he was healed. That's why he praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 39<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Georg Schneider von Geisenfeld / was ill from the French disease for a long time. He was hopeless / he realized he should promise himself to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg. He did this with half a pound of wax / he was then returned to good health. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**Das 40. Zeichen.**

Anna Blom-bergerin zu Mossheim im Thüingau / ein Meile von Regensburg. Ist also Schwerlich vier Wochen krank gelegen / das sie ihr Vernunft wart gänzlich beraubt. Deshalb haben ihr die menschen zugesprochen / sie soll sich gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria verloben mit einen Opfer. Bald sie soles hat getan als viel sie könnt und macht / ist sie alsdann zu-Hand frisch und gesund worden. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 41. Zeichen.**

Leonhard Weber zu Ingolstadt / hat ein Mädlein Anna genannt / ist zu einem Fenster ausgefallen eins Gaden hoch herab an die Gassen. Ist deshalb sein Mütter zu gelaufen und das kind für Tod geschätzt. Doch viel ihr in Sinn / sie sollt das kind gen Regensburg versprechen zu der Schön Maria / als bald sie solches hat getan / ist das kind erneuert und gesund aufgestanden. Ist alle zu Regensburg gewesen samt den Kind an Sant Ruprechts Tag Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 42. Zeichen.**

Sebastian Hagen auch von Ingolstadt / hat ein hausfrau genannt Walburg / hat sich an ein Spindel so hart gestoßen / has der spitz der Spindel in der Hand ist bleiben / und in darinnen 13. Tag getragen / deshalb sie auch weder Tag oder nacht kein Ruhe nicht gehabt / hat sich demnach alle gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria mit einer gesprochen mess / samt einer wachsen Hand versprochen. Ist alsdann der Spindel spitz aus der hand gingen / und die Frau gesund worden. Ist alle gewesen zu Rendsburg auch an Sant Ruprechts Tag / hat gelobt Gott und und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 43. Zeichen.**

Georg Schreieisen Schmidt und Burger zu Straubing / hat ein Son auch Georg gennant / Acht Jahre alt. Der hat vielleicht etwas verschuldet / deshalb in sein Vater begannt zu straffen / hat in nieder geworfen auf die Erd / und in Alda schlagen wollen. Ist aber der knapp wiederum auf gesprungen / und in der Vater wiederum auf die Erd geworfen. Ist ihm demnach sein Thuseck

**The 40<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Anna Blomberger in Mossheim im Thüingau / a mile from Regensburg. Was gravely ill for four weeks / such that she was completely robbed of her reason. That's why people promised her / she should get engaged to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg with a sacrifice. Soon she soles has done as much as she can and does / she is then at hand fresh and healthy. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 41<sup>st</sup> Sign.**

Leonhard Weber of Ingolstadt / called a girl Anna / fell out to a window one [measure] high down on the streets. So his mother ran away and the child was estimated for death. But it's on her mind / she should promise the child to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / as soon as she has done this / the child will have got up renewed and healthy. Was all in Regensburg, including the child, on Sant Ruprecht's day, Praise be to God and to the beautiful Mary.

**The 42<sup>nd</sup> Sign.**

Sebastian Hagen also from Ingolstadt / had a housewife called Walburg / hit a spindle so hard / that the tip of the spindle was lodged in her hand / and it stayed there for 13 days / that's why she had no rest, neither in day nor night/ therefore all promised to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg with a spoken prayer [Mass] / with a wax figure of a hand. Thereafter the spindle went out of her hand and the woman was healed. All of this was reported in Regensburg on Sant Ruprecht's day / Praising God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 43<sup>rd</sup> Sign.**

Georg Schreieisen Smith and Citizen of Straubing / had a son named Georg / eight years old. Maybe he had done something wrong / that's why his father started to fight / throwing him down on the ground / and wanted to hit him there. But when the son jumped up again / in turn the father was thrown to the ground. So his [Thuseck] was shot out / and the boy was so badly wounded in half /

ausgeschossen/ und den Knaben so hart in halb verwundet / das seins Lebens kein Hoffnung gewesen ist. In so grossen Herzeleid / ruft er an die Schönen Mariam zu Regensburg / er wollt auch den Knaben dahin bringen samt einem wachsen Bild / als schwer der Knabe was. Nun merkt ihr Christen menschen / der Jüngling stünden auf am anderen Tag und wart geheilt. Darum er billig lobt Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

#### **Das 44. Zeichen.**

Anna Selig von Berg nicht weit vom Neunmarkt / hat ein Tochter genannt Barbara / ei was tragend an eine Aug erblindet / deshalb sie samt der Tochter gen Nürnberg kam / da doch hochberühmte Arzt sein / aber kein Aug wehe könnt niemand an ihr erkennen. Ist die Mütter im schlaff vermahnt worden / will sie ihr Tochter gesund haben / sol sie alsdann die gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria verheissen /samt einem Tischtuch. Demnach sie solches getan / ist ihr Tochter gesehen und gesund worden. Ist hie gewesen mit der Tochter samt den Tischtuch auf Sonntag nach Crucis / nach Christi Geburt 1519. Jahr. Und hat Gott gelobt und die Schönen Mariam.

#### **Das 45. Zeichen.**

Symon von Armdorffin in Freisinget Bistums / ist krank gelegen an der halb Jahr / deshalb gewüet und getobt als ob er nicht bei sinnen wer / hat er sich gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria versprochen / zu-Hand ist er gesund worden. Des lobt er Gott und die Schöne Maria.

#### **Das 46. Zeichen.**

Gabriel Fröhlich Müller zu Landau / ist auf ein Zeit auf der Isar gefahren / samt seine Sohn und eine Knecht / haben geführt ein Schaf deshalb sie in der zollen / ist die seib zollen mit Wasser gefüllt worden / deshalb sie auch unter gingen und gehen Boden gefallen samt den treib. Demnach der Knecht die Brücken dasselbe umfing und nachmals auf die Brücken kam. Aber der Vater samt den Sohn in den Wasser hingeflossen / als weit als sechs Äcker-Lang Wegs / hatten sich deshalb Sterbens verwegen. In solchen Noten hat

that there was no hope in his life. In such great heartbreak / he calls to the beautiful Mariam in Regensburg / he also wanted to bring the boy there together with a wax image / as heavy as the boy was. Now you Christians notice that the young man got up the next day and was healed. Therefore he justly praises God and the beautiful Mary.

#### **The 44<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Anna Selig from Berg not far from Neunmarkt / had a daughter named Barbara / who was carrying something that blinded one eye / that's why she came to Nuremberg with her daughter / since his highly famous doctor is / but no one can see a hurt eye in her. While the mother was supposed to be sleeping / she knew how her daughter could be healthy / she then realized she should promise her to Regensburg, therein to visit the beautiful Maria along with an offered tablecloth. So after she did this / her daughter was healed. As she and her daughter were here along with the tablecloth on the Sunday after Crucis / after the birth of Christ 1519. year. praise God and the beautiful Mary.

#### **The 45<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Symon from Armdorffin in Freising diocese / was ill for half a year / therefore he raged and raged as if he had no sense / he promised himself to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / he was healed right away. He praises God and the beautiful Mary.

#### **The 46<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Gabriel Fröhlich Müller from Landau / drove for a while on the Isar / together with his son and a servant / led a sheep so they in the tolls / the own tolls were filled with water / that's why they went under and fell on the ground including the drive. So the servant embraced the bridges and then got onto the bridges. But the father and the son who flowed into the water / as far as six acres long way / therefore dared to die. In notes like this he invoked Gabriel Fröhlich, the beautiful Maria in Regensburg, with a sacrifice / to hand was to give

er Gabriel Fröhlich angerufen die Schöne Maria zu Regensburg mit einen Opfer / zu-Hand wart ihm eingeben in sein Sinn er sollt ihm nicht fürchten / sonder sein Zuflucht da selbst hin haben. Demnach kamen sie beide / der Vater und der Sohn / auf einen Grieß / und stunden Alda im Wasser biss an den Hals / ein viertel einer Stund / und schreien um hilf. Alsdann an schiften etliche Fischer zu ihnen / rn brachten sie heraus an das gestattet frisch und gesund / sein auch all hie zu Regensburg gewesen an Sant Haimerans Tag. Nach Christi Geburt 1519. Jahr. Haben gelobt Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

#### **Das 47. Zeichen.**

Hans Hess Reuter des durchlauchtigen hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Ludwigen Pfalzgraf bei Rhein / Herzogen in Neidern und Obern Bayern rc. Hoff gesinnt / Reid auf ein Zeit gen Norling auf den Bundestag / dasselbe eins nachts lag er Hans Hess an seiner Ruhe lagen auch der massen an der zwei dabei / doch in andern betten / ums Mitternacht begannt Hans Hess aus den Bett springen / und mint seinem Tuss-ecken tröstlich ums sich hauen. Deshalb ward er gefragt was ihm zugestanden. Hat Hess gesagt / etwas ums das Bett greift mich an. Demnach hat Hans Zengraff ein leicht gefordert. Als man das het gebracht / ist Hans Hess aller seiner Vernunft und Sinn beraubt worden / deshalb sechs manne an ihm gehalten / und also ersichtlich getötet und gewütet / das in gedachten Hans Zengraff gen Otting und gen Sant Wolfgang in das Gebirge verheissen hat / aber nichts wollt helfen.

Doch nach einer Zeit hat Hess angerufen die Schönen Maria / und gesagt. Hilf mir du Schöne Maria zu Regensburg / Hilf / Hilf. Also bald hat er ein wenig Ruhe befunden / und einen Priester begehrt zu Beichten. Demnach mann einen Priester gebracht hat / und er ihm nach seinem pesten gebeichtet / auch die Heiligkeit empfangen / ist er wiederum also schwach worden / als am ersten do ihm die krankenweit zu gestanden ist. Er hat uns nachmals in glauben gesagt / und vermeint endlichen / das der Teufel ein grosse Schar in hätte um geben / und neulich einer als ein schwarzer Hund sei Ihm auf einem Schenkel so

him in his mind he shouldn't fear him / but have his refuge there himself. So they both came / the father and the son / for a meal / and spent hours Alda in the water biting her neck / a quarter of an hour / and crying out for help. Then a number of fishermen on ships brought them out to the permitted fresh and healthy / all were here in Regensburg on Sant Haimeran's day. After the birth of Christ 1519th year. Have praised God and the beautiful Mary.

#### **The 47<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hans Hess Reuter of the high-born prince and Lord / Lord Ludwig Count Palatine near the Rhine / Dukes in Lower and Upper Bavaria./ Rode for a time in Norling at the Governmental Center / that same one night Hans Hess lie down to his rest after two masses/ but in other beds / at midnight Hans Hess started to jump out of bed / and hit his corners consolingly. Therefore he was asked what was came over him. Hess said / something around the bed is attacking me. Accordingly, Hans Zengraff demanded assistance. When this was brought / Hans Hess was robbed of all his reason and sense / that is why six men held him / and thus obviously killed and raged / at which point, Hans Zengraff made promises towards Otting and towards Sant Wolfgang in the mountains / but nothing helped.

But after a while Hess called the beautiful Maria / and said. Help me you beautiful Maria of Regensburg / help / help. So soon he found a little rest / and asked for a priest to confess. Accordingly, a man brought a priest / and he confessed to him after his plague / also received holiness / he became weak again / when at first he was entitled to sickness. He later told us in faith / and finally thinks / that the devil had surrounded a large crowd / and recently one of the black dogs jumped on his thigh and pressed him so hard / that his thigh cracked. So he went to his death / blessed his companions / ordered his will / and said so. Dear companions, I have done two

schwerlich gesprungen und in gedruckt / das ihm der Schenkel gekracht hab. Deshalb er sich in Tod begeben / sein gesellen gesegnet / sein testament geordnet / und dermassen gesagt. Lieben gesellen ich hab zwei Hätscher getan / so ich den dritten tun wird / muss ich sterben. Lasst euch mein End befolgen sein. Hat gehabt die Kerzen in der Hand nach Christlicher Gewohnheit / sein ihm demnach sein Fuss erkalte / das Wasser aus seinem Augen geronnen / als ob sie gebrochen werden. Also lag Hans Hess auf ein Stund von menniglich fur Tot geschätzt / wann niemand kein leben an ihm sehen und erkennen mochte. Nachmals ist Hess wider zu ihm selbst kommen / und solche schöne gebet herfuhr gebracht / die niemand vormals von ihm einerlei weiss gehört hat und unter andern also gesagt. O du Schöne Maria bit dein Sohn / das er mich ein Tag lass leben / das ich mein Sünd etlicher mass müg büssen. O Jesu Christi / o mein Gott / bitt mir dein Mütter / das sie mir solches von dir Erwerb. Und so gross Andacht erzeigt / als niemand von ihm je gesehen und gehört hat. Ist ihm demnach erscheinen die Jungfrau Maria / hat gehabt ein Ruhten in ihrer Hand / zu ihm gesagt also. Du hast mehrmals wieder mich getan will du voran solches unterlassen so will ich dir zu hilf kommen. Hat Hess solches ihr verheissen / und aber mal viel hübsch gebet gebraucht / zu-Hand aus dem Bett gesprungen und in die Kirche begehrt / und nachmals all her gen Regensburg kommen zu der Schönen Maria frisch und gesund / und solches alles und jedes auf seinen Eid Alda öffentlich gesagt / dem auch ware urkund und Zeugnis gegeben Hanns Zentgraff und Heinrich Kraft auch Hof befindet zu Landshut / die anfänglich bei seiner Krankheit sind gewesen biss an das End. Auch Veit Herschl und Hamrebeck beide Burger zu Landshut / und endlich mehr die ich diesmal nicht nennen kan. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Maria.

#### **Das 48. Zeichen.**

Wolfgang Walturner Beck zu Straubing / hat ein hausfrau genannt Margaret / hat in ihrer Seiten ein stich gehabt / auch andere gross Krankheit bei dreien Wochen. Auch in zehn Tagen nichts mögen essen / deshalb ihr niemand das leben geheiß / auch mehrmals die Kerzen in der Hand

captors / if I will do the third / I must die. Let you follow my end. Had the candles in his hand according to Christian custom / his foot got cold / the water ran out of his eyes / as if they were being broken. So Hans Hess was estimated to be dead for an hour / when no one wanted to see and recognize that he was not alive. Afterwards, Hess came back to himself / and brought such beautiful prayers / which no one knew of before had heard from him and said so among others. O you beautiful Maria, beg your son / that he let me live for a day / that I may atone for my sin in some way. O Jesus Christ / o my God / your mothers / ask me that they acquire such things from you. And shows so much devotion / than no one has ever seen or heard of him. Accordingly, the Virgin Mary appeared to him / had a rest in her hand / said to him thus. You have done me again several times, if you want to refrain from doing this, I will come to your aid. Has Hess promised her this / and used a lot of nice prayers / jumped out of bed to hand and asked for church / and afterwards everyone came to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria fresh and healthy / and everything and everything like that on his oath then it was said publicly / that Hanns Zentgraff and Heinrich Kraft were also given deeds and testimonies, also court is in Landshut / who were initially with his illness bit to the end. Also Veit Herschl and Hamrebeck both citizens of Landshut / and finally more that I can not name this time. Praise be to God and the beautiful Maria.

#### **The 48<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Wolfgang Walturner Beck zu Straubing / has a housewife called Margaret / has had a prick in her side / also other big illness in three weeks. Even in ten days I don't want to eat anything / that's why nobody told her to live / also had the candles in her hand several times. The beautiful Maria

gehabt. Ist ihr erscheinen die Schön Maria in solcher gestalt / als sie auch zu Regensburg in der neuen Kapellen gebildet ist / samt viel anderen Jungfrauen. Hat sie gedeucht sie wer in der Kirchen / und legten ihr ein weiss Hemmat an / auch wie sie die Jungfrauen verminten / das sie ein wachsen Gürtel hergebe / samt eine Stückle / alsdann wurde sie gesund. Als bald sie solches hat verheissen / ist sie gesund worden. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 49. Zeichen.**

Thoma Amman in Salär Pfarre / hat ein Mädlein zwanzig Wochen alt / das vie in solche Krankheit / das von ihm acht tag Blut was geflossen. Deshalb er das kind gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria mit seinem hemmet-lein und Schleier verbrach / zu-Hand wart es gesund. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 50. Zeichen.**

Hanns Steübel von Sall. Ist am Pfinztag nach Laurenti mit zwei Holzschiffen gefahren auf der Thunau. Ist ihm solch ungestüm und Ungewitter zu gestanden von winden und regen / das er sich seins Lebens hat verwegen. Deshalb hat er angerufen die Schön Mariam zu Regensburg und sich versprochen dahin zu kommen mit einem wachsen schiff / zu-Hand kam er aus solcher Gefährlichkeit. Des lobt er Gott und die schönen Mariam.

**Das 51. Zeichen.**

Der massen geschah des jetzt bemalten Hanns Steübel Bruder / der nach ihm herab fur am selben Tag auch mit einem Holzschiff / als weit ein Acker lang Wegs Zeichen mag / samt seinem Knecht. Das das schiff wart um gestürzt. Hat auch dermassen angerufen die Schönen Mariam zu Regensburg / und sich dahin mit einem Opfer versprochen / die ist ihm samt dem Knecht zu hilf kommen. Also / das er Jörg Steübel und sein Knecht sein geronnen auf der Thunau ein halbe Meile auf einem Holz / von Peütling biss gen Brüffening / und kamen nachmals auf ein Grieß. Des lobten sie Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

appears to her in the same form / as she is also formed in the new chapel in Regensburg / along with many other virgins. Did she think someone in the church / and put a white shirt on her / also how they mined the virgins / that she would give a wax belt / along with a piece of money / then she got well. As soon as she promised such things / she was healed. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 49<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Thoma Amman in Salär parish / has a girl twenty weeks old / who had such an illness / that bled from him for eight days. That's why he took the child to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria with his little collar and veil / at hand it was healthy. Praise be to God and the beautiful Maria.

**The 50<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hanns Steebel von Sall. Went to Laurenti on the Pfinztag with two wooden ships on the Thunau. Is it so impetuous and tempest to face of wind and rain / that he dared his life. That's why he called Schön Mariam zu Regensburg and promised to come there with a wax ship / he came to hand because of such danger. He praises God and the beautiful Maria.

**The 51<sup>st</sup> Sign.**

The masses happened to the now painted Hanns Steübel brother / who descended after him for the same day also with a wooden ship / as far as a field long way may sign / together with his servant. The ship was about to fall. Has also called the beautiful Mariam in Regensburg / and promised herself there with a sacrifice / she came to his aid together with the servant. So / that he Jörg Steübel and his servants had coagulated on the Thunau half a mile on a piece of wood / from Peütling bit towards Brüffening / and later came to a meal. They praised God and the beautiful Maria.

**Das 52. Zeichen.**

Hans Keck Fischer zu Landshut / hat gehabt ein Bruch vier ganze Jahr / das ihm niemand helfen möchten. Hat er angerufen die schön Mariam zu Regensburg / und sich dahin mit einem wachsen Bild versprochen. Ist er demnach gänzlich frisch und gesund worden. Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 53. Zeichen.**

Hanns Summermair von Münchsmünster / ist seiner Sinn beraubt gewesen etliche tag / und gar unvernünftig gewesen. Ist ihm die Schöne Maria erscheinen / und in vermahnt / er sol sich verloben gen Regensburg in ihr Kapelle / als bald er solches hat getan / ist ihm sein Vernunft wiederum worden. Des lobt er Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 54. Zeichen.**

Wolfgang Schnabel von Resching / hat ein Kindlein / hat bei ihm gehabt ein grossen Stein / deshalb nieder kein Ruhe gehabt / hat man das kind verlobt get Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria / zu-Hand ging der Stein von dem Kind. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 55. Zeichen.**

Anna Beurin nicht weit von Bogen. Ist etliche tag so doll und ungeschickt gewesen / auch aller ihrer Vernunft beraubt / das sie mehrmals ist aus gelaufen gen Holz / und sich Alda verschlossen / deshalb ihr Hauswirt sie gehieß gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Mariam mit einen Opfer / zu-Hand wart sie gesund. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 56. Zeichen.**

Item. Ein Priester aus Schottenland / hat schwere Krankheit erlitten an seinen Augen / auch ein vergifte Blatter an einem Schienbein gehabt. Hat er sich deshalb versprochen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria mit einer gesprochen mess / und mit zweien wachsen Augen / samt einen wachsen Schienbein / alsdann ist er ganz frisch und gesund worden. Darum er billig lobt Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**The 52<sup>nd</sup> Sign.**

Hans Keck Fischer zu Landshut / had a break for four whole years / that nobody wanted to help him. Did he call the beautiful Mariam in Regensburg / and promised himself there with a wax picture. he has therefore become completely fresh and healthy. He praises God and the beautiful Maria.

**The 53<sup>rd</sup> Sign.**

Hanns Summermair von Münchsmünster / was robbed of his senses for several days / and was completely unreasonable. When the beautiful Maria appeared to him / and he was warned / he should get engaged to Regensburg in her chapel / as soon as he had done this / his reason was restored to him. He praises God and the beautiful Maria.

**The 54<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Wolfgang Schnabel von Resching / has a child / had a big stone with him / therefore had no rest / the child was betrothed to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / the stone went to hand from the child. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Mary.

**The 55<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Anna Beurin not far from Bogen. For a few days she was so stupid and clumsy / also deprived of all her reason / that she ran off to Holz several times / and closed herself to Alda / that's why her landlord called her to Regensburg to the beautiful Mariam with a sacrifice / by hand she was healthy. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Maria.

**The 56<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

item. A priest from Scotland / suffered a serious illness in his eyes / also had a poisoned pox on a shin. So he promised himself in Regensburg to the beautiful Maria with a said Mass / and with two wax eyes / together with a wax shin / then he will be completely fresh and healthy. Therefore he justly praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**Das 57. Zeichen.**

Michel Lernstadel ist lange Zeit an Franzosen krank gelegen / daran ihm niemand geholfen möchten / hat sich verheissen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria / zu-Hand ist er solcher plag ledig worden. Darum lobt er Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**The 57<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Michel Lernstadel was ill for a long time because of the French / because no one wanted to help him / promised to go to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria / at hand he was freed from such a nuisance. Therefore he praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**Das 58. Zeichen.**

Hans Amman zu Leirndorf in Schirlinger Pfarre / Hat ein Hausfrau Katharina genannt / die ist lange Zeit geschwollen gelegen / deshalb niemand ihr das leben Gehieß. Hat sie sich gen Regensburg zu er Schönen Maria verheissen mit einem wachsen Bild / samt einer Hennen und Handtuch / ist sie als bald frisch und gesund worden. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie / Ist all hie zu Regensburg gewesen an Sant Gilgen Tag / nach Christi Geburt. 1519. Jahr.

**The 58<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hans Amman zu Leirndorf in Schirling parish / a housewife called Katharina / she was swollen for a long time / therefore no one asked her to live. She promised herself to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg with a wax image / including a hen and a towel / she soon became fresh and healthy. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Maria / everyone was here in Regensburg on Sant Gilgen day / after the birth of Christ. Year 1519.

**Das 59. Zeichen.**

Item. Hanns Herman zu Ahelsing / hat ein Tochterlein Barbara genannt / länger dann ein ganze Stund Tot gelegen / auch von meniglich Tod geschätzt / hat man ihm den Mund aufgebracht / aber kein leben an ihm erfunden / at er Hanns Herman das Kind versprochen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria / ist alsdann das kind frisch und gesund aufgestanden. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Maria.

**The 59<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

item. Hanns Herman zu Ahelsing / named a little daughter Barbara / then lay dead for a whole hour / also estimated from meniglich death / they opened his mouth / but didn't invent a life in him / when he promised Hanns Herman the child to Regensburg to the Beautiful Maria / the child then got up fresh and healthy. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Mary.

**Das. 60. Zeichen.**

Hans Haberrain von Perching / hat ein hausfrau auch Barbara genannt / hat gehabt ein grossen Leib / deshalb sie auch schwanger was / noch acht Wochen auf die Zeit der Gebären. Demnach stiess sie / solch schmerzen an in ihrer Seiten / als sollt sie sterben. Darum schicket sie ihren harm gen Nürnberg / auch gen Ingolstadt / liess die fragen was doch wer solcher unleidlicher schmerzen / wart ihr gesagt von den Artzen der orten / sie hätte ein Apostel / deshalb ihr niemand möchten helfen / darum ihr Hauswirt sie vermahnt / das sie empfing das hochwertig sacrament / und ihr sag verordnet. Demnach hat sie sich gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria verheissen / barfuss und mit Wasser und Brot / auch mit einen gold Gulden

**The. 60<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Hans Haberrain von Perching / a housewife also called Barbara / had a big body / that's why she was pregnant / still eight weeks until the time of giving birth. So she felt / such pains in her side / as if she were about to die. That's why she sends her harm to Nuremberg / also to Ingolstadt / had the questions asked who had such unbearable pain / were you told by the local doctors / she had an apostle / that's why nobody wanted to help her / that's why her landlord admonished her / that she received the precious sacrament / and her say ordained. Accordingly, she has promised herself to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg / barefoot and with water and bread / also with a gold guilder / including a pound of wax. As soon as she

/ samt einen Pfund Wachs. Als bald sie solches versprochen hat / in einer halben Stund kam das kind von ihr / in leben blieben ein Tag und ein halbe Nacht. Des lobt sei Gott und die Schönen Mariam die Mutter Gottes die Himmel Königin.

**Das 61. Zeichen.**

Walburg Kanin zu Augsburg / hat ein Kindlein dreissig Wochen alt / ist gebrochen gewesen bei den gemachten / hat angerufen die Schönen Mariam zu Regensburg / zu-Hand wart das kind gesund. Des sie auch lobt Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 62. Zeichen.**

Hans Bart Schwertfeger zu Landshut hat ein hausfrau Barbara genannt / die lag in schwerer Krankheit ein viertel Jahrs / doch fünf Wochen unwissend. Hat sie gedachten Hanns Bart gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria versprochen mit einer Perlen wid / zu-Hand wart sie gesund. Log sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 63. Zeichen.**

Sixt Hofmeister wird und Fuhrmann zu der Neustadt bei Abnsberg. Hat ein hausfrau Anna genannt / die lag in grosser schwerer Krankheit bei dreien Wochen / das ihr niemand das leben verhiess. In solchen Noten hat Sixt Hofmeister bei ihm selbst also gesagt. Du Schöne Maria zu Regensburg hilf meiner hausfrau / Ich will dir opfern mein Sattel-Ross. Als bald er solches geredet / ist demnach sein hausfrau frisch und gesund worden. Hat zu-Hand Allher gen Regensburg gebracht sein Hausfrauen samt dem Ross / das geopfert der Schönen Marie. Doch hat er das wiederum begehrt zu kaufen / deshalb er zwölf Gulden Reinisch dafür hat geben und bezahlt. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Marie.

**Das 64. Zeichen.**

Ursula Speit zu Dinkelsbuhel / hat das hinfallen gehabt lange Zeit. Hat sich Allher gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria verheissen. Ist sie alsdann solches Gebrechens ledig worden. Gott sei lob und der Schönen Marie.

promised such a thing / in half an hour the child came from her / in life remained a day and a half night. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary, the Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven.

**The 61<sup>st</sup> Sign.**

Walburg Kanin in Augsburg / has a baby thirty weeks old / was broken at the birth / called up the beautiful Mariam in Regensburg / the child was healthy by hand. She also praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 62<sup>nd</sup> Sign.**

Hans Bart Schwertfeger from Landshut named a housewife Barbara / she was seriously ill for three months / but ignorant for five weeks. Has she promised Hanns Bart in Regensburg to the beautiful Maria with a pearl headpiece / at hand she was healthy. Log be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 63<sup>rd</sup> Sign.**

Sixt became Hofmeister and carter to Neustadt near Abnsberg. A housewife called Anna / she was three weeks in a serious illness / that no one promised her life. In notes like this Sixt Hofmeister said to himself. You beautiful Maria zu Regensburg help my housewife / I will sacrifice my saddle horse to you. As soon as he said such a thing, his housewife became fresh and healthy. Has brought his housewives to hand to Regensburg together with the horse / that sacrifices to the beautiful Marie. But he wanted to buy it again / that's why he gave and paid twelve gulden Reinisch for it. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 64<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Ursula Speit zu Dinkelsbuhel / had that fall for a long time. When he promised himself to the beautiful Maria in Regensburg, she then rid him of such infirmity. Praise be to God and the beautiful Mary.

**Das 65. Zeichen.**

Michel Leibes Fischer zu Straubing / ist in grosser schwerer Krankheit gelegen / fünf Wochen / seiner Sinn beraubt / deshalb ihm niemand das leben gehieß / hat in sein hausfrau gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria versprochen mit Wasser und mit Brot / samt ihrer Schwaben zu-Hand ist er frisch und gesund worden. Des lobt er billig Gott und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 66. Zeichen.**

Georg Prechlin witib zu Feldorff / hat ein Kindlein fünf Jahre alt. Das hat gehabt etliche zeit grosse Krankheit / deshalb getobt und gewütet / das ihm niemand das leben gehieß. Die Mutter ruft an die Schön Mariam zu Regensburg / und verhieß sich dabei mit Wasser und Brot dasselbe hin zu gehen / zu-Hand wart das kind gesund. Gott sei lob und der Schöne Marie.

**Das 67. Zeichen.**

Georg Deutsch Berger Schüester zu Kelheim / Hat gehabt grosse schwere Krankheit / und die erlitten etliche zeit. Sagt er wie in solche Krankheit hab restlich berührt bei der predig zu den Barfüßern zu Kelheim. Ist ihm demnach erscheinen Maria die Königin / und su ihm gesagt / wollt er solcher Krankheit ledig werden / sollt er bald gen Regensburg gen mit Wasser und mit Brot / und in einer Leib-feit oder hemmat. Demnach benannter Schüester zu ihm selbst kam / gedacht. Er wie ein solche schwere Kirch-fahrt nicht wollt zu tun wer / er wollt auch solches nicht vollbringen. Erschein im abermals die Jungfrau Maria / und anzeigt im das Jungst Gericht / mit solchen Worten. Will du nicht zu mir gen / so wirst du sterben. Demnach er sich zu-Hand verbrach Allher gen Regensburg zu kommen / dermassen wie obgemelt ist / zu-Hand ist er frisch und gesund worden / und nachmals all hie zu Regensburg gewesen in einer Leib-feit / und die daselbst gelassen. Auch solches alles und jedes auf seinen Eid angezeigt / und Gott gelobt und die Schönen Mariam.

**Das 68. Zeichen.**

Ein junge Gräfin von dem hag und Frauenberg Maximiliana gennant / hat sich mit einem Brot messer durch einen Augapfel gestochen / deshalb sie auch grossen schmerzen erlitten / und das Aug

**The 65<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Michel Leibes Fischer zu Straubing / is in a serious illness / five weeks / robbed of his senses / therefore nobody called him to life / promised his housewife in Regensburg to the beautiful Maria with water and bread / together with her Swabians to hand he has become fresh and healthy. Of this he praises God and the beautiful Mary.

**The 66<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Georg Prechlin's widow from Feldorff / has a child five years old. He had a serious illness for a long time / that's why he raged and raged / that no one called him dead. The mother called the beautiful Mariam in Regensburg / and promised herself to go there with water and bread / the child was healthy at hand. Praise be to God and beautiful Marie.

**The 67<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Georg Deutsch Berger Schuester zu Kelheim / Had a serious illness / and suffered for quite a while. He says how in such an illness touched the rest at the sermon to the barefoot in Kelheim. If Mary the Queen appears to him / and he has been told / if he wants to get rid of such an illness / he should soon go to Regensburg with water and bread / and in a body suit or shirt. Accordingly named Schuester came to himself / thought. He does not want to do such a difficult church trip who / he also does not want to accomplish such. The Virgin Mary appears to him again / and announces the Last Judgment / with such words. If you don't want to come to me / you will die. So he committed himself to coming all the way to Regensburg / as is said above / he became fresh and healthy at hand / and afterwards was all here in Regensburg in one body / and left it there. Also such everything and everything indicated on his oath / and God praised and the beautiful Mary.

**The 68<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

A young countess of the hag and Frauenberg called Maximiliana / pierced the ball of her eye with a bread knife / that's why she suffered great pain / and completely spoiled the eye.

gänzlich verderbt. Demnach wart die verheissen gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria mit einem wachsen Bild / schwer als ehe gedachte Gräfin / zu-Hand ward sie gesund. Ist all hie zu Regensburg gewesen auf den Samstag nach Michaelis / und mit ihr gebracht das Bild samt dem messer darin steckend / und hat gelobt Gott und die Schönen Mariam die Mutter Gottes die Himmel Königin.

**Das 69. Zeichen.**

Leonhard Lobmeir Beck und Burger zu Amberg hat ein Hausfrauen mit einem Kindlein schwanger. Deshalb sie so herzlich was geschwollen / das ihr niemand das leben verhiess / und auch gross schmerzen erlitten. Doch kam sie des Kindleins nieder / die Geschwulst aber nicht nach liess / sonder sie so schwerlich gepeinigt / das sie ihr Vernunft beraubt was. Ihr Hauswirt sass bei ihr vor dem Bett und beginnt ihr zusprechen. Do fing sie an von herzen zu lachen / und sprach. Sich du Schöne Maria. Fragt er was sie gesehen hat / das sie also hat gelacht. Hat sie im geantwortet. Ich hab gesehen die Schönen Mariam / die trüg ein Kindlein an ihrem arm / und hat an ein plaben Rock / zu-Hand verhiess sie sich gen Regensburg zu der Schönen Maria mit einem hemmat zu einer Alben und mit zweien silbern ringen / samt einen Ort eins Guldens. Nachmals ward sie frisch und gesund und kam gen Regensburg / und zeigt endlich in glauben an / das die Bildnis der Jungfrauen Marie / so in der Tafel auf dem Choraltar gemalt ist / Ihr zu Amberg erscheinen wäre. Ist all hie zu Regensburg gewesen auf Montag nach Michaelis. Lob sei Gott und der Schönen Marie.

[END]

Accordingly, the promised waited in Regensburg to the beautiful Maria with a wax image / heavy than the married countess / at hand she recovered. They were all here in Regensburg on the Saturday after Michaelis / and brought the picture with her, including the knife stuck in it / and praised God and the beautiful Mary, the Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven.

**The 69<sup>th</sup> Sign.**

Leonhard Lobmeir Beck and Burger zu Amberg has a housewives pregnant with a child. That's why she was so swollen / that no one promised her life / and also suffered a lot of pain. But she gave birth to the child / but the swelling did not subside / it was so severely tormented / that she was deprived of her sanity. Her landlord sat by her bed and began to speak to her. Then she began to laugh heartily / and spoke. You beautiful Maria. He asks what she saw / that she laughed. Did she answer in the. I have seen the beautiful Mariam / she is carrying a child on her arm / and has a plain skirt / she promised to go to Regensburg to the beautiful Maria with a theme for an album and with two silver rings / including a place one guilders. Afterwards she became fresh and healthy and came to Regensburg / and finally shows in faith / that the portrait of the virgin Marie / is painted in the panel on the choir altar / would have appeared to her in Amberg. Was all here in Regensburg on the Monday after mass on Saint Michaels Day. Praise be to God and to the beautiful Maria.

[END]

## Appendix B.4 1517 Schoffau Miracle Broadside

Transcription of the three columns of text as seen in Figure 8. The Ettal Broadside, also known as the Schoffau Broadside (1517). (345 x 235 mm), BSB 6307623, MDZDB Einbl. I, 22 d. Image courtesy of [MDZDB](#).

Marie lob will ich preisen	Praise Mary whom I want to praise
Mit viel wunder Zeichen weißen	With many known miracles
Die jetzt geschehen überall	They are happening everywhere now
Die all zuschreiben ist on Zahl	They are too numerous to be written
So viel tut sie wunder Zeichen	She performs so many miracles
Das uns der glaub nicht kann laichen	That belief will not cease
Eins ich jetzt und euch will sagen	Now I'll tell something and you will say
Das geschehen ist bei den tagen	That miracle which happened one day
Vor dem Berg nicht weit von Ettal	Before the mountain not far from Ettal
Weißt Menger Mensch überall	People everywhere know
Ist ein Dorf Aschach genannt	There is a village called Aschach
Des hat der Abt in Gewalt und Hand	That had the abbot with power in hand
Zu Ettal do find Brüder drei	There were three brothers of Ettal
Die haben ein gut schweig dabei	They had a good reason to be silent
Zu sich weide Grass ein Guts Gesäß	They had good land
Ziehen sich haben milch und kess	Pulled from (it) milch and (cheese?)
Was sich geben hat in dem Jahr	What they had in a year
Will ich euch machen offenbar	I want to explain to you
An dem Abend des außer tag	On the other evening
Das ist kein mehr ein Ware sag	That there was no more profits to be had
Hat der Hirt ausgetrieben früh	The shepherd was out early
Ist kommen ein Kleins Knäblein herzu	A little boy came along
Wolfgang nun fiert halb Jahr alt	Wolfgang only six months old
Hat noch seiner Vernunft kein Gewalt	Had no power of reason
Kam her auf ein stecken geritten	Came riding upon a horse
Nach jung und kindlichem Sitten	In a young and childish manner
Kam weit [not] dem hirten hinaus	The shepherd saw him
Er meint es wer wider zu haus	He believed that he was back at home
Hinderlich heim von ihm gegangen	He stopped him from going away
Das was nicht. Gar groß verlangen	That was not demanding too much
Hätten Vater und Mutter bald	Soon he wanted his mother and father
Umb ihr Leibs Kind hätten sie groß leid	They were remorseful b/c loss of their child
Suchten das allenthalben überall	They searched everywhere
Gar viel nachbaren ohne zahl	More neighbors than can be counted
Am anderen Tag ward es nicht Funden	On the other day it was not found
Hanns heutner sein Vater von stunden	Hans Heutner, his father, from that moment
Enteis das zu unser Frauen	Called upon our lady
Das sie mit ihr Gnade wer schauen	That she with her grace would look
Auf ihren Herzliebsten Sohn	(look after) their beloved son
Das sie den behüte gar schon	And she was already protecting him
Von Stunde an Trost er überkam	From the moment he was comforted
Seins Herzens Große Trauring Name	His heart weary from sadness
Maria die Heiligst Jungfrau	Mary the Holy Virgin
Die mit Gnade rastern zu Scheffau	She with grace scanned Schöffau

Nicht weit von dem Ort gelegen  
 On Zweifel sie hat gepflegten  
 Und das Kind in der wüst bewahrt  
 Des Mutter sich auch kümmert hart  
 Der Vater die Mutter Trost wohl  
 Dann sie was aller Trauring voll  
 Nun hört zu an dem dritten tag  
 Kam allenthalben die groß klag  
 Von meng ward gesucht das kind  
 Durch Schrofen Welt Wasser geswind  
 In Wolf Bern hin gruben auch  
 Allen Menschen ersuchen was gauch  
 Ob es im Wasser ertrunken wer  
 Oder vertragen Wolf oder Bar  
 Viel Wasser laufen do gar geschwind  
 Noch kund niemand finden das Kind  
 Auf Abend verzweifelt die schar  
 Ein Großes Volk aber nicht gar  
 Ein man der ging neben aus weit  
 Do ein filtzmoos mit hegen leid  
 Über das moos gut er hinein  
 Er ersach das Haupt des kindelein  
 Über in staudendes sich duckt  
 Es sich verbarg do hindere schmückt  
 Doch er der stauden wohl acht Name  
 Er zu dem Kindelein gar bald kam  
 Maria on Zweifel in wiss.  
 Das er das Kindelein fand so gewiss  
 Große Frode der man do empfing  
 Das Kindelein ein weil mit ihm ging  
 Er trugst / kund sein not ermessen  
 Er fragst Liebs Kind wo hast gegessen  
 Es sprach mit meiner Mutter ; dank  
 Hab ich ihm die speis und den trank  
 Mutter Maria geben hab  
 Also ward gefunden der Knab  
 Vater Mutter groß Frode hätten  
 Och alle Menschen : sie täten  
 Ein löblich Opfer gen scheffau  
 Do mit Zeichen [r?]  
 Die on Zweifel das Kind hat behüte  
 Mit ihr großer Gnade milder gut  
 Die behüte uns allesamt hie  
 Hilfe uns aus aller angst und mied

Not far from the location  
 Without a doubt she had cared  
 the child was preserved in the wilderness  
 His mother had also cared greatly  
 His father comforted the mother  
 Then she was full of sorrow  
 But on the third day  
 Came a great cry  
 From the many who had searched for the child  
 Through rugged wilderness and swift water  
 They dug also  
 All people looked where they could  
 If he was drowned  
 Or dragged off by a wolf or a bear  
 Much water flowed very quickly  
 But still no one could find the child  
 In the evening the crowd grew desperate  
 Many people but no (results)  
 One man went far in his search  
 About the (belief? He must have) gone in  
 Believing he fell into the well  
 He searched for the head of the child  
 Crouching (over the mouth of the well)  
 Yet it concealed itself  
 (above his head his name was called 8 times)  
 He quickly went to the child  
 He knew without a doubt it was Mary  
 That he was able to find the child  
 Great happiness began  
 The child for a while went with him  
 He carried the child and cared for his needs  
 He asked what he had eaten  
 He said with my mother, thanks  
 I had food and drink  
 Mother Mary gave me food  
 So was the child found  
 Father and mother were happy  
 Everyone was happy  
 A worthy offering was given at Schöffau  
 Affirmed with signs  
 She had cared without doubt for the child  
 With her great grace and gentle goodness  
 She watches after all of us  
 Help us against all troubles and danger

Am anders höre und weiter mehr  
 Damit der Mutter Gottes eher  
 Wird gemehrt Brisen in allem Land  
 Sich wie sie in der Figur Stand  
 Auf das Kreuz du gar eben lug  
 Ich hab das erfunden gar klug  
 In unsers Landes Geographie  
 Aller stet Beschreibung fand frei  
 Fier großer Hauptkirchen wallfahrt  
 Die besuchen sich meng nicht spart  
 In Brabant ist eine heißt Ach  
 In Schweiz Einsiedeln darnach  
 Im Bayerland Etting / Im Welschland  
 Ich Mariam Sant Loret fand  
 Die ist ein Kapelle mit groß ziert  
 Die die Engels Gottes Hand geführt  
 Über mor und ist die Kapelle  
 Do der Erzengel Gabriel  
 Verkündet Engelchen Gruß  
 Do ist Ablass für Pein schuld büß  
 Der groß Karel hat auch erblicht  
 Gottes Hand Einsiedeln hat geweiht  
 Sant Karel Keizer bauen hat  
 Ettingen nach der guten tat  
 Do er die Heiden gar erschlug  
 Vor Regensburg gewann das mit fug  
 Keizer Ludwig zu Rom lag lang  
 Der Papst tat im an groß zwang  
 Der Keizer hat trauriges leben  
 Ein Mensch bracht ihm ein Merger Bild  
 Er sprach Keizer wenn du Thun wild  
 Was ich dich heiß so wirst versöhnt  
 Mit dem Papst : auf den tag krönt  
 Das geschah / der Mensch hieß in reiten  
 In Deutschland nicht länger beiden  
 Auf ein eben vorm finster Wald  
 Seins Ordens Kloster bauen bald  
 Das tat er / heiß Etal / do Statt  
 Das Bild das im der Mensch geben hat  
 Sucht / ehrt Alls halb unser Frauen  
 So will in not auf euch schauen  
 In mittel des Kreuz Statt Etal  
 Billig ist es auch an der Ziel.

Hear one more  
 With the Mother God truly  
 Would breezes blow across the land  
 How she stood in her figure  
 On the cross you carry  
 I have found  
 In our region  
 All descriptions are found freely  
 Four large pilgrimage churches  
 Which are visited by many in need  
 In Belgium is one named Ach  
 In Switzerland there is Einsiedeln  
 In Bavaria Altötting / In Italy  
 I find Mary of Saint Loretto  
 She is in a chapel with much adornment  
 She guided by god by angels  
 Over [Moor] and is the chapel  
 The archangel Gabriel  
 Bringing an angelic greeting  
 To atone for the pain of sin  
 Charlamagne also [before]  
 God handed Einsiedeln  
 Saint Charlamagne built  
 Altötting after the good deed  
 He beat back the [infidels?]  
 Before Regensburg it was won by decree  
 King Ludwig to Rome waited long  
 The pope compelled him  
 The King had a difficult time  
 A man brought him a [plentiful] image  
 He spoke to the Keizer about the place  
 What I have said, so it was settled  
 With the pope : on that day crowned  
 So it happened/ the man was called to ride  
 And no longer stay in Germany  
 Just before the dark forest  
 He soon began building a monastery  
 That he did/ Named Ettal/ the city  
 The image that the man gave him  
 See/ the honorable our Lady  
 Look upon it everyone in need  
 In the middle of the cross sits Ettal  
 Naturally it is also the destination.

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