Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe

The medieval landscape was marked by many sacred sites – churches and chapels, pilgrimage sites, holy wells – places where the spiritual and temporal worlds coincided. Although Max Weber argued that the Reformation brought about the ‘disenchantment of the world’, this volume explores the many dimensions of sacred space during and after the religious upheavals of the early modern period. The chapters examine the subject not only through a variety of contexts across Europe from Scotland to Moldavia, but also across the religious spectrum of the Catholic, Orthodox, Lutheran and Calvinist Churches. Based on original research, these essays provide new insights into the definition and understanding of sanctity in the post-Reformation era and make an important contribution to the study of sacred space.

Will Coster is Senior Lecturer and Head of History at De Montfort University, Bedford. His previous publications include Family and Kinship in England (2001) and Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England (2002).

Andrew Spicer is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern European History at Oxford Brookes University. He is author of The French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567–c. 1620 (1997) and the co-editor of Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685 (2002).
Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe

Edited by
Will Coster and Andrew Spicer
Contents

List of illustrations page vii
List of figures ix
Notes on contributors x
List of abbreviations xiii

1 Introduction: the dimensions of sacred space in Reformation Europe 1
WILL COSTER AND ANDREW SPICER

2 Sacred church and worldly tavern: reassessing an early modern divide 17
BEAT KÜMIN

3 Sacred image and sacred space in Lutheran Germany 39
BRIDGET HEAL

4 Places of sanctification: the liturgical sacrality of Genevan Reformed churches, 1535–1566 60
CHRISTIAN GROSE

5 ‘What kinde of house a kirk is’: conventicles, consecrations and the concept of sacred space in post-Reformation Scotland 81
ANDREW SPICER

6 Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547–1642 104
JOHN CRAIG

7 A microcosm of community: burial, space and society in Chester, 1598 to 1633 124
WILL COSTER
Contents

8  Apud ecclesia: church burial and the development of funerary rooms in Moldavia  
   Maria Grăciun  144

9  Reading Rome as a sacred landscape, c. 1586–1635  
   Simon Ditchfield  167

10 Gardening for God: Carmelite deserts and the sacralisation of natural space in Counter-Reformation Spain  
   Trevor Johnson  193

11 Holywell: contesting sacred space in post-Reformation Wales  
   Alexandra Walsham  211

12 The sacred space of Julien Maunoir: the re-Christianising of the landscape in seventeenth-century Brittany  
   Elizabeth Tingle  237

13 Sacralising space: reclaiming civic culture in early modern France  
   Amanda Eurich  259

14 Breaking images and building bridges: the making of sacred space in early modern Bohemia  
   Howard Louthan  282

15 Mapping the boundaries of confession: space and urban religious life in the diocese of Augsburg, 1648–1750  
   Duane J. Corps  302

Index  326
2.1 The ‘Old Innkeeper’ (Alte Wirt) at Obermenzing in Bavaria. (Photograph by Michelle Kümín.) page 21

2.2 The Schangnau valley in the Bernese Emmental, from a border atlas of the Republic of Bern compiled by Samuel Bodmer in 1705–10. (Reproduced by kind permission of the State Archives of Bern.) 22

2.3 (a) The villages of Neuenegg and Sensebrücke. (Reproduced by kind permission of the State Archives of Bern.) 29

2.3 (b) Map of the border area between Bern and Fribourg. (Reproduced by kind permission of the State Archives of Bern.) 30

2.4 Prospect of the Holy Mountain at Andechs near Munich from the Bavarian topography published by Matthäus Merian in the mid-seventeenth century. (Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel.) 35

3.1 Johann Ulrich Krauss (after Johann Andreas Graff), Interior of the Frauenkirche, engraving 1696, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. © Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. 40

3.2 Johann Ulrich Krauss (after Johann Andreas Graff), Interior of the Lorenzkirche, engraving 1685, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. © Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. 49

3.3 Peter Vischer the Elder and sons, The Tomb of St Sebald, 1508–19, Sebalduskirche, Nuremberg. (Reproduced courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute for Art.) 52

5.1 South Queensferry, Old Parish Church. (Crown Copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.) 101

8.1 Votive image at Dobrovăț. 156
List of illustrations

8.2 Votive image at Sucevita. 157
8.3 Vir Dolorum at Probota. 165
9.1 (a) Roma soterranea. Plan of the catacombs of Pontiano on the via Portense. 181
9.1 (b) Roma soterranea. Plan of the catacombs of Pontiano on the via Portense. 182
9.2 (a) Roma soterranea. Second chamber of the catacombs of St Priscilla and other martyrs on the via Salaria nuova. 185
9.2 (b) Roma soterranea. Different Christian symbols in the catacombs (detail). 186
9.3 (a) Roma soterranea. Some examples of Christian sepulchres. 187
9.3 (b) Roma soterranea. Glass and pottery vases containing the blood and ashes of holy martyrs found in the catacombs of Calixtus. 188
11.1 Exterior of the chapel over St Winefride’s Well. (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.) 214
11.2 Bathing pool of St Winefride’s Well. (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.) 215
11.3 Interior of the chapel over St Winefride’s Well. (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.) 216
11.4 Robert, abbot of Shrewsbury, The Admirable Life of Saint Winefrid Virgin, Martyr, Abbess, trans. J[ohn] F[alconer] ([St Omer], 1635), title-page and frontispiece. (Reproduced by permission of the Abbess of Syon Abbey, Brent Eleigh, Devon, and the University of Exeter Library. Shelfmark Syon Abbey 1635/Rob.) 224
11.5 The martyrdom of St Winefrid, in Giovanni Battista de Cavalleriis, Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea (Rome [1584]). (Reproduced by permission of the British Library. Shelfmark 551.e.35.) 226
12.1 Fountain of St Philibert, commune of Trégunc, Finistère, France. 253
12.2 Menhir at Men-Marz, commune of Brigognan, Finistère, France. 255
14.1 Photograph of Caspar Bechteler’s carving of the iconoclasts in St Vitus’ Cathedral, Prague. 289
14.2 Ferdinand Brokoff, St Elizabeth, St Margaret and St Barbara, Charles Bridge, Prague. 295
14.3 Matthias Braun, St Luitgard, Charles Bridge, Prague. 297
14.4 Luther, Charles Bridge, Prague. 300
Figures

7.1 Map of the parish of Holy Trinity, Chester.  page 125
7.2 Plan of the church of Holy Trinity, Chester.  128
7.3 Graph of the ratio between church and churchyard burials at Holy Trinity, Chester, 1598–1633.  140
8.1 Plan of the church at Neamț after Grigore Ionescu.  (Drawn by Pavel Bugnar.)  145
8.2 Plan of the church at Rădăuți, after Grigore Ionescu.  (Drawn by Pavel Bugnar.)  148
8.3 Plan of the church at Bistrița after Ioan Bălan; plan of the church at Probota after Vasile Drăguț.  (Drawn by Pavel Bugnar.)  149
13.1 Map of Orange, c. 1650.  265
Notes on contributors

DUANE J. CORPIS is Assistant Professor at Georgia State University in Atlanta, Georgia, where he teaches early modern European and World History. He is currently revising a book manuscript entitled Crossing the Boundaries of Belief: The Geography of Religious Conversion in Southern Germany, 1648–1800. He is also a regular contributor and member of the editorial board of Radical History Review.

WILL COSTER is Senior Lecturer in History at De Montfort University, Bedford. He has published numerous articles and chapters on early modern social and religious history and is the author of Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England (2002).

MARIA CRĂCIUN is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Medieval and Early Modern History Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj, Romania. As well as a number of articles on the religious life of Moldavia and Transylvania in the early modern period, she is the author of Protestantism şi Ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea (1996), and co-edited Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe (1995), Church and Society in Eastern Europe (1998), Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe (2002).

JOHN CRAIG is Associate Professor of History at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Canada. He is the author of Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500–1610 (2001) and one of the editors of Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church, 1582–1590 (2003). He is currently writing The Politics of Reading in the English Parish, 1536–1642.

SIMON DITCHFIELD is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of York. He has published widely on Roman Catholic uses of the past in early modern Italy. His monograph study, Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy, was published in paperback by Cambridge University Press in 2002.
Notes on contributors

AMANDA EURICH is Professor of History at Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington. She is the author of *The Economics of Power: The Private Fortunes of the House of Foix-Navarre-Albret During the Religious Wars* (1994) and has written a number of articles on confessional identity and community in early modern France. She is currently engaged in writing a book on the politics and practice of religious toleration and violence in southern France during the seventeenth century.


BRIDGET HEAL is Lecturer in Early Modern History at the University of St Andrews. She is currently working on a book on Marian imagery and devotion in early modern Germany.

TREVOR JOHNSON is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of the West of England, Bristol and the editor (with Bob Scribner) of *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800* (1996).

BEAT KÜMIN is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern European History at the University of Warwick. His research interests focus on social centres in pre-modern towns and villages, particularly in England and German-speaking Europe. After a comparative study of English parishes in the age of the Reformation (which appeared as *The Shaping of a Community* (1996)), he is now completing a social and cultural history of public houses in Bern and Bavaria. Recent publications include the (co-)edited collections *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (2002) and *Landgemeinde und Kirche im Zeitalter der Konfessionen* (2004).

HOWARD LOUTHAN is Associate Professor of History at the University of Florida. He is the author of the *Quest for Compromise* (1997). He is nearing completion on a project that examines the creation of a Catholic identity in the Bohemian kingdom during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

ANDREW SPEICHER is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern European History at Oxford Brookes University. He has written on immigrant communities, Reformed death and burial, and the impact of the Reformation.

**ELIZABETH TINGLE** is Senior Lecturer in History at University College, Northampton. She has published on the social, economic and cultural history of Brittany and the Saintonge region of France. Her current research interests are the French Wars of Religion and the Catholic Reform movement in the west of France, particularly in Brittany. She is currently preparing a monograph entitled *Authority and Society in Nantes during the French Wars of Religion 1558–1598*.

**ALEXANDRA WALSHAM** is Professor of History at the University of Exeter. As well as many essays and articles, she has written *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (1993) and *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999), and co-edited with Julia Crick *The Uses of Script and Print 1300–1700* (2004). She is currently completing a survey of *Tolerance and Intolerance in England 1500–1700* and carrying out research for a monograph on *Holy Wells and Healing Springs in Early Modern Britain*. 
Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEH</td>
<td>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P&amp;P</td>
<td>Past &amp; Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCH</td>
<td>Studies in Church History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCJ</td>
<td>Sixteenth Century Journal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>