

Eucharistic devotion in the Church after the Council of Trent

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The Council of Trent, which opened 450 years ago, defined the Catholic dogma of the Eucharist in a remarkable way. It emphasised the need for devotion to the Lord in the Eucharist. If we think of the magnificent Baroque churches, if we consider the religious orders and confraternities that flourished rapidly after the Council and devoted themselves to devotion to the sacrament of the altar, they appear to us to be a direct consequence of the Council². Are they really?

We will begin our presentation with a summary of the Council's teaching on the Eucharist. We will then study the rules for the conservation of the Eucharist and the development of devotion to it³. Finally, we will take a closer look at the different forms of prayer, religious orders and brotherhoods. Most of the examples will be taken from Bavaria. In our reflections, we will start from the Middle Ages to show the continuity that was established beyond the Council of Trent. We will not deal with the representation of the Eucharist in art or its veneration in sacred music⁴.

1. The teaching of the Council of Trent on the Eucharist

During the second part of Session XIII of the Council in 1551-1552, the meaning of the Eucharist was discussed⁵. The theologians of the Council studied ten articles in which four points were addressed:

- the Real Presence (against the Swiss Reformers),

¹ Lecture given at the 1st C.I.E.L. colloquium, 8–10 November 1995.

² Emmerich Raitz von Frentz, *Das Konzil von Trient und seine Ausstrahlung auf die Frömmigkeit*, in: *Das Weltkonzil von Trient. Sein Werden und Wirken 1*, edited by Georg Schreiber, Fribourg 1951, vol. 1, pp. 337-347; very uneven: Klaus Ganzer, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Volksfrömmigkeit," in: *Volksfrömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Hansgeorg Molitor and Heribert Smolinsky (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 54), Munster, 1994, pp. 17-26.

³ Extensive documentation on the adoration of the Eucharist by the saints since apostolic times can be found in Georg Ott's comprehensive work: *Eucharisticum. Legende von den lieben Heiligen des glorwürdigsten, wunderbarlichen Sakramentes*, Regensburg, 1869; Jakob Hoffmann, *Die Verehrung und Anbetung des allerheiligsten Sakramentes des Altars*, Kempten, 1897.

⁴ See the various contributions: *Eucharistia. Deutsche Eucharistische Kunst. Offizielle Ausstellung zum eucharistischen Weltkongress*, Munich, 1960.

⁵ Hubert Jedin: *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient III*, Freiburg, 1970, pp. 268-291, here: *Mysterium fidei: Das Eucharistiedekret der Sessio XIII*. For a systematic presentation of the fundamental elements, see L. Godefroy: "L'Eucharistie d'après le concile de Trente" (The Eucharist according to the Council of Trent), in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique* 5, 1913, pp. 1326-1356. André Duval: "Le concile de Trente et le culte eucharistique" (The Council of Trent and Eucharistic Worship), in: *Studia Eucharistica DCC anni a condito Festo Sanctissimo Corporis Christi 1246-1946*, Antwerp, 1946, pp. 379-414.

- transubstantiation (against Martin Luther),
- the preservation of the Eucharist and its worship, and
- communion under both kinds.

The outcome of the general debate of the Commission of Theologians (21 to 30 September) was the drafting of eleven canons that accurately summarise Catholic teaching on the Eucharist and Protestant opinions in this area. Canon 1 defines the real presence of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, after consecration, is present *vere, realiter ac substantialiter*. Canon 2 precisely defines transubstantiation: *mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiae panis in corpus et totius substantiae vini in sanguinem, manentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini*. Christ is present in both species as well as in one of the two (canon 3). In canons 4, 6 and 7, essential conclusions are drawn for devotion to the Eucharist: Christ is not only present at the moment of reception, but also after consecration (canon 4); which is why the consecrated host must be venerated through latria worship, venerated during religious festivals and may therefore be carried in processions (canon 6); the Eucharist must also be kept in a safe place (*in sacrario reservari*) and brought to the sick (canon 7). Canon 9 prescribes the reception of the sacrament at Easter. The canons are preceded by eight chapters of teaching, which show firmness towards reformers. Chapter 2 affirms that the sacrament was instituted during the Last Supper (*tamquam spiritualem animarum cibum*). Chapter 5, which is crucial to our study, regulates worship and devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. The practice of devotion to the Eucharist on a particular feast day and processions through the streets and public squares is encouraged. Thus, Corpus Christi and its procession highlight the triumph of truth over falsehood and heresy. Chapter 7 sets out the rules for preparation for receiving Holy Communion, for which absolution from all mortal sins is implied.

On 11 October, the session was opened with a prayer to the Holy Spirit. Both drafts, the decree on the Eucharist and the decrees of reform, were unanimously accepted⁶. Forty-eight participants with voting rights [mandates] took part in the votes, among whom the 20 Spaniards were in the lead, followed by 13 Italians and 7 Germans.

Devotion to the Eucharist was further clarified by the definition of Holy Mass in Session XXII⁷. The sacrificial nature of the Mass is based on the command given at its institution and not

⁶ Heinrich Denzinger: *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, published under the direction of Peter Hünemann, Freiburg im Breisgau 1991, nos. 1635-1661, pp. 527-536.

⁷ Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient IV/1*, Freiburg, 1975, pp. 174-209, here: "Mysterium fidei: Die Messe als Opfer".

on the sacrificial nature of the Last Supper. The Mass is not only a memorial and sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but also a propitiatory sacrifice, which can be offered for the living and the dead.

2. The preservation of the Eucharist

The Eucharist was first preserved so that it could be taken to the sick (this is viaticum⁸). The Council of Trent (session XIII, chapter 6) considered that viaticum alone justified the preservation of the Eucharist, referring to the Council of Nicaea⁹. The Council of Trent also allowed for more frequent communion, which resulted in the preservation of larger quantities of consecrated hosts. Finally, devotion to the Eucharist encouraged by the Council of Trent provides an additional reason. The encyclical [instruction] *Quam plurimum* of the Congregation for the Discipline of the Sacraments of October 1949 explains the adoration of the Lord Jesus Christ hidden under the Eucharistic species as a secondary reason for the conservation of the Eucharist¹⁰.

Eucharistic devotion outside of Holy Mass and independently of Communion itself began in the 11th century¹¹. The first night lights before the Blessed Sacrament appeared at the very beginning of 1068. This custom, which most likely originated in Cluny, is found in the rule of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem in 1155/1160¹². In the 13th and 14th centuries, the presence of a perpetual night light became increasingly common. And even though the Council of Trent made no mention of the perpetual night light, it nevertheless indirectly promoted this custom; the Roman ritual of 1614 made it a requirement¹³.

Respect for the Eucharist outside of Holy Mass influenced the choice and decoration of the place where the sacred species were kept. As early as ancient times, documents mention the preservation of the consecrated species after Mass. From the 4th century onwards, in churches they

⁸ Joseph Andreas Jungmann: *Missarum sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe 2*, Vienna etc. 1962, pp. 504-510; Otto Nussbaum: *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie* (Theophaneia 29), Bonn, 1979, pp. 21-101.

⁹ Denzinger, op. cit. (note 5), no. 1645; Nussbaum, op. cit. pp. 57 ff.

¹⁰ AAS 41, 1949, pp. 509 ff., quoted from Nussbaum, op. cit., p. 102.

¹¹ Peter Browe SJ: *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1933 (reprinted Sinzig, 1990); Nussbaum, op. cit., pp. 166-174 (he presents a testimony from 904 mentioning a night light burning before the Blessed Sacrament in Seleucia).

¹² Peter Browe, op. cit., pp. 1-11; NUSSBAUM, op. cit., pp. 170-174.

¹³ Edition used: *Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pont. Max. iussu editum*, Trent, 1619, p. 54 (a copy can be found at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, 4^o Liturg. 577).

were kept in a room adjacent to the sanctuary, the sacristy, or in smaller churches, in a cupboard placed in the sanctuary¹⁴ .

The altar, the liturgical furniture on which the Eucharistic rite is performed, is both the place of sacrifice and of the sacred meal¹⁵ .

The preservation of the Eucharist on the altar table is probably a consequence of the dignity accorded to the altar as the "throne of Eucharistic gifts" and dates back to the 9th century¹⁶ . The Blessed Sacrament was kept in small vessels with no particular name, in pyxes or even in statues of the Virgin Mary. Documents indicating the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament on or above the altar become more numerous from the early Middle Ages onwards. In Cluny in the 11th century, a golden dove above the altar served as a receptacle for the pyx containing the sacred hosts¹⁷ . The oldest doves containing the Eucharist are found in the Göttweig monastery in Austria and in the Bargello in Florence. Suspended tabernacles were particularly common in England. Mobile tabernacles could be placed directly on the altar table, and these tabernacles were made like reliquaries¹⁸ .

A series of synodal ordinances followed the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which, in the *Sane* decree, insisted on the conservation of the Eucharist *sub fidei custodia clavibus adhibitis*¹⁹ . However, no general prescription existed before the end of the Middle Ages. It was not until the Gothic churches of the 14th and 15th centuries that wall tabernacles were used in greater numbers. In German-speaking countries, they are always placed on the Gospel side²⁰ . This arrangement for conservation was maintained until modern times. Many tabernacles for the Blessed Sacrament were created at the end of the Middle Ages; well-known examples include the one in Ulm Cathedral, which reaches the height of the vault, the one by Adam Kraft in St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, and the famous French ciborium in Grenoble.

¹⁴ Braun: article "Altar", op. cit. (note 7), pp. 574-582; Further evidence of the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament in lay people's homes – during times of persecution, of course – in hermits' cells and in monasteries can be found in: Nussbaum, op. cit., pp. 265-308.

¹⁵ On the evolution of the altar, see the incomparable work by Joseph Braun SJ: *Der Christliche Altar*, 2 vols., Munich, 1924; for the quotation: vol. 1, p. 1; see also the article "Altar" in: *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon 1*, 1882, col. 584-594; Joseph Braun, "Altar," in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1*, 1937, col. 412-429; "Altar," in: LThK 1/1993, col. 434-438.

¹⁶ Braun, article "Altar," op. cit., pp. 585-590; Nussbaum, op. cit. (note 8).

¹⁷ Evidence of the Holy Sacrament being kept suspended above the altar can be found in: Braun, article "Altar," op. cit., pp. 599-623; regarding England, cf. Nussbaum, op. cit. pp. 329-364.

¹⁸ Braun, article "Altar", op. cit., pp. 623-639.

¹⁹ Nussbaum, op. cit., pp. 373-376.

²⁰ Nussbaum, op. cit., pp. 389-426.

The oldest example of a tabernacle permanently placed on an altar is that of the altarpiece of St. Clara in Cologne Cathedral. The tabernacles in St. Martin's Church in Landshut and St. Walburga's Church in Eichstätt were installed in the 15th century²¹. A second type of tabernacle was created in the 15th century in Florence and Siena, where monumental stone tabernacles were placed on the altar²². In addition, the Blessed Sacrament could be kept on a side altar or in individual chapels designed for this purpose. The tabernacle could be placed on the altar without an altarpiece, as in the Certosa di Pavia, integrated into the predella or base of the altarpiece, or placed in front of it, as is the norm in Germany.

The contrast between the teachings of the reformers in this area and traditional teachings on the Eucharist was certainly of great importance for the evolution of altar tabernacles in the 16th century; the presence of the tabernacle became a sign of belief in the permanent real presence of the Lord in the sacrament, as Nussbaum aptly put it²³. Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti of Verona († 1543) was certainly not the inventor of altar tabernacles in Italy, yet he encouraged their establishment throughout his diocese²⁴. However, the Council of Trent did not take any practical decisions regarding the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament. The holy Archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo (1560-1584), adopted the altar tabernacle for his diocese²⁵. He published instructions on its composition and ornamentation, which had a profound influence on the universal Church. In Rome, too, the altar tabernacle became established at the end of the 16th century. In 1591, Vicar General Myller of Regensburg referred to it as *mos ecclesiae Romanae*. It was not until the Roman ritual of 1614 by Pope Paul V (1605-1621) that prescriptions were given for the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament on the altar, in a tabernacle covered with a canopy²⁶. The ritual was only prescribed for the diocese of Rome, but served as an example for the universal Church. In 1603, the Synod of Brixen still noted the difference between the Roman practice of placing the tabernacle on the high altar [main altar] and the German custom of placing it on the wall

²¹ On the altar tabernacle, cf. Joseph Braun, "Altartabernakel," in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1*, 1937, col. 606-611; Theodor Bogler, "Tabernakel," in: *LThK 9/ 1964*, col. 1265 ff.; Nussbaum: op. cit. (note 8), p. 429.

²² Braun: article "Altar," op. cit., pp. 639-647; Nussbaum, op. cit., pp. 430-433.

²³ Nussbaum: op. cit., p. 429.

²⁴ Braun: article "Altar", op. cit., pp. 590-597; on this point, there are several isolated attestations.

²⁵ Braun: article "Altar", op. cit., pp. 645-647.

²⁶ "*Hoc autem tabernaculum, conopaeo decenter opertum atque ab omni alia re vacuum, in altari maiori vel in alio, quod venerationi et cultui tanti Sacramenti commodius ac decentius videatur, sit collocatum*". *Rituale Romanum Pauli V.*, p. 53 (as note 13); Nussbaum, op. cit., p. 448.

on the Gospel side. North of the Alps, the wall tabernacle was used for even longer, which may mean that the Tridentine reform decrees were only partially implemented²⁷ .

The prohibition against keeping the Blessed Sacrament on the high altar was maintained only for cathedrals, cloisters, and collegiate churches with choir services²⁸ . The decisions of the congregation of bishops and orders of 1579 and 1594, namely that the tabernacle should not be placed on the high altar of cathedral churches *propter functiones pontificales*, were incorporated into the Roman ritual published in 1614. The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* of 1600 also states that the Blessed Sacrament should not be kept on the high altar of episcopal churches so as not to interfere with the course of ceremonies²⁹ .

The idea, based on the Roman model, that the altar was the most dignified and appropriate place to place the tabernacle only became established in Germany during the 17th century. This was first established in 1619 in the Eichstätt ritual; in 1662, Regensburg, in 1671, Würzburg, and in 1673, Freising adhered to it. The flourishing of religious life and the consequent increase in communions among the laity provided a practical reason for keeping the Blessed Sacrament in a fixed tabernacle on the high altar. The magnificent altars of the Baroque period still bear witness to the royal honour given to Our Lord in the Eucharist.

3. Forms of Eucharistic devotion

a. Reception

The respect due to the Eucharist when it is received by the faithful is the source of great devotion³⁰ . To receive the body of Christ, one must be inwardly prepared, clearly distinguish it from an ordinary meal, and observe the rules concerning fasting. Moreover, in the early centuries and at the beginning of the Middle Ages, the host was usually received on the hand wrapped in a cloth, from which the Eucharistic bread was taken with the mouth. Soon, communion in the mouth became the custom. In the early centuries, the consecrated host was hidden from view and only shown at the moment of communion out of respect for its sacred nature³¹ . As for devotion outside of Mass, the first indications of veneration date back only to the end of the 11th century.

²⁷ *Das Weltkonzil von Trient. Sein Werden und Wirken*, edited by Georg Schreiber, 2 vols., Fribourg, 1951.

²⁸ Nussbaum: op. cit., p. 433.

²⁹ We used the edition *Caeremoniale episcoporum*, Venice 1774, I cap. XII, 8, p. 48 ff. (a copy can be found at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Liturg. 1401 x).

³⁰ Nussbaum: op. cit., pp. 102-105.

³¹ Antonius Van Bruggen SS.CC.: *Réflexion sur l'Adoration eucharistique* (Dissertatio ad Lauream in Facultate theologica Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana), Rome, 1968, pp. 3-49; Nussbaum: op. cit. (note 8), pp. 115-122.

b. The elevation

The elevation was the decisive starting point for a more intense Eucharistic devotion³². The elevation of the Eucharistic symbols at the moment of consecration coincided with an increased demand from the faithful to "see". It is first mentioned at the end of the 12th century in a synodal statute of the Bishop of Paris, Odo de Sully (1196-1208); by the middle of the 13th century, it was already customary in the West³³. Some have interpreted the increased Eucharistic devotion in the early Middle Ages as a reaction to the heresy of Berenger of Tours († 1088), but Eucharistic devotion only began to develop on a large scale a century after his death³⁴. Reports of Eucharistic miracles multiplied from the 13th century onwards. Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint Francis of Assisi and their congregations thus spread devotion to the sacrament of the altar³⁵.

After the introduction of the elevation, a new form of veneration of the Blessed Sacrament (*visitatio sanctissimi*) appeared.

c. Corpus Christi

All primitive forms of Eucharistic devotion culminated with the introduction of Corpus Christi³⁶. Originally, the memory of the institution of the Eucharist was celebrated on Holy Thursday. The visions of Saint Juliana of Liège, who died in 1258 and was canonised in 1269, led to the introduction of Corpus Christi in Liège in 1246. Pope Urban IV (1261-1264) authorised this feast in the universal Church through the bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo*. The feast was intended to atone for irreverence towards the sacrament, to commemorate the institution of the Eucharist and to refute anti-Eucharistic heresies. Another reason may have been the miracle of the blood of Bolsena near Orvieto. However, the Pope does not mention this event³⁷. It should be remembered that in 1263, a priest who was in doubt saw the host during Mass become true flesh. The drops of blood

³² Peter Browe SJ: "Die Elevation der Messe," in: *Jahrbuch für die Liturgiewissenschaft* 9, 1929, pp. 20-66; Van Bruggen, op. cit. (note 31), pp. 56-63; Browe: op. cit. (note 11), p. 49; Nussbaum: op. cit. (note 8), pp. 125-139.

³³ Browe: op. cit., pp. 28-39.

³⁴ Nussbaum: op. cit., pp. 118 ff. – On Berenger, see Nathan Mitchell, "Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist outside Mass," in: *Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church* 4, New York 1982, pp. 137-151.

³⁵ Nussbaum: op. cit., pp. 122-125.

³⁶ Browe: op. cit. (note 11), pp. 70-88; Van Bruggen, op. cit., pp. 71-74; Nussbaum: op. cit., pp. 149-166; for a brief overview of the different forms of worship outside Mass, see Mitchell, op. cit. (note 34), pp. 163-195. Or also: "L'Office du *Corpus Christi*, œuvre de saint Thomas d'Aquin" [The Office of Corpus Christi, the work of Saint Thomas Aquinas], in: Pierre-Marie GY, *La liturgie dans l'histoire* [Liturgy in history], Paris 1990, pp. 223-245/

³⁷ Browe: op. cit., pp. 74-76.

flowing onto the corporal formed the Face of the Redeemer. In any case, the new feast spread slowly: it is mentioned in 1278 in a document from the Franconian Cistercian monastery of Heilsbronn. The feast only really took off when Pope John XXII (1316-1334) included Urban IV's bull and its renewal by Pope Clement V (1305-1314) in the Clementine legislation at the Council of Vienne (1311-1312).

d. Processions

During the Middle Ages, processions around churches and in public were numerous and popular, but very little was known about the use of "theophoric" processions³⁸. Only the viaticum provided an opportunity to carry the Blessed Sacrament in public outside the walls of churches to bring it to the sick; a consecrated host was even carried on the return journey³⁹. From the second half of the 13th century onwards, the accompaniment of the sacrament was often enriched with indulgences. The development of theophoric processions contributed to the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament in the Palm Sunday procession and the translation of the Eucharist in the liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts on Good Friday⁴⁰. Theophoric processions multiplied from the second half of the 14th century onwards during the major feasts of the liturgical year and during periods of hardship. In Germany, "angelic Masses" were celebrated every Thursday, as indicated in documents from around 1388/89 in Nuremberg. Masses celebrated before the exposed Blessed Sacrament were thus associated with these processions.

The procession was not originally part of Corpus Christi. It was introduced in different dioceses, churches and orders at different times⁴¹. The oldest document, dating from between 1264 and 1279, concerns Saint G r on in Cologne; in 1298 the procession was established in the diocese of W rzburg. The first half of the 14th century then saw a great expansion of the Corpus Christi procession. In Rome, it is attested with certainty since Pope Martin V (1417-1431), who granted 100 days of indulgence for the faithful who participated in it.

The Council of Trent gave new impetus to devotion to the Lord in the Eucharist. The council gave the Corpus Christi procession an explicit character of affirmation of the orthodox faith: *Atque*

³⁸ Browe: op. cit., pp. 89-91.

³⁹ Nussbaum op. cit., pp. 142-149.

⁴⁰ Nussbaum: op. cit., pp. 159-162.

⁴¹ Browe: op. cit., pp. 91-98; Nussbaum: op. cit., pp. 154-159; on theophoric processions in Bavaria, see Alois Mitterwieser: *Geschichte des Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern*, revised and supplemented by Torsten Gebhard, Munich, 1949; study for the diocese of Bamberg: Xaver Haimerl: "Das Prozessionswesen des Bistums Bamberg im Mittelalter" in: *M nchner Studien zur historischen Theologie 14*, Munich, 1937 (reprinted Hildesheim, 1973).

sic quidem oportuit victricem veritatem de mendacio et haeresi triumphum agere, ut eius adversarii, in conspectu tanti splendoris et in tanta universae Ecclesiae laetitia positi, vel debilitate et fracti tabescant, vel pudore affecti et confusi aliquando resipiscant (session XIII, chapter 5)⁴². In 1563, the year the council closed, the Corpus Christi procession took place in the Bavarian capital. Munich's guilds represented scenes from the Old and New Testaments, from the creation of the world to King David with his harp, and from the marriage of Joseph and Mary to the Last Judgement⁴³. The proceedings are recounted in programmes published for the occasion.

The Baroque period, following the Council, was the golden age of theophoric processions⁴⁴. With a pomp that is difficult to imagine today, the clergy, the court and the villagers accompanied, for example in Munich, the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of the city, where, at the four gates, the Gospels were proclaimed and the Eucharistic blessing was given amid cannon fire. Probably under the influence of the Jesuits, numerous groups, such as the "Companions of the Marian Congregation" and many members of other congregations, took part in the processions and performed living scenes. The influence of the religious orders had become stronger than that of the guilds. Events from natural and sacred history that were directly or analogically related to the Eucharist were depicted on floats. The whole of creation participated in the joy. Processions of similar splendour took place not only in the capital of the country, but also, on a smaller scale, in every parish. Four times, the procession was interrupted for the proclamation of the Gospel and the Eucharistic blessing; it ended with the prologue of the Gospel of St John, the Eucharistic blessing and the *Te Deum*. Secular honours were paid to the Blessed Sacrament. For example, in 1715, Prince-Elector Max Emanuel (1679-1726) detached two members of the Munich Grand Guard to accompany the Blessed Sacrament on its journey.

e. Exposition

In order to display the Blessed Sacrament in the form of the host, display vessels were used, known as *monstrances* or, since the end of the 16th century in France and Italy, as ostensories, ostensorio⁴⁵. Since the Baroque period, the sun-shaped monstrance has been the most common, but

⁴² Denzinger: op. cit. (note 5), no. 1644.

⁴³ Otto Titan von Hefner: "Original-Bilder aus der Vorzeit Münchens, Fronleichnam 1563" in: *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 13, 1852, pp. 57-63; Mitterwieser: op. cit. (note 41), pp. 52-82.

⁴⁴ 44. Georg Schreiber: "Der Barock und das Tridentinum," in: *Das Weltkonzil von Trient. Sein Werden und Wirken*, edited by Georg Schreiber, vol. 1, Freiburg, 1951, pp. 381-425, here pp. 393 ff.

⁴⁵ Joseph Braun: *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, Munich, 1932, pp. 348-411; Andreas Heinz: Aussetzung, in: LThK 1/1993, col. 1271 ff.

there are also monstrances in the shape of towers or altarpieces. The monstrance is the result of the introduction of Corpus Christi. From the^{14th} century onwards, and more particularly during the^{15th} century, there are numerous references to this means of exposition. Saint Charles Borromeo established that the monstrance should be made of gold or silver, or at least gilded copper. Although this was only mandatory for the Archdiocese of Milan, these provisions spread throughout the Church⁴⁶. During the Baroque period, magnificent examples of artistic goldsmithing were created. Worth mentioning is the monstrance of St. Mary of the Victories in Ingolstadt, dating from 1708, which represents an allegory of the naval victory of Lepanto.

In some cases, tabernacles could be adapted for display purposes. In Catholic Germany, where the Blessed Sacrament was displayed particularly often, rotating tabernacles with three niches were invented in the^{18th} century: one for the ciborium with the consecrated hosts, one for the monstrance and one normally visible with the altar cross⁴⁷. The throne of the monstrance could also be located on the tabernacle.

A particular form of exposition, especially widespread in German-speaking Catholic regions, consists of the representation of the Holy Sepulchre. The veiled monstrance is displayed for devotion from Good Friday to Holy Saturday above a representation of the Saviour resting in the tomb⁴⁸. This is first recorded among the Jesuits in Munich in 1580⁴⁹. Even today, this custom persists in Bavaria.

In German-speaking countries, celebrating Mass before the exposed Blessed Sacrament was customary until the 20th century on special occasions such as High Mass on Sundays, Thursday "angel Masses" or *Rorate* Masses during Advent⁵⁰.

f. Other forms of devotion

After the introduction of Corpus Christi as an official celebration of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament outside of Mass, hymns and canticles were created in honour of Christ in the Eucharist⁵¹. In the Holy Roman Empire, adoration before the exposed Blessed Sacrament was a

⁴⁶ Braun: op. cit. (note 45), p. 357.

⁴⁷ Braun: article "Altar," op. cit. (note 7), p. 644.

⁴⁸ Ludwig Eisenhofer: "Grab, Heiliges," in: LThK 4/1932, col. 635; Walter Pötzl: "Volksfrömmigkeit," in: *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte II*, edited by Walter Brandmüller, St. Ottilien, 1993, pp. 871-961, here p. 956.

⁴⁹ Johannes Andreas Jungmann: "Die Andacht der vierzig Stunden und das Heilige Grab" [The Forty Hours' Devotion and the Holy Sepulchre], in: *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 2/1952, pp. 184-198, here p. 194.

⁵⁰ Browe: op. cit. (note 11), pp. 141-154; Van Bruggen, op. cit., pp. 79-83.

⁵¹ Browe: op. cit., p. 22.

consequence of Thursday Masses in memory of the institution of the Eucharist. After the Council of Trent, they became customary in countries outside the German-speaking regions⁵².

Perpetual adoration before the exposed Blessed Sacrament is based on faith in the Real Presence⁵³. It has its historical origins in the practice of fasting for forty hours in devotion to Christ in the tomb. The forty-hour prayer probably originated in Milan, where Jean-Antoine Bellotti first introduced this form of prayer as adoration of Christ at the tomb in 1527 at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre⁵⁴. A congregation established for this purpose soon celebrated this prayer four times a year. In 1529, it developed in Milan Cathedral and in 1536 spread throughout the city throughout the year. The founder of the Barnabites, Saint Anthony Mary Zaccaria (1502-1539), developed his own rite, which became normative for the whole Church. Charles Borromeo confirmed this rule in 1565 and transmitted it in 1575 to the ecclesiastical province of Milan. The Capuchins and Barnabites spread it throughout Italy. In Rome, Saint Philip Neri (1515-1595) celebrated Masses before the Blessed Sacrament exposed on the first Sunday of the month and during Holy Week. Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) ordered this form of prayer for all Roman churches in his letter, *Graves et diuturnae*, in 1592. Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) extended it to the universal Church in 1632. It took its final form in 1705 with Pope Clement XI (1700-1721); from there arose a number of congregations, orders and unions for perpetual adoration.

In Bavaria, for example, this form of prayer began in 1630, one year after the Peace of Lübeck, which probably ended the Thirty Years' War. The Capuchin priest Sylverius von Egg recited the Forty Hours' Devotion before the Blessed Sacrament for the first time in the presence of the Elector in St. Peter's Church in Munich⁵⁵. Perpetual adoration was introduced in 1684 by Prince-Bishop Marquard Sebastian Schenk von Stauffenberg (1683-1693) in the diocese of Bamberg, and by Johann Gottfried von Guttenberg (1686-1698) in the diocese of Würzburg. Frederick Charles von Schönborn (1729-1746), influenced by his role model Charles Borromeo,

⁵² Nussbaum: op. cit., pp. 162–164.

⁵³ Article "Anbetung, Ewige," in *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexicon 1*, 1982, col. 799-805; Th. Ortolan: article "Adoration perpétuelle," in: *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique 1*, 1903, pp. 442-445; Jungmann: op. cit. (note 49), pp. 184-198 (also includes evidence of primitive forms at the end of the Middle Ages); Herbert Vorgrimmler: "Ewige Anbetung, Begriff und Geschichte," in: LThK 3/1959, col. 1263; Van Bruggen: op. cit. (note 31), pp. 91-94; Mitchell: op. cit. (note 34), pp. 311-318; article "Santissimo Sacramento," in: *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezioni*, Rome 1988, col. 830 et seq.

⁵⁴ Article "Gebet, vierstündige," in: *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexicon 5*, 1988, pp. 151-155; Nussbaum: op. cit., p. 164 ff.

⁵⁵ On developments in Bavaria, see Alfons Sprinkart: "Kapuziner," in: *Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte II*, edited by Walter Brandmüller, St. Ottilien, 1993, pp. 795-823, here p. 819 ff.

followed this path in the first half of the 18th century in his two dioceses of Bamberg and Würzburg. At the same time, he ensured that the *Corpus Christi* confraternity was extended to all parishes.

Alongside these public prayers, private devotions before the tabernacle developed. For the Carmelites, the term "mysticism of the tabernacle" was coined, whose great representative is Mary Magdalene de Pazzi (1566-1607), who was canonised in 1669⁵⁶.

g. Pilgrimages

The numerous pilgrimages to the precious blood, most of which began at the end of the Middle Ages, can only be mentioned here⁵⁷. The best known took place in Wilsnack. Walldürn and Weingarten were also major centres of pilgrimage. Among the most important pilgrimages, which were revived during the Baroque period in Bavaria, were the pilgrimage of the "Three Hosts" to the monastery of Andechs⁵⁸ and the pilgrimage to the "Wunderbarlichen Gut" in the Church of the Holy Cross in Augsburg⁵⁹. As a political act, the *Corpus Christi* Archconfraternity of Munich, in 1642, during the crisis linked to the Thirty Years' War, set out for the "wonderful sacrament" to pray, ask for peace and the preservation of the country and the House of Bavaria. A grand reception was prepared in Augsburg for more than 3,000 pilgrims, and the blessing with the "wonderful host" was given with great pomp.

4. The foundations of orders

Many orders devoted themselves particularly to devotion to Jesus in the Eucharist and sought to spread it, such as the Capuchins and the Jesuits. Immediately after the Council of Trent, orders and congregations dedicated primarily to devotion to the Blessed Sacrament were

⁵⁶ Benno Hubensteiner: *Vom Geist des Barock, Kultur und Frömmigkeit im alten Bayern*, Munich, 1978, p. 98; Ambrosius Hofmeister: "Maria Magdalena de Pazzi," in: LThK 6/ 1934, col. 908.

⁵⁷ Wolfgang Brückner: "Die Verehrung des Heiligen Blutes in Walldürn" (The Veneration of the Holy Blood in Walldürn), in: *Veröffentlichungen des Geschichts- und Kunstvereins Aschaffenburg e.V.* 3, Aschaffenburg, 1958; Anton Bauer: "Eucharistic pilgrimages to 'Our Lord', to 'Holy Blood' and to 'St. Salvator' in the old diocese of Freising", in: *Eucharistic piety in Bavaria - Festgabe des Vereins für Diözesangeschichte von München und Freising zum Münchner Eucharistischen Weltkongress 1960*, published under the direction of Adolf Wilhelm Ziegler (in: *Beiträge zur altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 23, issue no. 2), Munich 1963, pp. 37-71; on the criticism of the reformers, see Pötzl: op. cit. (note 48), p. 883.

⁵⁸ Alois Schütz: "Der Andechser Heiltumsschatz," in: *Herzöge und Heilige – Das Geschlecht der Andechs-Meranier im europäischen Hochmittelalter*, edited by Joseph Kirmeier and Evamaria Brockhoff (in: *Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur* 24/93), Munich, 1993, pp. 165–185; Pötzl, op. cit., p. 890.

⁵⁹ Leopold Riedmüller: "Geschichte des Wunderbarlichen Gutes und der Hl. Kreuzkirche in Augsburg" (History of the Miraculous Treasure and the Holy Cross Church in Augsburg), Augsburg, 1899; Joseph Karl Oblinger: "Das Wunderbarliche Gut bei Hl. Kreuz in Augsburg verherrlicht durch die Kunst von acht Jahrhunderten" (The Miraculous Good at Holy Cross in Augsburg glorified through eight centuries of art), in: *Festschrift zum 200 jährigen Jubiläum des Freiwilligen Liebesbundes zu Ehren des Wunderbarlichen Gutes 1727-1927* (Commemorative publication marking the 200th anniversary of the Voluntary Love Association in honour of the Miraculous Good 1727-1927), Augsburg, 1927.

established⁶⁰. The Order of Friars Minor (as well as the Marianists), founded in 1588 in Naples, devoted itself to perpetual adoration. In 1627, under the influence of Jeanne-Marie Chézard de Matel (1596-1670), the Congregation of the Women of the Incarnate Word and the Most Holy Sacrament was founded in Lyon. In 1632, Monsignor Authier de Sisgau (1609-1667)⁶¹ founded the Priests of the Blessed Sacrament, who were recognised in 1647 by Pope Innocent XI⁶². The first congregation dedicated solely to perpetual adoration was founded in 1659 in Marseille by the Dominican Antoine Le Quien, who took as his model the community of the "Sisters of Perpetual Adoration", also known as the Sacramentines, who lived according to the rule of St. Augustine. Several female branches of the Benedictine order also devoted themselves to this form of worship. These foundations reached their peak in France at the end of the 17th and 18th centuries, and then again in the 19th century. Among them were the "Servants of the Most Holy Sacrament," founded in 1856 in Paris by Saint Pierre-Julien Eymard⁶³.

5. Brotherhoods

During the 15th century, *Corpus Christi* brotherhoods emerged in German dioceses in connection with the "angel masses"⁶⁴. In the parish church of St. Peter in Munich, there was a butchers' brotherhood that was particularly devoted to the veneration of the An decks host. Most of these communities disappeared during the turmoil of the Reformation. Numerous *Corpus Christi* brotherhoods also arose in Italy during the late Middle Ages⁶⁵.

Following these traditions, Pope Paul III (1534-1549) approved in 1539 the *Corpus Christi* Archconfraternity, founded in Rome in the Dominican church of *Santa Maria Sopra Minerva*, for

⁶⁰ General overview: "Elenco degli intitolati al Santissimo Sacramento," in: *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezioni* 8, Rome 1988, col. 837-842, medieval foundations: col. 828; for the later period, see: Karl Suso Franck, "Altarsakrament II, religiöse Genossenschaften," in: LThK 1/1993, col. 441 ff.; cf. also Konrad Hofmann: "Altarsakrament III, Relig. Genossenschaften," in: LThK 1/1929, col. 298 ff.; Konrad Hofmann: "Anbetung II, Genossenschaften von der e. A.," in: LThK 1/1929, col. 398-400; Konrad Hofmann: "Genossenschaften von der Ewigen Anbetung," in: LThK 3, 1959, col. 1263-1266; Mitchell, op. cit. (note 34), pp. 206-210.

⁶¹ A. Lesort: "Authier de Sisgaud," in: *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique* 6, 1931, col. 808 et seq.

⁶² Konrad Hofmann: "Altarsakrament III," in: LThK 2/ 1957, col. 376 ff.

⁶³ Van Brüggem: op. cit. (note 31), pp. 104-111.

⁶⁴ Ludwig Remling: "Bruderschaften in Franken. Kirchen- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Bruderschaftswesen," in: *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg* 35, Würzburg 1986, pp. 215-237; Werner Scharrer: "Laienbruderschaften in der Stadt Bamberg vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches. Geschichte - Brauchtum - Kultobjekte" [Lay brotherhoods in the city of Bamberg from the Middle Ages to the end of the Old Empire. History - Customs - Cult objects], in: *Berichte des historischen Vereins Bamberg* 126, 1990, pp. 25-392; on the *Corpus Christi* brotherhood, see pp. 82-89.

⁶⁵ Giuseppe Barbiero: "L'origine delle confraternite del SS.mo Sacramento" in *Italia*, in: *Studia Eucharistica DCC anni a condito Festo Sanctissimo Corporis Christi 1246-1946*, Antwerp 1946, pp. 187-215.

the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament⁶⁶. According to the founders' wishes, such a brotherhood was to be established in every parish. Each new confraternity could obtain, with the recognition of the local bishop and without any formal attachment, the same privileges as the Roman confraternity.

Brotherhoods were among the most important pillars of piety and profession of faith after the Council of Trent. Stronger than their medieval predecessors, they were often under the spiritual direction of religious orders⁶⁷. The reformed Capuchin order, one of the fruits of the Counter-Reformation attached to the Order of St. Francis, was called to Munich in 1600 at the request of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (1597-1651)⁶⁸. The pulpit of St. Peter's Church in Munich was entrusted to the Capuchins in 1607. At the instigation of the church's preacher, Father Augustinus of Augsburg, Duke William the Pious approached the Pope and asked for permission to found a Eucharistic brotherhood in Munich. At that time, Bavaria was at the head of the Catholic states of the Empire and sought to strengthen its position both vis-à-vis the Emperor and the bishops through the support of the Pope. In 1609, Pope Paul V (1605-1621) recognised, at the request of Duke William, the *Corpus Christi* brotherhood founded in Munich, and granted it a number of indulgences subject to the authorisation of the bishop of the diocese⁶⁹. On the day of their entry, members received a plenary indulgence after confession and communion. The same indulgence was granted for participation in a procession during the octave of Corpus Christi, in the Good Friday procession, and at the last hour by invoking the name of Jesus. Minor indulgences could be obtained by participating in the Thursday processions, accompanying the Blessed Sacrament, administering the last rites, and for priests celebrating at the altar of the brotherhood. All these privileges were extended to the sacrament brotherhoods that were already established or were to be

⁶⁶ Franz Beringer SJ: *Die Ablässe, ihr Wesen und Gebrauch*, revised and completed by Pet. Al. STEINEN SJ, vol. II, Paderborn, 1922, pp. 83-85.

⁶⁷ Schreiber: op. cit. (note 44), pp. 396, 406–416; Remling: op. cit. (note 64), p. 30 ff.; Bernhard SCHNEIDER: "Wandel und Beharrung – Bruderschaften und Frömmigkeit in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit" [Change and Persistence – Brotherhoods and Piety in *the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*], in: *Volksfrömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* [Popular Piety in the Early Modern Period], edited by Hansgeorg Molitor and Heribert Smolinsky, Munster, 1994, pp. 65-87; very brief overview in Franz Schubert: "Corporis-Christi-Bruderschaften," in: LThK 2, 1994, col. 1318.

⁶⁸ Maximilian Pöckl: *Die Kapuziner in Bayern, von ihrem Entstehen an bis auf die gegenwärtige Zeit*, Sulzbach, 1826, p. 2; on the activities of the Capuchins at St. Peter's Church: pp. 22 ff.; Angelikus Eberl: *Geschichte der Bayerischen Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz (1593-1902)*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902, here in particular pp. 36 ff.

⁶⁹ 21 February 1609 – Parish archives of St. Peter's Church in Munich, document no. 350; Max Joseph Hufnagel: "Zeugen eucharistischer Frömmigkeit in St. Peter, Münchens ältester Pfarrei" (Witnesses to Eucharistic Devotion in St. Peter's, Munich's Oldest Parish), in: *Eucharistische Frömmigkeit in Bayern (Eucharistic Devotion in Bavaria), 'Festgabe des Vereins für Diözesangeschichte von München und Freising zum Münchner Eucharistischen Kongreß 1960'* (Commemorative Publication of the Association for Diocesan History of Munich and Freising for the 1960 Eucharistic Congress in Munich), edited by Adolf Wilhelm Ziegler, Munich, 1963, pp. 9-36; Dieter J. WEISS: "Die Corporis-Christi-Erzbruderschaft bei St. Peter" (The Archconfraternity of the Body of Christ at St. Peter's), in: *Pfarrarchiv von St Peter 3*, Munich, 1990.

founded in Munich and throughout the diocese of Freising. This incorporation of all the other brotherhoods into that of St. Peter resulted in its elevation to the rank of arch-brotherhood. As a result, affiliated brotherhoods were formed throughout the Duchy of Bavaria. Hundreds of thousands of faithful joined them. In general, the Capuchin rule stipulated that they should intervene in favour of the foundation of these brotherhoods. In Franconia, it was the Bishop of Würzburg, Philipp Adolph von Ehrenberg (1624-1631), who founded the brotherhood in 1630 in his cathedral⁷⁰. Unfortunately, there has been no research on the extent of the *Corpus Christi* brotherhoods in the universal Church.

Alongside the *Corpus Christi* brotherhoods, brotherhoods of perpetual adoration arose in the second half of the 17th century. In 1674, Pope Clement X (1670-1676), at the intervention of Elector Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria, authorised the use of special books for the brotherhood of perpetual adoration in all towns, markets and places in the Electorate of Bavaria⁷¹. Members had to devote themselves in turn, for hours and without interruption, to the adoration of the sacrament. Other brotherhoods for perpetual adoration sprang up, especially in the 19th century.

6. Final considerations

The *Codex Juris Canonici* of 1917 prescribes, in canon 1269, chapter 1, that the Eucharist be kept in a fixed tabernacle in the centre of the altar – usually the high altar⁷². Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) explained in 1956 that a distinction could be made between worship through the sacrifice of the Mass and Eucharistic worship outside of Mass, but that it was nevertheless more important to see the unity between them: "To separate the tabernacle from the altar means to separate two things that must remain united in their origin and nature"⁷³. Following his lead, the Congregation of Rites published a corresponding decree on the tabernacle⁷⁴.

The Second Vatican Council also emphasised the necessity of devotion and adoration of the Eucharist because of the permanent real presence of Christ under the Eucharistic species. The instruction *De cultu mysterii eucharistici* and the Roman Ritual of Paul VI recommend devotion to the Eucharist outside of Holy Mass (however, Mass in front of the exposed Blessed Sacrament

⁷⁰ Wolfgang Weiss: 'Die Corporis-Christi-Bruderschaft am Dom zu Würzburg', in: *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 50, 1988, pp. 703-728.

⁷¹ Several pages from the brotherhood's archives have been preserved in the parish archives of St Peter's Church in Munich; Ernest Geiss: *Geschichte der Stadtpfarrei St. Peter in München*, Munich, 1868, pp. 306-309.

⁷² CIC, (Rome) 1929, p. 345; Nussbaum: op. cit., p. 450.

⁷³ Quoted from Nussbaum in: op. cit., p. 452.

⁷⁴ 1 July 1957, AAS 39, 1957, p. 425 ff.; quoted from Nussbaum: op. cit., p. 453.

remains prohibited⁷⁵). From this perspective, there is continuity with the decisions of the Council of Trent. However, the renowned canonist from Mainz, Georg May, considers that while the decisions taken after the Council did not weaken the dogmatic foundations of Eucharistic worship, certain local initiatives, isolated decisions or hasty permissions contributed to the gradual disappearance of many forms of Eucharistic devotion⁷⁶ .

The Council of Trent allowed for the development of Eucharistic devotion, but did not introduce any new fundamental teachings. Of course, Baroque Catholicism adopted the forms of piety of the late Middle Ages, within the framework set by the Council and encouraged by the confrontation with the Reformers⁷⁷ . On the other hand, the intensification of Eucharistic piety outside of Holy Mass at the end of the 16th and 17th centuries stemmed from the living character of tradition. Eucharistic piety did not originate from the decisions of the Council of Trent, but from the liturgy as a form of lived belief. The classical Roman rite, as established by Pope Pius V (1566-1572) in the Roman Missal of 1570, which already included a tradition dating back more than a thousand years, expresses in an unparalleled way the expiatory character of Holy Mass and leads to a striking devotion to the Lord. The Council of Trent did not desire any break with tradition, but rather an authentic renewal. To this end, it promoted the elements contained in the ecclesial tradition on Eucharistic devotion and brought it to a true summit.

⁷⁵ "Instructio de cultu mysterii eucharistici," art. 3 g, in: AAS 59, 1967, p. 543, quoted from Nussbaum: op. cit., p. 208.

⁷⁶ Georg May: "Die Prinzipien der jüngsten kirchlichen Gesetzgebung über die Aufbewahrung und Verehrung der heiligsten Eucharistie," in: *Ius Populi Dei (Miscell. in honorem R. Bidagor 2)*, Rome, 1972, pp. 519-55, quoted from Nussbaum: op. cit., p. 209, note 33.

⁷⁷ Hubensteiner: op. cit. (note 56), pp. 20 ff.; Ernst Walter ZEEEDEN: *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen*, Munich-Vienna, 1965.