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## Kleinbottwar: Between thorns and dirt – How to deal with unruly saints

**Abstract:** This paper demonstrates the plausibility of extending the category ‘popular’ to the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, even if the term arises primarily from the art history and cultural studies of the twentieth century. In the context of folkloristic field research, the following sections present a hitherto unknown case from Kleinbottwar, Württemberg. It describes the punishment of a late Gothic wooden statue of Christ, originally placed in the Paschal sepulcher, by Protestants in post-Reformation times. This abuse mirrored the way in which the figures of Saint Urban were punished in pre-Reformation times if they failed to protect the vines from frost: The funerary Christ was thrown down the stairs in the church tower in Kleinbottwar. In the popular vernacular, the funerary Christ was accordingly called ‘Urban’ although the figure is still clearly recognizable today as a funerary Christ. Consequently, it can be deduced that the tradition endured through the Reformation, albeit with a figure of Christ. It is unclear when or why the identity of the Christ figure has changed, as there was no iconoclasm in Kleinbottwar. The church retains its late Gothic furnishings to this day with the carved altarpiece, rood, and aumbry almost completely intact.

The badly mutilated Christ figure is currently in the possession of Saint George’s Church in Kleinbottwar, Ludwigsburg County, Baden-Württemberg (Figs. 1 and 2).<sup>1</sup> In its fragmentary state it measures 119 cm in length.<sup>2</sup> Although damaged, the piece is still of high quality and stylistically identifiable as belonging to the Neckar region, closely resembling the *Ecce Homo* above the builder’s inscription by Bernhard Sporer on the parish church’s southwest corner in Schwaigern, dated 1514 (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup>

The Christ figure from Saint John the Baptist in Menzingen, Switzerland, dating back to the early sixteenth or seventeenth century, offers insight into the original appearance of the Kleinbottwar figure, along with its setting (Fig. 4).

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1 Dietl, Hans: “Christus vom Heiligen Grab. Ein künstlerisch und historisch wertvolles Zeugnis der Kirchengeschichte aus Kleinbottwar”. In: *Hie gut Württemberg. Menschen, Geschichte und Landschaft unserer Heimat. Beilage zur Ludwigsburger Kreis-Zeitung* 56, 2005, pp. 5–7.

2 Dietl 2005 (as note 1), p. 6.

3 Dehio, Georg: *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler / Baden-Württemberg*. Bd. 1. München, Berlin 1993, p. 694; Clement, Werner: *Evangelische Stadtkirche Schwaigern*. Regensburg 2000, p. 11. In place of the original is a copy, which has been inside the church since 1978.

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**Note:** Translated by Patricia Smith.



**Fig. 1:** Unknown: *Funerary Christ*; c. 1515; Kleinbottwar, St. George.



**Fig. 2:** Unknown: Rear view of the *Funerary Christ*; c. 1515; Kleinbottwar, St. George.



**Fig. 3:** Bernhard Sporer: *Ecce homo*; 1514; Schwaigern, parish church.



**Fig. 4:** Unknown: *Funerary Christ* from Menzingen; early 16th or 17th century; St. John, during the restoration 2019. Museum Burg Zug, Switzerland (Inv.Nr. 15757), on loan from the “Katholische Kirchgemeinde Menzingen”.

The Menzingen Christ is currently located in a tomb chest from Saint Martin in Baar, which dates to around 1430. The chest is part of the collection held in the Museum Burg Zug in Switzerland, and measures 77 × 170 × 46 cm (Fig. 5).<sup>4</sup>

Another example of a burial chest dating back to the period of recatholicization (1552/60) can be seen in the cathedral of Constance. This chest measures 137.5 cm in length, 60.3 cm in width, and 103.8 cm in height (without candelabra) (Fig. 6).<sup>5</sup>

4 Tripps, Johannes: “Karwoche: Nach der Trauer von Karfreitag und Karsamstag ist das Ostergrab von großer symbolischer Bedeutung (Cat. contr. 86)”. In: Exh. Cat. *Bildersturm, Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille*. Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum, 2000; Strasbourg, Musée de l’Œuvre de Notre-Dame, 2000. Cécile Dupeux / Peter Jezler / Jean Wirth (Eds.) in collaboration with Gabriele Keck / Christian von Burg / Susan Marti. München 2000, p. 235.

5 Jezler, Peter: “Gab es in Konstanz ein ottonisches Osternspiel? Die Mauritius-Rotunde und ihre kulturelle Funktion als Sepulchrum Domini”. In: Reinle, Adolf / Schmugge, Ludwig / Stotz, Peter (Eds.): *Variorum Munera Florum, Latinität als prägende Kraft mittelalterlicher Kultur: Festschrift für Hans F. Häfele zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*. Sigmaringen 1985, pp. 109–110, fig. 10.



**Fig. 5:** Unknown: *Holy Sepulcher*; 77 × 170 × 46 cm; c. 1430; formerly Baar, St. Martin, now Museum Burg Zug (Inv. Nr. 3236), on loan from the “Katholische Kirchgemeinde Baar”.



**Fig. 6:** Unknown, *Holy Sepulcher*; 103.8 cm (without candelabra) × 103.8 × 60.3 cm; c. 1552/60; Konstanz, Minster.

It could be suggested that a similar chest was used for the Kleinbottwar piece, although this does not rule out the possibility that the Paschal sepulcher was constructed of fabric panels annually.

Before detailing the significant transformation of the figure's identity and purpose during the post-Reformation era, I would like to establish its original context: The Dommnesner's *Book of Duties of Brixen* provides a detailed explanation of the ceremonies that centered around these figures and chests. The archives of the cathedral chapter hold a manuscript, dated 1550, titled *Directorium seu Rubrica pro utilitate chori ac Editui Ecclesiae Brixensis*, consisting of 184 leaves in folio format.<sup>6</sup> On Good Friday morning, the sacristan would ready the Paschal sepulcher in its customary location, remove the statue of the deceased Lord, and transport it to the sacristy. Once there, he would position it on the *Prett* ('bier') and cover it with a shroud, on which the figure is later transported to the grave.

The entombment ceremony follows the Good Friday communion celebration. The priest retrieves the monstrance, previously prepared during the Prim, and covered with a cloth, from the choir altar. Two schoolboys accompany him, one holding a black processional pole, and the other a wooden rattle. Four canons of Our Lady, dressed in black chasubles, then join the group in the choir. Together they carry the funerary figure of Christ, shrouded and resting on the bier, out of the sacristy. Descending the stairs by the organ, the procession enters the south transept and passes the pulpit towards the rear of the nave before finally crossing to the left side.

Upon reaching the Paschal sepulcher, the priest, carrying the veiled monstrance, ascends a ladder provided for that purpose towards the tabernacle above the sepulcher. Subsequently, the Blessed Sacrament is placed within and the tabernacle is immediately closed. The funerary figure is then transferred from the bier by the four canons and deposited within the Holy sepulcher, all while being covered by a precious red and gold cloth. Then, a red stole is placed lengthwise over the body of the Lord, and a red maniple is positioned across his chest. The head of the funerary figure is covered with a red humeral veil. In addition, a white stone is put on each end of the maniple and a third stone is placed at the foot of the figure on the end of the stole.

Meanwhile, the choir sings the three typical responsories: 'Ecce quomodo moritur', 'Sepulto domino', and 'Recessit pastor'. While the choir, which has positioned itself in the northern part of the transept near the Paschal sepulcher – because that is where the sacristan must deposit the *lamentazn puech* ('Book of Lamentations') for the schoolmaster – sings the responsories, the officiant in the black choir robe walks from the altar of Saint Stephen to the Paschal sepulcher and prays Vespers with the four lectors. At 'Magnificat', the tomb figure is sprinkled with holy water and incensed

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<sup>6</sup> Gschwend, Kolumban: *Die Depositio und Elevatio Crucis im Raum der alten Diözese Brixen*. Sarnen 1965, p. 90. See Gschwend for discussion of dating the years between 1552 and 1554.

before the doors of the Holy Sepulcher are closed.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the entire period of Christ's burial rest, psalms are sung by the choir students, in accordance with the Forty Hours of Prayer tradition.<sup>8</sup> So far, this represents the historical context for the initial purpose of the Kleinbottwar funerary Christ, as expounded in Dommesner's *Book of Duties of Brixen*.

The figure, having lost its original iconographic meaning, however, underwent a significant transformation in identity and purpose during the post-Reformation era. It transitioned from being a subject of worship to becoming a symbol of anticipation. Removed from its original religious context, the funerary Christ was placed in the belfry window, where it assumed the role of overseeing and safeguarding the vines. If, despite his presence, the vines froze, he would be thrown down the tower's stairs as punishment, earning him the name 'Urban' from the local population. The severely damaged state of the figure indicates the severity of the punishment inflicted on it. In 1962, Pastor Dr. Straub recovered the figure from the attic of the Kleinbottwar church and drew up an inventory (dated December 12, 1976, Winnenden) of it and the other objects. Subsequently, he forwarded the inventory to the historical curator Hans Dietl in Steinheim on the Murr.<sup>9</sup>

While one might readily associate this action with the iconoclasm of the evangelical faction, it is essential to note that such an assumption would be unfounded. A number of sacral figures faced punishment as early as in the Middle Ages if they failed to meet expectations. Even in pre-Reformation times, winegrowers had long entertained or punished statues of their patron saint, Saint Urban. During times of fruitful harvest and good wine, the saints' figures were paraded in processions. During the subsequent winegrowers' banquet, the statue of the saint was placed at the head of the table. If, however, the harvest was poor and the wine was of poor quality, the winegrowers conducted a large derisive procession, at the conclusion of which the saint's figure ended up in the dirt.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Gschwend 1965 (as note 6), pp. 94, 101–103.

<sup>8</sup> Kühne, Hartmut: "Fromme Spektakel: Liturgische Inszenierungen am Ende des Mittelalters im Chemnitzer Raum". In: Fiedler, Uwe / Thoß, Hendrik / Benz, Enno (Eds.): *Des Himmels Fundgrube, Chemnitz und das sächsisch-böhmische Gebirge im 15. Jahrhundert*. Chemnitz 2012, p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> Dietl 2005 (as note 1), pp. 5–7. Hans Dietl, Steinheim on the Murr, is sincerely thanked for all the information; also for the permission to publish it here.

<sup>10</sup> Von Burg, Christian: "Hl. Urban (Cat. Contr. 92)". In: Exh. Cat. *Bildersturm, Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille*. Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum, 2000; Strasbourg, Musée de l'Œuvre de Notre-Dame, 2000. Ed. by Cécile Dupeux / Peter Jezler / Jean Wirth in collaboration with Gabriele Keck / Christian von Burg / Susan Marti. München 2000, p. 243; Geary, Patrick J.: "La coercion des saints dans la pratique religieuse médiévale". In: *La culture populaire au Moyen Age*. Montreal 1979b, pp. 147–161; Geary, Patrick J.: "L'humiliation des Saints". In: *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 34, 1. Lyon 1979a, pp. 27–42; Geary, Patrick J.: "Humiliation of Saints". In: Wilson, Stephen (Ed.): *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*. Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney 1983, pp. 123–140.

What happened in Kleinbottwar, a town that had embraced Protestantism, reads like an excerpt passage from Sebastian Franck's *World Book*, published in Tübingen in 1534 (fol. 132b).

*Sant Urban ist [. . .] der weinhäcker heylig. Den werfen sy jämmerlich in das khat oder dreck, so es an seinem Tage regnet; ist es aber schön, so tragen sy yhn zu dem wein in das würtzhauß, setzen ihn hinder den tisch, behencken jn mit weinreben und vertrinken yn, bringen ihn oft ein trunck und halten es von seinetwegen.*<sup>11</sup>

Saint Urban [. . .] is sacred to the workers in the vineyard. If it rains on that day, in their misery, they throw him into the excrement and dirt. But if the weather is fine on that day, they carry him to the tavern, sit him down at the table, garland him with vines, and drink wine. They often bring him a drink and hold it for him.

Johannes Boemus reports the same in 1535 in *Aller Völker Sitten*:

*Am Tage des heiligen Urban stellen die Winzer auf den Markt oder einen anderen öffentlichen Ort eine kleine Statue des heiligen Papstes; wenn es heiteres Wetter ist, bekränzen sie sie mit Laub und erweisen ihr alle Verehrung; wenn es aber regnerisch ist, dann tun sie dies nicht nur nicht, sondern bewerfen sie mit Kot und überschütten sie mit ungeheuren Wassergüssen; sie sind nämlich davon überzeugt, daß nach dem Wetter an jenem Tage und nach seinen Anzeichen der gerade blühende Wein zunehme oder abnehme.*<sup>12</sup>

On Saint Urban's Day the winegrowers place a small statue of the holy pope in the market or another public place. When the weather is fine, they crown him with foliage and pay him tribute. When it is rainy, they throw excrement on him and drench him with enormous amounts of water. They are convinced that, according to the weather on that day and the signs of it, the vine that is in bloom will increase or decrease.

Apparently, the ceremony was not only performed with figures of Saint Urban, as Maximilian I of Bavaria decreed in his *Witchcraft Mandate* of 1612:

*Es existiert ferner eine alte Superstition, dass an etlichen Orten der Heiligen Bildnussen, zu gewissen Zeiten im Jahr, bevorab an ihrem Festtag auff der Gassen mit Trumbl und Preiffen herum getragen als mit S. Urban durch die Schaffler, und mit S. Loy durch die Schmidt, auch mit anderen Heiligen Bildnussen von andern Handtwerchern beschicht, und da es nit schön Wetter, in das Wasser geworfen.*<sup>13</sup>

11 Franck, Sebastian: *Weltbuch: spigel und bildtniß des gantzen erdbodens* [. . .]. Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart, 1534, fol. 132b; Von Burg 2000 (as note 10), p. 243.

12 Veit, Ludwig Andreas: *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche im deutschen Spätmittelalter*. Freiburg 1936, p. 74 for further textual evidence; Schnitzler, Norbert: *Ikonoklasmus – Bildersturm. Theologische Bilderstreit und ikonoklastisches Handeln während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. München 1996, p. 129.

13 Behringer, Wolfgang: *Mit dem Feuer vom Leben zum Tod. Hexengesetzgebung in Bayern*. München 1988, p. 181, *Witchcraft Mandate* 1611/12, fol. 26; Schnitzler 1996 (as note 12).

There is also an old superstition that in some places the figures of the saints, at certain times of the year before their feast day, are carried around in the streets with drums and fifes, as with St. Urban by the coopers, with St. Loy by the blacksmiths, and with other figures of saints by other craftsmen. If the weather is not nice, they are thrown into the water.

According to the source, the blacksmiths, with figures of their patron saint, Saint Loy, carried out practices similar to those of the winegrowers. As far back as the fifteenth century, the Münster Canon Heinrich von Kepelen (d. 1476), in his work *De ymaginibus et earum adoratione* 'On images and their veneration' (fol. 12r), which was likely written in 1460/70, condemned the degradation of representations of saints *in terram ponant* 'flung to the ground' as an offence originating from pagan traditions.<sup>14</sup>

The popular custom of humiliating a saint, which is the focus of this article, is very old and manifested itself in two ways, sometimes escalating from the one to the other: The first form of punishment took place when a religious community perceived their rights to be curtailed or violated, resulting in the denigration of their patron saint through the relocation of their shrine from a position of elevation to the ground. In many cases, formerly venerated relics and crucifixes were added, and sometimes enclosed by thorns and thistles. Accompanying this dishonorable and disheartening display on the church floor, the *Clamor*, a liturgical lament, was chanted.<sup>15</sup> On some occasions, after the shrine of the saint in question had been humiliated in this way, the clerics delivering the punishment would then proceed to close the church doors, barricading them with thorns as well, and even stop worshipping the saints to force them to act.<sup>16</sup>

The following are some specific examples illustrating these practices: Gregory of Tours, who died in 594, was the first to report the first instance listed here: Bishop Franco of Aix filed a complaint after a courtier of King Sigebert robbed an estate of the Church of Saint Mitrias. To add insult to injury, the bishop was subsequently chased away in shame and disgrace. He then prostrated himself before the tomb of the saint declaring:

*Non hic accendetur lumen, neque psalmorum modulatio canetur, gloriosissime Sancte, nisi prius ulciscaris servos tuos de inimicis suis, resque tibi violenter ablatas Ecclesiae sanctae restituas.*<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Schnitzler 1996 (as note 12). See Heinrich von Kapelen and his treatise herein on p. 74, note 161.

<sup>15</sup> Kroos, Renate: "Vom Umgang mit Reliquien". In: Exh. Cat. *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler in der Romanik in Köln*. Köln, Schnütgen-Museum, 1985. Vol. 3. Köln 1985, pp. 25–49, 41. Marchal, Guy P.: "Bildersturm im Mittelalter". In: *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 113, 1993, pp. 255–282, 270–271.

<sup>16</sup> Geary 1983 (as note 10), pp. 134–137.

<sup>17</sup> Turonensis, Gregorii: "Liber in gloria confessorum", chap. 71. In: Krusch, Bruno (Ed.): *Monumenta Germaniae*, vol. 88, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*. Hannover 1885, p. 789, pt. 1, 2; Beissel, Stephan: *Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihrer Reliquien in Deutschland im Mittelalter*. Part 2. Darmstadt 1988, p. 10. With a preface to the 1976 reprint by Horst Appuhn.

No light shall be lit here, no psalm-song shall resound any more, most glorious saint, until thou hast vindicated thy servants against their enemies, and restored to thy Holy Church the goods which have been forcibly stolen from thee.

The bishop placed thorny bushes on the saint's grave, locked the church gates, and added more thorns in front of them. The offender became ill soon after and dispatched messengers to return the stolen property and put six hundred pieces of gold on the saint's grave. Despite this, he did not recover and instead passed away.

The bishop Saint Audoenus (d. 683) reports something similar. One day, the treasurer of Saint Columba's Church in Paris reported to Saint Loy that thieves had stolen its treasures the previous night. In response, the bishop hurried to the church and prayed:

*Audi, inquit, sancta Columba, quae dico. Novit meus redemptor, nisi cito ornamenta tabernaculi huius furata reduxeris, equidem spinis adlatis faciam hanc ianuam ita obserari, ut numquam tibi in hoc loco veneratio praebeatur ab hodie. Dixit haec et discessit. Et ecce! sequenti die custos maturius surgens, invenit omnia vela usque ad minimam pallam, sicut prius fuerant, restituta.*<sup>18</sup>

Hear, St. Columba, what I say: my Redeemer knows that if you do not soon recover the stolen treasures of this house, I will send for thorns and close this door in such a way that, from today on, no worship will ever be paid to you in this place.

The following day, the treasurer found all that had gone missing in the church.

In another instance, a nobleman oppressed the peasants of the Sint Baafs estate near Ghent and robbed their cattle.

*Cives loci illius colligaturas predictorum animalium Gandavum deportantes, partim super altaria partim super scrinia projiciunt, et sic lacrimabiter exclamavere: Bavo, Dei miles, ubi es? [. . .] Quorum lacrimis condescendens concio fratrum, corporibus sanctorum super terram depositis, attentius divini istabat officiis. Multum quidem populorum tribulationem et iniuriam lamentabatur. Sed multo magis de sanctorum depositione contristabatur [. . .].*<sup>19</sup>

The inhabitants of that place brought the tethers to the monastery in Ghent in hopes of recovering the lost animals, threw some of the ropes on the altars, some on the shrines, and cried out lamenting: Bavo, soldier of God, where are you? [. . .] The monks were bolstered by their tears, and the monks worshipped all the more zealously, while the shrines of the saints were set on the ground. They greatly lamented the hardship and adversity of their people, but were even more saddened by the humiliation of the saints [. . .].

<sup>18</sup> Audoenus: "Vita s. Eligii", vol. I, chap. 30. In: Migne, Jacques-Paul (Ed.): *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina I.* vol. LXXXVII. Paris 1863, c. 503. [https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/02m/0659-0659\\_Eligius\\_Noviomensis\\_Episcopus\\_Vita\\_Operaque\\_\[A\\_S\\_Audeno\\_Episcopo\\_Scripta\]\\_MLT.pdf](https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/02m/0659-0659_Eligius_Noviomensis_Episcopus_Vita_Operaque_[A_S_Audeno_Episcopo_Scripta]_MLT.pdf) (26.02.2024); Beissel 1988 (as note 17), p. 10.

<sup>19</sup> Kroos 1985 (as note 15), p. 41, 49; Société des Bollandistes: "Subsidia hagiographica". In: Id. (Ed.): *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum in bibliothecis publicis Namurci, Gandae, Leodii et Montibus asservatorum: ampla documentorum appendice instructus.* vol. 25. Ghent 1948, p. 161.

The punishment followed on its heels; after the knight's immediate death, the saints were put back *sancti cum letaniis et missarum solemnibus relocantur* ('the saints are moved with litanies and solemn Masses').<sup>20</sup>

And one last example: When the proprietors of Saint-Calais-sur-Anille Monastery faced oppression by a nearby nobleman, and their lordship did not help them, they went on a pilgrimage, penitent and fasting, to the monastery at the altar of the saint, pulled aside the altar cloth, and began to beat the stone, shouting:

*Cur nos, Domine, non defendis piissime? Cur hoc obdormiscens nostri oblivisceris; cur famulos tui iuris ab hoste non liberas immanissimo? En qui liberabit, ut poscimus*

and

*[. . .] cum orationibus diutius incubuissent [. . .] surgunt altari nudato a duobus, qui geminis forte constiterant lateribus fasces virgarum manibus tenentes [. . .]*<sup>21</sup>

Why don't you defend us, Holy Lord? Why don't you take care of us? Are you asleep? Why don't you free us, your own people, from this enemy?

and

*[. . .] after they had been lying prostrate for a longer time with prayers [. . .] then they stood before the bare altar while two men stood on either side, holding bundles of birch rods in their hands [. . .]*

In 1274 the official Church intervened, because the Second Council of Lyon forbade the degradation of saints, but it was obviously without much effect as far as images and figures were concerned.<sup>22</sup>

Let us turn our attention from the figures back to the images. The *Legenda Aurea*, written around 1264 by Jacobus de Voragine, relates the following story as part of the Vita of Saint Nicholas: A Jew, impressed by the miracles of the saints, placed an image of Saint Nicholas at his home and entrusted his goods to him during his absence. Upon his return, however, he found his house ransacked. Filled with anger, he seized the image and whipped and scourged it mercilessly. Nicholas then appeared to the thieves, not in his bishop's robes, but stripped bare, showing his battered body with the words:

*cur tam dire pro vobis flagellatus sum? cur tam crudeliter verberatus? cur tormenta tot passus? Ecce quomodo corpus meum livet! Ecce qualiter effusione sanguinis rubet!*

See how severely I am beaten and scourged because of you! See how my body is full of weals and blood!

<sup>20</sup> Kroos 1985 (as note 15), p. 41, 49; Société des Bollandistes 1948 (as note 19), p. 162.

<sup>21</sup> Mabillon, Jean: "Miracula S. Carilesi Abbatis". In: Mabillon, Jean (Ed.): *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti in saeculorum classes distribute*. Vol. 1. Venice 1733, pp. 621–629, 629; Marchal 1993 (as note 15), p. 271.

<sup>22</sup> Geary 1983 (as note 10), p. 137.

The frightened thieves then brought back the stolen goods and told what had happened. They became righteous and the Jew became a Christian.<sup>23</sup>

As we consolidate the presented facts and revisit our primary example, it is indeed intriguing that a pre-Reformation tradition persevered well into the post-Reformation era. What is particularly noteworthy is the transformation of a funerary Christ figure, which defies conventional expectations. The underlying reasons for this evolution remain open to further exploration. Additionally, we are confronted with the phenomenon of localized iconoclasm, as, despite the introduction of the Reformation in Kleinbottwar in 1534, the church remained untouched by iconoclastic tendencies and, as previously mentioned, retained its remarkable late Gothic furnishings, including a finely carved altarpiece and rood.<sup>24</sup> Just as interesting is the Protestant faith in figures – at least I don't know of another example – because a *piece of wood* was trusted to protect the vines and, in this given case, punished for its passivity. In summary, it can be said that the term 'popular' can not only be applied to this example, but that the 'popularity' once ensured the survival of the custom despite the Reformation.

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<sup>23</sup> Benz, Richard (Ed.): *Die Legenda Aurea des Jacobus de Voragine*. Darmstadt 1993<sup>11</sup> (Jena 1925), pp. 32–33. See Marchal, Guy P.: "Bildersturm im Mittelalter". In: Blickle, Peter / Holenstein, André / Schmidt, Heinrich Richard / Sladeczek, Franz-Josef (Eds.): *Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder. Reformatorischer Bildersturm im Kontext der europäischen Geschichte* (= Historische Zeitschrift, Beihefte, Neue Folge, 33, ed. by Lothar Gall). München 2002, pp. 307–332, 317.

<sup>24</sup> Dietl, Hans: "Die St. Georgskirche in Kleinbottwar: Flügelaltar von Johannes Leinberger (1505)". In: *Geschichtsblätter aus dem Bottwartal* 11, 2008, pp. 24–27. See also: Id.: "Die St. Georgskirche in Kleinbottwar". In: *Geschichtsblätter aus dem Bottwartal* 8, 1999, pp. 77–87; id.: "Der Hochaltar in der Sankt-Georgs-Kirche in Kleinbottwar". In: Id. (as note 1), 58, 2007, pp. 1–3.

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