THE EUCHARISTIC MAN OF SORROWS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ART

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This essay concerns a group of late medieval images that depict Christ as the Man of Sorrows with Eucharistic symbols such as the chalice, host or hosts, grapevine, and stalks of wheat. These images, here referred to under the inclusive term "Eucharistic Man of Sorrows,"[1] occur in Western medieval art mainly between the middle of the fourteenth century and the first third of the sixteenth, but they were relatively rare (**Appendix 1**).[2]

The central idea shared by these images is related to the doctrine and cult of the Eucharist, which was at the heart of late medieval religiosity.[3] By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the two species of the Sacrament, the consecrated wine and host, became the objects of immense adoration in Western spirituality. The consecrated host was elevated, together with the chalice, for adoration during the mass, exhibited in a monstrance on the altar, and preserved in tabernacles distinguished by their splendid decoration and an ever-burning light placed by their

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[1] This term has often been used by scholars to direct attention to the Eucharistic attribute(s) of the Man of Sorrows/*Vir Dolorum* (Michael Stuhr, "Symbol und Ornament in der Schmerzensmanndarstellung des Conrad von Einbeck," in: *Skulptur des Mittelalters: Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius and Ernst Schubert, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1987), 243–54, esp. 243, 248; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 2, *Die Passion Jesu Christi* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1968), caption to fig. 707; Caroline W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 380, n. 86.). In want of a better term for distinguishing *Vir Dolorum* images whose Eucharistic content is *enhanced* by the addition of one or more overtly Eucharistic symbols, this designation is adopted here as well, but it should be remembered that any *Vir Dolorum* image, with or without attributes, is by nature inherently Eucharistic.

[2] A full list of images of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows known to me can be consulted in **Appendix 1** (bold numbers in the text refer to the corresponding entries). From this list, however, the standard Italian examples (see below, n. 15) and works in which angels hold the chalice have been excluded on account of their great number, although they form an integral part of the group of images discussed here. On the other hand, a few works whose iconography is inseparably connected with this topic have been included despite the fact that the Christ they portray is not a *Vir Dolorum* in the strict sense (**22, 41**). The boundaries of this iconographical definition are difficult to draw and this should not be done with arbitrary strictness, since such categories certainly did not exist in medieval artistic thinking. In cases where signs of suffering and the crown of thorns are missing (as in numerous Italian examples, Fig. 8), and where Christ, though with a prominent side wound, appears enthroned (**41**) and/or fully dressed in a tunic and mantle (**22, 41**), however, the terms "Redeemer" or "Eucharistic Christ" may do better for a modern designation. For a number of examples of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Baroque art, see Lawrence W. Nichols, "*Man of Sorrows with a Chalice* by Hendrick Goltzius." *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University*, 49/2 (1990), 30–38.

[3] Miri Rubin, *The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), with extensive further bibliography; Peter Browe, S. J., *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1967, reprint, 1st ed. Munich, 1933).

side.[4] The Eucharist became the subject of innumerable tracts, sermons, poems, hymns, mystical writings, and other forms of medieval religious literature.[5] Countless visions and miracles involving the sacrament and the Christ of the Eucharist occurred throughout Europe. The miracles resulted in Holy Blood-, bleeding host-, and other Eucharistic relics, and there were also innumerable particles of the Holy Blood brought as relics from the Holy Land.[6] In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council accepted the dogma of transubstantiation, officially declaring that the Eucharist contains the real body and blood of Christ and that the sacrifice on the cross is repeated every time Mass is celebrated.[7] In the course of the thirteenth century, the Eucharist received its own feast of Corpus Christi.[8] By the first half of the fourteenth century, processions had also become common on this feast day; by the second half, numerous Corpus Christi confraternities were being formed throughout Europe and Corpus Christi dramas enacted. Devotion to the Precious Blood was inseparably intertwined with the adoration of the Five Holy Wounds of Christ and of the *Arma Christi*, the instruments of the Passion. Books of hours contained prayers said to the wounds, and indulgences were granted to those who prayed to them. In churches, masses were dedicated to the Holy Wounds. Especially the side wound received distinguished veneration, whose measurements

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[4] Hans Caspary, "Das Sakramentstabernakel in Italien bis zum Konzil von Trient: Gestalt, Ikonographie und Symbolik, kultische Funktion" (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1964), 4; Stephen J. P. Van Dijk and Joan H. Walker, *The Myth of the Aumbry: Notes on Medieval Reservation Practice and Eucharistic Devotion* (1957); Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), 545–64; Browe, *Verehrung*, 28–39; Rubin, 55–63; Edouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 1926); F. Costa, "Communion, Spiritual", s. v., *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (*NCE*) (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

[5] Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France: Étude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1908), 108ff; "Precious Blood, III (devotion to)," s. v., *NCE*; Caroline W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

[6] Johannes Heuser, "'Heilig Blut' In Kult und Brauchtum des deutschen Kulturraumes: Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde." (Ph.D. diss., Bonn, Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms Universität, 1948); Romuald Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu: Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein Einfluss auf die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit* (Munich: Widmann, 1931); Peter Browe, S. J., *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Wroclaw, 1938); Mâle, 109.

[7] Jaroslav Pelikan, "The Real Presence," in *The Christian Tradition: A History and Development of Doctrine*, vol. 3, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978), 184–204; Rubin, 30–38.

[8] Its celebration originated in Liège where the visions of an Augustinian nun, the Blessed Juliana, led to the establishment of a local feast in 1246. After the archdeacon of Liège, Jacques Pantaléon, became pope under the name Urban IV, he ordered in 1264 the feast to be universally celebrated in Western Christendom. Urban IV died soon after the inauguration of the feast in Rome, before it could have taken strong roots. In 1317, however, it was reestablished in Avignon by Pope John XXII. The feast was celebrated on the Thursday following the octave of Pentecost, and its office was probably written by Thomas Aquinas. Rubin, 164–96, 232–87; Verdel A. Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (London, 1966).

were thought to be known after the relics of the Holy Lance that pierced Christ's side.[9] A related devotion focused on the sacred heart to which the way was opened through the side wound. The *Arma Christi* were also venerated as relics, and had their cult officially introduced in the middle of the fourteenth century.[10] By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the fascination with the Eucharist and the Passion of Christ grew into a cult that was unrivaled in the Christian world.

Eucharistic devotion also found its ways of visual expression in the art of the period. Numerous new iconographical types were created in late medieval art for the purpose of visualizing the mystery of the Eucharist. All of these are deeply interrelated both in content and form; in some the narrative element predominates (*Mass of St. Gregory, Ecce Homo, Lamentation*), others are more allegorical (*Mystical Mill, Mystical Winepress, Fons Vitae*) or of a devotional character (*Man of Sorrows, Five Wounds of Christ, Sacred Heart, Christus in der Rast, Gnadenstuhl, Notgottes, Engelpietà*, the *Veronica* or *Sancta facies*).[11] While all these expressly Eucharistic representations enjoyed great popularity in late medieval art, the most popular of all was without doubt the *Vir Dolorum* or Man of Sorrows.

This representation is rooted in a Byzantine icon type depicting the dead Christ of the Passion, which was transported to the West during the thirteenth century.[12] In Western art the Man of Sorrows portrays the suffering Christ in half-length or full figure, alone or with one or two lamenting figures, isolated from the historical context of the Passion. The vulnerable, human nature of the Saviour is emphasised: he is shown in his most abject, humiliated state, covered with blood,

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[9] Mâle, ch. 2, pt. 5; Stuhr, 250–251; Ann Eljenholm Nichols, *Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350–1544* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 9–18, 65; Rubin, 305–6; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), vol. 2, 22–23, 47–49.

[10] "Arma Christi," in *Lexikon der Christliche Ikonographie* (*LCI*), ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum S. J., (Rome: Herder, 1974), vol. 1, col. 184. Indulgence was granted to those who prayed before the *Arma* in 1330 by John XXII in Avignon. Colin Eisler, "The Golden Christ of Cortona and the Man of Sorrows in Italy," *Art Bulletin* 51/2–3 (1969): 237. Most of the *Arma* were brought from the Holy Land by crusaders who also brought relics of the Holy Blood. The most famous pilgrimage place to preserve relics of the Passion is the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome. See also n. 16.

[11] A. Thomas, "Gregoriusmesse," *LCI*, vol. 2, col. 201; Uwe Westfehling, *Die Messe Gregors des Grossen - Vision, Kunst, Realität*, exhib. cat. (Cologne, Stadt Köln and Schnütgen-Museum, 1982); Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, ed., *Le pressoir mystique: Actes du colloque de Recloses, 27 mai 1989* (Paris: Du Cerf, 1990); Mâle, ch. 2, pt. 4; P. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 5 (1950), 43ff; Maj-Brit Wadell, *Fons pietatis: eine ikonographische Studie* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1969); James Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979). For more references see Mâle, Réau, Schiller, and *LCI*.

[12] Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin: Mann, 1981), 142–98; Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München: C. H. Beck, 1990), 292–330; Bernhard Ridderbos, "The Man of Sorrows: Pictorial Images and Metaphorical Statements," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, Medievalia Groningana, ed. A. A. MacDonald et al. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 143–181.

wearing the crown of thorns, a loincloth, and sometimes a robe that only partially covers his fragile body. His five wounds, the stigmata, are usually emphasised by the copiously flowing blood and even more by the *ostentatio vulnerum*.[13] With the rise of the Eucharistic cults in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries, the main emphasis shifts towards its interpretation as the "image of the Eucharistic Saviour."[14]

Although the *Vir Dolorum* became one of the most frequently represented subjects in late medieval art, a few particular versions that concern us here—the Man of Sorrows depicted with prominent Eucharistic symbols such as the chalice and/or host(s), stalks of wheat and grapevine—were, in comparison, rare. Their existence has largely been overlooked in scholarly literature as well;[15] the aim of the present work is, therefore, to outline their evolution, variants, chronological and geographical distribution, then to discuss fundamental issues of function.

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[13] The iconography of the *Vir Dolorum* has been extensively studied. For the most essential publications see Mâle, ch. 2, pt. 5; Heinz Löffler, "Ikonographie des Schmerzensmannes: Die Entstehung des Typus und seine Entwicklung in der deutschen Kunst" (Diss. Berlin, 1922); Erwin Panofsky, "Imago pietatis, ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmannes' und der 'Maria Mediatrix'," in *Festschrift für Max. J. Friedländer* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1927), 261–308; Hubert Schrade, "Beiträge zur Erklärung des Schmerzensmannbildes," in *"Deutschkundliches," Friedrich Panzer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte 16 (Heidelberg, 1930); Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu*; Gert von der Osten, *Der Schmerzensmann: Typengeschichte eines deutschen Andachtsbildwerkes von 1300 bis 1600*, Forschungen zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 7 (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1935); Wiltrud Mersmann, *Der Schmerzensmann*. Lukas-Bücherei zur christlichen Ikonographie, vol. 4 (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1952); Wiltrud Mersmann, "Schmerzensmann," in *LCI*, vol. 4, cols. 87–95; Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, "Imago Pietatis, its Meaning and Function," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 12/1–2 (1971): 5–27; Marrow, 44–67; *Stabat Mater: Maria unter dem Kreuz in der Kunst um 1400*, exhib. cat. (Salzburg: Salzburger Domkapitel, 1970), all with extensive further bibliography.

[14] Eisler, 237; Mersmann, "Schmerzensmann" in *LCI*, vol. 4, col. 88.

[15] No comprehensive study has been dedicated to this subject apart from some essays that deal with a well-definable Italian group only (Marita Horster, "Mantuae Sanguis Preciosus," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 25 (1963): 151–180; Ulrich Middeldorf, "Un rame inciso del Quattrocento," in *Scritti in onore di Mario Salmi* (Rome: De Luca, 1962), 273–89; Dominique Rigaux, "Le Sang du Rédempteur," in *Le Pressoir Mystique*, ed. Alexandre-Bidon, 57–67. See also "Sanguis Christi," in Caspary, 105–6; Eisler, 233–246; Maurice E. Cope, "The Blood of the Redeemer," in idem, "The Venetian Chapel of the Sacrament in the 16th Century: A Study in the Iconography of the Early Counter-Reformation," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979), 67–72.). For previous references to the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* outside Italy, see Löffler, 40, n. 53; Osten, 81, n. 13, and passim; Dobrzeniecki, "Imago Pietatis;" Schiller, vol. 2, 218–220; Erhard Drachenberg, *Die Mittelalterliche Glasmalerei im Erfurter Dom*, CVMAe, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980 and 1983), vol. 1, pt. 2.1, 236–237; Lothar Schultes, "Gotische Plastik," in *St. Michael, 1288–1988: Stadtpfarrkirche und Künstlerpfarre von Wien* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1988), 142, 147, n. 15; Stuhr, 248.

The Evolution of the Iconography of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*: A Survey of Its Development and Variants

Images of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows appear in Western art at the middle of the fourteenth century, more than half a century later than the Man of Sorrows without any attributes. Nonetheless, the chalice and host are not novel elements in the context of the Man of Sorrows iconography: they gradually evolved from an earlier type of representation, the *Vir Dolorum* surrounded by the *Arma Christi* (Figs. 1–2).[16] The *Arma* included not only actual weapons or tools of martyrdom such as the scourge, spear, sponge, nails, cross, and so on, but also small pictorial abbreviations for events connected to the Passion, for example, the thirty silver coins or Pilate's hands over a bowl of water. They first appear around the figure of the suffering Christ in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, forming an imaginative "Passion context" in which each of the *Arma* marks a different episode.

In the early pictures of the *Vir Dolorum* surrounded with the instruments of the Passion, however, the chalice and the host are only two of the numerous *Arma*, when present at all. In the course of the fourteenth century the chalice (sometimes with the superimposed host) became a more emphasised part of the *Arma Christi*, precisely on account of its overtly Eucharistic connotation.[17] Though the traditional *Man of Sorrows with the Arma* representations live on, in the mid-century a new type emerges, in which the chalice, with or without the host, stands on its own by the side of the Man of Sorrows. It is an independent element, often directly connected to the body of Christ by the stream of blood that flows into it. In these images the chalice is not part of the *Arma* any more. The other instruments of the

[16] For the late medieval *Arma Christi* in art see Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3d s., 6 (1955): 35–152; Carlo Bertelli, "The *Image of Pity* in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London: Phaidon, 1967), 40–55; "Arma Christi," s. v., *LCI*; Robert Suckale, "Arma Christi," *Städel Jahrbuch*, n. s., 6 (1977): 177–208.

[17] Besides being the most potent Eucharistic symbol, the chalice had a special place among the *Arma* also because it symbolises several stages in the Passion story, thus accompanying Christ throughout his sufferings. It has a central role in the Last Supper, that is, at the institution of the Eucharist (Lk. 22:20). The cup is also in the focus of the Gethsemane scene, where Christ called his imminent sufferings a bitter cup to be emptied (Mt. 26:39; Mk. 14:36; Lk. 22:42). In late medieval painting this scene usually includes an angel (or God the Father) handing Jesus a chalice, often with the *Arma*, or even occasionally the host in it. Religious tradition associated the chalice with the last station of Christ's Passion, the Crucifixion as well. Legends and mystical writings credit several witnesses of the death of the Saviour—the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Longinus, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus—with collecting the blood of Christ into a chalice or some other kind of container. A large number of European Holy Blood relics were supposed to originate this way. For Joseph of Arimathea, on whose story the legend of the Holy Grail is based see *LCI*, vol. 7, s. v. Longinus, the soldier who pierced Christ's side, took the collected blood to Mantua, from where parts of it were taken to Rome and Weingarten, one of the most famous German pilgrimage places (Horster, and *LCI*, vol. 7, s. v.).

Passion are either completely missing or only a few of them can be seen, relegated to the background (Figs. 3–4).[18]

The Man of Sorrows with the chalice

The birth of this new iconographic type can be only hypothetically connected to a particular geographical area. Since very few early examples survive, it is difficult to ascertain whether they emerged in one area and spread from there, or arose independently from the *Vir Dolorum* with the *Arma* type. Most of its early representatives are found in the Bohemian-Silesian region, which at that time—with the major cult of relics of the Passion in the Prague of Charles IV and the strong local Eucharistic devotion in the last quarter of the century—seems to have been an area especially prone to such representations.[19]

As far as form or composition is concerned, the early examples mix conservative elements (*Arma* beside the prominent chalice (**2**, **3**, **4**), features like half-length composition (**2**, **3**, **4**, **6**) and a dead Christ (**1**, **3**), preserved from the Byzantine prototype) with new motifs such as the full-figure representation (**1**, **5**, **7**, **8**, **9**) and a living Christ who looks down on the chalice by his foot or side wound and/or directs his bloodstream into it (**6**, **7**, **8**, **9**).

The context in which these images occur usually has strong Eucharistic relevance. One of the earliest examples decorates the entrance of a Holy Blood chapel in Lubín, Silesia (**1**);[20] another, a window known from descriptions only, was created for St. Catherine's chapel in Karlštejn where the relics collected by Charles IV were probably kept before the erection of the chapel of the Holy Cross (**2**).[21] A

[18] The appearance of the chalice by the side of Christ was also influenced by an earlier visual tradition developed by Carolingian and Ottonian art in which the chalice was shown catching the blood from the wounds of the Crucified Christ or the *Agnus Dei*. In some variations Ecclesia holds the chalice under the stream of blood from the side wound of Christ or the Lamb. For numerous examples, see Victor H. Elbern, "Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter: Ikonographie und Symbolik." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für die Kunstwissenschaft* 17/1–2 (1963): 117–88. In the second half of the thirteenth century the motif was revived in the form of small angels holding chalices or shallow dishes under the wounds of the Crucified.

[19] Stuhr's hypothesis according to which the origin of the iconography is to be looked for in Bohemian and Silesian book illumination has proved to be in a great part correct, although early examples also occur in monumental stone reliefs, altarpieces, and stained glass windows (Fig. 4; **1**, **2**, **5**, **9**). Stuhr, 248. See also Barbara Miodońska, "Opatovický brevíř neznámý český rukopis 14. století," (The breviary of Opatovice: An unknown 14th – century Bohemian manuscript) *Umění* 16 (1968), 232–5.

[20] Günther Grundmann and Wulf Schadendorf, *Schlesien* (1962), 104., fig. 39, and Miodońska, n. 62.

[21] The window depicted the Man of Sorrows in a sarcophagus, surrounded by *Arma* and a chalice that caught his blood. Franz Bock, "Schloss Karlštejn in Böhmen," in *Mittheilungen k. k. Central-Commision für Baudenkmale* (Wien, 1862), 91, and František Matouš, *Mittelalterliche Glasmalerei der Tschechoslowakei* (Prague: Academia, 1975), 37–39, 41, 44, both without reproduction. Today only indecipherable fragments

miniature in the Opatovice breviary from c. 1385 introduces the vigil of the Feast of Corpus Christi and shows Christ standing on an altar table (**8**);[22] while another is an initial for the canon in the pontifical of Albrecht of Šternberk (Fig. 3; **6**).[23] A fresco in the Silesian Pogorzela is above the tabernacle niche (**21**);[24] a particularly fine stained glass window once decorated the sanctuary of the parish church of Slivenec outside Prague (Fig. 4; **9**).[25] In late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Silesian painting, the subject seems to have been a frequent one on the exterior wings of altarpieces as pendant to the portrayal of the Mater Dolorosa (**5, 24, 31**).[26]

From the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, similar images are also found not only in nearby Poland (**7**), Hungary (Fig. 5; **10, 11, 15**), Austria (**23, 25**), and Germany (**13, 14, 17, 18**) but in faraway locations such as Italy and Spain (**4**) as well.[27] Later in the fifteenth century, English (**27**), Danish (**57, 64**), and Swedish

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survive of this window, the bottom part of which was already damaged in Bock's time. No photograph of the nineteenth-century condition of the window seems to have survived. For the probable use of the chapel as a temporary repository of the crown jewels and relics related to the Passion, see Věra Kuthanová, *Karlštejn* (Prague: Památkový ústav, n. d.), 6.; Milena Bartlová, "Původ husitského kalicha z ikonografického hlediska" (The origin of the Hussite chalice: A study in its iconography), *Uměni* 44/2 (1996), 167–83, esp. 169, and Jiří Fajt, *Magister Theodericus*. Exhib. Cat. (Prague: National Gallery, 1998).

[22] Miodońska, 231ff, fig. 18.

[23] I am indebted to Hana Hlaváčková for calling my attention to this unpublished miniature.

[24] J. Domasłowski et al., *Gotickie malarstvo ścienne w Polsce* (Gothic wall painting in Poland) (Poznań, 1984), 425, fig. 109; Dobrzeniecki, fig. 16.

[25] Rudolf Chadraba, ed., *Dějiny Českého Výtvarného Umění* (History of the fine arts in Bohemia), vol. 1, pt. 2. (Prague: Academia, 1984), 492, Pl. 83; *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350–1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxenburgern*, exhib. cat., entry by Emanuel Poche (Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1978), vol. 2, 717.

[26] The Silesian paintings are reproduced in Heinz Braune and Erich Wiese, *Schlesische Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters: Kritischer Katalog der Ausstellung in Breslau, 1926*, exhib. cat. (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, n. d.), cat. nos. 33, 51, 76. The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows is paired with the Mater Dolorosa in Hungarian art as well, in the altarpieces of Matejovce, Slovakia (**35**) (Ernő Marosi, ed., *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Hungarian art around 1300–1470) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), vol. 2. fig. 1772), Smrečany, Slovakia (**59**) (Katarína Biathová, *Maliarske prejavy stredovekého Liptova* (Painting in the medieval Liptó county) (Bratislava, 1983), 91, fig. 82), and Stará Lesna, Slovakia (**79**) (Libuse Cidlinska, *Kridlove oltare na Slovensku* (Winged altarpieces in Slovakia) (n. p. [Bratislava]: Tatran, 1989), 84, with reproduction). For a similar Austrian example in St. Lambrecht (**25**), see Ludwig Baldass, "Das Ende des Weichen Stiles in der Österreichischen Tafelmalerei," *Pantheon* 1934/2: 373, with reproduction.

[27] The frescos in Kwidzyn and Mălâncrav (**7, 15**) are unpublished; the overall decoration of these churches is discussed in Domaslowski, 231 and Mária Prokopp, *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East Central Europe, Particularly Hungary* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 140–41, respectively. For the two tabernacle reliefs in Šamorín and Spišska Belá (**10, 11**), see *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*, vol. 1, 537 and vol. 2, fig. 1044, and Juraj Spiritza and Ladislav Borodáč, *Podoby Starého Spiša* (A portrait of the old Spiš region) (Bratislava, 1975), 26 (reproduction only), respectively. For the fresco in Mariapfarr (**23**), see R. Hootz, *Kunstdenkmäler in Österreich: Ein Bildhandbuch*, vol. 1, *Salzburg, Tirol, Voralberg* (München - Berlin: Deutsches Kunstverlag, 1975), fig. 145, for the windows in Erfurt (**13, 14**) Drachenberg, vol. 1, part 2.1, 189, 236–237, and for Conrad von Einbeck's statue (**18**), Stuhr. See n. 2 and 15 for the

(**68**) examples testify to the spread of the type.[28] These works appear in almost every two-dimensional medium from miniatures, engraved metal plates, and stained glass windows to panel paintings and frescoes, as well as in quasi-two-dimensional mediums such as wooden and stone reliefs. There are, however, hardly any sculptures in the round, perhaps because the freestanding chalice was too vulnerable to physical damage.[29]

During the approximately two hundred years when the iconography of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* with a chalice was widespread in Western art, many different variants were created. Some characteristics are shared by almost all the examples, such as the placement of the chalice on the right of Christ, a self-explanatory solution because of the position of the side wound.[30] Other features vary greatly, especially north of the Alps. Full-figure representations of Christ are in general far more frequent than the half-length type. Yet, even though the simple half-length depictions of the Saviour (**3**)[31] lose their popularity, half-length portrayals continue to be represented in a "rationalized" way, where the *Vir Dolorum* stands in the sarcophagus or behind a parapet which justifies the half-length representation. In these works, most popular in the decades around 1400, the chalice stands on the rim of the sarcophagus or parapet, thus near the side wound, and often catches the blood of the Redeemer (Fig. 3; **6, 10, 11, 21**). In a few other pictures, even though Christ is in full figure and the chalice has nothing to stand on, the motivation to show the chalice close to the side wound was so strong that it was

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Italian works and Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* (Cambridge, MA, 1934), 294–7, fig. 89, for Domingo Valls (**4**).

[28] The English miniature is reproduced in Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200–1500* (New York, 1981), 30, fig. 20. For the Danish frescos see http://www.kalkmalerier.dk, archiv nos. 12/189 and 22/64 (information accessed 30 September 1999). For the Swedish relief see Osten, 112 and *Sveriges Kyrkor, Uppland*, vol. 4/2, 401–2, fig. 366.

[29] In the only example known to me, a statue by Hans Witten, c. 1515–20, only the base of the chalice survives, the top having been broken off long ago (**77**). W. Hentschel, *Hans Witten* (1938), 120–22. The sole surviving intact chalice in a statue can be seen by Christ's foot in Conrad von Einbeck's statue, where it was carved from the same block of stone as the figure's leg (**18**). Stuhr, 243–57.

[30] Some exceptions are an epitaph in the Minorite Church in Ingolstadt, where for compositional reasons the chalice is in the centre in front of Christ's legs (**83**) (Osten, 94, n. 55). In the Danish fresco in Lyngby (**57**), the Swedish (?) wooden relief (**68**, see n. 32), the painting by Jacob Cornelisz. (**73**) (Schiller, fig. 708) and the Hungarian ceiling from Gogan Varolea (**75**) the chalice is on Christ's left. The latter is a mirror image of the Italian type (Árpád Mikó and Miklós Szentkirályi: „Az ádámosi unitárius templom festett famennyezete (1526) és a famennyezet rekonstrukciója (1985)," (The painted wooden ceiling of the Unitarian Church in Ádámos and the reconstruction of the ceiling), Művészettörténeti Értesítő XXXVI/1–4 (1987): 86–118, fig. 141.

[31] Miodońska, 231ff, fig. 17.

placed in the air close to the side wound (Fig. 5; **7, 15, 17**).[32] Quite often the chalice is held under the wound by an angel or even by a saint, an idea borrowed from the numerous earlier representations where Ecclesia, Adam, priests, monks, angels, etc. hold the chalice under the stream of blood of the Crucified or the *Agnus Dei*.[33] Another interesting variation is the pictorial emphasis of the five separate streams of blood from the stigmata into the chalice. This type, named *Fünfwundenheiland* in German, is closely connected to the cult of the Five Holy Wounds of Christ (Fig. 6; **26, 29, 57, 60, 64, 79**).[34]

As this last illustration shows, some variations of the *Vir Dolorum* with the chalice were at times embedded in a larger composition, here an *Engelpietà*, where an angel supports the weak or even lifeless Lord (**40, 55, 60**).[35] Some representations form the central part of a Lamentation scene (**4, 23**), another example shows the *Vir Dolorum* as the second person of the Trinity in a *Notgottes* group (**32**).[36] Here should be mentioned the indubitably close relationship between the *Vir Dolorum* with a chalice by his foot and the central part of the *Mass of St. Gregory* scene, which shows the Man of Sorrows standing on the altar and bleeding into the chalice by his feet (i. e., in essence identical with one version of the Eucharistic Man of

[32] The tombstone in Schwäbish Hall (**17**) is reproduced in Osten, fig. 76. In the Swedish (?) wooden relief (**68**) the chalice hovers on the *left* side of Christ and is "shared" by the scene of the *Agony in the Garden* to the right.

[33] See n. 18. A random example is a mid-15th-c. Bohemian panel in Antonin Matejcek, *Ceská malba gotická: deskové malírstvi 1350–1450* (Bohemian Gothic painting: Panel paintings, 1350–1450) (Prague: Nakladatelstvi Melantrich, 1938), fig. 264. The role of angels in this and similar contexts is that of the *angelus missae*, a term introduced by Hubert Schrade for angels acting as ministrants at the mass. Schrade, 164–182. See also "Adoreunt eum angeli" in Caspary, 108–9. It is also worth noting that the *Arma Christi* (usually the lance, sponge, nails, scourge, etc.) are also often held by angels. In Carlo Crivelli's famous painting St. Francis holds the chalice under the stream of blood issuing from Christ's side. Anna Bovero, ed., *L'opera completa del Crivelli* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1974), 97, cat. no. 127.

[34] For the Winterfeld diptych (**26**) see Osten, fig. 45. The panel in Brzeg (**29**) is reproduced in Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik,* (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1961), vol. 11., 123, fig. 272. See also Jakub Kostowski, "Contra hereticos hussitas," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 60/3–4 (1998): 572–76. The painting from Telkibánya (**60**) is published in Miklós Boskovits, Miklós Mojzer, and András Mucsi, *Az esztergomi Keresztény Múzeum képtára* (The picture gallery of the Christian Museum in Esztergom) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 136, Pl. 8, fig. 210. In Italy this motif appears very rarely, and then probably under northern influence. An example is Vittore Carpaccio's "The Blood of the Redeemer" in Udine. Peter Humfrey, *Carpaccio: Catalogue complet des peintures.* Paris: Bordas, 1992, 58, cat. no. 13. In an interesting fresco from Liptovská Mara, Slovakia, c. 1380, Christ bleeds in seven streams of blood into the chalice held by an angel (Biathová, 16, Pl. 6). For related "hemographic" images of Christ, also as a Man of Sorrows, see Ann Eljenholm Nichols, 9–18.

[35] The central panel of a reliquary altar in Kaufbeuren (**40**) (Schiller, fig. 765) is very close in composition to the painting in Esztergom (**60**). The Spanish painting from the circle of the Cervera master (**55**) is published by Éva Nyerges in *Régi spanyol festmények* (Old Spanish paintings) (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 1996), 35–36.

[36] For the Notgottes group in Landshut (**32**) see Osten, 157, fig. 167.

Sorrows, even if often portrayed with more compositional freedom) (Fig. 7). Although the *Vir Dolorum* with the chalice by his foot appears earlier (Fig. 4; **1, 5, 8, 9**) than the *Mass of St. Gregory*, whose earliest examples date from the early fifteenth century, the two representations must have continuously influenced each other during the fifteenth century. They are different interpretations of the same conception—one more of an *Andachtsbild*, the other of narrative character.

In contrast to the scattered and varying examples north of the Alps, Italian art developed its own standard type of Man of Sorrows with the chalice which always shows Christ living, in full figure, holding his cross against his left shoulder. His right arm is stretched out, with the palm turned towards the viewer, and the blood flows down his arm into the chalice below. Innumerable examples survive of this version, all of which more or less repeat this composition, invented around 1400. The first known example, however, is not the frequently noted fresco in Santa Maria Nuova in Viterbo, which, instead of the late fourteenth century, should be dated to about 1420, but rather a tiny panel by the Master of the Straus Madonna from around 1400, soon followed by similar ones, such as a small tabernacle door by Lippo d'Andrea (Fig. 8).[37] In the first half of the fifteenth century the type is especially widespread in Tuscany; from the second half of the century, countless examples are known from the whole territory of Italy.[38] The vast majority of them appear either on the small, painted wooden or engraved metal doors of wall tabernacles or in the lunettes above them, but also numerous frescoes, altarpieces, stone reliefs, and small devotional panels attest to the popularity of the type.

It is difficult to trace the formal sources of this Italian version. Although some northern influence may be present here, a few significant formal elements (cross held against the left shoulder, blood flowing down the right palm, the frequent absence of the crown of thorns and signs of suffering) have no contemporary parallels in northern art.[39] As for its prefiguration in antique libation scenes, as

[37] The fresco in Viterbo is dated to the late 14th c. by Caspary (106), Horster (155), and Eisler (233); Middeldorf (282) and Cope (68), however, proposed a later dating, the first half of the 15th c. and c. 1440, respectively. The panel by the Master of the Straus Madonna forms a diptych with the Virgin and Child. I thank Miklós Boskovits for his help with problems of chronology and for calling my attention to this unpublished work (Bologna, Priv. Coll.). For the panel attributed to Lippo d'Andrea see Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani, *Il Museo d'Arte Sacra a San Casciano Val di Pesa* (Florence: Becocci and Scala, 1989), 32, fig. 9.

[38] Previous scholarship concentrated mainly on Tuscany, Veneto, Emilia, and Rome (see n. 15), but this iconographical type seems to have been equally popular in the Marche, Umbria, Lazio, Romagna, and Lombardy, to quote only the areas with the largest number of examples. In the late 15th c. and especially in the 16th, the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* also appears in many freely composed versions. For these examples, see Cope, 67–72.

[39] They do occur later, for example, in Hungarian and Netherlandish art in the first half of the 16th c., but already under Italian influence (**75, 81,** for this latter see Éva Szmodis-Eszláry and Susanne Urbach,

Marita Horster has argued, the influence is definitely present in the later, Renaissance works she quotes, especially since such a libation scene can be seen in the background of Giovanni Bellini's famous painting.[40] When viewing the earliest examples from the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, it is difficult to believe that these tiny panels were really influenced by Roman coins, medallions, and reliefs.

A peculiar type of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows, much less noted by scholars, depicts Christ not with, but in the chalice. This version seems to have a Venetian origin, where it was frequently used for the decoration of the statutes of Corpus Christi confraternities, the Scuole del Sacramento. This version emphasises the association between the chalice and the tomb of Christ, already present in the writings of Hrabanus Maurus in the ninth century and Honorius Augustodunensis in the early twelfth.[41]

The Man of Sorrows holding the chalice

A number of works that show the *Vir Dolorum* holding the chalice himself form an interesting group within the iconography of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows. The central and more emphasised place of the chalice is a very important new feature: it implies Christ's voluntary, active participation in his own sacrifice and equates his role with that of the priest in the mass where his sacrifice is reenacted.

This type of representation is very rare, and most of its examples—in contrast to the type where the chalice is by the foot or side of Christ—are statues in the round. As far as their spatial distribution is concerned, they are almost exclusively limited to a well-definable geographical area in Central Europe (**Appendix 2**). The earliest examples of this type seem to have been created in the eastern part of Central Europe in the early fifteenth century, at a time when images of the *Vir*

Middeleeuwse Nederlandse kunst uit Hongarije (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1990), 26). The issue of terminology is discussed in n. 2.

[40] Horster, 159, 171–80. See also Panofsky, 294; Eisler, 235.

[41] The "Cristo passo nel calice" is mentioned in Thomas Worthen, "Tintoretto's Paintings for the Banco del Sacramento in S. Margherita," *Art Bulletin* 78/4 (1996): 712, figs. 6–7; Schiller, vol. 2, fig. 760; Hans Tietze, "Nuovi disegni veneti del cinquecento in collezioni Americani," *Arte Veneta* 2 (1948): 62–63; Staale Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall: Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1974), Plate 92. a–b; Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 19, fig. 4; Eisler, 242. For the association of the chalice with the tomb see Elbern, 137; Dobrzeniecki, 16–17; Carla Gottlieb, "The Living Host," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 40 (1971), 31. Although this version is primarily Italian, it also occurs north of the Alps, in a late 14th c. fresco in the parish church of Grudziadz (Teutonic territory). Domasłowski, fig. 170.

Dolorum with the chalice by his foot or side were already well-known in the region. The first securely datable example is a statue from 1420–24 which once stood in the royal chapel of St. Sigismund in the Buda castle (Fig. 9; **19**).[42] Another early portrayal of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice, also of Hungarian origin, can be seen on the base of a real chalice in Bratislava, in St. Martin's, the church for which it was created (Fig. 10; **20**).[43]

Later analogies from the middle of the fifteenth century to the early sixteenth are located mainly in Upper Austria, Lower Bavaria, and Erfurt, some in Bohemia and Hungary, and a few in Italy. The Upper Austrian statues have an uncertain provenance and may come from a larger geographical area, such as Lower Austria or Bohemia (Fig. 11; **28, 54, 76**).[44] One securely localisable Austrian example is, however, a fresco in the former parish (now Franciscan) church in Salzburg (Fig. 12; **30**).[45] The greatest number of examples, four statues and a relief, can be found in Lower Bavaria (**32, 37, 43, 58, 82**),[46] but there is also a statue in Upper Bavaria (**63**) and a statuette, decorating a monstrance, in Oberpfalz (**72**).[47] Erfurt seems to have

[42] This fragmentary statue was unearthed in the Buda castle in 1995 from a pit into which the destroyed interior decoration of the medieval chapel of King Sigismund of Luxembourg was buried in the first half of the 16th c. (Dóra Sallay, "A budai Szent Zsigmond-prépostság Fájdalmas Krisztus-szobrának ikonográfiája" (The iconography of the Man of Sorrows statue from the St. Sigismund collegiate church of Buda), *Budapest Régiségei* XXXIII (1999): 123–139. Previous literature considered a stone statue in St. Michael, Vienna as the first surviving statue of this type (Osten, 81, n. 13, see also Schultes, "Gotische Plastik," 142, 147, n. 15). However, between the two halves of the Baroque chalice which the statue now holds the surviving fragment of the original object can be seen. This has a long, straight shape like a thick handle or stick, perhaps a scourge, and was certainly not a chalice. As another early example, Osten mentions a print from the first quarter of the 15th c., which was originally published as French or Upper German (**16**). P.-A. Lemoisne, *Les Xylographies du XIV. et du XV. siècle* (Paris, 1930), 72, fig. 11. The provenance is by no means convincing in this case, but on a stylistic basis the early date seems correct. It is rather remarkable, then, that such an early example should appear in a reproductive medium.

[43] Eva Toranová, *Goldschmiedekunst in der Slowakei* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983), 63, 67, 193, figs. 15, 19.

[44] For the two statues dating c. 1440 and c. 1515 in Linz (**28, 76**) see O. Kastner and B. Ulm, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke im Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum* (Linz, 1958), cat. no. 36, fig. 90 and cat. no. 134., fig. 89, respectively. For the earlier one see also Lothar Schultes, "Zur Herkunft und kunstgeschichtliche Stellung des Znaimer Altars," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 42/1–2 (1988): 36–37. The wooden statue in the Vanecek Collection in Salzburg, second half of 15th c. (**54**) was published as "South-Bohemian(?)." *Stabat Mater*: 97, fig. 43.

[45] Otto Demus, "Wandgemälde aus der Werkstatt Conrad Laibs in der Franziskanerkirche in Salzburg," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 9 (1955): 89–97, figs. 147–148.

[46] For the statues in Bachling, Landau, and Schönau (**37, 43, 58**) see Felix Mader, ed., *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Bayern. Regierungsbezirk Niederbayern,* vol. 14, 107, fig. 75, vol. 13, 105, fig. 71, and vol. 15, 67, fig. 53, respectively, and Osten 80–81, 103. The tombstone in Unterdietfurt (**82**) is reproduced in P. M. Halm, *Studien zur süddeutschen Plastik* (Munich: Benno Filser, 1926), vol. 2, 27, fig. 39.

[47] The statue in the choir of the Heiligblutskirche in Umratshausen (Upper Bavaria) (**63**) is mentioned but not reproduced in Bauerreiss, 33. For the monstrance containing the statuette (**72**), see *Nürnberg 1300–1550. Kunst der Gotik und Renaissance*. Exhib. Cat. (Munich: Prester Verlag, 1986), 182–83, cat. no. 50. An analogous bronze statuette of probably South German origin is in the National Museum, Budapest (**70**).

had a strong tradition for the Eucharistic *Schmerzensmann*. Besides early examples, where the chalice is next to Christ (**13, 14**), three works survive that portray the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice (**33, 34, 52**).[48] A miniature of the Eucharistic Christ may also have been created in Erfurt or its surroundings (**22**).[49] A few further important German (?) examples are indulgence leaflets, i.e., single-block prints, thus it is difficult to locate their place of origin (**50, 56, 80**).[50] Another piece with an unknown provenance is an early sixteenth-century, probably Middle-German, stove tile (**69**).[51] Both the prints and the tile, works in reproductive media, are important witnesses to the fact that, notwithstanding the small number of surviving examples, the type may have become quite popular towards the end of its "career."[52] In fact, it occurs around 1470 in Hungarian (Austrian?) and Bohemian panel painting as well (**45, 47**).[53] From the late fifteenth century, a few scattered examples of the type (four statues and a bronze statuette) appear also in Italy (**49, 61, 71, 84, 85**).[54]

Zsuzsa Lovag, *Mittelalterliche Bronzegegenstände des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums*. Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Seria Archaeologica 3. (Budapest: Fekete Sas, 1999), 107, cat. no. 297, fig. 297.

[48] Osten, figs. 88–89, 125.

[49] Karl August Wirth. "In einer deutschen Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts blätternd: bemerkungen zu einigen Bildern im Cod. Pal. Lat. 871 der vatikanischen bibliothek." *Städel Jahrbuch*, n. s. 11 (1987): 83–116.

[50] The prints (**50, 56, 80**) are listed in Wilhelm L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926–30), vol. 2., 52, no. 877; 42, no. 848; 42, no. 848a; and reproduced in Richard S. Field, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, suppl. vol. 163, *German Single-leaf Woodcuts before 1500* (n.p.: Abaris, 1990), 156, no. S.877; 125, no. S.848; 126, no. S.848a, respectively. In the latter two, Christ holds the host in his other hand, as he does in a print by Hans Sebald Beham (Lawrence W. Nichols, 34, fig. 12.) (**78**) and perhaps also in a Bohemian panel (**47**). See also n. 56.

[51] Rosemarie Franz, *Der Kachelofen* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1981), fig. 172.

[52] An unusual representation of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in a miniature that represents the Children of Saturn under the signs of Aquarius and Capricorn also supports this hypothesis (**36**). Christ appears in this context as the Redeemer born under these signs, standing on a comet which refers to the time of his birth. The fact that he appears as the *Vir Dolorum*, holding a chalice under the wound in his side implies that this image was accepted as one that best expresses the idea of Redemption. See Aby Warburg, "Heidnisch-antike Weissagung im Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten," in idem, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*, ed. Dieter Wuttke (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1979).

[53] The picture in Güssing (**45**) is reproduced in Dagobert Frey, *Das Burgenland, seine Bauten und Kunstschätze* (Wien: Anton Schroll, 1929), fig. 152; see also *Die Ritter: Burgerländische Landesausstellung 1990, Burg Güssing*, Burgenländische Forschungen, Sonderband 8 (Eisenstadt, 1990), 328–29, but no reproduction. For the Prague panel (**47**), see Jan Chlíbec et al., *Národní galerie v Praze: Staré České Umění, - Klášter sv. Jiří* (National Gallery in Prague: Old Czech art - the St. George Monastery) (Prague, Národní galerie v Praze, 1992), 44–45, cat. no. 20.

[54] For Civitali's statues (**49, 61**) see Luisa Morozzi and Rita Paris, *L'opera da ritrovare. Repertorio del patrimonio artistico italiano disperso all'epoca della seconda guerra mondiale* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1995), 55–56, cat. no. 62, and Charles Yriarte, *Matteo Civitali* (Paris, 1886), 42–46, respectively; for the statue in Cesena (**71**), Franco Faranda, "Il restauro dell'altare di Giambattista Bregno nel Duomo di Cesena," in *Scritti in onore di Alessandro Marabottini* (Rome: de Luca, 1997), 84, figs. 1, 3; for the statue in Ferrara (**84**), Carlo Lella, *Guida della Basilica di S. Maria in Vado, Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1971).

The Man of Sorrows with host, grapevine, and stalks of corn

About a third of those images where the chalice is seen next to the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows include the host over, or sometimes in, the chalice. Surprisingly rare are those works, however, which portray the Man of Sorrows with only the host or hosts, and they are all very different. It seems that no pictorial tradition existed for this iconography and that the separate works are the result of local and individual inventiveness.

Christ appears holding the host in his right hand in a stained glass window in Heiligenblut, Lower Austria, c. 1460 (**38**).[55] In a miniature of a contemporary Carthusian antiphonary, he stands before a T-initial reminiscent of the cross and hands a host to a kneeling Carthusian monk, while pointing to his side wound with his left hand. There is an altar in the background with a chalice on it (**39**).[56] The most spectacular variants of this iconography depict numerous hosts falling from the wounds of Christ. In an early fifteenth-century unpublished fresco in Piacenza, he stands on a basin of blood and turns both of his palms towards the viewer. Blood squirts from the wounds in his hands but is immediately transformed into more than a dozen hosts on each side. The hosts bear short illegible inscriptions in Latin (Fig. 13, **12**). A similar image, an elaborate allegory on the Passion, also shows Christ standing on a basin of blood and displaying his wounds. Fourteen hosts, each marked with the sign of the cross, fall from the wound in his side into the fountain below, which pours out upon seven souls. There is also a chalice on the left with another host above it (**51**).[57]

An equally rare Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* type is one where a grapevine and/or a stalk of wheat issue from and sometimes pass through the wounds of the Redeemer, symbolising wine and bread. These motifs are fully late medieval inventions in this context, as they of course have no such roots as the *Arma Christi* are for the chalice and host. Only three such images are known to me, all dating from the years around 1470: a fresco of a tabernacle niche in Bled, Slovenia, an

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The ciborium (**85**) is published in *Panis Vivus: Arredi e testimonanze figurative del culto eucaristico del VI al XIX secolo*, ed. Cecilia Alessi and Laura Martini (Siena: Protagon Editori Toscani, 1994), 132, cat. no. 47.

[55] Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Niederösterreich*, CVMAe (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1972), 87–91, figs. 226–27. The window has been extensively restored.

[56] Jaromír Homolka, et al., *Pozdné gotické umění v Cechách* (Late gothic art in Bohemia) (Prague: Odeon, 1978, 1984), 410, with reproduction. In a painting by Quirizio da Murano Christ holds up a large host to a nun while drawing apart his side wound with his left hand as if to indicate the origin of the consecrated wafer (**41**). Christ may be pulling a host out of his side wound in a Bohemian panel whose frame bears an inscription that calls attention to the host given to sinners (**47**).

[57] Schreiber, vol. 4, 29, no. 1842, without reproduction, and Wadell, fig. 26. Both authors refer to a variant of this print in Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie (Wadell, fig. 25).

epitaph panel in Nördlingen, and a print, probably from the Upper Rhine region (Fig. 14; **46, 48, 53**).[58] As the lower part of the fresco in Bled is destroyed, no trace survives of what else may have been included at the bottom of the composition. Both the painting in Nördlingen and the print include the host and the chalice by Christ's foot.

There are a number of conclusions to be drawn from this survey; an analysis of the chronological and geographical distribution, the frequency, placement, and inscriptions of the various versions will reveal precious information on how these images were used and experienced by their contemporary audiences.

The Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum*: Function and Interpretation

It has often been stated in general that the representations of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows are closely related to the cult of the Holy Blood and the Eucharist. Indeed there is little reason to doubt this, but the exact nature of this relationship remains to be delineated.

First of all, as far as what "related" means in this context, it should be remembered that Eucharistic art is not a mere illustration of already existing concepts, but an individual form of expression. Although most Eucharistic imagery appears later than the corresponding ideas in religious writing, popular piety, liturgical practice, and official doctrine, the visual medium allows for a much freer treatment of the mystical religious concepts it expresses. It is not bound by the precision of words and is often a more suitable way of rendering complex religious feelings.

Precisely for this reason, it may be misleading to look for specific written sources "inspiring" these iconographical types. Although there are a number of literary sources dealing with parallel imagery, the direct relationship between the two forms of expression is doubtful; in fact, they seem to be no more than different products of the same devotion. Women mystics' ecstatic visions, for example, include as recurrent motifs the apparition of Christ, often holding the chalice or host and giving the Eucharist to the visionary.[59] These visions occur from the thirteenth

[58] For the fresco in Bled and the epitaph in Nördlingen see Janez Höfler, ed., *Gotik in Slowenien*, 276–7, fig. 158, and Caroline W. Bynum, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg," *Renaissance Quarterly* 1986, 399–439, fig. 13, respectively. In the print the five thick streams of blood issuing from Christ's wound turn into grapevines, of which one—as in the Nördlingen painting—ends in the chalice. Schreiber, vol. 4, 29, no. 1841m, without reproduction. Related to this group is the miniature of the Eucharistic Christ who is surrounded with grapevines that bear grapes and leaves (**22**).

[59] The nun Gertrud from Katarinenthal was in prayer after the mass when Christ appeared to her with a golden chalice in his hand. He poured his blood from his heart into the chalice and gave it to her to drink,

century, mainly in Western Europe, and characteristically in women's (nuns, beguines) experience. Images of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum holding* the chalice or host (versions best associated with these visions) are, however, almost exclusively limited to fifteenth-century Central European secular churches. Even the occasional illustrations of these visions could have exercised relatively small visual impetus on the fourteenth-century appearance of the independent portrayal of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows. Such an illustration is, for example, a French miniature of c. 1300 from a devotional manual for nuns. Christ appears in a cloud to a nun lying prostrate before the altar. He wears the crown of thorns and bleeds into the chalice from the wounds in his hands and side (Fig. 15).[60]

More exact information on how images of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* relate to various forms of Eucharistic devotion can be inferred from the original context of the works themselves: their audience, placement, and function. In the absence of sources, little is known about the actual commissioners of these works. What we do know, however, is that the overwhelming majority of the surviving examples were created for secular, mainly parish churches; therefore, it seems highly probable that in these cases the concept originated from, or was at least approved by, the local clergy.[61] The placement of the works within the church varies greatly, but in all

warning her never to doubt again. Anton Birlinger, ed., "Leben Heiliger Alemannischer Frauen des Mittelalters," vol. 5, "Die Nonnen von St. Katarinental bei Dieszenhofen," *Alemannia, Zeitschrift für Sprache, Literatur und Volkskunde des Elsaszes Oberrheins und Schwabens*, 15 (Bonn, 1887): 156–7, quoted by Stuhr, 246, and partly by Osten, 21, mentioned by Schiller, vol. 2, 219 (None of the latter three specify the date when the vision took place, but Schiller refers to it as an event already known in the 14th and 15th c.). Another example is the vision of Hadewijch (c. 1220–40) in which she experienced ecstatic union with Christ: "*He came to me in the form and clothing of a Man...Then he gave himself to me in the shape of the Sacrament, in its outward form, as the custom is; and then he gave me to drink from the chalice, in form and taste, as the custom is. After that he came himself to me...[then] took me entirely in his arms, and pressed me to him.*" Mother Columba Hart, trans., *Hadewijch, the Complete Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 280–1. Bynum refers to "hundreds of visions in which Christ himself gives the chalice or the host to a nun or beguine or laywoman who is unable to receive, either because of illness or because the clergy prevent it." Caroline W. Bynum, "Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century," in *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 136 and 347, n. 25–32, see also Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 153–165.

[60] Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20, fig. 12; Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult*, 60–63, fig. 247. For the vision of the *Vir Dolorum*, the scene of the Mass of St. Gregory is the best known example in the late Middle Ages. Caspary notes that a similar theme can already be found in the 4th–5th-c. writings of Faustus of Byzantium, relating the story of a doubting monk who saw Christ climb on the altar and pour his blood from the wound in his side into the chalice." Caspary, 105.

[61] A much smaller percentage of these images (mainly miniatures that by nature are accessible to a limited audience only) was created for private secular patrons (**22, 27**) or seen by the clergy only (breviaries and liturgical equipment such as missals, pontificals, chalices: Figs. 3, 10; **3, 6, 8, 20**). A few works were commissioned by religious communities: in Quirizio da Murano's painting Christ holds the host up to a nun (**41**, Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 106, fig. 3.10), while in the pages of a Carthusian antiphonary he hands the host to a Carthusian monk (**39**). The altarpiece in Güssing was ordered for a Dominican convent:

cases they were intended to be seen by the laity as well, and often primarily by them. A systematic examination of their original location shows recurrent patterns in placement and context, even though in some cases the original context has been lost or destroyed.

The most frequent location for these images is without doubt the tabernacle, especially if the common Italian examples are also included (Fig. 8). The latter are found on the doors of tabernacle niches or above them (or even both), the northern examples are reliefs, statues, and frescos—some imitating statues—over the tabernacle niche (Figs. 5, 12; **10, 11, 15, 21, 30, 37, 42, 48**). Other frequent locations include the interior and exterior of altarpieces (**4, 5, 24, 25, 31, 35, 43, 45, 55, 58, 59, 60, 65, 67, 68, 71, 74, 79**) and stained glass windows near the high altar in the sanctuary (Fig. 4; **9, 13, 14, 38**).[62] In one case the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice can be seen on the base of a real chalice (Fig. 10; **20**); in others, on top of ciboria and monstrances (**70, 72, 85**).

Clearly, in these locations an important function of the image is to remind the viewer of the actual presence of Christ's body. The tabernacle, as has been mentioned, received special attention from the thirteenth century as the place where the body of the Lord is preserved. The altar, in turn, is the place where the transubstantiation takes place and Christ's presence is first experienced. The same holds true for the chalice, the monstrance, and the ciborium, always made of precious metals so as to be worthy of holding the Lord's blood and flesh.

In numerous distinguished places, however, the body and blood of Christ were present not only in the consecrated host and wine, but also in the treasured Holy Blood and miraculous bleeding host relics. Quite a few of our images are related to such relics. Some early examples have already been mentioned, such as the stained glass window in Karlštejn or the portal relief of the Holy Blood chapel in Lubín (**1, 2**). In Mălâncrav, also, the presence of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* is related to the local Holy Blood chapel (Fig. 5; **15**).[63] The cult of the Holy Blood is preserved even in the name of Heiligenblut, site of a host miracle, where the *Vir Dolorum* holding

two Dominican nuns kneel on each side of Christ as donors (**45**). A breviary (**8**) was made for a Benedictine community.

[62] The altars themselves seem to have been seldom dedicated to the Eucharist. An exception is the altarpiece in Cesena dedicated to the Corpus Christi (**71**). The works in St. Lambrecht, Schönau, and Landau are found in churches dedicated to the Holy Cross, whose cult—as part of the *Arma*—was closely related to the Eucharistic cults (**25, 43, 58**). In Nagy-Pécsely, St. Helene appears holding the cross next to the *Vir Dolorum* (Fig. 16).

[63] A papal charter from 1424 grants indulgence to those who help with the *restauracio* (in fact, probably the rebuilding) of the Holy Blood chapel (Pál Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei* (Charters of fifteenth-century popes) (Budapest, 1931–38), vol. 1, 157). The location of the chapel is disputed, but several factors imply it is identical with the sanctuary of the local (parish?) church, however unusual in medieval Hungary this may be.

the host is portrayed in a window (**38**).[64] The statue by the sculptor Conrad von Einbeck may reflect the veneration of the Holy Blood at his place of origin (**18**), and the painting by the workshop of Herlin is probably related to the cult of the famous Blood-relic in the Jakobskirche in nearby Rothenburg where Friedrich Herlin himself painted the wings of the high altar (Fig. 14; **46**).[65] Schönau near Viehtach also possessed a Holy Blood relic at least since the mid-fourteenth century. The statue of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice, which itself was venerated later, was created shortly after the place received permission for indulgence in 1475 (**58**).[66] Ingolstadt had a Holy Blood relic since 1430 (**83**),[67] and the pilgrimage church in Umratshausen is itself dedicated to the Holy Blood (**63**). The surprisingly frequent occurrence of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* in Erfurt can also be explained by the veneration of relics originating from local Eucharistic miracles (**13, 14, 33, 34, 52**). The stained glass windows in the cathedral relate to the relic preserved there in the chapel of the Holy Blood, which came to Erfurt from a nearby village where a Eucharistic miracle occurred in 1190/91 (**13, 14**).[68] Another miracle happened in Erfurt in 1249 when a host thrown into a fishpond by two thieves was found dry on its retrieval.[69] The Brunnenkirche built on the site of the miracle has today an epitaph for Conrad von Weingarten and his wife depicting an Eucharistic *Schmerzensmann* (**52**). In addition to the veneration of the local host relic, even the place of origin of the couple may have had an influence on the choice of subject matter, Weingarten being one of the oldest and most famous places to preserve a Holy Blood relic.[70]

In Italy, also, the appearance of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows has sometimes been explained by local veneration of relics of the Holy Blood. The innumerable tabernacle decorations have little to do with actual relics, but a few representations unusual to Italy do seem in fact related. Numerous examples that

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[64] Cf. Bauerreiss, 68 and Frodl-Kraft, 88–89.

[65] For the cult of the Holy Blood in Einbeck, see Heuser, 22. Herlin's high altar in the Jakobskirche stands directly below the extraordinary stained glass window expounding the doctrine of the Eucharist, c. 1390 (Detlef Knipping, "Eucharistie- und Blutreliquienverehrung: Das Eucharistiefenster der Jakobskirche in Rothernburg ob der Tauber," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1993/1: 79–101).

[66] The particle of the Holy Blood was kept in a chalice-shaped reliquary (Heuser, 9). For further possible connections between the cult of the Holy Blood in and near the valley of the Isar and the numerous local representations of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows with the chalice (**32, 37, 43, 58, 82, Appendix 2**) see Anton Meyer-Pfannholz, *Heilig Blut und seine Legende: Der Isargau* 2, 1928.

[67] Heuser, 7.

[68] T. Kolde, *Das religiöse Leben in Erfurt beim Ausgange des Mittelalters*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 16/2, no. 63. (Halle, 1898), 28–29, 31; Bauerreiss, 54; Heuser, 23.

[69] Bauerreiss, 54.

[70] Winfried Ellerhorst, *Die Geschichte des heiligen Blutes zu Weingarten* (Weingarten, 1937).

diverge from the usual Italian type can be found in Mantua, the town most famous for its Holy Blood relic next to Orvieto.[71] Two tabernacle busts of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice were created by the same Matteo Civitali of Lucca who erected the *tempietto* over the famous Volto Santo statue, itself a relic, in which a vial full of the Precious Blood had been found (**49, 61**).[72] Finally, the statue in Ferrara, also holding the chalice, stands on top of a baldachin erected over the site of a famous twelfth-century bleeding host miracle (**84**).[73]

To mark the place of the real presence of Christ is a very important, but by no means exclusive, function these images had in their original context. What about those works whose placement has no direct Eucharistic relevance, or, like prints, are moveable and have no physical context at all? Numerous images of the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* are located in places where they were primarily seen by the laity: they are frescos in side aisles or near entrances (Fig. 13; **7, 12, 64**), ceiling decoration (**75**), reliefs and statues on the exterior of secular churches over or near entrances (**1, 32, 33, 34, 52**). Some statues with unknown provenance may have stood by themselves in the nave (Figs. 9, 11; **19?, 28?, 54?, 76?, 77?**). The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows also appears on epitaphs (Fig. 14; **46, 52, 83**), tombstones (**17, 82**), votive panels (**29?, 47**), as well as non-liturgical miniatures (**22, 27, 36**), single-block prints (**16, 50, 51, 53, 56, 62, 80**), even stove tiles (**69**).

The primary function in these cases is implied by inscriptions on the images themselves: "*Caro mea vere est cibus* | *et sanguis meus verel est potus,*" declares the Man of Sorrows in a print of about 1475, from the Upper Rhine region (**53**). Five thick streams of blood issue from his wounds and turn into a grapevine with grapes and leaves, some of which end in a chalice standing on the ground, over which the host can also be seen. Additional inscriptions on each side read *Ego sum vitis vera* and *Ego sum panis* [*vivus,* last word destroyed].[74] Many other works that easily lend themselves to be inscribed—panel paintings, frescos, miniatures, prints—carry similar inscriptions.

These words of Christ, on which the dogma of transubstantiation is based, are expressed by visual means in these and all the other images discussed here. The

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[71] The relic of the Holy Blood in Mantua and the related works of art are discussed in detail in Marita Horster's article (Horster, 151–180).

[72] Horst Appuhn, *Einführung in die Ikonographie in die mittelalterliche Kunst in Deutschland,* Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (Darmstadt, 1980), 123; Pietro Lazzarini, *Il Volto Santo di Lucca* (Lucca, 1982), 48, 50, 52.

[73] A panel by Antonio Aleotti, dated 1498, also has a Ferrarese provenance and may be connected to this local cult (**67**). Its iconography is rare to Italy and distinguishes it from the usual Italian works (Jadranka Bentini, ed., *Catalogo della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Ferrara* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1992), 32–33, cat. no. 36).

[74] Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte,* vol. 4, 29, no. 1841m.

many versions of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows have one essential feature in common: they all visually demonstrate the origin of the Eucharist. The Eucharist is shown issuing from Christ's very body: blood from his wounds is caught in the chalice of the mass or turns into hosts in mid-air; grapevine and stalks of wheat grow from his wounds and end in the chalice; hosts are shown/given to the viewer/adorer with a clear indication of the side wound as their source.

These images explain and teach the truth of the dogma to the laity. Such a didactic function has, since the writings of St. Gregory the Great, been accepted in the West as one that justifies the existence of images. Besides sermons, poems, mystery plays, etc., works of art were also considered especially suitable for the instruction of the illiterate masses. Although by the time the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* appears in art the doctrine of transubstantiation had been officially accepted for almost a hundred and fifty years, the task of teaching the Eucharist to the masses remained a constant duty of the clergy.[75] In fifteenth-century Central Europe, the area where the greatest number of these works are found in many imaginative variations, the importance of this task went beyond the duties of basic catechism, since the truth of the dogma had been seriously questioned by the Hussite movement in the region. The most extreme groups within Hussitism denied the dogma of transubstantiation together with the indispensability of the clergy, but even the less radical Prague faction doubted the dogma of concomitance, namely, that both species of the Sacrament contain separately the body and blood of the Redeemer. Consequently, they rejected contemporary practice which denied the chalice to laymen, and called for communion under both species (*utraquism*).[76]

The doubt regarding the presence of both the flesh and blood of Christ in the host was a constant problem in other parts of Europe, too. The numerous bleeding host miracles, which often happened to counter the disbelief of participants in the mass, attest to the sensitivity with which this dogma was handled among the clergy

[75] Rubin, 98–129.

[76] They based their claim on the interpretation of John 6:53: "*Truly, truly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you,*" and held that communion under both species was a prerequisite for salvation. For the Eucharistic debates of the Hussites in general see William R. Cook, "The Eucharist in Hussite Theology," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 66 (1975): 23–35; Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), for further reference on the Hussite movement František Šmahel, *La révolution hussite, une anomalie historique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), and idem, *Husitská revoluce* (The Hussite revolution), (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1993); Jarold Knox Zeman, *The Hussite Movement and the Reformation in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia (1350–1650): A Bibliographical Study Guide* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977).

and laity alike.[77] In teaching the Eucharist, therefore, a demonstration of the presence of the blood in the host was an important issue. In art, this doctrine is reflected in the frequent appearance of the host above the chalice, bathed by the stream of blood that issues from Christ's side (often described by modern art historians as "blood transforming into a host"). Occasionally, as has been shown, the chalice is missing altogether; instead, the blood is transformed into numerous hosts (Fig. 10).[78]

Central Europe was, however, also threatened by more a dangerous heresy in the fifteenth century—the radical Hussites' denial of transubstantiation itself. In this region the task to reinforce the dogma seems to have given birth to more emphatic versions of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows, such as the *Vir Dolorum* holding the chalice. It can hardly be accidental that in the Late Middle Ages this type occurs almost exclusively around, and partly in, Bohemia, the areas particularly affected by this heresy (**Appendix 2**).

The interpretation of this particular type is complicated by the manifold symbolic meaning of the chalice itself which the Hussites themselves adopted to represent their cause.[79] It is hardly possible that, at this time and place, an image that has the chalice in its focus should be free from these new associations. Nonetheless, the chalice should not be interpreted as a Hussite symbol, as it had had an unbroken tradition in the context of the *Vir Dolorum* in Eastern-Central European art since the early fourteenth century (Figs. 1–4; **1–3, 5–11**), and continued to be used in orthodox Catholic art despite its Hussite associations.[80] Its interpretation should rest on the novelty of its iconography: the implications of the voluntary nature of Christ's own sacrifice. He appears not only as sacrifice but also as priest, an idea first formulated by the Apostle Paul (Heb. 2:17), and by his authority as high priest asserts the truth of the dogma of the transubstantiation. This twofold aspect of Christ's part in his sacrifice was well understood and widely used

[77] The most famous such miracle happened at the mass of Bolsena in 1263. For a detailed discussion of German *Bluthostien* and other host miracles, see Bauerreiss, *Pie Jesu*. According to his research, host miracles become frequent in the second half of the 13th c. (15 instances out of the listed 117), their peak time is the first half of the 14th c. (28 instances), but remain frequent also in the second half of the 14th c. (16 instances) and first half of the 15th c. (12 instances). The majority of cases have been reported in Bavaria (39 instances). Most miracles happened during the Easter feast (Bauerreiss, 79–80).

[78] An example of the many related images that also serve for the visualisation of this doctrine is a painting of the *Mystical Winepress* by the workshop of Dürer. The blood pressed from Christ's body turns into numerous hosts just before it falls into the chalice held under the winepress by St. Peter as Pope (Alexandre-Bidon, 173, fig. 83).

[79] Bartlová, 167–83.

[80] On this topic I profited much from discussions with Milena Bartlová, for which I would like to express my gratitude.

in the theological thought of the period.[81] It also appears in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council: *...[ecclesia] in qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus.*[82] A little known fresco that once decorated a Benedictine church in Nagy-Pécsely, Hungary, and depicts Christ as a Man of Sorrows celebrating the mass himself, demonstrates that this doctrine was expressed in the visual arts as well (Fig. 16).[83]

In this region, where the dogma on which the most crucial ritual of the Catholic church was based and the priestly authority necessary for its performance were questioned, an image of Christ the priest catching his own blood in the chalice served not only to illustrate but to reinforce the dogma by the rehabilitation of the chalice: it reminded its viewers that this doctrine was not the result of a later theological speculation that could be proved or disproved, but had been instituted by the Saviour himself.

Although by the second half of the fifteenth century the practice of utraquism was accepted in many churches and tolerated by others as long a the doctrine of concomitance was not questioned, the heresy of the denial of transubstantiation remained topical. In Central Europe particularly, as in other parts of Europe, images of the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows served to call attention to the real presence of Christ and to underpin the doctrine of transubstantiation by visualising the equality of the host and wine of the Eucharist with the body and blood of the Saviour.

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[81] The German name in art historical scholarship for the Eucharistic *Vir Dolorum* holding the chalice (*Messopfernder Schmerzensmann*) is also based on this interpretation. Osten, passim.

[82] Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 136, n. 35.

[83] Flóris Rómer, *Régi falképek Magyarországon* (Old murals in Hungary), Magyarországi Régészeti Emlékek (Budapest, 1874), vol. 3, pt. 1, 8, Pl. 1. The work, destroyed in 1861, dates from the late 14th or early 15th century and is an important predecessor to the representation of the Man of Sorrows holding the chalice which occurs very early in this region. Despite the destroyed head it is obvious that Christ appears here as the *Vir Dolorum*: both his bare chest and the stigma on his pointing left hand identify him as such.

Appendix 1. Works of art representing the Man of Sorrows with a eucharistic attribute

Abbreviations: ? = unknown; – = none, not applicable, (?) = information not available

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
1.	1350s	Lubín/Lüben	Holy Blood castle chapel	Silesia	stone relief	over entrance portal	chalice by right foot	in situ
2.	c. 1357–65	Karlštejn, castle	St. Catherine chapel	Bohemia	stained glass window	S wall	chalice by side, *Arma*	destroyed
3.	after 1364	Prague	Missal of Jan ze Středy	Bohemia	miniature	Finitial	chalice by right elbow, *Arma*	Prague, Castle, Chapter Library, Cim, 6. fol. 67v
4.	last third of 14th c.	? (Domingo Valls)	altarpiece?	Catalonia	panel painting	?	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma*	Barcelona, Juñer Collection
5.	last quarter of 14th c.	Pełcznica (near Świebodzice) /Polsnitz	altarpiece	Silesia	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice by right foot	Wroclaw, Diocesan museum
6. Fig. 3.	1376	Prague	Pontifical of Albrecht of Šternberk	Bohemia	miniature	T initial for the canon	chalice by side wound on edge of sarcophagus	Prague, Strahov Monastery, DG I 19, fol. 199r
7.	1376–1414	Kwidzyn	St. John the Evangelist cathedral	Teutonic territory	mural	wall of N aisle	chalice and host in the air by Christ's right knee, sarcophagus	in situ
8.	c. 1385	Opatovice, St. Lawrence monastery	Benedictine breviary	Bohemia	miniature	Corpus Christi vigil	chalice and host by right foot	Cracow, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly (not inventoried)
9. Fig. 4.	c. 1390	Slivenec near Prague	parish church	Bohemia	stained glass window	SE wall of sanctuary	chalice and host by right foot, *Arma* in hands	Prague, Museum of Applied Arts
10.	late 14th– early 15th c.	Šamorín/Somorja	parish (present-day Protestant) church	Hungary	stone relief	tabernacle, N wall of sanctuary	chalice on edge of niche	in situ

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
11.	late 14th– early 15th c.	Spišská Bela /Szepesbéla	St. Anthony Abbot parish church	Hungary	stone relief	tabernacle N wall of sanctuary	chalice on edge of niche	in situ
12. **Fig. 13.**	early 15th c.	Piacenza	cathedral	Emilia	mural	pillar at corner of S aisle and S transept	numerous hosts falling from both hands of Christ who stands on a blood basin	in situ
13.	c. 1403	Erfurt	Cathedral, Apostelfenster	Thuringia	stained glass window	N wall of sanctuary	chalice by right foot	in situ
14.	c. 1403	Erfurt	Cathedral, Tiefengruben-fenster	Thuringia	stained glass window	S wall of sanctuary	chalice on floor in front of Sarcophagus	in situ
15. **Fig. 5.**	before 1405	Mălâncrav /Almakerék	secular church (probably parish church)	Hungary	mural	over tabernacle, NE wall of sanctuary	chalice and host in air under side wound	in situ
16.	first quarter of 15th c.	–	print series	France or Germany	woodcut	–	chalice in right hand, *Arma* in background	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
17.	first quarter of 15th c.	Swäbisch Hall	–	Swabia	stone relief	tombstone	chalice in the air under side wound, whip, donor	local museum
18.	**1415**	Halle (Saale), Moritzkirche (Conrad von Einbeck)	–	Saxony	stone statue	(?)	chalice and host by right foot, *Arma*	in situ
19. **Fig. 9.**	c. 1420–24	Buda, St. Sigismund chapel	?	Hungary	stone statue	?	chalice in right hand	Budapest, Budapest History Museum
20. **Fig. 10.**	c. 1420–40 (?)	Bratislava /Pozsony, St. Martin's Cathedral	chalice	Hungary	metalwork	–	chalice in right hand	Bratislava, St. Martin

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
21.	second quarter of 15th c.	Pogorzela	parish church	Silesia	mural	over tabernacle in sanctuary	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma* in background	in situ
22.	second quarter of 15th c.	Thuringia?	codex with Biblia Pauperum	Thuringia, perhaps Saxony	miniature	appendix to a Biblia Pauperum	Eucharistic Christ, chalice in right hand, grapevine, winepress	Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Cod. Pal. Lat. 871, fol. 22r
23.	c. 1430	Mariapfarr (Friedrich und Johann von Villach)	parish church, Georgskapelle	Salzburg	mural	(?)	chalice and host on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma*, Lamentation	in situ
24.	c. 1430	Görlitz, Frauenkirche	Altar of the Virgin?	Lausitz	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice and host by right foot, *Arma* in arms	Görlitz, Museum
25.	c. 1435	St. Lambrecht, St. Peters (Master of the St. Lambrecht Crucifixions)	Holy Cross altar	Styria	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice and host by right foot	in situ
26.	c. 1435	Gdansk/Danzig, Marienkirche, Jakobskapelle	Winterfeld diptych	Teutonic territory	panel painting	diptych wing	chalice, lancet, *Arma* in form of a shield, *Fünfwundenheiland*, Madonna and Child	Gdansk, Marienkirche
27.	c. 1440	(?)	Select Psalms of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester	England	miniature	Psalm 18(?)	chalice and host on a small altar in front of sarcophagus, donor, patron saint, angels, God the Father	London, British Museum, MS. Royal 2 B. I. fol. 8.
28.	c. 1440	?	?	S Bohemia or Lower Austria	wooden statue	?	chalice in right hand	Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
29.	1443	Brzeg/Brieg, St. Nicholas	–	Silesia	panel painting	votive panel?	chalice and host by right foot of Christ, *Arma*, *Fünfwundenheiland*	Brzeg, St. Nicholas
30. Fig. 12.	1446	Salzburg (Conrad Laib)	parish (present-day Franciscan) church	Salzburg	mural	over tabernacle, N, inside of triumphal arch	chalice in right hand	in situ
31.	mid-15th c.	Swiný/Schwein-haus	altarpiece	Silesia	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice and host by right foot of Christ	in situ
32.	mid-15th c.	Landshut, St. Martin	*Notgottes* statue group	Bavaria	terracotta statue	exterior, S wall, niche, Bürgerportal	chalice in right hand, *Notgottes* group, angels	Landshut, St. Martin (moved inside)
33.	mid-15th c.	Erfurt, Lorenzkirche (Master "i")	–	Thuringia	stone statue	W facade	chalice in right hand	(?)
34.	mid-15th c.	Erfurt, Wigbertikirche (Master "i")	–	Thuringia	stone statue	W facade	chalice in right hand	in situ
35.	c. 1450	Matejovce/Mateóc parish church (Master of the High Altar of Mateóc)	Altar of St. Stephen and Emeric	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice by right foot, *Arma*	in situ
36.	15th c.	(?)	depiction of the children of Saturn	Germany	miniature	(?)	chalice in left hand, Christ stands on a comet	Tübingen, (?)
37.	1454	Bachling, parish church	–	Bavaria	stone statue	tabernacle decoration	chalice in right hand	in situ

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
38.	c. 1460	Heiligenblut	St. Andrew's chapel	Lower Austria	window	S window, sanctuary	host in right hand	in situ
39.	c. 1460	Brno	Carthusian antiphonary	Moravia	miniature	(?)	host in right hand which Christ hands to a kneeling Carthusian monk, altar in background	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1775, fol. 43v
40.	c. 1460–1470	Kaufbeuren, St. Blaise chapel (Peter Hopfer?)	reliquary altar	Schwabia	panel painting	sanctuary	chalice by right foot, *Engelpietŕ*	in situ
41.	c. 1460–78	Venice (Quirizio da Murano)	altarpiece?	Veneto	panel painting	?	Eucharistic Christ holding up a large host to a nun	Venice, Accademia
42.	shortly after 1464	Spišská Sobota /Szepeszombat	parish church	Hungary	mural	N wall of sanctuary, tabernacle	chalice under right foot	in situ
43.	c. 1465–70	Landau an der Isar, Holy Cross chapel (cemetery chapel)	Holy Cross high altar	Bavaria	wooden statue	central statue	chalice in right hand	in situ
44.	1466	Olomouc	Missal of Jan z Bludov	Moravia	miniature	C initial	shallow vessel under side wound, *Arma*	Olomouc, Chapter Library, CO 45 fol. 186r
45.	1469	?	Passion altar	Austria or Hungary	panel painting	altar wing	chalice in right hand	Güssing, Collection Draskovich
46. Fig. 14.	1469	Nördlingen (Friedrich Herlin or workshop)	Epitaph of Paul Strauss	Schwabia	panel painting	epitaph	grapevine, stalk of wheat, chalice and host on the ground, donor	Nördlingen, Stadtmuseum
47.	c. 1470	Prague, Our Lady (Týn) church?	–	Bohemia	panel painting	votive panel	chalice in left hand, (host in right hand ?)	Prague, National Gallery

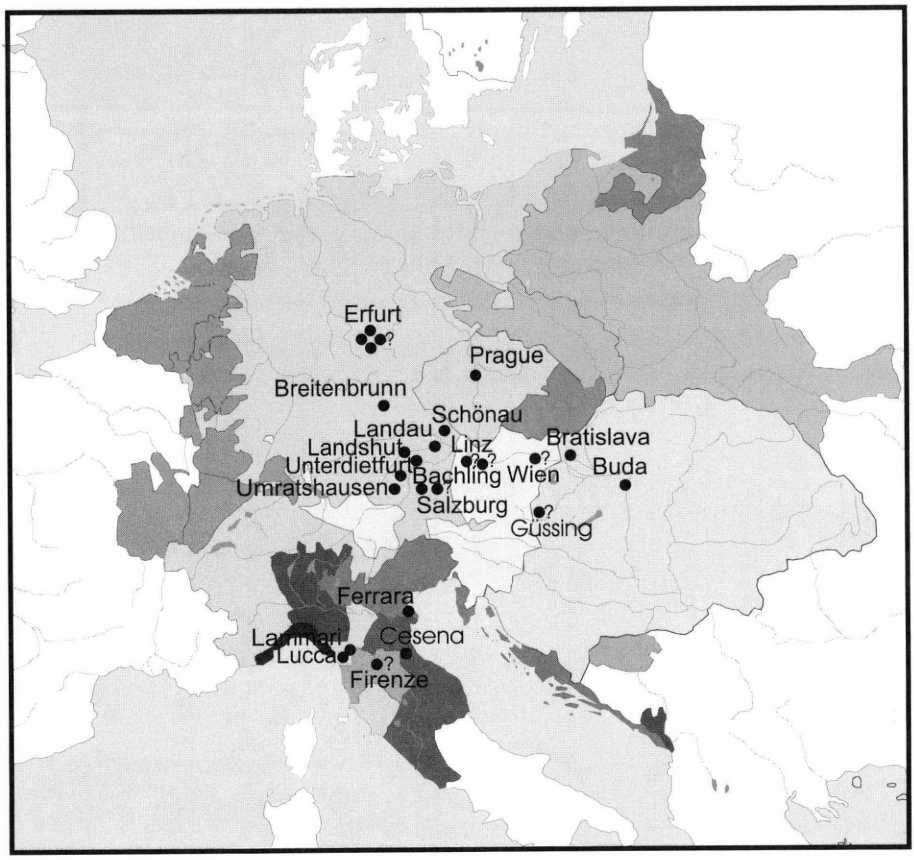
	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
48.	c. 1470	Bled, Church of the Assumption of the Virgin (Disciple of Master Bolfangus)	tabernacle	Kraina	mural	tabernacle niche	stalk of wheat, grapevine	in situ
49.	c. 1470	Lucca, Sta. Maria della Rosa (Matteo Civitali)	tabernacle?	Tuscany	terracotta statue (half-length)	tabernacle niche?	chalice in right hand	location unknown (stolen by Nazi troops)
50.	c. 1470	Ulm? ("Michael")	–	Swabia	woodcut	indulgence leaflet	chalice in right hand, *Arma*	Nuremberg, Germ. Nationalmuseum
51.	c. 1470–80	Upper Rhineland	–	Upper Rhineland	woodcut	devotional leaflet?	chalice and host on the ground to the right, Christ stands on a blood basin, 14 hosts fall from his side wound	Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung
52.	c. 1472?	Erfurt, Brunnenkirche	epitaph of Conrad of Weingarten	Thuringia	stone relief	epitaph, W facade	chalice in right hand	in situ
53.	c. 1475	Upper Rhineland	–	Upper Rhineland	woodcut	devotional leaflet?	streams of blood turning into grapevine, chalice and host on ground	Zurich, KH.
54. Fig. 11.	second half of 15th c.	?	?	Upper Austria or S Bohemia	wooden statue	?	chalice in right hand	Salzburg, Vanecek Collection
55.	last quarter of 15th c.	? (Circle of the Cervera Master)	altarpiece	Catalonia	panel painting	altar predella	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Engelpietà*	Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (deposit)
56.	last quarter of 15th c.	?	–	Germany or Switzerland	woodcut	indulgence leaflet	host in right hand, chalice in left	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
57.	last quarter of 15th c.	Lyngby	parish church	Denmark	mural	vaulting	chalice by left leg, *Fünfwundenheiland*	in situ
58.	c. 1480	Schönau near Viehtach, Holy Cross church	altarpiece	Bavaria	wooden statue	central statue?	chalice in right hand	in situ, but removed from altarpiece
59.	c. 1480	Smrečany /Szmrecsány, parish church (Master of the High Altar of Szmrecsány)	Altar of the Virgin	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing of high altar	chalice in air under right hand of Christ, *Arma* in background	in situ
60. **Fig. 6.**	c. 1480	Telkibánya, parish church?	winged altarpiece	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing?	chalice by right leg of Christ, *Engelpietà*, *Fünfwundenheiland*	Esztergom, Christian Museum
61.	c. 1480	Lammari, parish church (Matteo Civitali)	tabernacle	Tuscany	stone statue (half-length)	tabernacle niche	chalice and host in right hand	Lammari, parish church (moved within the church)
62.	c. 1480	?	–	Germany	woodcut	devotional print?	chalice on right of Christ, *Arma*	Dresden, K.K.
63.	c. 1480?	Umratshausen, Heiligblutskirche	altarpiece?	Upper Bavaria	wooden statue	in altarshrine?	chalice in right hand	in situ, on a corbel in the sanctuary (removed from the altarpiece?)
64.	c.1480–1500	Kongsted	parish church	Denmark	fresco	tower arch, S	*Fünfwundenheiland*, lower half where chalice probably stood destroyed	in situ
65.	1483	Tallinn, Holy Spirit church (Workshop of Bernt Notke)	altarpiece	Teutonic territory	panel painting	altar wing	chalice and host over a shield of *Arma* in front of Christ	(?)

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
66.	1483	Louka	missal	Moravia	miniature	N initial introit, Maundy Thursday	chalice on right of Christ, cross in left arm	Prague, Strahov Monastery, DG II 14 fol. 86v
67.	1498	Ferrara? (Antonio Aleotti Argenta)	altarpiece?	Emilia	panel painting	?	chalice on edge of sarcophagus, *Arma*	Ferrara, Pinacoteca Nazionale
68.	late 15th c.	Skånella, church	altarpiece	Sweden?	wooden relief	altarpiece	chalice in the air under left arm	in situ
69.	early 16th c.	?	tile oven	Central Germany	glazed tile	?	chalice in right hand of Christ	Leipzig, Museum of Applied Arts
70.	early 16th c.	?	monstrance or ciborium?	South Germany?	bronze statuette	top decoration (lid?)	chalice in right hand	Budapest, Hungarian National Museum
71.	1505	Cesena, cathedral (Giambattista Bregno)	Corpus Christi chapel altar	Romagna	stone statue	central statue	chalice in right hand	Cesena, cathedral
72.	1507	Breitenbrunn in der Oberpfalz, parish church of the Assumption	monstrance	Oberpfalz	gilded silver statuette	top decoration	chalice in right hand	Breitenbrunn in der Oberpfalz, parish church of the Assumption
73.	c. 1510	? (Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen)	– (perhaps part of a diptych?)	Low Countries	panel painting	small panel for private devotion	chalice on edge of sarcophagus	Antwerp, Mayer van der Bergh Museum
74.	c. 1510	? (Lucas van Leyden)	Altarpiece of the Miraculous Feeding	Low Countries	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice on the side	unknown
75.	1513–19	Gogan Varolea /Gogánváralja, parish (present-day Protestant) church	painted ceiling	Hungary	panel painting	ceiling	chalice and host by left foot under the extended left hand, cross in right arm	Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery

	date	original location (artist)	enclosing work	medieval country or region	genre	placing/ function	remarks	present location
76.	c. 1515	?	?	Upper-Austria	wooden statue	?	chalice in right hand	Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum
77.	c. 1515–20	Kiebitz (Hans Witten)	?	Saxony	wooden statue	?	chalice by right foot, angel	Munich, Collection Hubert Wilm
78.	1520	– (Hans Sebald Beham)	–	Franconia	engraving	–	host in right hand, chalice in left	New York Public Library, Print Collection
79.	c. 1520–30	Stara Lesna /Felsőerdőfalva, parish church	St. Paul altarpiece (high altar)	Hungary	panel painting	exterior wing	chalice by right foot, *Fünfwundenheiland*, two angels	in situ
80.	first half of 16th c.	?	–	?	woodcut	?	chalice in right hand, host in left	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
81.	c. 1530	?	?	South-Netherlands	panel painting	?	chalice on corner of separate sarcophagus, right of Christ, *Arma*	Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts
82.	1533	Unterdietfurt (Master of the Altötting Portals)	tombstone of the Sulzperger family	Bavaria	stone relief (red marble)	tombstone	chalice in right hand	in situ
83.	1534	Ingolstadt, Minoritenkirche	epitaph of Hans Demel	Bavaria	stone relief	epitaph	chalice on ground in front of Christ	in situ
84.	1596?	Ferrara, Sta Maria in Vado	altar baldachin	Emilia	stone statue	top decoration	chalice in left hand	in situ
85.	early 17th c.	Florence?	ciborium	Tuscany	silver statuette	top decoration	chalice in right hand, cross in left	Casole d'Elsa, Santa Maria Assunta

Appendix 2.



Map of Europe showing the distribution of the
Man of Sorrows holding the chalice

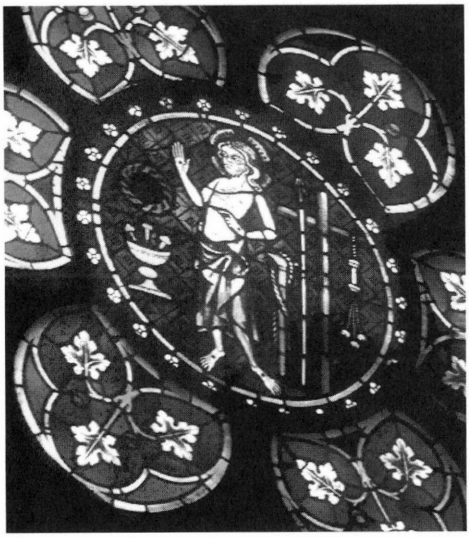


Fig. 1. Man of Sorrows with *Arma Christi*. Stained glass window, c. 1320. Freiburg im Breisgau, Cathedral.

Fig. 2. Man of Sorrows with *Arma Christi*. Fresco, first quarter of the 14th c. Průhonice (Bohemia), Church of the Virgin.

Fig. 3. Man of Sorrows with chalice. Pontifical of Albrecht of Šternberk. Prague. Miniature, 1376. Prague, Strahov Premonstratensian Monastery, cod. DG I 19, fol. 199v.

Fig. 4. Man of Sorrows with *Arma*, chalice, and host. Stained glass window, c. 1390. From the parish church of Slivenec near Prague. Prague, Museum of Applied Arts.

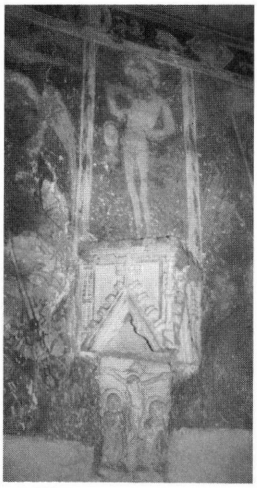


Fig. 5. Man of Sorrows with chalice. Tabernacle fresco. Before 1405. Mălâncrav/ Almakerék (Romania), Lutheran (former parish) church.

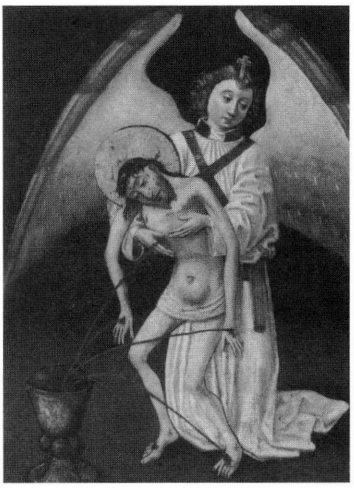


Fig. 6. *Fünfwundenheiland* held by an angel. From Telkibánya, Hungary. Panel, c. 1480. Keresztény Múzeum, Esztergom (Hungary).

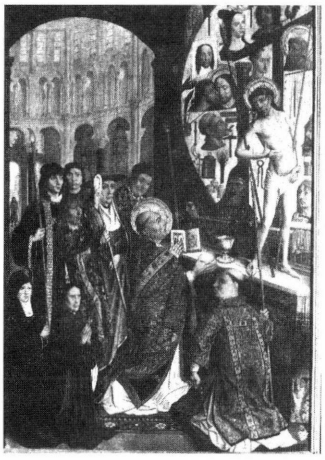


Fig. 7. Master of the "Heilige Sippe": The Mass of St. Gregory. Panel, c. 1500. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts.

Fig. 8. Lippo d'Andrea: The Redeemer. Tabernacle door. Panel, 1410s. San Casciano Val di Pesa, Museo d'Arte Sacra.

Fig. 9. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. From Buda, St. Sigismund. Limestone, 1420–24. Budapest, Budapest History Museum.

Fig. 10. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. Detail from the base of a chalice. Gilded silver and enamel, c. 1420–40 (?). Bratislava, St. Martin.

Fig. 11. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. Upper Austrian or South Bohemian. Wood, second half of the 15th c. Salzburg, Coll. Vanecek.

Fig. 12. Man of Sorrows holding the chalice. Tabernacle fresco, 1446. Salzburg, Franciscan church.

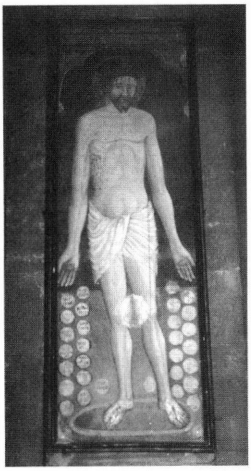


Fig. 13. Man of Sorrows with hosts falling from his wounds. Fresco, early 15th c. Piacenza, Cathedral.

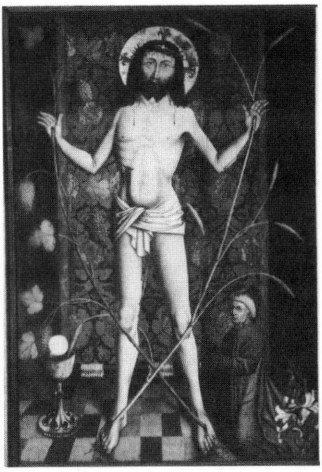


Fig. 14. Friedrich Herlin and workshop: Man of Sorrows with grapevine, stalk of wheat, chalice, and host. Epitaph of Paul Strauss. Panel, 1469. Nördlingen, Stadtmuseum.

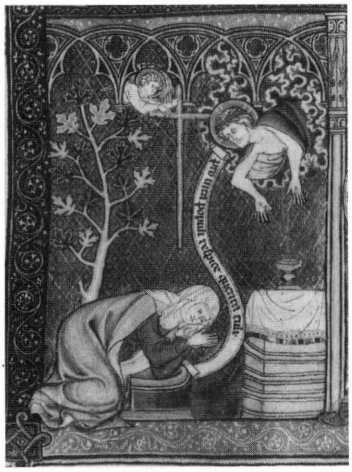


Fig. 15. The Man of Sorrows appearing to a nun in a vision. La Sainte Abbaye. France. Miniature, c. 1300. London, British Library, MS Add. 39843, fol. 29.

Fig. 16. The Man of Sorrows celebrating Mass. Fresco, late 14th – early 15th c. Nagy-Pécsely (Hungary), Benedictine church (watercolor copy by Flóris Rómer after the destroyed original).