

Thesis of Doctoral (Phd) Dissertation

**The cult of the original miraculous icon of (Mária)pócs in Vienna during
the first half of the 18th century in the light of the books of miracles**

Katalin Földvári

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Elek Bartha

Dr. András Dobos



UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN

Doctoral School of History and Ethnology

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1. The topic and the aim of the dissertation

The present doctoral thesis aims to examine the cult of the original miraculous icon of Máriapócs during the first half of the 18th century through the analysis of two Austrian records of miracles. The icon, which wept between 4 November and 8 December 1696, was transported to Vienna in 1697 at the order of the Emperor Leopold I. Following the arrival of the icon, High Mass was celebrated and festivities were held in the city for five months (7 July to 1 December 1697). Subsequently, as requested by the parishes of Vienna, the icon was presented in all the churches of the city; in each place, it was exposed for public veneration for three days. On 1 December 1697 it was returned to the St. Stephan's Cathedral, where it was accommodated on the high altar. While the miraculous icon of Pócs toured the imperial city, Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736) defeated the Ottoman Turks at Senta on 11 September 1697, which victory was attributed to the intercession of the Virgin Mary of Pócs, the presence of the icon in Vienna. Thus, in the late 17th and early 18th century, the icon of Pócs came to be a protector not only of the city of Vienna but of the whole of the Habsburg Empire as well and became an important role in the veneration for the Virgin Mary by the Habsburgs.

The choosing of the topic of the thesis was justified by the deficiencies of the national and international previous researches: till the veneration for the copy (that in 1707 placed at Pócs) is largely elaborated in the aspect of the ethnography, history of art, church history, history of liturgy etc, comprehensive, detailed researches did not take place referring to the original icon as yet. The chronological scope of the analysed period of time can be explained by this, that the Viennese cult of the original icons was formed during the first half of the 18th century, during the second half of the century, a significant transformation is perceptible.

The books of miracles *Heylsamer Gnaden-Brunn*, issued in 1703, as well as its expanded edition from 1739, *Erneuert- und vermehrter Gnaden-Brunn*, disclose hitherto unknown data on the history of the miraculous icon. The main objectives of the present thesis are the following: 1) present the process of the creation of the cult associated with the devotional icon in Vienna; 2) provide a detailed description of the settings in which the cult manifested itself; 3) describe the role of the icon in popular religion and the socio-historical aspects of the cult through a qualitative analysis of miracle book passages. The analysis of the records of miracles is complemented by numerous contemporary printed documents, publications delivered at anniversaries associated with the icon, collections of sermons press product as

well as data from information booklets on churches and devotional images. Using this documents can we get a more complete view of the cult.

2. Applied resources and methods

The dissertation examines the cult of the original miraculous icon of Pócs (St. Stephan's Cathedral, Vienna) during the first half of the 18th century through the analysis of the in books *Heylsamer Gnaden-Brunn* (1703) and *Erneuert- und vermehrter Gnaden-Brunn* (1739), both issued in Vienna. The importance of the books is given by the fact, that they contain information about the settings in which the liturgical cult manifested, which data cannot be found in other resources, and these documents describe the miracle stories related to the icon as well. The collections of miracle stories are essential resources of the popular religion, and a valuable cultural historical document of the pilgrimage: they shed light on the dynamics and the geographical extent of the cult, give a view of the social stand of the pilgrims and the reification of the cult. These books reflect the approach of the folk medicine and the popular religion of the last centuries, and they provide details for the local history, which cannot be found elsewhere. The miracle stories represent also the ordinary life, mentality and traditions of the people living during the investigated period. The first part of the compilations contain the story of the weeping icon with the list of the witnesses, which is followed by the description of the arrival of the icons in Vienna, as well their liturgical veneration. The book *Heylsamer Gnaden-Brunn* gives a detailed list that enumerates the ceremonies in front of the picture between April 1699 and October 1701. The expanded edition of the volume presents the events of the year 1739 in detail, listing the various gifts, which were donated to the icon, making known the scope of duties of the brotherhood at the miraculous image, and also gives a description about the devotional carols to the icon of the Theotokos of Pócs after the presentation of the miracle stories. The descriptions in the books of miracles are complemented by the analysis of other, contemporary printed documents. The texts of the sermons, which were given in front of the icon on the different occasions, shed light on the various aspects of the veneration of the icon.

It can be seen with help of the documents on which way and along what motives intertwist the relationship of the picture with the city of Vienna, and which components are in the center of the cult in various epochs. The publications delivered at anniversaries associated with the icon, and the books in Latin and German, describing the icon and the St. Stephan's Cathedral,

give precious details, and in many cases complement the information about the cult of the icon.

3. The structure of the thesis

The following thesis is divided in four chapters and multiple subchapters. The first chapter is concerned with categories of the miracles and the books of miracles. In the first subchapter, the terminology is described, focusing on the notion and interpretation of the miracles in the 18th century, as well the role of the Theotokos and her icons in the veneration of images. The second subchapter outlines the process of the development of the literature of the books of miracles from manuscripts (with special attention to their scholia) and printed books. The first chapter of the thesis ends with the review of the results of the national and international research related to the books of miracles.

The second part describes the two books of miracles, which are the direct object of the analysis, highlighting both the external (title, frontispiece, structure) and the internal (author, the structure of the notes, the aim of the edition) features. In the end of the subchapter, the afterlife and the public use of the books of miracles (sermons, publications related to the anniversaries of the icon, information booklets on churches and devotional images), as well their edition history (with special reference to the printing houses) are discussed.

The third part of the dissertation deals with the cult of the original icon of Pócs. The chapter describes the special veneration of the Theotokos under the Habsburgs as *Pietas Austriaca*, focusing on the reasons and the circumstances of the displacement of the icon from Máriapócs and Vienna, and its consequences in Hungary. The thesis delineates the process of the formation of the Viennese cult of the icon through the analysis of the printed documents from the 18th century. The ways of the manifestation of the liturgical veneration will be presented in detail in the following subchapters: the descriptions of the processions, masses and other forms of devotion are followed by the portrayal of the celebrations and the hymns for the veneration of the icon. The chapter is be ended with the description of the copy of the icon (1707) and the shrine of Máriapócs, illustrating, that right after the delivery of the original image to Vienna, a sacral centre in Pócs (later Máriapócs) for the Greek Catholics had been established nonetheless.

The fourth chapter brings the miracle stories between 1697 and 1739 into focus, exploring the socio-historical relations of the cult of the devotional image of Pócs. The chapter demonstrates that the miracle texts are arranged chronologically, providing a special structure

for the stories, describing the two types of the various occurrences (i. e. illnesses and accidents), for which the believers asked for the help of the Virgin Mary of Pócs. The names, with which the Theotokos of Pócs was called in the records, and the ways of addressing her testify the role of the icon in the folk religion. Since the characters of the miracle stories always made a vow in front of the icon and to the icon itself, the thesis presents the types of making pledge, and analyses the data of the people appearing in the text, their person, age, gender and social status. In the miracle stories, the social status and the origin place of the pilgrims play an important role, thus we can outline the territorial expanse of the veneration of the icon with the help of this data, indicating the importance and scope of the veneration of the icon in the various social groups. The votive objects are also mentioned in almost half of the records, about which the documents from the 18th century write just about the gifts of the emperors and higher social classes. The records give us about the votive offerings data, which we cannot know from other resources.

The thesis ends with the list of resources, the bibliography and some pictures.

4. The results of the dissertation

Before the present research were made researches just in some sections (music accompaniment, copies of the icon, engravings) about the Viennese cult of the icon of Pócs in the 18th century. A comprehensive research had not taken place previously. The analysis of the two Austrian books of miracles, the very foundation of the thesis' source material, provide us with a good deal new information about the veneration of the icon of Pócs. The results of the thesis could be summarized as it follows:

1. After the original devotional image of Pócs was celebrated with processions and various ceremonies for five months in Vienna, Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated the Ottomans at the battle of Zenta (1697), a victory that was attributed to the intervention of the Virgin Mary of Pócs, the presence of the icon in Vienna. Thus, in the late 17th and early 18th century, the icon of Pócs came to be a protector (*palladium*) not only of the city of Vienna but of the whole of the Habsburg Empire as well, and among these conditions began the formation of the cult of the icon. With the help of the collections of miracles or rather the documents for the anniversaries associated with the icon, we can see the iteration for the formation of the cult. At the beginning of the 18th century, the cult had two central elements: the cessation of the tears and the homecoming of the icon. With the helping role at the battle of Zenta against the Ottomans, the devotional image manifesting patronage of the Theotokos for the Habsburg

Empire. The icon of Pócs guaranteed the territorial unity and the peace for the Habsburg Empire, Austria and Vienna, which stand under the extraordinary protection of the Theotokos of Pócs.

To the national components of the cult belonged the relationship of the icon to Hungary: the texts emphasize, that the country did not make proper provision for the picture. This motive served the coming to the fore of the Viennese character of the cult. Because the imperial city did not have a central place of the veneration of the Virgin Mary at the time of the weeping of the devotional image, which would have been an actual political aspect, the icon of Pócs had to be transported to Vienna. At the early phase of the formation of a cult place for the icon, played the document *Abgretrocknete Thränen* a role of paramount importance, supporting the image of a sacred Habsburg Empire, and thanks to this book the original icon of Pócs became known in Europe as the protector (*palladium*) of the Empire.

At the 18th century, the veneration of the devotional image was supplemented with new motives: the first collection of miracles was published in 1703, summarizing the miracles related the icon that was followed by an augmented edition in 1739. In addition, Gustav Gugitz also refers to a later volume appeared in 1747. The highlighting of the miracle stories and votive objects became to play an increasing role in the texts of other contemporary publications and sermons as well. The believers prayed to the icon in case of illnesses and accidents, particularly at the time of plague, war and famine, which is reflected in the texts of the chants and prayer. It stresses the importance of the picture, that the emperors accosted the Virgin Mary officially always via this icon at time of extraordinary menace.

2. The veneration of the devotional image of Pócs manifested in many fields, which can be observed not only with the help of the books of miracles in the centre of the analysis, but also by means of the contemporary documents. After the icon arrived in Vienna, the piety grew measurably among the inhabitants of the city, because in the course of the five-month festivities, the churches were open day and night. According to the records, there were held 33 processions, 103 high masses, 68 vespers and 91 litanies, 136 rosaries and 126 sermons in front of the icon between 7 July and 1 December 1697 only in those churches, which are listed in the books of miracles.

3. The devotional image had an honoured place among the representations of the Virgin Mary at the St. Stephan's Cathedral. Before placing the icon, only just a few masses were celebrated by the high altar, after the arrival of the picture, the masses were held continuously every day, between 4 am in the morning until noon. For the veneration of the weeping icon of Pócs, a high mass was held at 11 am on a daily basis, which was followed by a liturgy at noon. From

5 were celebrated from 11 am High Mass with music, then from 12 am a ceremony/liturgy with blessing. From 5 pm, the Litany of Loreto was sung at the presence of high-ranking clergymen and the people at the picture. According to the registry of the *Heylsamer Gnaden-Brunn*, about 3.390 – 4.609 (!) and 4.000 – 19.000 (!) believers took the Holy Communion between April 1699 and October 1701.

It shows the other aspect of the cult, that more people made the icon an heiress. In this way decided the merchant Michael Kurz in 1707, who ordered, that the ceremonies by the icon on Saturdays and feasts must with more music and solemnity take place. Similar made his testament in 1716 Andreas Huttauer and Adam Perchtold, the priest of Gnadendorf. Jacob Daniel von Tepsern, the former mayor of Vienna offered 2000 forints in 1711 for the assuring of the rosary by the icon.

4. The book of miracles from 1739 gives us insight into the private forms of the practice of religion, too. The compiler of the book prescribes for the worshippers of the Virgin Mary of Pócs, that they have to revere the icon at the cathedral as often as possible: they have to participate in the mass and the daily ceremonies by the high altar and pray the rosary. If somebody couldn't make this, he could perform the prayer in front of a copy of the icon at home. The veneration of the tears of the Virgin Mary was a part of the cult of the icon, and the believers had to weekly confess their sins to express this. The compiler also proposes the performing of the novena, so a prayer for nine days/weeks existed at the first half of the 18th century, like the nowadays popular Novena of Máriapócs (Máriapócsi Kilenced) from the Basilian father Dénes Regős. Related the days of the anniversaries of the first weeping of the icon (4. November – 8. December) could be performed a prayer, which had to the believers with weekly confession and Holy Communion confirm.

5. For the honor of the devotional image of Pócs, two holidays evolved, which are celebrated at the St. Stephan's Cathedral even nowadays: the first is the memorial day of the weeping of the icon (on Sunday after the 4 November); on the other day is commemorated the arriving of the icon in Vienna (the Sunday next to 2 July). The book of miracles *Erneuert- und vermehrter Gnaden-Brunn* reports additionally on a third holiday related to the confraternity by the icon ("Marianische Liebs-Versammlung"). The brotherhood was constituted in 1729 to express the honor for the Virgin Mary of Pócs. Pope Benedict XIII appointed in his letter on 18 January 1730 the Sunday after 2 July, as the holiday of the confraternity.

6. The veneration of the Virgin Mary played a role of great importance at the St. Stephan's Cathedral, which showed itself mostly in the cult of the devotional image. On the two holidays related to the icon, on which the emperor took part, the ceremonies were

accompanied by the orchestra at first. Later, two orchestras operated at the cathedral, of which the so-called *Gnadenbildkapelle* was responsible for the musical accompaniment by the icon of Pócs. The payment of the costs was taken upon oneself by the council of the city of Vienna. By the altar of Pócs were famous conductors in duty such as Johann Joseph Fux, Georg Reutter or Leopold Hofmann.

The festivities with baroque splendour, which related to the veneration of the icon, were no less significant than the exequies after the death of a member of the dynasty. The orchestra at the icon gave musical accompaniment not only in the high masses and litanies, but also on holidays. The lively musical life of the St. Stephan's Cathedral ended by the orders of Joseph II from 1784 onwards. After the restructuring of the repertoire of the church music and the introduction of simple melodies, there was no need of musicians or conductors. The orchestra at the icon was later disbanded.

7. The special repertoire of songs from the first half of the 18th century, which consists of 20 items, shows the diversity of the cult of the icon of Pócs. The texts of the songs, which could also be performed in the form of a song or prayer, served as an expression of the veneration for the icon. The icon was also venerated by the believers according to the resources with the special ritual, which similarly to the prayer of the pilgrims of Máriapócs (*Máriapócsi Zarándokájtatosság*) cast the stations of the procession to St. Stephan's Cathedral into shape. It proves the prevalence of the cult of the icon that places of worship came into existence around the copies of this not only in Vienna but in Austria, Switzerland and Germany in the 18th century.

8. a) The analysis of the texts of the miracles with a qualitative method lights the hitherto unknown socio-historical side/part of the veneration of the icon up. The majority of the records re from the years after the arriving of the icon in Vienna, when the formation of the cult began. The books of miracles preserved 66 stories from 1698, 90 records from 1699, and 27 descriptions of miracles from the year 1700. The criteria of the selection of the texts are not known, and we do not know, that the compiler of the books based on how many texts chosen for the printed books (because the manuscripts for the printed books have not remained), can still be determined. This tendency can be paralleled with the formation of the cult of the icon. The image of the Virgin Mary came to be a protector of the whole of the Habsburg Empire and was called in case of illnesses and accidents. In the second half of the 18th century, after the war with the Ottomans ended, the cult of the icon transformed (like the cult of other so-called "Ottoman Madonnas", among whom the devotional image of Pócs

stands in the first place), and the people asked for the help of the picture at a time of plague, war and famine.

b) It can be seen by reading the stories about the answers to prayers, that the miracles, which began at the time of the first weeping of the icon, continued in Vienna before the picture was put on the high altar at the St. Stephan's Cathedral (e.g. in the St. Ulrich's Church). The believers in trouble asked for the help of the Virgin Mary of Pócs in cases of illnesses 189 times and in cases of accidents 97 times. Among the illnesses, there were the diseases called "heavy" or "deadly" the most common, which are followed by the motion sicknesses and illnesses of the eyes in terms of numbers. The largest group of the accidents in the miracle stories consist of the misfortunes in cases of voyage and accidents, in which various sharp objects got into the ears of the victims (not only kids but adults) or they swallowed similar things.

The entries reveal the practice of folk medicine in the researched interval, because the sufferers were healed first always with "earthly" medicaments (e.g. herbs, burnt sugar, warm wine, fresh fat) and interventions (e.g. venesection). In one of the cases, the involved person took a "superstitious label" because he hoped for betterment from this. The texts show well when and what time turned the people to the heavenly spheres: if all the medicament and interventions were ineffective and the doctors gave up the patient, then asked the believers for the help of the Virgin Mary. The names of the Virgin Mary reflected her role in the popular religion: the Theotokos of Pócs appears not only like a doctor ("*Helfferin in der Nothleydenden*"; "*wäinende Heylbringerin*"), but she is also the medicine for all ailments. Although the healing power of the Virgin Mary stands at the centre of the miracle stories, she appears in the texts like the protector of Vienna ("*Wienerische Schuß-Frau*") as well, which function has the biggest role in other contemporary printed books.

c) By comparing with miracles that happened at other devotional images (or at the copy in Máriapócs), it can be determined that the people asked for the help of the Virgin Mary not with the touch, kissing of the icon, or with prayer, but in all cases that were made with a vow, which corresponds to the religious practice of the era. It was not the patient who was touched by the icon, but a cloth or a picture of the icon of Pócs, which was later placed on the patient's forehead or heart. It refers to the seriousness of the vow made in serious cases; that in the case of delay or non-performance, the condition of the ill people became more serious or another misfortune occurred. In 88 cases, in which the asking for Our Lady's help made a vow to perform Holy Mass, the majority of which (75) were made in 1699. In 24 miracle stories, a pilgrimage to Vienna was promised about which the compiler did not give us a description

with details, therefore no conclusions can be drawn about the path taken. The healing power of the Theotokos of Pócs manifested not only in front of the devotional image or near by the icon, but many cases confirm, that ill people recovered on the road to the icon and at home. It can be explained by the reputation of the icon and with the ever-wider spread of copies.

d) While the texts do not give information about why the picture was visited, the names of the vow-makers are always in the books: their parents or mothers begged for the children, and their spouses and relatives made vows for the seriously ill. Among the 288 characters in the stories, 188 are adults and 100 are children, and men and boys make up the majority in both groups (59% adults and 63% children), which can be explained by frequent travel, accidents during work and diseases.

With the research of the place of origin of the pilgrims, the intense veneration of the icon at the regional level can be detected because they came to the icon from Vienna and Lower and Upper Austria. Among the neighboring countries, Moravia, the Czech Republic and Hungary are represented. Most believers came to Vienna from the countryside, from villages, which can also be seen in the social stratification of the pilgrims. Although a person of peasant origin is named in the texts in only six cases, it is generally observed in contemporary miracle collections that the compilers of the books preferred to highlight members of the higher social strata, so in the 132 cases where the person's occupation was not named, it is likely that they were also from the peasant strata it is about its members. A similar trend can be observed in relation to citizenship, where the industrialists are also citizens in many cases, so the publication's editor no longer considered it necessary to include the latter. Analyzing the records, it is striking that the nobility is present in small numbers (6), which is always highlighted in the other publications.

e) The records of the miracles are rife with the descriptions of the offerings to the icon of Pócs, which presents another aspect of the cult. The gifts of the Empress Eleonore stand out from the monstrosities donated by emperors, bishops and other noblemen, silver candelabras and lamps: The *Rosa Mystica* frame, the decorated vestment, which is still in use today, the rose from gems and the golden crowns decorated with diamonds. The precious donations got into the treasury, and the smaller objects (jewels, pearls, and gems) were fixed with nails on the devotional image. These orated the icon until the 18 March 1903, because a burglar robbed the icon on this day. The so-called *Gottesraub von St. Stephan* was the biggest robbery in the history of the St. Stephan's Cathedral, which is only mentioned in the literature, the present research revealed lots of details about the case clarifying the earlier described.

The books of miracles gave us information about the votive offerings of the simple people, which we could not come to know from other resources. According to the records, the donation of votive tablets was the most beloved, which related to the publication of the miraculous cases in the place of worship. There were so many votive tables around the icon of Pócs that the walls were, according to the texts, “full of wallpaper.” The offering of the so-called *identification objects* – various figures cast from silver or wax showing body parts, females, individuals, or animals – was largely typical/characteristic of the cult of the icon. The latter shows a parallel with the gifts of the copy in Máriapócs, which among the sale of the votive objects from wax was until the 1970s in the habit.

Based on the miracle records, the Theotokos of Pócs can be called a general helper: the believers asked not only in cases of illnesses and accidents for the help of the icon but also in cases of epidemics that plagues animals or on the occasion of demonic possession.

In the 18th century, the devotional image of Pócs was added with new elements: the flag with the picture of the icon on the tower of the Cathedral protected against fire, and the cloth touched to the icon gave relief in cases of high fever and headache. The effective help of the picture was underlined in the resources in the 20th century: Emil Hoffmann writes in 1906 that the people venerated the icon as the “rescuer of the seriously ill people.”

5. Summary

The books of miracles, which were analyzed in the thesis, highlight the cult of the original icon of Pócs (that was transported to Vienna in 1697) not only from the aspects of the ethnography, folk medicine and popular religion but also from the aspects of church history and liturgical history, which would not be possible to conduct research with other resources. The books in the focus of the present research have an influence today, which is shown by the numerous mentions in the recent scholarly literature. It shows the importance of the devotional image that Pope John Paul II always visited the St. Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna and prayed in front of the icon whenever he visited Austria (1983, 1988, 1998). The painting placed in 2013 commemorates this. The icon can be visited on the marble altar under the “Öchsel Baldachin” since 1948, and is still the most revered devotional image of the Virgin Mary of the cathedral.



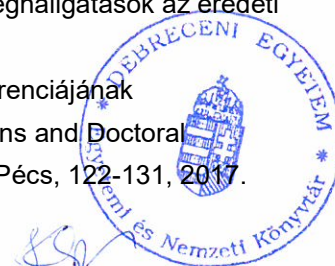
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List of publications related to the dissertation

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