



International Journal of Research in Academic World

Received: 02/January/2023

IJRAW: 2023; 2(2):18-28

Accepted: 05/February/2023

Faith Control and Confessionalism, Easter Confessions in Catholic Germany

*¹Wolfgang Wüst*¹Department of History, Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany.

Abstract

In modern times, the Catholic sacrament of confession and penance has been desacralized worldwide as an “unpopular” sacrament. Churchgoers always note empty confessionals with mixed feelings, and not only in Europe. At the end of the nineteenth century in the countryside of southern Germany, this was quite different. Josef Schlicht, the beneficiarius and folklorist who died in 1917 in the Lower Bavarian castle and parish of Steinach, described the collection of confession slips in 1875 at a time when industrialization and modernity had long since left their mark on rural life. Schlicht's choice of words, as if out of time, is still strongly reminiscent of the guidelines of the era of early confessionalization. “A life of its own now passes through the Bavarian countryside when, after Easter, the priest comes to every family and collects the confession slips. He enters the home there: as friend, peacemaker, comforter, counselor and judge.” The disciplining of the subjects, which according to Josef Schlicht's description still subsumed home and family control in the countryside towards the end of the First World War, was part of the fixed program of secular and ecclesiastical governments at the interface between Church, early modern state, society, Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the confessional age. In basic research on the formation of confessions and European confessionalization, however, the question of the Easter Confession slips (*Beichtzettel*), from whom they came and for whom they had to be presented, has not yet played a role. This article illustrates the supporting role of the Easter confession for the political and theological system of confessionalized worlds on the basis of regional examples.

Keywords: Easter confession, sacraments, state building, confessionalization, birthrights, reformation

Introduction

1. Confessions-Today and Then

In a 2015 interview with the cultural editorial department of the “Deutschlandfunk” (a German radio station), the then 70-year-old Munich Jesuit and retreat expert Vitus Seibel SJ (born 1939) explained regarding the subject of confession as an unpopular sacrament: “At the beginning of his priestly career, he spent two hours a day in the confessional of St. Michael's Church in Munich. Today, confession takes place once a week, confessionals are misused as storage rooms in some churches, and the number of those willing to confess is declining” ^[1]. The Jesuit Seibel lamented-in a manner representative of many other priests concerned in the global Catholic Church-the change in “sin consciousness” in the course of the secularization of a prosperous society. For the faithful churchgoers, the generally spoken confession of guilt in the liturgy of the Mass is a much simpler, less timid and less fearful way to salvation than the so-called Ear Confession in the confessional in earlier times. At the end of the sacramental confession there was then the imposed penance to receive the absolution of sins. Only now was the way open to the celebration of Mass and to the Eucharist. The interview with the author Vitus Seibel ^[2] showed the dramatic change of a Church sacrament over the centuries. But today's habits of

confession and penance-and this is our topic-differ fundamentally from those that have come down to us from the confessional age in the early modern period. In times of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, proof of regular confession became a measure of people's loyalty to the Church and to the respective (Catholic) city and country rulers. Those who did not confess lost their right of domicile and were banned from the Church. For the subjects of the country who were obliged to enter into interdenominational dependencies, the annual confession before the resurrection feast of Christ at Easter became the acid test of faith. It had to be officially and ecclesiastically confirmed in order for the confessing individual to be allowed to continue living where they could experience daily familiarity with family, neighbors, patrons, friends and enemies.

The extremely brief entry in the German Legal Dictionary (*Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*) ^[3] on the subject of confession letters (see figures 1-3) or confession slips, describing them as a simple “certificate of confession and absolution” ^[4]-the source documents date from 1738 ^[5]-in no way reflects the explosive power of this key term from the age of confessionalization, which lasted until the Enlightenment period with religious tolerance edicts ^[6] towards the end of the eighteenth century. In terms of time, we find ourselves one to

two generations after the Reformation. Furthermore, the issuing of confession certificates at Easter remained common ecclesiastical practice until well into the twentieth century,

especially in Bavarian and Austrian parishes, at monastery churches and around pilgrimage centers [7].



Fig 1

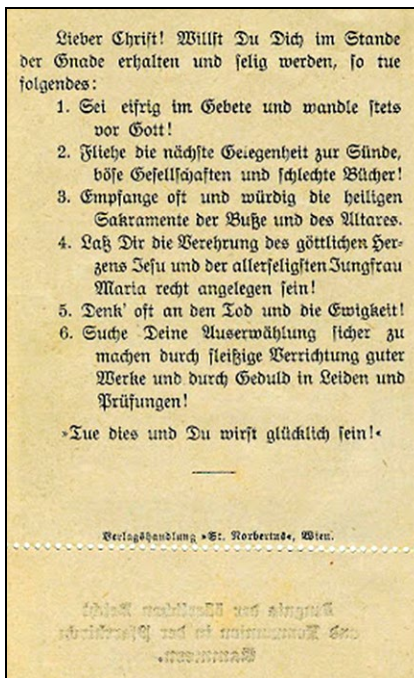


Fig 2

Fig 1 and 2: Testimony of Easter Confession in the Austrian parish of Kammern in the Liesing valley of Styria, 1908. (Parish of Kammern, Styria).



Fig 3: Testimony of Easter Confessions in the Capuchin abbey at Scheibbs in the “Mostviertel,” 1927. (Former Capuchin Abbey of Scheibbs, Lower Austria).

Augsburg Religious Peace (*Augsburger Religionsfriede*) [15] and, in the course of Catholic confessionalization, staged the “right” faith as an uncompromising guideline for their subjects in all areas of life.



Fig 4: The baron Leopold Anton Eleutherius von Firmian was elected prince and archbishop of Salzburg in 1727 as “*princeps et archiepiscopus Salisburgensis*.” Oil on canvas, first half of the eighteenth century. (Castle Leopoldskron in Austria, gallery).

On the one hand, after the Imperial Diet of 1555, “Luther's pale heirs” [8] got serious about implementing the new creeds. On the other hand, the protagonists of the Counter-Reformation [9] were already acting as influential sovereigns in the Old Empire. In southern Germany, they included Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514-1573) in Augsburg, Archbishop Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468-1540) [10] and, under Leopold Anton von Firmian (1670-1744) (see figure 4), the expulsion of Protestant compatriots in accordance with the Emigration Patent [11] of 1731 in Salzburg, Urban von Trenbach (1525-1598) [12] and Leopold Wilhelm, Archduke of Austria (1614-1662) in Passau [13], Ernst von Mengersdorf (1554-1591) in Bamberg, Johann Christoph von Westerstetten (1563-1637) (see figure 5) in Eichstätt or Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn (1545-1617) in Würzburg. As secular and ecclesiastical princes and confessional hardliners [14], they were not convinced by the

Certainly, in the Moravian town of Hof, to which the record in the German Legal Dictionary refers, as before at the end of the sixteenth century in the Franconian bailiwick

Oberscheinfeld, an exclave of the Bamberg prince-bishopric (*Hochstift*), the names of those who had to present proof of the obligatory Easter Confession were noted. In the small Bamberg market town of Oberscheinfeld, which since the Reformation bordered on the Protestant territories of Castell, [16] Limpurg-Speckfeld [17] and Schwarzenberg, [18] the register gives the following information: “der vnderthanen des amts [...] welche sich wiederumb zur Communion eingestelt/a[u]ch welche [19] sich noch einzustellen vndt verharren wollen, zwischen hie [Ostern] vndt Pfingsten [of the subjects of the district who have presented themselves for confession, also those who still wish to present themselves between now (Easter) and Pentecost].” [20] The list of 58 citizens (see figure 6) began with the clerk Georg Seyferdt, continued with the blacksmith Simon Mundt “sampt seinem weyb vndt tochter [with his wife and daughter],” the baker Hans Förster, the widows of Georg Mattheßen and Paulus Schnudert and ended with the barber surgeon (*Bader*) Niclaus Fuhrer.



Fig 5: Johann Christoph von Westerstetten was prince-bishop of Eichstätt, counter-reformer and persecutor of witches from 1612 to 1637. Copper engraving by Wolfgang Kilian, 1613. (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig).

More interesting than the positive entries confirmed with “verheißten” are those of the procrastinators and deniers. Hans Dötlein “is niht da gewest [was absent]”, Georg Sigman “spert sich [ignores it].” He was immediately summoned to

the office. And then there was the protocol entry for the farmer Michael Rosbacher from Herpersdorf:

Michael Rospacher zu Herpersdorff, dero sich nechst uerschieden gruenen Donnerstags zu frue vor der Meß in Barthell Müllers Becken behausung alhier zu Oberscheinuedt etlicher Gotslesterlich vnutzer Wortt verlauten laßen sollen, verantwortt sich nach uolgender maßen, vff vorhalten. Er möchte, so haett von etlichen angeben sein, das er nicht gethan, hette aber also geredt, aldieweyl etliche nach dem landt zu fürmelden, alsomals gefuehren, theyls geagkert, vndt er feyern solt mit sein viech, woher das der hagel drein schlug, hette aber nicht so sehr, als vorgeben, geflucht möchte aber nit ohne sein, das er bey ihme ohne fluchen abgangen

[Michael Rosbacher of Herpersdorf, who is alleged to have said certain blasphemous, unprofitable words on the last Maundy Thursday, early before Mass in Barthell Müller’s dwelling here in Oberscheinfeld, defends himself in the following way. According to certain statements, he denied working in the fields in a Sunday without special reasons. The coming hail left him no other choice. He also denied having cursed against God] [21].

The Oberscheinfeld case in the Bamberg diocese was also not the first of its kind. Reports and registers of individual parishes on confession and communion practices go back far into pre-Reformation times. In 1474, for example, the bishop of Speyer, Matthias Ramung, who died in 1478, threatened the diocesan clergy with church punishments if they could not prove the fulfillment of the individual Easter Obligation in their parishes by means of alphabetically kept registers. Some synods of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had also urged and prescribed detailed parish reports in this regard [22]. Monastic reform initiatives in the Benedictine world accompanied corresponding synodal decisions since the fifteenth century, especially in the case of decrees concerning canon law [23]. Nevertheless, only the confessionalization processes [24] of the sixteenth century led to a tightening of existing confessional regulations. And the union between secular and ecclesiastical authority increased the compulsion for Easter Confession. Thus, in 1597, the first year of his reign, the Bavarian Duke Maximilian I (1573-1651) instructed the government in Landshut to issue the keeping of Easter Confession slips as a state law [25]. In January 1607, the Electorate again tightened the regulation when Maximilian demanded that civil servants send the confession slips to the Supreme State Authority [26]. The great and complete universal lexicon by Johann Heinrich Zedler, which was written after the confessionalization, was also based on the Bavarian confessional practice. Afterwards the auricular and Easter Confession were particularly occupied with it: “wie sie bey den Catholischen gebrauchlich ist, da nemlich ein Beicht-Kind schuldig ist, sein Gewissen genau zu untersuchen, und alle Suñden, auf welche es sich besinnen kan, haarklein und umstañdlich zu bekennen und zu specificiren [as it is common in Catholic communities, where a confessing child is obliged to analyze their conscience closely, and to acknowledge and specify all sins that they can think of in detail and intricately]” [27].

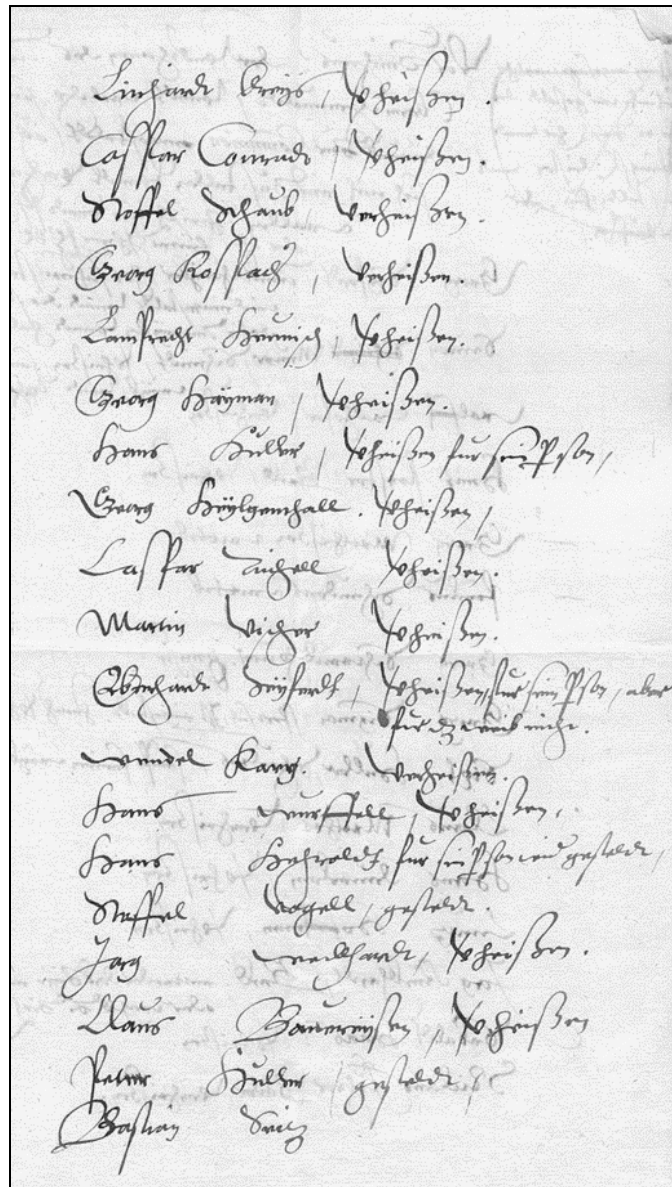


Fig 6: Confessional lists from Oberscheinfeld, part 1, end of the sixteenth century. (State Archive of Bamberg, Hochstift Bamberg, Vogt-, Kasten-und Steueramt Oberscheinfeld, no. 4).

In the world of Lutheran sovereigns and church regiments, people thought very similarly, admittedly not in terms of auricular confession and Easter Confession, but with regard to obligatory church attendance and conscientious reception of the sermon. Nevertheless, the practice of collecting confession slips as proof of faithfulness was also known in some Protestant parishes in Franconia [28]. In 1606, the “*Geistliche Policey Ordnung*” for Palatinate-Neuburg [29] generally enforced the surveillance of the parish population. Nachdem leider sehr gemein ist, das die predigten vnd anhörung göttlichs worts an den son-vnd feirtegen von vilen nit allein vnfließig, ia von etlichen auch gar nit besucht werden, sondern irer ein große anzahl zu derselbigen zeit hin vnd wider vf der gaßen spaciren, an ofnem marckh mueßig stehen, vor vnd an den häußthürn sitzen, daselbsten etwan mit leichtfertigem geschwätz, oder in andere vnzimliche weg die lange weil vnd zeit, wie sie es nennen, vertreiben [...] oder sonsten vnser vnderthonen denn kügelplätzen, spiln, fechten, gauglen vnd andern schauspieln nachlauffen, auch in die erdbeer vnd haselnus ghen, daraus dan sambt dem ergernus erschreckliche verachtung Gottes vnd seines heiligen worts, darneben ein vnchristlich böses leichtfertiges vnd vnordenlichen leben, beedes vnder jungen vnd alten leuten, augenscheinlich erfolget

[For it is sadly common that the preaching and hearing of God’s word on Sundays and feast days is not only lazily attended by many, but not attended at all by some; instead, a large number walk around in the streets at the same time, stand idly at the public market, sit before or in their front doors, sometimes engaging in frivolous gossip there or pass the long time (as they call it) in other inappropriate ways... or otherwise follow our subjects around to draw them into the sports grounds, games, fencing, juggling and others performances, and also go looking for strawberries and hazelnuts, from which visibly follows not only nuisance but also shocking disdain for God and His holy word, and additionally an un-Christian, evil, frivolous and disorderly life among young and old.] [30].

The Protestant church regiment registered confessional conformity to protect the Church of God from “*vnheil, angst vnd jammer* [fear and mischief]”, which always resulted from “*anstiftung des laidigen sathans* [the instigation of the devil].” Although we are not informed in detail about the sanctions for the refusers of Catholic auricular and Easter Confession in the above-mentioned market of Oberscheinfeld in the periphery of a Franconian bishopric at the end of the 16th century, a little later the police order of the bishopric of Augsburg gave clear guidelines for the affected East-Swabian parishes and

nursing offices between the Danube and the Allgäu. In the Counter-Reformation Augsburg prince-bishopric, the Dillingen government in May 1606, faced with Protestant neighbors, urged mandatory Easter Confession for “rolling” craftsmen and apprentice youths in the homelands. Anyone who did not comply with the Catholic confession and communion at Easter time lost his or her right of domicile and national identity. Non-compliance meant that “burgerrecht oder vatterlandt [birthright]” were lost and forfeited. Defaulters were regarded “hinfüro anderst nit dann für frembdlind und außlender [henceforth like no more than foreigners].”^[31] In the same place, the prince-bishopric of Würzburg punished Easter Confession offenses with fines and property penalties in 1693. “Wo aber jemand so ruchlos und vergessen erfunden werden sollte, so u^ebers Jahr, und insonderheit zur gebothenen o^esterlichen Zeit (welche von Sonntag Judica bis auf den zweyten Sonntag nach Ostern, Misericordia genant, inclusive bestimmt ist) die heilige Beicht und Communion unterlassen ha^ette, der-oder dieselben sollen alsdann von unseren Pfarrern und Seelsorgern hieru^eber zur Red gesetzt, und wenn keine rechtm^aßige genugsame Entschuldigung vorhanden, mit Zuthun unserer Rural-Dechante, auch, wo no^ethig, weltlicher Beamten, wegen Vollziehung der Straf jedesmal nach Gestalt desselben Vermo^egens unnachla^eßig [However, where someone is found to be so profane and forgetful as to have neglected holy confession and communion throughout the year, and especially during the ordained Easter season (which is determined to be from Judica Sunday until the second Sunday after Easter, named Misericordia), he or she should then be talked to about this by our parish priests and ministers, and if no legal and sufficient apology is forthcoming, always irremissibly punished by our rural dean or, where necessary, secular officials, according to their capabilities].” In addition, reports were made from the parishes to the Spiritual Council in Würzburg^[32].

Expatriation regulations for confessors did not come as a surprise at the beginning of the seventeenth century in southern German high monasteries, if one takes note of frequently repeated mandates for the “Conservation and beförderung des Eyfers Sammtl[iche]r Untertanen in der Catholischen Religion [conservation and strengthening of the zeal of all the subjects for the Catholic faith].” On March 10, 1603, Prince-Bishop Heinrich V of Knöringen (r. 1500-1646)^[33] (see figure 7) announced his positions on Christian doctrine and pastoral care, not for the first time:

Unter allen hohen und schwehren obliegen unsers Bischöfl[ichen] amts, dardurch wir die Ehre gottes und unsere anbefohlenen christl[ichen] zierd, Seelen heil zu befürdern verbunden seyn; achten wir für das nothwendigste und wichtigste und darumen wir ohne unterlaß nach allen unsern Kräfte[n] bemüt seyn sollen, daß alle unsers Stifts angehörige rechtläubige Christen bey der unbefleckten wahrheit unsers allein seeligmachenden Catholischen glaubens in Einigkeit der Heiligen Catholischen Römischen Kirchen, ausser deren unmöglich ist die Seeligkeit zuerlangen, erhalten, in Christlicher Lehr und Tugenden von Jugend auferziehen, und unterweisen, und hingegen vor allen derselben widrigen verführischen Lehren und Seiten, so viel immer menschlich und möglich, bewarret und versichert werden.

[Among all the high and great duties of our episcopal office, by which we are bound to promote the glory of God and the salvation of our entrusted Christian souls, we consider the preservation of the right faith most necessary and important.

We shall ceaselessly endeavor to the best of our ability, that all the true believing Christians belonging to our congregation shall adhere to the undefiled truth of our only saint-making Catholic faith in unity of the Holy Catholic Roman Churches. Outside our countries it is impossible to attain salvation, be educated and instructed in Christian doctrine and virtues from their youth. Furthermore, be warned and assured as much as humanly possible against all of the contrary seductive doctrines and sides]^[34].



Fig 7: Prince-Bishop Heinrich V. von Knöringen, copper engraving by Matthias Merian, 1642. (Cornelis Danckaerts, *Historis oft waerachtich verhael van den gantschen toestant van oorlooge so die ghevoert is in Duitschlandt [...]*, Amsterdam 1642).

With a view to the obligatory Easter Confession, the high collegiate chancellery let it be known in concrete terms. With “painful displeasure“ the sovereign perceived, that: wir unsers nächsten Vorfahrn weiland Bischoff Johann Otto [von Waldburg] Loblicher gedächtns vor wenig Jahren publicirtes ernstliches verbott viel unserer burger und unterthanen ohne alle scheüch und Gottsforcht, ihre Kinder auf Sectische Schuelen geschickt, oder zu Sectischen Lehrmeistern und Handelsleüthen verdingt, ja sogar an dergleichen Orten verheurath. Dardurch dann nit allein viel armer Seelen, wie zu besorgen, um des Zeitlichen willen in ihr ewiges verderben gestürzt worden, und von der wahren Catholischen Lehr in allerhand Irrthum und Kezereyen gerathen

[after the earnest published ban of our predecessor of blessed memory, Bishop Johann Otto von Waldburg, many of our citizens and subjects, without shame or fear of God, sent their children to sectarian schools or let them be taken on by sectarian teachers and tradespeople, or even got married at such places. Through this, not only have many poor souls fallen into eternal damnation by His timely will, as is to be feared, and turned from the true Catholic teaching to all kinds of error and heresy...].^[35]

2. Confession Control, Religious Agents and Worlds of Make-Believe

Although confessional exclusivity along the lines of *eius regio, illius religio* was repeatedly postulated in the small-scale world of rule within the southern German imperial districts [36]-especially in Franconia and Swabia-the language of “good *policey*” should not obscure the fact that this often-remained wishful thinking in view of close borders, changing dynasties, the training conditions of journeymen on the road (*Walz*) [37] and individual changes of confession. (see figure 8)

The Easter Confession remained a criterion for carrying out minimal faith control. Pre-printed journeymen's and itinerant letters of confession, such as those issued to masons and stonemasons “in the high princely episcopal capital and residence city of Freysing,” were sealed and often accompanied by confession slips. In the case of a journeyman bricklayer from Laufen-he had been on the road since 1787-the last valid Easter confession was recorded in 1789 in the market town of Mainburg [38] in Lower Bavaria [39].

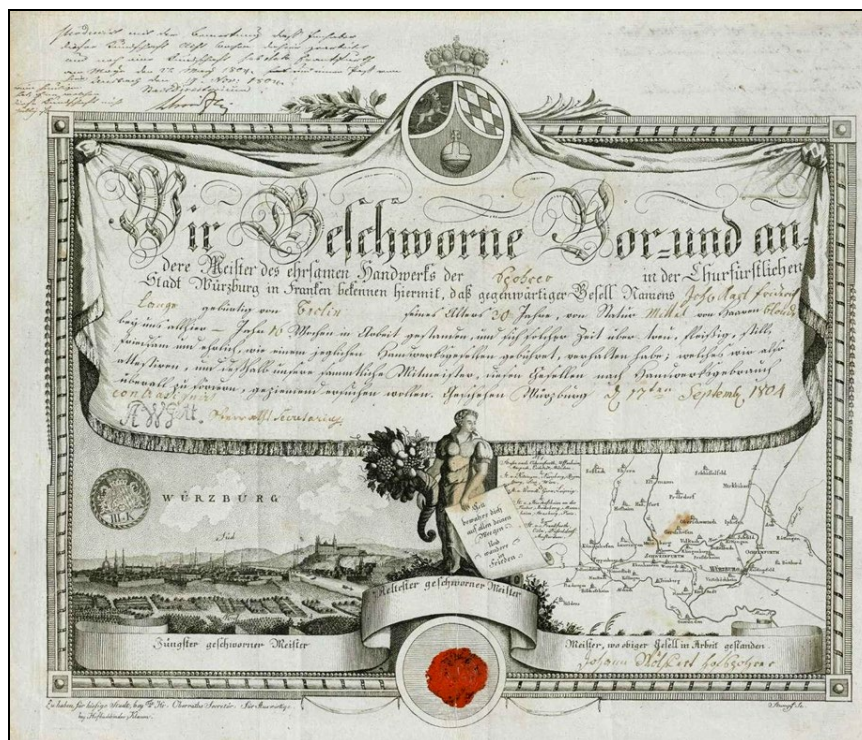


Fig 8: Journeyman's and hiking letter of the already Bavarian city of Würzburg for Johann Baptist Friderich Lang, born in Berlin, dated from 17 September 1804. Lang worked for the “Sporer” and “Spornmacher” Guild. It is a representative example of this source genre. (Bavarian State Library, broadsheet 9/17/1804).

In view of the confessional polycentrism established in the Old Empire since 1555/1648, the preservation of the “right” faith required a high degree of central-local decisiveness and regional implementation, even in politically consolidated southern German bishoprics and Cathedral chapters. The control mechanisms of early modern states against negligent church communities and parishes had to reach their limits in this field. Thus, in the prince-bishopric of Augsburg, it had always been one of the demands of episcopal policy toward the inhabitants “auffs wenigst alle jar umb die hailige österliche zeit ire sündt, iren verordneten seelsorger und pfarrern oder mit dessen erlaubnus ainen andern qualificierten und approbierten priestern, nach christlichem catholischem gebrauch, zue beichten und zue der hailigen communion deß wahren leibs und bluetts unsers haylandts und seeligmachers Jesu Christi zue gehen [as a minimum, to confess their sins yearly at Easter to their appointed minister and parish priest or, with their permission, to another qualified and approved priest, according to Catholic Christian custom, and to go to the Holy Communion of the true body and blood of our savior and redeemer Jesus Christ].” [40]

If a stay outside the country prescribed by the guild was granted and could not be avoided, the aforementioned proofs of confession had to be provided. The provision remained in force until secularization. Thus, Augsburg's bishops (see figure 9) issued numerous subsequent decrees, also on the

subject of children staying in Catholic and non-Catholic towns and “derenselben beichtzedl-einschickung [the sending of the confession slips of the same].” They repeated one and the same fact, because only in this way did the intention of confessional supervision in the case of professional freedom of movement become transparent. In the period from 1603 to 1648, eight mandates concerning Easter Confession followed. After the Peace of Westphalia, this mandate practice even intensified, if one counts as many as 35 state decrees with confession regulations until the year 1773 [41]. The exhorted calls for Easter confession thus became a component of symbolic legislation [42]. Undoubtedly, however, precisely because of its repeated proclamation, it was designed to be implemented and did not merely serve to stage rule. The examination of the conscience of the faithful was not a suitable public arena for this. Martin Schennach speaks of “variable norm intensity [43].”

In the Austrian town of Feldkirch, which belonged to the county of Montfort in Vorarlberg, the establishment of a counter-Reformation government was quickly followed by confessional registers, but the educated elite had previously migrated to Lindau and other reform-minded Swabian imperial towns. In 1532, Ulrich von Schellenberg ordered confessional control for Feldkirch in a town, whose council-eligible families had long sympathized with the Reformation. Only five citizens still refused Easter confession [44].

Control over confession slips was usually in the hands of the local administration, which was, however, obliged to report violations to the central authorities. In practice, bailiffs and mayors delegated the collection and verification of confession registers to parishes and confessors. Since a nationwide registration of individual confession records was difficult to accomplish through existing office and parish structures due to the high administrative burden, the Augsburg bishopric appointed its own religious agents (*Religionsagenten*). They were charged with organizing and verifying the obligation to provide proof, but even they reached the limits of what was feasible. In 1739, the Augsburg burgrave Leonhard von Behr exercised this office for the church territory. His tasks were aimed at ensuring, that “nicht allein die in allhiesig diensten [45] handwerkern oder professionen stehende personen nicht dem periculo seductionis undt völligen abfall exponiret oder sonsten in ihren catholischen gottsdinst beeinträchtigt oder ungebührlich befunderet werdt, sondern auch zu seinen ohnchristlichen lebens wandell nach denen religions mandaten verführet werdt [not only are the craftsmen in local employ or professional people not exposed to the danger of seduction and complete apostasy, or otherwise harmed or found to be improper in their Catholic worship, but that they might be led from their un-Christian lives towards the religious mandates] [46].” Nevertheless, a nationwide registration of annual confessions and communion attendance was hardly conceivable. The religious agent remained dependent on the reports of the parish offices, which were often delivered irregularly and late or did not appear at all. In 1744, the agent complained to the government:

So habe [ich] aber pflichtmäsige erinnerung thuen wollen, das weilen auch vor[ig]e jahr einige ämbter, als in specie das pflegamt Füssen/: welches doch eines von denen grösten ist:/damit ganzlich ausgebliben. Einige andere aber erst in der letzten fasten wochen je wohl post tempus Paschalis eingelanget

[I have tried to take the compulsory record of the duration of the past year for a few districts, such as, specifically, the district of Füssen; although it is one of the largest, the records were never obtained. I was only able to reach a few others in the last weeks of Lent or even after Easter time] [47].

In view of the size of the congregations, other reports were of little value even to the church officials, who were familiar with the area. In 1739, for example, the report from the Buchloe office to the religious agent listed seven persons with birthright, who were staying in a Protestant foreign state. Among them, Maria Höffler worked at a catholic blacksmith in the Augsburg suburb near St. Jakob. A 30-year-old weaver named Simon Wörle and a 38-year-old day laborer named Mathes Opp were not questioned, as they were not bound to permanent locations [48]. The working method and the completeness of the confessional registers depended on the commitment of the officials in charge, but the report from the offices in Bobingen [49] and Wehringen [50] south of Augsburg shows the care with which the episcopal administrator Johann Julian Schmidt went to work in 1754 [51].

The Electorate of Bavaria had also delegated the control of confession slips of the people (*Landeskinder*) working outside Bavaria to religious agents. The Bavarian agent in the imperial city of Augsburg refused to make such a request to the government in Munich [52]. In the narrower sphere of activity, the agent was quickly overburdened, since he had to coordinate the decreed distribution of Easter confession slips for apprentices himself. Thus, Johann Baptist Staudinger-agent in the years 1785 to 1799-rejected the proposal “for

such sweaty works” and recommended that the priests be commissioned instead, “die österliche beichtzedl hier ein[zu]sammeln, welches gar keine mühe kostet, weil sie ohne dem in jedem hause nach der zahl der communicanten fragen, welches der churpfälzbairische agent nicht thun darf, ohne gegen die statuta loci zu sündigen [[the priests should be deputed] to collect the Easter confession slips, which requires no effort, for they simply have to ask about the number of commicants in each household, which the Electoral Bavarian-Palatine agent is not allowed to do without transgressing the local statutes].” Staudinger also cited failed comparisons as justification: “the Bavarian pastors never sent me a directory of their parishioners serving here, whom they could freely inquire about, which they can do in their parish district of 500,000 souls with their spiritual authority rather than the agent here among 36,000 to 40,000 people without jurisdiction [53].”



Fig 9: The prince bishopric of Augsburg. Colored copper engraving, no. 184, by Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly (1766-1820), 1791. (private)

3. Implications

Josef Schlicht, the castle vicar [54] and folklorist, who died in Steinach in Lower Bavaria in 1917, described the collection of confession slips (*Beichtzettel*) in 1875 at a time when industrialization and modernity had long since left their marks on rural life. Schlicht's choice of words, as if out of time, still strongly recalls the guidelines of early confessionalization.

Ein eigenes Leben geht nun durchs bayerische Land, wenn nach Ostern der Pfarrer in jede Familie kommt und die

Beichtzettel einsammelt. Er tritt da ins Haus: als Freund, Friedensstifter, Tröster, Rat und Richter. Nicht genug, daß er sein Pfarrvolk aus der Kirche kennt, er möcht' es auch im Hause beobachten. Er muß sich in eigener Person überzeugen, ob seine Schäfflein ihre katholische Osterpflicht erfüllen, wie viele daheim weiden und wie viele auswärts grasen?

[A distinctive way of life now pervades Bavaria, as at Easter the priest comes to every family and collects the confession slips. There he enters the home: as a friend, peace-bringer, consoler, counselor and judge. Not content to know his congregation only in church, he wishes to observe them in the home. He needs to convince himself in person about whether his flock is fulfilling its Catholic Easter obligation: how many are pasturing at home versus outside of the home?] ^[55]

The disciplining of subjects, which, according to Josef Schlicht's account, still subsumed home and family control in the countryside toward the end of the First World War, was part of the fixed program of secular and ecclesiastical governments at the interface between Church, early modern state, society and Reformation in the confessional age. In the basic research on the formation of confessions and European confessionalization, first from the pens of Ernst Walter Zeeden, Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, the passage of time was classified as fundamental social processes, that "profoundly plowed up public and private life in Europe" and were no longer organized on a personal and fragmented basis, but on "an institutional and areal basis." ^[56] The Easter Confession, however, played at most a marginal role in this interpretive schema. Unfortunately, this is also true for international denominational research on confessionalization ^[57]. If, however, one registers the administrative achievement of regional and central offices under southern German monastic and collegiate states for the comprehensive personal recording of confession records, which has hardly been noticed even by the recent research direction on Catholic confessionalization ^[58], one will not necessarily re-evaluate the role of Easter Confession for the shaping of confessional states, but will certainly have to take it more into account in the future. If one reflects on the bundle of measures against the Reformation, as prince-bishops implemented them for Augsburg from the days of Cardinal Otto Truchsess of Waldburg, Easter Confession seems to have been only a minor tool of the confessional state. Since the middle of the sixteenth century, the sovereign's code of manners encompassed a broad spectrum of everyday changes. To the twelve o'clock ringing of the large church bell, which "leytet zu ermanung des gebets wider [leads to a summons against]" the unbelieving Turks, the Christians of the diocese had to remain in prayer. "Welcher auch zu roß were, der solle abstehen, knien und bitten, bey straff des thurms [Whoever is on horseback should also dismount, kneel and pray, on penalty of punishment]." ^[59] Sermons, high masses and the "holy" mass were to be attended regularly and above all to the end, as it was proper for Christians. Playing music and dancing were severely restricted except during wedding festivities. Alleys were taboo for musicians by night and day. And even at weddings, no other instruments were to be played, "dann mit pfeiffen oder geygen [except pipes and violins]." ^[60] The Würzburg ordinariate formulated it more precisely in 1693 with regard to Easter confession: "Zum wenigsten [soll man] einmal im Jahr seinem ordentlichen Pfarrer oder einem andern Priester, so [...] zu absolviren Gewalt hat, seine begangene Sü'nden reumu'thig und vollkommentlich beichten, dazu das heilige hochwu'rdige Sacrament des Altars um die o'sterliche Zeit bey Vermeidung

der in den geistlichen Rechten aufgesetzten Po'ñ und Straf, empfangen [At minimum, one should confess one's past sins remorsefully and completely once per year to one's assigned parish priest or another priest with the power of absolution, and additionally receive the holy, highly worthy sacrament of communion at Easter, on pain of the penalties and punishments set out in canon law] ^[61]."

In the end, the question remains whether the historically documented, confessionally exaggerated Easter Confession still has a place in the Church of today in our desacralized society. The Benedictines of the Lower Bavarian monastery of Metten give a contemporary answer to this: "We cordially invite you to receive the Sacrament of Penance as the most intensive preparation for Easter. We may cast off our sins (*Ballast*), experience the boundless mercy of the good Father, and be blessed with a new beginning in our relationship with God and our fellow human beings." ^[62] This is formulated entirely in the spirit of the Munich theologian Stephan Haering OSB, who died much too early on November 18, 2020, and who considered canon law structures without a link back to Eucharistic life to be "spiritually empty" ^[63] in the long run. This warning referred not only to a lack of participation in Sunday Mass celebrations, but also to the rejection of sacramental acts, such as those performed in Easter Confession. There is no need to say more about this element of confessionalization.

References

1. URL: <https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/beichte-das-ungeliebte-sakrament-100.html> (12/18/2022).
2. Vitus Seibel (ed.), Was bedeutet Dir Christus? 85 Jesuiten geben eine Antwort (Ignatianische Impulse 68) Würzburg (Echter) 2014.
3. URL: [https://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw/info/\(3/20/2022\)](https://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw/info/(3/20/2022)).
4. The definition refers to municipal accounts of the North Moravian town of Hof from 1738 in the diocese of Olomouc. The article was published in the Magazine of the Association for the History of Moravia and Silesia.
5. Karl Berger, Geschichte der Stadt Hof, in: Zeitschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens 12, Brünn 1908, pp. 10-66, here: pp. 26 f.
6. Heinrich Lutz, Das Toleranzedikt von 1781 im Kontext der europäischen Aufklärung, in: Trutz von Rendtorff (ed.), Glaube und Toleranz: Das katholische Erbe der Aufklärung, Gütersloh 1982, pp. 10-29; Peter F. Barton, Toleranz und Toleranzpatente in der Donaumonarchie, in: Trutz von Rendtorff (ed.), Glaube und Toleranz (as above), pp. 272-287.
7. Wolfgang Wüst, Pilgrims and Pilgrimages in the Critique of Enlightenment-A Case Study, in: History Research, vol. 7, No. 1, 2019, pp. 17-26, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.history.20190701.13>. (30.3.2022).
8. Wolfgang E.J. Weber, Luthers Bleiche Erben. Kulturgeschichte der evangelischen Geistlichkeit des 17. Jahrhunderts, Berlin-Boston 2017; Christoph Farmer, Die Einführung der Reformation, die Ausgestaltung des evangelischen Kirchenwesens und die Auswirkungen der Gegenreformation im Gebiet der Herren von Thüngen (Arbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns 60) Neustadt a.d. Aisch 1985; Johannes Burkhardt, Das Reformationsjahrhundert. Deutsche Geschichte zwischen Medienrevolution und Institutionenbildung 1517-1617, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 77-135.

9. Bernhard Sicken, § 19. Gegenreformation und kirchliche Erneuerung in Franken, ca. 1560-1648, in: Walter Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. II: Von der Glaubensspaltung bis zur Säkularisation, St. Ottilien 1993, pp. 174-178; Dieter J. Weiß, *Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation*. Sonderausgabe (WBG-Bibliothek) Darmstadt 2010; Kerstin Seidenath, *Die Gegenreformation im Hochstift Bamberg. Die Situation in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, insbesondere unter Fürstbischof Ernst von Mengersdorf*, in: Michael Imhof-Helga Leisner-John Moore (eds.), *Frömmigkeit und Kunst in Franken: Festschrift für Klaus Guth zum 60. Geburtstag (Bamberger Beiträge zur Volkskunde 5)* Bamberg 1994, pp. 9-21; Günter Dippold, *Konfessionalisierung am Obermain. Reformation und Gegenreformation in den Pfarrsprengeln von Baunach bis Marktgraitz (Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns 71)* Staffelstein 1996.
10. Anton Schindling, *Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie (= NDB) 16*, Berlin 1990, pp. 394-397; Rainald Becker, *Wege auf den Bischofsthron. Geistliche Karrieren in der Kirchenprovinz Salzburg in Spätmittelalter, Humanismus und konfessionellem Zeitalter, 1448-1648 (Römische Quartalschrift. Supplementband 59)* Rome-Freiburg i. Breisgau-Vienna 2006, pp. 420 f.
11. Gerhard Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/32 (Studien und Texte zur Kirchengeschichte und Geschichte)* Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1986; Mack Walker, *Der Salzburger Handel: Vertreibung und Errettung der Salzburger Protestanten im 18. Jahrhundert (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 131)* Göttingen 1997.
12. Rainald Becker, *Wege auf den Bischofsthron* (see note 10), p. 400.
13. Gertraud Eichhorn, *Beichtzettel und Bürgerrecht in Passau 1570-1630. Die administrativen Praktiken der Passauer Gegenreformation unter den Fürstbischöfen Urban von Trenbach und Leopold I., Erzherzog von Österreich*, Passau 1997.
14. Wolfgang Wüst, *Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn (1545-1617) und Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514-1573)-Bischöfliche Reform-, Herrschafts- und Konfessionskonzepte im Vergleich*, in: Wolfgang Weiß (ed.), *Fürstbischof Julius Echter verehrt, verflucht, verkannt? (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg 75)* Würzburg 2017, pp. 155-180.
15. Wolfgang Wüst, *“Protestatio Ottonis Truchsessii S.R.E. Cardinalis et Episcopi Augustani etc.” Zur Position der Augsburger Kurie während des Reichstags von 1555*, in: Thomas Groll (ed.), *Kardinal Otto Truchseß von Waldburg (1514-1573) (Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistums-geschichte 49)* Augsburg 2015, pp. 141-156.
16. Gerhard Köbler, *Historisches Lexikon der Deutschen Länder. Die deutschen Territorien vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, 7th ed., Munich 2007, pp. 114 f.
17. Gerhard Köbler, *Historisches Lexikon der Deutschen Länder* (see note 16) pp. 380 f.
18. Hanns Hubert Hofmann, *Mittel- und Oberfranken am Ende des Alten Reiches, 1792 (Historischer Atlas von Bayern, Teil Franken, II/1)* Munich 1954. Overview map on a scale of 1: 250.000.
19. The word is deleted.
20. State Archive Bamberg, Hochstift Bamberg, Vogt-, Kasten- und Steueramt Oberscheinfeld, No. 4.
21. Ibid.
22. Franz Kalde, *Die Kanzelveröffentlichung bei Nichtvorlage des Osterbeichtzettels*, in: Manfred Weitlauff-Peter Neuner (ed.), *Für euch Bischof — mit euch Christ*, St. Ottilien 1998, S. 961-970, see p. 962.
23. Stephan Haering OSB, *Spätmittelalterliche monastische Reforminitiativen in der benediktinischen Welt. Die Reformen von Santa Giustina in Padua und von Subiaco sowie das Provinzkapitel zu Petershausen in kirchenrechtlicher Perspektive*, in: Franz Xaver Bischof-Martin Thurner (ed.), *Die benediktinische Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert (Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Theologie und Philosophie, NF 56)* Berlin 2013, pp. 55-73.
24. Heinz Schilling, *La «confessionnalisation», un paradigme comparatif et interdisciplinaire. Historiographie et perspectives de recherche*, in: *Études germaniques 57 (2002)* pp. 401-420; Winfried Schulze, *Konfessionalisierung als Paradigma zur Erforschung des konfessionellen Zeitalters*, in: Burkhard Dietz (ed.), *Drei Konfessionen in einer Region. Beiträge zur Konfessionalisierung im Herzogtum Berg*, Köln 1999, pp. 15-30.
25. Felix Stieve, *Das kirchliche Polizeiregiment in Baiern unter Maximilian I. 1595-1651*, Munich 1876, p. 53; Wolfgang Wüst (ed.), *Die “gute” Policy im Reichskreis*, vol. 3: *Der bayerische Reichskreis und die Oberpfalz*, Berlin 2004, pp. 66-76.
26. Walter Hartinger, *Konfessionalisierung des Alltags in Bayern unter Maximilian I.*, in: *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte 65 (2002)* pp. 123-156; Dieter Breuer, *Katholische Konfessionalisierung und poetische Freiheit*, in: Wolfgang Reinhard-Heinz Schilling (ed.), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1993 (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 135)* Gütersloh 1995, pp. 166-183; Friedrich Merzbacher, *Gesetzgebung und Rechtskodifikation unter Kurfürst Maximilian I.*, in: Hubert Glaser (ed.), *Wittelsbach und Bayern II/1. Um Glauben und Reich. Kurfürst Maximilian I. Beiträge zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kunst 1573-1657*, Munich-Zurich 1980, pp. 225-236, see p. 227.
27. Johann Heinrich Zedler (Hg.), *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon welche bißhero durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz erfunden [...]*, vol. 25 (O), Halle-Leipzig 1740, col. 1048.
28. Hilde Heidelmann, *Evangelische Beichtzettel in Franken*, in: *Franken unter einem Dach 24 (2002)* pp. 15-26.
29. Franziska Nadwornicek, *Pfalz-Neuburg*, in: Anton Schindling-Walter Ziegler (ed.), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*, vol. 1: *Der Südosten (KLK 49) 2nd ed.*, Münster 1989, pp. 44-55.
30. Wolfgang Wüst (ed.), *Die “gute” Policy im Reichskreis*, vol. 3 (see note 25) pp. 38, 67.
31. Wolfgang Wüst (ed.), *Die “gute” Policy im Reichskreis*, vol. 1: *Der Schwäbische Reichskreis unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Bayerisch-Schwabens*, Berlin 2001, pp. 274-284, see pp. 281 f.; Wüst, *Von “offnen lastern.”*

- “excommunication” und “bueßfertigen christenmenschen.” Eine hochstiftschaugsburgische Polizeiordnung vom 30. Mai 1606, in: Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen 87 (1985) pp. 234-246.
32. I Alexander Estel, Kirchenordnung für das Hochstift und Bistum Würzburg, 30. Juli 1693, in: Wolfgang Wüst (ed.), Die “gute” Policey im Reichskreis, vol. 6: Die fränkischen Hochstifte Bamberg, Eichstätt und Würzburg, Erlangen 2013, pp. 95-138, see p. 115.
33. Georg Kreuzer, Knöringen, Heinrich von, Bischof, in: Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (= BBKL) vol. 4, Herzberg 1992, col. 154-156.
34. State Archive Augsburg, Hochstift Augsburg, Münchner Bestand (= MüB), Lit. 155, decree on 3/10/1603, fol. 1.
35. Ibid., fol. 32.
36. Wolfgang Wüst, Der Fränkische Reichskreis-Fakten, Fragen und Forschung (Fränkische Arbeitsgemeinschaft e.V., booklet 12) St. Ottilien 2020.
37. Rainer S. Elkar, Der Vater im Himmel, der Vater zu Hause und der Wurm im Schiffchen. Die Korrespondenz zweier Oberpfälzer Bortenmachergesellen auf Wanderschaft, in: Katrin Keller-Gabriele Viertel-Gerald Diesener (ed.), Stadt, Handwerk, Armut: Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit. Helmut Bräuer zum 70. Geburtstag zugeeignet, Leipzig 2008, pp. 299-315.
38. Werner Vitzthum-Günther Hastreiter, Mainburg. Herz der Hallertau, Mainburg 1991.
39. Bavarian State Library (= BSL), Sammlung Stopp D 140.2 a.
40. Wolfgang Wüst, Von “offnen lastern,” “excommunication” und “bueßfertigen christenmenschen” (see note 31) pp. 234-246; State Archive Augsburg, Hochstift Augsburg, Neuburger Abgabe (= NA), file 588 a.
41. In this regard, state decrees were announced: 1603, 1609, 1611, 1623, 1624, 1637, 1645, 1647, 1650, 1659, 1661, 1669 (2 mandates), 1670, 1672, 1673, 1676, 1678, 1680, 1684, 1685, 1689, 1694, 1739 (2 decrees), 1740, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1751, 1752, 1754 (2 decrees), 1762, 1766, 1768, 1771, 1772 (2 decrees), 1773. State Archive Augsburg, Hochstift Augsburg, MüB, Lit. 155. Confer too: Karl Hardener (ed.), Repertorium der Policeyordnungen der Frühen Neuzeit, vol. 11, part 11/1: Fürstbistümer Augsburg, Münster, Speyer; part 11/2: Würzburg (Schriften zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 293) Frankfurt am Main 2016. See in part 11/1: Stefan Breit, Augsburg, pp. 1-218.
42. Jürgen Schlumbohm, Gesetze, die nicht durchgesetzt werden-ein Strukturmerkmal des frühneuzeitlichen Staates?, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 23 (1997) pp. 647-663; Achim Landwehr, Policey im Alltag: die Implementation frühneuzeitlicher Policeyordnungen in Leonberg (Studien zu Policey und Policeywissenschaft) Frankfurt a.M. 2000.
43. Martin Schennach, Zur Gesetzgebung in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Der Staat. Zeitschrift für Staatslehre und Verfassungsgeschichte, Deutsches und Europäisches Öffentliches Recht, Beiheft 25, Berlin 2020, pp. 111-149, see p. 147.
44. Alois Niederstetter, Der Augsburger Religionsfrieden und Voralberg, in: Wolfgang Wüst-Georg Kreuzer-Nicola Schümann (ed.), Der Augsburger Religionsfriede 1555. Ein Epochenereignis und seine regionale Verankerung (Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben 98) Augsburg 2005, pp. 277-283, see p. 280.
45. He was referring to the imperial city of Augsburg.
46. State Archive Augsburg, Hochstift Augsburg, MüB, Lit. 170, 3. Produkt, fol. 2.
47. Ibid., 3rd bundle, fol. 12.
48. Ibid., fol. 8.
49. Wolfgang Wüst, “Es ist doch schwer einen Krummstab zu tragen”: Bobingen als bischöflich-hochstiftischer Amtsort, in: Walter Pötzl-Wolfgang Wüst (ed.), Bobingen und seine Geschichte, Augsburg 1994, pp. 77-136.
50. Wolfgang Wüst, Wehringen als hochstiftschaugsburgischer Amtsort, in: Wolfgang Wüst-Siegfried Hasler (ed.), Wehringen: Römischer Vicus, fürstbischöflicher Amtsort, bayerische Gemeinde, Augsburg 1990, pp. 46-67.
51. State Archive Augsburg, Hochstift Augsburg, MüB, Lit. 161/I, 2nd bundle.
52. Wolfgang Wüst, “... sie wollen lieber des teufels als bajrisch seyn”: Berichte der bayerischen Agenten aus der Reichsstadt Augsburg, in: Altbayern in Schwaben. Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kultur 2010, Aichach 2010, pp. 73-86.
53. Bavarian State Archives, Kurbayern, Kasten Schwarz, No. 15.477, report fro, 3/6/1797. See also Wolfgang Wüst, “... sie wollen lieber des teufels als bajrisch seyn” (see note 52) p. 77; Wüst, An der Konfessionsgrenze: Der frühmoderne “Ernstfall“ für Aufklärung, Toleranz und Pluralismus, in: Christian Augustin-Johannes Wienand-Christiane Winkler (ed.), Religiöser Pluralismus und Toleranz in Europa. Berichte des 3. Konstanzer Europakolloquiums vom 21.-23. April 2005, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 53-68, 353-378.
54. Hans Agsteiner, Zum 175. Geburtstag des berühmten Steinacher Schlossbenefiziaten Josef Schlicht. Beilage zum Gemeindeboten, in: Gemeinde Steinach (ed.), Gemeindebote der Gemeinde Steinach mit den Ortschaften Agendorf, Münster und Wolferszell, March issue 2007.
55. Quoted from Franz Kalde, Die Kanzelveröffentlichung bei Nichtvorlage des Osterbeichtzettels (see note 22), p. 963; Joseph Schlicht, Bayerisch Land und Bayerisch Volk, Munich 1875, ND Straubing 1927, p. 135.
56. Heinz Schilling, Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620, in: Historische Zeitschrift 246 (1988) pp. 1-45, see p. 6.
57. Compare in a non-representative selection: Ronnie Pochia Hsia, Gegenreformation. Die Welt der katholischen Erneuerung 1540-1770 (Fischer Taschenbücher 60130: Europäische Geschichte) Frankfurt am Main (Fischer) 1998; Thomas A. Brady, Communities, politics, and reformation in early modern Europe (Studies in medieval and Reformation thought 68) Leiden (Brill) 1998; Andrew L. Thomas, A house devided. Wittelsbach confessional court cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550-1650 (Studies in medieval and Reformation traditions 150) Leiden (Brill) 2010; Erika Rummel, The confessionalization of humanism in Reformation Germany (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology) Oxford (Oxford University Press) 2000; John M. Headley-Hans J. Hillerbrand-Anthony J. Papalas (eds.), Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan, Aldershot (Ashgate) 2004; Cornel A. Zwierlein,

- “Konfessionalisierung” europäisch, global als epistemischer Prozess. Zu den Folgen der Reformation und zur Methodendiskussion, in: Christoph Strohm (ed.), *Reformation und Recht. Ein Beitrag zur Kontroverse um die Kulturwirkungen der Reformation*, Heidelberg (Mohr Siebeck) 2017, pp. 1-52.
58. Heinz Schilling-Wolfgang Reinhard (eds.), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 135)* Münster 1995; Wolfgang Wallenta, *Katholische Konfessionalisierung in Augsburg 1548-1648 (Studien zur Geschichtsforschung der Neuzeit 28)* Hamburg 2003; Harm Klueting, *Glaubensspaltung-Konfessionsbildung-Konfessionalisierung: theologische und historische Perspektiven*, in: Thomas Brockmann-Dieter J. Weiß (ed.), *Das Konfessionalisierungsparadigma: Leistungen, Probleme, Grenzen (Bayreuther historische Kolloquien 18)* Münster 2013, pp. 45-65.
59. State Archive Augsburg, Hochstift Augsburg, MüB, Lit. 232, mandates against cursing and drinking, 1634-1645. See the specific law from 8/12/1566.
60. Ibid.
61. Alexander Estel, *Kirchenordnung für Würzburg 1693* (see note 32), p. 114.
62. Opportunity for Easter Confession (*Gelegenheit zur Osterbeichte*): URL: https://www.klostermetten.de/?page_id=3125 (4/2/2022).
63. *Aus Sakramentalität zur Seelsorge!*. The 51st annual meeting of the international circle of Opus Dei priests asked in Cologne about spiritual challenges in modern times. A report from Max Mattner from 8/10/2020. URL: <https://www.kath.net/print/72484> (4/2/2022).