

---

Linus Ubl (Jerusalem)

## Non-observant Nuns = Non-reading Women? Histori(ographi)cal Perspectives

In early 2023, the picturesque city of Pienza in Tuscany hit the news, particularly in the lifestyle sections of various newspapers. The exact reasons for the conflict remain obscure, but the controversy appears to have been sparked by certain activities of the ‘Monasterio Maria Tempio dello Spirito Santo’. In particular, it was the excessive use of social media which faced criticism from the church authorities, who reacted negatively to a Facebook advertisement inviting young women to spend a couple of days behind convent walls ‘a costo zero’. Similarly and in contrast to the expectations towards cloistered nuns, those who followed the convent on social media encountered the nuns’ very own pet, a parrot called Gigi. According to the convents’ website, Gigi is the only male allowed entry into the nuns’ private rooms. The situation culminated in the Bishop of Montepulciano deposing the abbess, a directive which both she and the nuns refused to obey. Since then, the dispute has been conducted in public with various prominent Catholic figures taking a stance on the issue. Several journalists attempted to frame this as a controversy between a more traditional wing of the Catholic Church and its progressive counterpart. The fact that, in contrast to a declining number of professions in Benedictine monasticism, the strictly observant convent had had some success in recruitment lead to a degree of scepticism. The topic continued to be covered in newspapers for around two weeks, and generated headlines such as: “Kloster-Oberin vom Vatikan abgesetzt – Nonnen widersetzen sich”<sup>1</sup>, “Sociable Tuscan nuns defy Vatican discipline”<sup>2</sup>, “Pienza, le suore di clausura contro la Santa Sede”<sup>3</sup> or just “Kampf der Nonnen”<sup>4</sup>.

---

1 Altmann, Matthias / Spendier, Madeleine: ‘Kloster-Oberin vom Vatikan abgesetzt – Nonnen widersetzen sich’, in: *Katholisch.de* 2023, available at: <https://www.katholisch.de/artikel/43775-kloster-oberin-vom-vatikan-abgesetzt-nonnen-widersetzen-sich> [14. 12. 2023]. [“Convent superior dismissed by the Vatican – nuns resist.”]

2 Kington, Tom: ‘Sociable Tuscan Nuns Defy Vatican Discipline’, in: *The Times* 2023, available at: <https://www.thetimes.com/world/europe/article/sociable-tuscan-nuns-defy-vatican-discipline-hm6w57g2z> [14. 12. 2023].

For scholars of late medieval reform movements, these debates and negotiations sound highly familiar. In particular, such narratives about resisting nuns constructed around legitimisation, authority, and moral behaviour can be found in various places in the fifteenth-century. When it comes to historiographical perspectives, however, this element constitutes only one side of the coin. In hindsight, literary historians have, without critical distance, tended to continue this narrative of the link between the observant reform movements and literacy, which some of the reformers had tried to convey.<sup>5</sup> In many instances, the observant movement can undeniably be held responsible for an increase in scribal activities – the strongest advocate for such a distinction between observant and non-observant convents probably being Werner Williams-Krapp, most recently in his *Literaturgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*:

Es ist daher keineswegs überraschend, dass überlieferte Werke nur selten nichtobservanten Frauenklöstern zugeordnet werden können. Zwar besaßen alle Konvente durchaus einen Grundbestand an Liturgica u.ä.m., der zum Großteil noch aus der Gründungs- und Frühzeit der Klöster stammte, aber es bestand bei den Nichtobservanten zumeist wenig Interesse an der Anschaffung von Literatur; zugleich fehlte zumeist das zur Buchherstellung fähige Personal.

[It is therefore not at all surprising that preserved works can only rarely be attributed to non-observant nunneries. Although all convents were indeed in possession of a basic stock of liturgical manuscripts and others, which in the majority of cases stemmed from the foundational or early years, nevertheless non-observants mostly had little interest in acquiring literature. Simultaneously, they often lacked people skilled in the production of manuscripts].<sup>6</sup>

3 Ferrara, Ernesto: ‘Pienza, le suore di clausura contro la Santa Sede: “Noi epurate senza un perché”’, in: *La Repubblica* 2023, available at: [https://firenze.repubblica.it/cronaca/2023/02/25/news/pienza\\_le\\_suore\\_di\\_clausura\\_contro\\_la\\_santa\\_sede\\_noi\\_epurate\\_senza\\_un\\_perche-389543378/](https://firenze.repubblica.it/cronaca/2023/02/25/news/pienza_le_suore_di_clausura_contro_la_santa_sede_noi_epurate_senza_un_perche-389543378/) [14. 12. 2023]. [“Pienza, cloistered nuns against the Holy See.”] See also ‘Nuns fight off Vatican decree ordering removal of their Mother Superior’, in: *Crux* 2023, available at: <https://cruxnow.com/church-in-europe/2023/02/nuns-fight-off-vatican-decree-ordering-removal-of-their-mother-superior/> [14. 12. 2023].

4 Müller, Annalena: ‘Kampf der Nonnen: Wie viel Welt darf ins Kloster?’, in: *Kirche Schweiz – katholisch, aktuell, relevant* 2023, available at: <https://www.kath.ch/newsd/kampf-der-nonnen-wie-viel-welt-darf-ins-kloster/> [14. 12. 2023]. [“Fight of the nuns: How much worldly things are allowed into a monastery?”]

5 See for example on this historiographical issue Hasebrink, Burkhard: ‘Tischlesung und Bildungskultur im Nürnberger Katharinenkloster. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Rekonstruktion’, in: Kintzinger, Martin / Lorenz, Sönke / Walter, Michael (eds.): *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*. Cologne / Weimar / Vienna 1996, pp. 187–216; Schramke, Marius: *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung. Das geistliche Leben nichtobservanter Dominikanerinnenklöster in Süddeutschland im Spiegel der Überlieferung*. Freiburg 2020, especially pp. 18–24.

6 Williams-Krapp, Werner: *Die Literatur des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 1: *Modelle literarischer Interessenbildung*. Berlin / Boston 2020, p. 214. All translations by me, LU.

Scholars are also influenced by their own disciplinary perspectives – the majority of scholars working on late medieval monastic reforms have a background in either literary and/or manuscript studies, hence they heavily rely on written sources. The nexus between the reform movement and the extant manuscripts has been a dominant factor in the discussion. More recent studies have, however, tried to widen the perspective by looking at other aspects, such as liturgical developments or administrative actions taken by the convents.<sup>7</sup>

The aim of this paper is to shift the focus away from a more or less binary dichotomy of reformed versus non-reformed convents. Following more recent scholarship, which has worked on individual convents and their libraries, I am instead arguing for a perspective in the mode of ‘thick descriptions’<sup>8</sup>. Such an approach combines several layers or strata, and thus focuses on a variety of cultural agents. These agents do not necessarily need to be actual people but can also include the library as a whole, elements of performance, such as the liturgy and other forms of piety<sup>9</sup>, but also individual manuscripts. These agents interact with each other, thus forming a field of cultural practices which, to use a term by

7 For example Jones, CJ: *Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy, and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany*. Philadelphia 2018; Jones, CJ: ‘Liturgical Manuals – Liturgical Norms. Reforming the liturgy in Kloster Weiler OP in Esslingen’, in: Palmer, Nigel F. / Rückert, Peter / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Württemberg als Kulturlandschaft. Literatur und Buchkultur an Klöstern und Höfen im späteren Mittelalter*. Berlin / Boston 2023, pp. 283–312; Engler, Claudia: *Regelbuch und Observanz. Der Codex A 53 der Burgerbibliothek Bern als Reformprogramm des Johannes Meyer für die Berner Dominikanerinnen*. Berlin / Boston 2017; Giraud, Eleanor J.: ‘Observant Dominican Nuns’ Processionals in Fifteenth-Century Germany: Evidence From Manuscripts of the Beinecke Library’, in: *Yale Journal of Music & Religion* 2022/8, pp. 38–59; Hirbodian, Sigrid: ‘Reformschwester und Reformverliererinnen. Strategien und Handlungsmöglichkeiten geistlicher Frauen in den Reformen des 15. Jahrhunderts’, in: Bührer, Andreas / Schiersner, Dietmar (eds.): *Reformverlierer 1000–1800: Zum Umgang mit Niederlagen in der europäischen Vormoderne*. Berlin 2016, pp. 449–473; Schlotheuber, Eva / Hirbodian, Sigrid: ‘Zwischen Klausur und Welt. Forschungsfeld und Forschungsstand’, in: Schlotheuber, Eva / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Zwischen Klausur und Welt. Autonomie und Interaktion spätmittelalterlicher geistlicher Frauengemeinschaften*. Ostfildern 2022, pp. 9–21.

8 A first link to this methodology in Graf, Klaus: ‘Ordensreform und Literatur in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts’, in: Janota, Johannes / Williams-Krapp, Werner (eds.): *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen 1995, p. 159. For a recent study on the library of the Dominican nunnery in Reutin, see Mossman, Stephen: ‘The Literary Culture of Dominican Women in Late Medieval Germany: Reutin Near Wildberg on the Nagold’, in: Palmer, Nigel F. / Rückert, Peter / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Württemberg als Kulturlandschaft. Literatur und Buchkultur an Klöstern und Höfen im späteren Mittelalter*. Berlin / Boston 2023, pp. 157–281; for a Cistercian example in the German south-west Heinzer, Felix: ‘Herrenalb – Frauenalb – Lichtenenthal. Spurensuche in einem bibliotheksgeschichtlichen Dreieck’, in: Heinzer, Felix (ed.): *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten*. Leiden / Boston 2008, pp. 485–502.

9 For Augsburg, see for example Ehrenscheidtner, Marie-Luise: ‘Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine’s Convent, Augsburg’, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 2009/60, pp. 45–73.

Berndt Hamm, can be referred to as ‘Frömmigkeitstheologie’<sup>10</sup>. The concept of thick description has received particular prominence in the writings of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz. According to Geertz, the interpretation of ‘culture’ as a system of epistemic semantics forming a ‘textual web’ requires the scholar to access and decipher this ‘text’.<sup>11</sup> Enormous significance is hereby given to the interplay between discussing isolated specimens on the one hand, but simultaneously linking these elements to create a web of semantics on the other hand.<sup>12</sup> Norman Denzin has attempted to characterise the methodology by dividing it into five aspects. According to him, thick descriptions comprise of biographical, historical, situational, relational, and interactional aspects.<sup>13</sup> However, depending on the case study, not every aspect might receive the same amount of attention, and indeed some of them might particularly be focalised. This results in a variety of forms of ‘thick descriptions’ which highlight individual agents involved, or the situational context in which culture is performed.<sup>14</sup> While some of these categorisations could be questioned, particularly when applying to historical situations, in which some aspects cannot be equally tackled as in ethnographic descriptions, they provide a helpful framework when discussing diachronic developments.

Clifford Geertz expressed lucidly what exactly this kind of approach aims for, and under what methodological preconditions research needs to be conducted:

To discover who people think they are, what they think they are doing, and to what end they think they are doing it, it is necessary to gain a working familiarity with the frames of meaning within which they enact their lives. This does not involve feeling anyone else’s feelings, or thinking anyone else’s thoughts, simple impossibilities. Nor does it involve going native, an impractical idea, inevitably bogus. It involves learning how, as a being from elsewhere with a world of one’s own, to live with them.<sup>15</sup>

10 Cf. Hamm, Berndt: ‘Der Oberrhein als geistige und geistliche Region zwischen 1450 und 1525. Die Verschmelzung von Humanismus, Frömmigkeitstheologie und Reformation’, in: Fuchs, Franz / Litz, Gudrun (eds.): *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten. Akten des gemeinsam mit dem Verein für Kunst und Altertum in Ulm und Oberschwaben und dem Stadtarchiv-Haus der Stadtgeschichte Ulm am 25./26. Oktober 2013 veranstalteten Symposions im Schwörhaus Ulm*. Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 9–35. See also Mossman, Stephen: *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany: The Passion, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary*. Oxford 2010, pp. 27–36.

11 See especially Geertz, Clifford: ‘Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture’, in: Geertz, Clifford: *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York 1973, pp. 3–30.

12 On the significance of Geertz for literary questions, see the recent study by Kiening, Christian: *Fortunatus. Eine dichte Beschreibung. Mit Beiträgen von Pia Selmayr*. Zurich 2022.

13 Denzin, Norman K.: *Interpretive Interactionism*. Thousand Oaks <sup>2</sup>2001.

14 Cf. *ibid.*

15 Geertz, Clifford: *A Life of Learning: Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 1999*. New York 1999, available at: [https://www.acls.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Haskins\\_1999\\_CliffordGeertz.pdf](https://www.acls.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Haskins_1999_CliffordGeertz.pdf) [14. 12. 2023], p. 14.

When applying such a model to a phenomenon such as late medieval reform movements, it becomes clear that the perspective shifts from more objective claims, for example a binary opposition of observant versus non-observant, towards a close study of processes. These developments include analyses of the agents involved in book productions, the networks individual agents as well as institutions as a whole participate in, or structures of operation within these frameworks. When it comes to monastic libraries, particularly those within an urban context and therefore in close proximity to other monasteries and their libraries, it needs to be asked how a library is organised and maintained, where the intention to acquire new texts and books does come from, which networks are available to succeed in these operations, and in which form the new text (or the new manuscript) does attain its new place in the library.<sup>16</sup> Hence, the starting point for these questions has to be the transmitted material, which will then allow insights into the proceedings of a monastic medieval library due to a ‘thick description’.

The following analysis will focus on the Dominican convent of St Katharina in Augsburg as a case study due to its paradigmatic example, revealing some specificities about a variety of contexts, not least the problematic labelling of belonging to the reform movement or not.<sup>17</sup> The distinction by Denzin into biographical, historical, situational, relational, and interactional aspects will in the following provide a useful structure to disentangle the intertwined networks.

First of all, it will be important to embed the Dominican convent of St Katharina into its historical context: Having been founded in 1243 in a location outside the city walls, the convent was incorporated into the ranks of the third order of the Dominicans in the second half of the year 1245, followed by the integration into the second order by pope Innocent IV in the following year.<sup>18</sup> As the first nunnery completely integrated into the Dominican order in the Augsburg area (the next nunnery, St Margareta, only followed in 1283), this gave St Katharina a prominent standing within the region.<sup>19</sup> In 1251, the convent moved into the city walls, where today parts of the surviving buildings house the Holbein-Gymnasium. This meant that in the following years, the name ‘St Katharina’ became more and more established. From the middle of the fourteenth-century onwards, the convent was under the patronage of the city council. As a result, it was one of the wealthier convents in town, becoming a

---

16 See as an exemplary study Thali, Johanna: *Beten – Schreiben – Lesen. Literarisches Leben und Marienspiritualität im Kloster Engelthal*. Tübingen / Basel 2003, pp. 243–285.

17 See for the following the seminal article by Graf 1995.

18 Cf. Dorn, Florian A.: *Vom “Gries” bis zum “Schwall”. Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Augsburg vor und nach ihrer Eingliederung in den Dominikanerorden. Regesten 1239–1499*. Vol. 3: St. Katharina (1239–1499). (Diss.) Augsburg 2021, p. 3.

19 *Ibid.*

desirable home for women from the patriciate and the surrounding noble families, who also donated several estates to the Dominicans. Several farmers in a variety of villages were under the authority of the convent, which demonstrates the financial stability of the nuns.<sup>20</sup> Evidence of this prestige and wealth is that at least eleven members of the Welser family entered the convent, among them Veronika Welser, who served as the convent's prioress from 1504 to 1530 and is described as *convent schreiberin* in the convent's chronicle for the year 1497.<sup>21</sup> By contrast, just two family members entered the convent of St Margareta, another Dominican convent in town (the third one being St Ursula; hence, there were three nunneries in addition to St Magdalena, the male Dominican convent).<sup>22</sup> One Book of Hours belonging to Veronika has survived and is now kept in Cambridge.<sup>23</sup> The scribe of this manuscript, a certain Albrecht of Breslau, can be identified as having written several liturgical manuscripts during his tenure as chaplain at St Leonhard (Augsburg) which were distributed via monastic networks to several Dominican nunneries, such as St Katharina or Adelhausen, both in Freiburg.<sup>24</sup> Another illustration of the convent's wealth can be seen in the commission of a painting cycle (six panels) of the seven basilicae at Rome, carried out by some of the most important artists, Hans Holbein the Elder and Hans Burgkmair. Between 1499 and 1504 they completed their assigned task, thus allowing the nuns to visit Rome and some of the most important of its churches via a spiritual pilgrimage, without needing to leave their encloistered community.<sup>25</sup>

20 Ibid., p. 4. Dorn provides the relevant regesta in his study.

21 Cf. Jansen, Sabine: *Die Texte des Kirchberg-Corpus. Überlieferung und Textgeschichte vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert.* (Diss.) Cologne 2005, p. 60; Geffcken, Peter: 'Die Welser und ihr Handel 1246–1496', in: Häberlein, Mark / Burkhardt, Johannes (eds.): *Die Welser. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses.* Berlin 2002, pp. 27–167, here p. 50. See recently on the financial and cultural network of the Welsers Häberlein, Mark: 'Kaufleute, Höflinge und Humanisten. Die Augsburger Welser-Gesellschaft und die Eliten des Habsburgerreiches in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 2016/43, pp. 667–702.

22 Cf. Geffcken 2002, p. 50, app. 95.

23 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 157; 1501.

24 See Sturm, Katrin: 'Württembergisches in Donaueschinger Handschriften? Unbekanntes Quellenmaterial aus Württemberg im Bestand der ehemals Donaueschinger Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe', in: Palmer, Nigel F. / Rückert, Peter / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Württemberg als Kulturlandschaft. Literatur und Buchkultur an Klöstern und Höfen im späteren Mittelalter.* Berlin / Boston 2023, pp. 501f., esp. app. 56. Sturm assumes that the high percentage of rubrics in the vernacular points to the intended use for Dominican nuns.

25 See Cuneo, Pia F.: 'The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent: Art and Female Community in Early-Renaissance Augsburg', in: *Woman's Art Journal* 1998/19, pp. 21–25 for a detailed description and analysis. In particular the nuns from the Rehlinger family, the richest family in town after the Welsers (and in the following decades often family members

This family network of the Welsers, spanning more than 150 years, is interesting in that it demonstrates a constant interchange between the convent and the city authorities, and spans the period of disputes about reforms up until the first half of the sixteenth century. By then, Veronica, who as prioress opposed the local Protestant developments, succeeded in gaining permission from the emperor to continue celebrating the Catholic mass – and despite some of the nuns leaving the convent and getting married, St Katharina continued to be a stronghold of the traditional rites.<sup>26</sup>

The city council also played a decisive role in fostering the reform in the fifteenth century. In 1441, the Council asked the Benedictine monks of Melk to send some of their monks to Augsburg, as this would not only benefit the local Benedictines but the entire city.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the convent of St Katharina can be situated not only within the context of the Dominican order but also within the urban context of Augsburg and the city council. The entanglement of these family bonds between the various institutions needs to be considered within this perspective. Together with the provincial superior Niklaus Notel, the city council tried to introduce a strict observance to the convent, however, the nuns opposed this vehemently and offered fierce resistance using rods and skewers as the sources mention:

Jtem es ist ze wiszen, wie man die closterfrawen zu Sant Katherina gereformiert und basz verschloszen hat, [...] da ward man zu rat und macht in all mauren umb das closter hecher, als mans noch wol sicht, und prach man in die eisini getter, durch die sie vor geredt hetten mit den leuten, die prach man in ausz und vermaurt die und huet ir etwan lang, dasz niemant zu in noch von in mocht gan. und sol man wiszen, als man in die getter vermauren wolt, da wurden die frawen so zornig und so unrichtig und luefen herfür mit stangen und mit pratspieszen und schluegen und stachen zu den maurnern und zu den werkleuten und triben sie all ab mit gewalt, dasz ir kainer torst da ichts machen. also muest man der stattknecht etwa manigen dahin bringen, dasz sie die maurer beschirmeten, bisz sie die löcher vermaurten.

[Similarly, here is the story, how the nuns of St Katharina were reformed and cloistered in the observant way [...] a counsel was held and as a result, the walls of the nunnery were raised, as can still be seen, and the iron bars, through which the nuns had con-

---

held the position of city mayor), were responsible for this commission. On the spiritual pilgrimage and the function of the panels see Falk, Tilman: Hans Burgkmair. Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers. Munich 1968, p. 28, and more recently especially Ehrenscheidt 2009.

26 Cf. Seitz, Reinhard H.: 'Zur Geschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters Sankt Katharina in Augsburg', in: Schiedermaier, Werner (ed.): *Das Dominikanerinnenkloster zu Bad Wörishofen*. Weißenhorn 1998, p. 67.

27 See Graf 1995, p. 104f., following the study by Kießling, Rolf: *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter*. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse der oberdeutschen Reichsstadt. Augsburg 1971, pp. 296–300. See also Engler 2017, pp. 286–288.

versed with the outside world, were pulled out and the space walled up. The space was also guarded so that no one could get to them or away from them. It is noteworthy that, when the bars were supposed to be walled up, the nuns became very angry and unjust and appeared with sticks and large skewers, and beat and stung the bricklayers and the other craftsmen, so that they were dispersed by force, and none of them dared to carry out any work. Hence, many guards had to be provided to protect the bricklayers until the holes in the wall were bricked up].<sup>28</sup>

As a result and in an attempt to control such resistance, the City Council imposed architectural changes, such as new gates which forced the nuns into stricter observance without access to the public. Furthermore, in 1445, the council asked the nuns to host five sisters from Schönensteinbach but could only reach agreement with the local nuns by permitting the opening of one of the gates, thus lifting some of the earlier restrictions. This led to a curious situation in which the rules followed by the nuns from Schönensteinbach differed from those of their fellow Augsburg sisters. In the eyes of Johannes Meyer, the convent was still (or therefore?) regarded as non-reformed as he clearly stated in his *Buch der Reformacio: nit reformirt*.<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, the convent could continue to exist during and after the reformation (which included another period of prosperity in the seventeenth century) due to the nuns holding citizenship.<sup>30</sup> This allowed the convent, similar to the fellow Dominican convent of St Ursula, to survive until 1802.<sup>31</sup>

Within the library of St Katharina, its manuscripts contain clear ownership entries which confirm that they belonged to the convent, and which facilitate the attribution of textual witnesses which are nowadays kept in Leipzig or Prague. Sabine Jansen has tried to identify a set of manuscripts, although she describes her work as only a first attempt to tackle the material: “Die Forschungslage hierzu stellt allerdings noch ein Desiderat dar, und auch an dieser Stelle kann freilich keine umfassende, sondern lediglich eine skizzenhafte Darstellung erfolgen.”<sup>32</sup> Overall, she summarises the scribal activities of the Dominican convent as a potent agent within the contexts of book production:

Im Augsburger Katharinenkloster herrschte im Spätmittelalter somit durchaus ein funktionierender Schriftbetrieb, und die Geld- oder Bücherschenkungen und -verer-

28 ‘Chronik des Burkhard Zink, 1368–1468’, in: Frensdorff, Ferdinand / Lexer, Matthias (eds.): *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte*. Vol. 2. Leipzig 1866, pp. 1–330, here p. 103. Also quoted in Jansen 2005, p. 52.

29 Reichert, Benedictus Maria (ed.): *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland*. Vol. 2: Johannes Meyer Ord. Praed. Buch der Reformacio Prediger Ordens. I, II und III Buch. Leipzig 1909, p. 45, and Graf 1995, p. 106.

30 Cf. Dorn 2021, p. 4.

31 Ibid.

32 Jansen 2005, p. 54. [“Scholarship on this material is still a desideratum, and this analysis can also only be a first sketch, not a comprehensive study.”]

bungen der Konventsangehörigen deuten auf ein ausgeprägtes literarisches Bewußtsein der Konventsschwestern. Eine eingehende Untersuchung würde hier sicherlich noch weiteres Material zu tage [sic] fördern, insbesondere, was die einzelnen Schreiberhände der Handschriften und damit Zuordnungen ins Augsburgur Katharinenkloster betrifft.

[In the convent of St Katharina at Augsburg, well-functioning scribal activities took place, and the donations of money or books as well as their inheritance by the members of the convent point towards a distinct appreciation of literature by the nuns. Further studies would probably discover more details, in particular concerning the individual scribes of the manuscripts, and their relation to St Katharina].<sup>33</sup>

In particular the prioress Elisabeth Waraus can be identified as a productive scribe between around 1450 and 1485. The corpus of manuscripts related to her allow an insight into a specific form of reception but also production, which enable to identify a close network of texts which should not be read in isolation but need to be seen in connection with other (reformed) convents. Several scholars have contributed significantly to the corpus of the manuscripts to St Katharina, so this piece is drawing on previous research, particularly by Sigrid Krämer, Klaus Graf, and Sabine Jansen.<sup>34</sup>

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 730 has attracted particular attention as it transmits the *Irmgard-Vita* from the Kirchberg corpus.<sup>35</sup> Various passages of the manuscript provide dates, such as 1451, 1471, 1473 and 1474.<sup>36</sup> The earliest part, dating from 1451, contains the *Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* by Thomas Peuntner. The manuscript also contains Marquard of Lindau's *Eucharistietraktat* as well as the *Passionstraktat*, attributed to Heinrich of St Gall, texts which were popular in observant convents.<sup>37</sup> Klaus Graf has argued that these texts, together with other texts, came to the convent via St Katharina in Nürnberg.<sup>38</sup> Graf also demonstrated some of the problems in earlier historical scholarship. When Bernhard Schnell published his study on Thomas Peuntner,

33 Jansen 2005, p. 60f.

34 Krämer, Sigrid: *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*. Vol. 1. München 1990, pp. 30–47; Jansen 2005, esp. pp. 55–67; Graf 1995 (esp. p. 131, app. 134 with corrections of Krämer's list).

35 See Jansen 2005, pp. 51–67. Elisabeth von Kirchberg is believed to have written the *Kirchberger Schwesternbuch*, which transmits the mystical experiences of several nuns of the monastery of Kirchberg (near Sulz am Neckar), including Irmgard. Jansen 2005 provides an edition of both the *Irmgard-Vita* (several versions) as well as the *Kirchberger Schwesternbuch*.

36 See Jansen 2005, p. 61.

37 On the popularity of Marquard of Lindau within the observant movement see Mossman 2010, p. 338. For the *Passionstraktat* (*Extendit manum*) see Schiewer, Regina D. / Williams-Krapp, Werner: 'Das geistliche Schrifttum des Spätmittelalters vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: Schiewer, Regina D. / Williams-Krapp, Werner (eds.): *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter. Vol. 2: Das geistliche Schrifttum des Spätmittelalters*. Berlin / Boston 2011, pp. V–XX, here p. XV.

38 See Graf 1995, p. 132.

he identified several copies of the text in Augsburg, especially the 24 textual witnesses of the so-called ‘2. Fassung’, out of 42 copies overall.<sup>39</sup> In particular the links between Melk and St Ulrich and Afra were highlighted by Schnell, marking the visitation in 1457 as a watershed mark in the development of the Benedictine monastery. However, this disregards the existence of the copy at St Katharina written in the year 1451 – and the stemma of the transmission suggests that the text had been known and copied well before the visitation in 1457.<sup>40</sup>

One other manuscript related to Elisabeth Waraus is Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 480, which can be identified as a manuscript in the private possession of Elisabeth’s sister Barbara. The codex contains the *Eucharistietraktat* by Marquard von Lindau like the Berlin manuscript, but here, it is combined with the mystical treatise *Christus als Koch* as well as mystical songs. The different parts of the manuscript can be dated to 1441, 1445, and 1449. The main scribe is Elisabeth Waraus, yet the first quires were written by the otherwise unknown male scribes Herrmann Kayser von Rieden and Siegmund Puetterich. This had led some scholars to the assumption that some quires were written outside of St Katharina, but the fact that the opening folios contain an Augsburg calendar as well as a sermon for the feast of St Catherine makes it likely that these parts were written for (if not in) the convent. The transmission of the songs is indeed striking and displays a close link to another convent, which became one of the centres of reform: the Augustinian canonesses at Inzigkofen.<sup>41</sup> As Judith Theben has shown in her work, a manuscript now kept in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. oct. 222, which transmits a song of which two stanzas are the same as one stanza in the Augsburg manuscript, has a close link with Inzigkofen.<sup>42</sup> The Inzigkofen manuscript can be dated after 1475, although this does not necessarily mean that the song travelled from Augsburg to Inzigkofen or vice versa. Nicole Eichenberger has stressed that the manuscript consists of nine fascicles which were bound together for their content, thus individual quires could have been joined together at a later stage.<sup>43</sup> In the sixteenth century, the manuscript can be

39 Schnell, Bernhard: Thomas Peuntner, ‘Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes’. Edition und Untersuchungen. Munich 1984, p. 270.

40 See Graf, 1995 p. 133f.

41 See Kirakosian, Racha: From the Material to the Mystical in Late Medieval Piety: The Vernacular Transmission of Gertrude of Helfta’s Visions. Cambridge 2021, p. 70.

42 See Theben, Judith: Die mystische Lyrik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen – Texte – Repertorium. Berlin / New York 2010, pp. 245f. and p. 505 with further literature. For the manuscript in detail, see Fechter, Werner: Deutsche Handschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts aus der Bibliothek des ehemaligen Augustinerchorfrauenstifts Inzigkofen. Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 107–111.

43 Cf. Eichenberger, Nicole: Geistliches Erzählen. Zur deutschsprachigen religiösen Kleinepik des Mittelalters. Berlin / Munich / Boston 2015, p. 376. Eleven Scribes can be identified of which some are likely male. Some fascicles point towards the Swabian area, others can be placed to the Alemannic area, see also Studer, Monika: Exempla im Kontext. Studien zu

attributed to Inzigkofen, bearing an ownership entry. Interestingly, Theben in one instance places the Augsburg manuscript to Pillenreuth,<sup>44</sup> whereas in other instances she attributes it to Augsburg. This could obviously just be a mistake but it is interesting to see how easily such a codex might get attributed to a potentially more observant convent. That the transmission of this one song (*Wend ir hoeren singen*) is not just a coincidence is indicated by the fact that two other songs can be found in the direct context of the transmission, one of them a contrafact (fol. 114v–115v), the other one a fragmentary song (fol. 117v).

It would be possible to trace the connections further, for example by looking at the transmission of the mystical treatise *Christus als Koch*, a text very closely linked to Augsburg.<sup>45</sup> It occurs that there, we also find manuscripts related not just to St Katharina, but also to Inzigkofen: One manuscript (Cod. Ross. 637) is kept in the Vatican library and transmits once again Marquard von Lindau's *Eucharistietraktat*. This manuscript was not known to Fechter when he undertook his study on the library of Inzigkofen.<sup>46</sup> Another manuscript can be linked to St Nikolaus in undis in Strasbourg (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 90, also with Marquard), while a further manuscript belonged to the Benedictines of St Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 702, also with *Christus als Koch*; the first fascicle written by Wilhelm of Altingen). These transmission contexts do not mean that they constitute direct templates or are automatically evidence of a direct relationship between some of these manuscripts, but it contributes to the evidence that Elisabeth Waraus and the convent of St Katharina participated actively in this network when it comes not only to the reception but also to the production of similar (and even the same) texts.<sup>47</sup> It can therefore be questioned to what extent the official status of the convent (non-observant or observant) actually mattered with regard to their literary activities.

Some personal networks could have also helped in these processes. For example, one canoness at Inzigkofen by the name of Perpetua Fugger, who died in 1483, could have been a member of the famous Augsburg family.<sup>48</sup> Sabine Jansen also suggests other potential links such as Johannes Fuchs, who served as chaplain (from 1465 on) and confessor (1469) to the canonesses, before joining

---

deutschen Prosaexempla des Spätmittelalters und zu einer Handschrift der Straßburger Reuerinnen. Berlin / Boston 2013, pp. 178f.

44 See Theben 2010, p. 102. The following paragraph then has the correct attribution.

45 See Illing, Kurt: 'Christus als Koch', in: *Verfasserlexikon* 1978/1, col. 1234f.

46 See Cermann, Regina: 'Im Streiflicht. Die deutschsprachigen Handschriften des Fondo Rossiano in der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', in: Sára, Balázs (ed.): *Quelle & Deutung V. Beiträge der Tagung Quelle und Deutung V am 19. April 2018*. Budapest 2019, pp. 194f.

47 On the South-German network which includes Pillenreuth, see Kirakosian 2021, p. 114f.

48 See Jansen 2005, p. 66, following a suggestion by Fechter 1996, p. 23f. Jansen also refers to another member of the Fuggers, Felicitas Fugger, who died in 1538 in Inzigkofen 30 years after she had entered the convent.

the Augustinian canons in Augsburg in 1473.<sup>49</sup> Several other codices in the possession of the Inzigkofen library were produced in Augsburg, and they might have been specifically commissioned for the Augustinians.<sup>50</sup> This network could therefore explain the transmission of the *Irmgard-Vita* in a manuscript from St Katharina, as the *Kirchberger Sister Book* might have come to Inzigkofen via the counts of Werdenberg.<sup>51</sup>

To assess the relationship between the Dominican convents and Inzigkofen, it is also useful to look at the vernacular transmission of the *Legatus divinae pietatis* by Gertrude of Helfta, as both places demonstrably owned copies of the German redaction, the *botte*. One manuscript (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 861) belonged to Barbara Leychtroeckin at St Ursula.<sup>52</sup> Later, it came into the possession of St Ulrich and Afra, so again a manuscript which crossed denominational boundaries. Inzigkofen was very well connected to the Dominican convents in Augsburg as well as those in St Gall,<sup>53</sup> so it is not surprising that the prioress of Inzigkofen, Anna Jäck, wrote a manuscript in which excerpts of the *botte* can be found (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 5292). Racha Kirakosian suggests that a lost Breslau manuscript, which in the seventeenth century belonged to Countess Anna Dorothea von Hohenzollern-Haigerloch, and which included the *botte*, was likely written in Inzigkofen – where Anna Dorothea was prioress.<sup>54</sup> Thus, it can be seen that the *botte* is one of the texts which can be associated to these networks, tying together the Augustinian canonesses of Inzigkofen with Dominican nunneries. Kirakosian has pointed out that, while the reform movement certainly had an influence on the transmission, it should not be taken as the decisive factor of it but rather seen as a facilitator:

There is no doubt that the general transfer of books in the observant movement favoured the dissemination of the *botte*. The full transmission of the *botte*, however, is not tied to the reform, rather the reform promoted it; so the *botte* was part of the general increase in vernacular literacy that took place in the period.<sup>55</sup>

Therefore, cross-denominational exchanges and relations need to be taken into account when looking at how monastic reform discourses were promoted, and how the texts associated with these discourses, managed to reach the libraries of the discussed monasteries. These processes can contribute to the understanding

49 See Jansen 2005, p. 66.

50 See Fechter 1996, p. 180f. and Jansen 2005, p. 66.

51 See Jansen 2005, p. 66f. for further literature.

52 Kirakosian 2021, p. 97. See also Löser, Freimut / Steinke, Robert / Hägele, Günter (eds.): *Meister Eckhart in Augsburg. Deutsche Mystik des Mittelalters in Kloster, Stadt und Schule.* Augsburg 2011, pp. 78–80.

53 See Kirakosian 2021, pp. 70–74, 96 and 114f.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 122–125.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

of both perspectives. From a philological perspective, the relationships between provenances can contribute to philological dependencies, and on the other hand these philological details can contribute to attribute textual witnesses to their late medieval owners.

A further example in which this Swabian network affects the transmission of individual texts can also be seen in another manuscript, now kept in Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.1.8° 3, transmitting *Christus als Koch* as well. The main part of the manuscript was written in 1449, but it contains an entry by Elisabeth Waraus who added a prayer to Mary in 1483. Therefore, the manuscript must at least by then have entered the walls of the convent of St Katharina. Another manuscript of which Elisabeth wrote at least parts is Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.1.8° 6.<sup>56</sup> This codex contains a collection of prayers dedicated to Mary and to other saints, as well as prayers by Johannes von Indersdorf. Several of these shorter texts can also be found in Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.1.8° 3.<sup>57</sup> While the combination of texts is too loose to be proof of interdependence, it makes a close relationship between the two manuscripts quite likely. Once again, an excerpt from Marquard can also be found in the manuscript Cod. III.1.8° 6 (fol. 155v–158r). The manuscript, consisting of three fascicles, was bound together in the sixteenth century. The first part, written by Melchior Brunner in the year 1459, can probably be placed into the monastery of the Augustinian canons at St Georg in Augsburg.<sup>58</sup> The fact that in this manuscript we have a pen drawing depicting St George makes the link between St Katharina and the Augustinians at St Georg even stronger. Two other manuscripts contain the characteristic ownership entry of the Dominican nunnery, although it is not clear whether they have been written in St Katharina, or outside of the convent walls but later became part of the library.<sup>59</sup> London, British Library, MS Add. 19462 transmits the legend of St George, accompanied by 21 pen drawings.<sup>60</sup> Pointing even more towards a genuine interest in its content can be seen in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 1552. The manuscript also

56 See Jansen 2005, p. 56.

57 See Schneider, Karin: *Deutsche mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Die Signaturengruppen Cod. I.3 und Cod. III.1.* Wiesbaden 1988, p. 401.

58 At least one other manuscript written by Melchior Brunner has survived: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 646. Cf. Domanski, Kristina: 'Leben Jesu und Passion. Heinrich von St. Gallen, *Passionstraktat*. Handschrift Nr. 73.11.2', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 8. Munich 2019, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/73/11/2> [14. 12. 2023].

59 See Jansen 2005, p. 57.

60 Cf. Bodemann, Ulrike: 'Heiligenleben. Georg. Handschrift Nr. 51.13.1', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 6. Munich 2015, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/51/13/1> [14. 12. 2023].

contains an ownership entry of St Katharina. In the codex, both the *Marienleben* by Heinrich of St Gall and *Der Heiligen Leben* are transmitted, a popular collection of Saints' legends. 34 colored pen drawings can be found in the manuscript, and some additional intended illustrations were not carried out.<sup>61</sup> When it comes to the textual representations of the legends, the focus on saints being venerated in Augsburg stands out, for example Ulrich and Narcissus.<sup>62</sup> On the side of the illustrations, one drawing depicting St Catherine (of Alexandria) has not been carried out. One potential link between the Leipzig and the London manuscript is indeed the legend of St George, as the only illustration covering an entire folio is the one depicting the Saint. Kristina Freienhagen-Baumgardt has described the illustration as follows:

Bei der von Maler 1 angelegten ganzseitigen Illustration von Georg (76<sup>v</sup>) reicht der Kopf des Drachens (ähnelt mehr einem Wolf) über den Rand. Auch hier eine feine Lavierung, was vor allem in der Musterung des Apfelschimmels, auf dem Georg in voller Rüstung reitet, sichtbar wird. Geschickt lässt der Maler zwei breite, rote Bänder hinter Georgs Rücken in den freien Raum flattern und schafft so eine ausgewogene Bildkomposition. Die Prinzessin, die Georg bei seiner Tat vom Berg aus zusieht, trägt ein Kleid in gleichem Rot wie die Bänder und wird durch die in ihre Richtung flatternden Bänder an die Darstellung des Georg angebunden.

[In the full-page illustration of George (76<sup>v</sup>) by Painter 1, the dragon's head (similar to a wolf) exceeds the margin. There is also a fine wash, especially in the pattern of the gray horse, on which George rides in full armour. Skilfully, the artist depicts two broad red ribbons, flying behind George's back into the free space, therefore creating a balanced composition. The princess, who watches George's deed from a mountain, is wearing a dress of the same red as the ribbons, and by the ribbons, flying towards her, becomes linked to George's depiction.]<sup>63</sup>

To what extent the Leipzig and the London manuscript can be connected, has to remain open – but it is likely that both manuscripts complemented each other very well after they ended up together in the same library. This is another indication of the convent's networks, bringing together manuscripts with artistic elaboration, stimulating further occupation with the reception and production of similar texts. Connecting this to the examples discussed above, one might be able to construct a triangle of the Dominican nuns at St Katharina, the Augustinian

61 For an art historical description see Freienhagen-Baumgardt, Kristina: 'Legendare. *Der Heiligen Leben*. Handschrift Nr. 74.9.5', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 8. Munich 2019, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/74/9/5> [14.12.2023].

62 Ibid.

63 Freienhagen-Baumgardt 2019. Freienhagen-Baumgardt notes that the structural composition is similar to Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 6, which after more recent research can be placed to the Alsace area.

canons of St Georg at Augsburg, and the Augustinian canonesses at Inzigkofen. The example of Johannes Fuchs, as mentioned above, who served as confessor at Inzigkofen before joining the convent at Augsburg, could be one such connecting agent. More research on potential dependencies of the illuminations depicting St George need to be carried out (especially the direction of potential influence) but it is possible that both inner-denominational as well as networks within the city walls were used to create a nexus between these texts, its decoration, as well as its distribution. In their description of the *Katalog der illustrierten Handschriften*, the illustration of St George is also linked to the chronicles of Sigismund Meisterlin, which would open up other connections, leading to different genres and audiences:

Die Federzeichnung des hl. Georg kommt den Augsburger Zeichnungen in den Meisterlin-Chroniken mit ihrem sehr lockeren aber sicheren Strich nahe. Eine feste Kontur wird von einer luftigen Binnenzeichnung in derselben braunen Feder und lavierten, schraffierten Schattierungen ergänzt. Der Künstler ist anatomisch sicher, vor allem das Pferd des Heiligen zeichnet sich durch eine elegante, natürliche Haltung aus, wobei es jedoch keinen Bodenkontakt hat, sondern in der Luft zu springen scheint. Weg und Hintergrund sind nur angedeutet.

[The drawing of St George is close to the Augsburg drawings in the Meisterlin chronicles due to its very loose but precise lines. To a firm contour, a soft interior drawing of the same brown feather and washy, hatched shadowing is added. The artist is well-versed in anatomy, particularly the horse of the Saint depicts an elegant, natural posture, although it does not have contact with the ground but instead seems to be jumping in the air. A path and the background are only loosely indicated.]<sup>64</sup>

A number of other examples contribute to this wider picture, even if some of them were not written by Elisabeth Waraus. They also demonstrate that Elisabeth is not a singular case, although she stands out due to the attribution of a variety of extant manuscripts to her. Despite such unique features, her oeuvre and her activities make it possible to embed her in a web of texts which demonstrates links to other convents in Augsburg as well as to other convents further away. Taking her as a centrepiece of this network, this allows us to establish a plethora of connections which are difficult to trace if focusing only on the library of one convent. The existence of manuscripts in which some parts were certainly written outside the convent walls but which later found their way to St Katharina could be seen as underlining this fluidity between the participating agents. Johanna Thali

64 Cermann, Regina / von Bredow-Klaus, Isabel: 'Stoffgruppe 43. Gebetbücher. Handschrift Nr. 43.1.6a', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 5. Munich 2018, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/43/1/6a> [14. 12. 2023]. The description is an addition to the printed version of the *Katalog der illustrierten Handschriften*.

has stressed the “importance of the local offer” [“Bedeutung des lokalen Angebots”]<sup>65</sup> in her study on Engelthal to highlight the movement of texts between the urban and monastic environment. There, Thali focused on the networks between the convent and the city of Nuremberg, highlighting the family connections which had an enormous influence on the distribution of texts, for example when it comes to donations to the convent, or the legacies of nuns after their death. In particular the difficulty to distinguish between a clerical sphere on the one hand as well as a laical sphere on the other hand due to the constant interchange of individuals poses substantial challenges to attribute specific books to one sphere but can rather be explained as a local fluctuation of texts [“lokale[r] Literatur-austausch”].<sup>66</sup>

To highlight the problem of posterior judgements, what follows will slightly shift focus and discuss a single manuscript also written by Elisabeth Waraus. The manuscript is evidence of how well St Katharina was embedded into contemporary literary networks, yet it also demonstrates how influential a manuscript from a supposed non-reformed convent could be. As in the earlier examples, we are dealing with a text which has often been linked to the reform itself because of its concern with the central figure of the Dominican order in the late fifteenth century, Catherine of Siena. The manuscript is now kept in the Kupferstichkabinett (Cod. 78 A 14) in Berlin.<sup>67</sup> It is dated to 1466, and alongside the life of St Catherine also transmits the Vita of St Margaret of Hungary. The manuscript has received particular attention due to its illustrations, which have been excellently contextualised by Jeffrey Hamburger who considers it likely that they were carried out by a professional illuminator.<sup>68</sup> There are two other manuscripts from St Katharina which contain illustrations by the same anonymous artist. Interestingly, Hamburger refers to the manuscript and its illuminations in the context of the Dominican reform movement and hails Catherine herself as the “heroine of Dominican reform”.<sup>69</sup> The *Katalog der illustrierten Handschriften* which attributes the manuscript to the “reformierten” convent of St Katharina has recently described the art of the illustrations in the following terms:<sup>70</sup>

65 Thali 2003, p. 285; Thali also shows that the nuns in Engelthal possessed a copy of St Catherine’s *Vita*. See also Patricia Stoop’s paper in this volume and her focus on the availability of texts.

66 See Thali 2003, p. 285.

67 See Jansen 2005, p. 56.

68 See Hamburger, Jeffrey F.: *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York 1998, pp. 460–464.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 460.

70 Also, Jungmayr assumes in his study on Catherine’s *Vita* that the Augsburg monastery was reformed, see Jungmayr, Jörg: *Die Legenda Maior (Vita Catharinae Senensis) des Raimund von Capua*. Edition nach der Nürnberger Handschrift Cent. IV, 75. Edition and Commentary. 2 Vols. Berlin 2004, p. LXXIV.

Charakteristisch das sehr Skizzenhafte und dennoch souverän Wirkende der Zeichnung, als habe ein professioneller Künstler hier schnell eine Reihe von Zeichnungen hingeworfen. Unruhige, doch in ihrer Wirkung sichere und ausdrucksfähige Strichführung, mit vielen Schraffen, Häkchen und Kritzeln. Figuren gut proportioniert, die volle Bildhöhe einnehmend, in weiten Gewändern, die oft in abknickenden Falten am Boden aufliegen; für die Physiognomien kennzeichnend die geraden, spitzen Nasen, die starren Augen mit leerem Blick, die Strichmünder. Vor allem Innenräume sind bühnenartig entwickelt, Räume werden oft knapp über den Köpfen von Rahmen überschritten, so dass die schmalen hohen Fenster und Türen immer nur in ihren unteren Teilen sichtbar werden. In freier Landschaft platziert stehen Akteure vielfach in sehr offener Szenerie, allenfalls mit lückenfüllenden Einzelbäumen im Mittelgrund bestückt. Gebäude wie Möbel oft mit dem Lineal gezeichnet, schematisch schräg wie ins Bild hineingeschoben. Modelliert und schattiert wird durch parallel, seltener kreuzweise angebrachte Schraffen, unterstützt durch Pinsellavierung in hellen und bunten Farben.

[Characteristic is the sketchy but also confident execution of the drawing as if a professional artist had jotted down quickly a series of drawings. Uneven but effectual and expressive strokes with a lot of hatches, marks and scrabbles. The figures are well proportioned, occupying the full height of the page, wearing long dresses which often reach the ground with their folding; in terms of physiognomy, the straight and pointed noses, the rigid eyes and their hollow look, the mouths as mere strokes are characteristic. Especially interior spaces are displayed as stages, rooms are cut just above the heads by the frame, so that the narrow and tall windows and doors are only visible in their lower parts. Outside, figures are often placed in very open settings, only occasionally in combination with gap-filling trees. Buildings or furniture are only drawn with a ruler, diagonally as if squeezed into the frame. Modeling and shading by parallel, rarely crossways hatching, supported by washing in bright and varied colours.]<sup>71</sup>

These comments speak to the artistic quality of the illustrations and the likely status of their artist. However, the history of the manuscript becomes particularly interesting in the sixteenth century. When Hans Otmar decided to print a version of the text in 1515, he used the manuscript not only as a source of text, but also as a model for the interplay between text and illustrations.<sup>72</sup> Hans Leonhard Schäufelein, who had previously worked as an assistant of Albrecht Dürer before moving to Nördlingen in 1515, provided the printing blocks. In these, he followed the drawings of the manuscript in the vast majority of cases, apart from some modernisations, and copied them, which explains why the images appear reversed in the print. When it comes to the text, Otmar followed the text closely as is evident by spell-checking marks. Similarly, there is evidence for changes in

71 Bodemann, Ulrike: 'Heiligenleben. Katharina von Siena. Handschrift Nr. 51.18.1', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 6. Munich 2015, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/51/18/1> [14. 12. 2023].

72 See VD16 R 134.

capitalisation as well as the addition of punctuation (*virgule*). Therefore, the manuscript offers a rare glimpse into ways in which manuscripts served as exemplars for printed editions. It appears to be likely that the existence of the drawings preserved the manuscript from being destroyed after having served its purpose. Of the surviving copies of this print, one bears the characteristic ownership entry of St Katharina, although it must later have moved to the possession of the male Dominican convent in Augsburg. There, the copy ‘met’ another copy which also bears an ownership entry. One other copy, today kept in Berlin, stems from the possession of the collector Karl Hartwig Gregor von Meusebach (1781–1847), though it remains unclear how he had come into the possession of it. There are other copies, but it has not been possible within the scope of this article to trace down all of their provenances, and it is not clear that this would be possible in all cases. Yet, the examples presented here already highlight that the manuscript itself served as a multiplier whose ‘offspring’ moved around, within the walls of the city and beyond. Therefore, if the perspective is shifted onto the manuscript or printed copy as an agent within the discourses on so called reform texts and their distribution, this very manuscript takes on a central role which not only allows insights into the printing process but also shows the extent to which St Katharina was embedded into the literary production of Augsburg and beyond.

Bringing the various discussed layers together, it can be seen how St Katharina takes on a prolific role in the second half of the fifteenth century, not only within the Dominican order but also within the city walls.<sup>73</sup> Connections with the local patricians as well as exchanges with other Dominican convents enabled members of the convent to establish personal networks that go beyond the boundaries of a dichotomy between being reformed or non-reformed. It is evident that contemporaries described the situation of the convent in terms which make no use of the binary reformed/unreformed. Thus, it might be better to abandon this conceptual dichotomous opposition, and rather situate the convent within a discourse of reform, since this binary is undermined by the networks of texts which were read and copied at St Katharina. In particular the activities of Elisabeth Waraus show how widely the nuns were connected; being embedded within a framework of such contacts allowed the nuns to read and copy texts which modern scholarship would classify as texts of the ‘reform movement’. The manuscript containing the life of Catherine of Siena shows that a manuscript can indeed play a decisive role in distributing a key text, again transgressing boun-

---

73 For a comparable case in Nürnberg, see Heinonen, Meri: ‘The Books of the Laity and the Observant Dominican Reform in Nuremberg at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century’, in: Rubin, Miri (ed.): *Modus Vivendi: Religious Reform and the Laity in Late Medieval Europe*. Rome 2020, pp. 121–136.

daries. A multilayered analysis, such as the one presented here, can therefore provide insights into the web of networks, without trying to unravel it, but rather to follow the various connections.

Some other monasteries do not possess such an advantageous situation when it comes to the number of surviving manuscripts, yet a literary history written ‘from below’, starting from a single manuscript, or in the case of Elisabeth Waraus, a single scribe, adds valuable contributions to an often dominating ‘top-down’ perspective. It becomes also evident that the ‘thickness’ of the description is ultimately limited by the material itself, and analyses have to take the loss of textual witnesses into account. Nevertheless, in asking the right questions and following the strands of the cultural web, the surviving material reveals helpful insights into the cultural activities of late medieval agents.

To address the central question of this paper more directly – how much does it matter whether a convent is observant or not, and what role does the nuns’ education play? One specific clue is offered in the chronicle of Johannes Meyer himself: In one chapter, he presents the example of Katherina Langmentelin, who entered the convent of St Katharina at a young age.<sup>74</sup> There, he records, she grew in her virtues and was even taught Latin by her fellow nuns. This is one of only three instances in which Meyer mentions a nun being able to read, speak and write Latin, the other two being two nuns from Utrecht and St Katharinenthal near Diessenhofen, who, like the Augsburg nun, came to Schönensteinbach later on. After having taken up the office of cellarer (‘Schaffnerin’) and even as prioress in Augsburg, Katharina felt the desire to follow an even more observant life, and decided to join the convent in Schönensteinbach, where she was once again elected as prioress, and lived for several years, until her death in or around the year 1442.<sup>75</sup> A certain caution is indicated in dealing with this source, as Johannes Meyer uses several hagiographical tropes, and the fact that Katharina ultimately decided to move to Schönensteinbach shows which convent Meyer held in higher regard (after all he acted as confessor in this model observant convent par excellence). Nevertheless, the subjective opinion that the Augsburg convent could provide such an education well before the assumed historiographical watershed mark of 1441 suggests a more diverse picture in the work of one of the key figures of the Dominican reform discourse. Meyer’s text also shows how important the historiographical angle is – an angle which not only applies to fifteenth-century Dominican writers but also to scholars of the twentieth- and twenty-first-centuries. Perhaps too often binary oppositions are created which then result in

---

74 Cf. Osten-Hoschek, Andrea: *Reform und Liturgie im Nürnberger Katharinenkloster. Die Sterbe- und Begräbnisliturgie des 15. Jahrhunderts. Edition und Kommentar.* Berlin / Boston 2023, pp. 54–56.

75 According to Engler 2017, p. 287, app. 958, Notel facilitated Katharina’s move to Schönensteinbach.

circular arguments. In particular a mono-perspective, such as a view on one specific library or one specific text, can obscure the multilayered web of the reform discourse in the Late Middle Ages, a web to whose disentanglement the attempt of a ‘thick description’ might be a more appropriate method of analysis. And as the situation of the nuns of Pienza demonstrates, a comparison with the situation at St Katharina in the second part of the fifteenth century shows instructive lessons in how the conflict of opinions is fought out when it comes to historiographical writing about a (non-)observant and/or disobeying convent.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### Manuscript Sources

- Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.1.8° 3.  
 Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.1.8° 6.  
 Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Cod. 78 A 14.  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. oct. 222.  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 730.  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 90.  
 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 157.  
 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 646.  
 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 1552.  
 London, British Library, MS Add. 19462.  
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 6.  
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 480.  
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 702.  
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 861.  
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 5292.  
 Rom (Vatikanstadt), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ross. 637.

#### Printed Sources

- ‘Chronik des Burkhardt Zink, 1368–1468’, in: Frensdorff, Ferdinand / Lexer, Matthias (eds.): *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg*. Vol. 2. Leipzig 1866.  
 Reichert, Benedictus Maria (ed.): *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland*. Vol. 2: Johannes Meyer Ord. Praed. Buch der Reformacio Prediger Ordens. I, II und III Buch. Leipzig 1909.

## Secondary Sources

- Altmann, Matthias / Spendier, Madeleine: 'Kloster-Oberin vom Vatikan abgesetzt – Nonnen widersetzen sich', in: *Katholisch.de* 2023, available at: <https://www.katholisch.de/artikel/43775-kloster-oberin-vom-vatikan-abgesetzt-nonnen-widersetzen-sich> [14. 12. 2023].
- Bodemann, Ulrike: 'Heiligenleben. Georg. Handschrift Nr. 51.13.1', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 6. Munich 2015, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/51/13/1> [14. 12. 2023].
- : 'Heiligenleben. Katharina von Siena. Handschrift Nr. 51.18.1', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 6. Munich 2015, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/51/18/1> [14. 12. 2023].
- Cermann, Regina / von Bredow-Klaus, Isabel: 'Stoffgruppe 43. Gebetbücher. Begonnen von Regina Cermann, fortgeführt von Isabel von Bredow-Klaus. Handschrift Nr. 43.1.6a', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 5. Munich 2018, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/43/1/6a> [14. 12. 2023].
- Cermann, Regina: 'Im Streiflicht. Die deutschsprachigen Handschriften des Fondo Rossiano in der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', in: Sára, Balázs (ed.): *Quelle & Deutung V. Beiträge der Tagung Quelle und Deutung V am 19. April 2018* (Antiquitas – Byzantium – Renascentia 39). Budapest 2019, pp. 191–227.
- Crux Staff: 'Nuns Fight off Vatican Decree Ordering Removal of their Mother Superior', in: *Crux* 2023, available at: <https://cruxnow.com/church-in-europe/2023/02/nuns-fight-off-vatican-decree-ordering-removal-of-their-mother-superior> [14. 12. 2023].
- Cuneo, Pia F.: 'The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent: Art and Female Community in Early-Renaissance Augsburg', in: *Woman's Art Journal* 1998/19, pp. 21–25.
- Denzin, Norman K.: *Interpretive Interactionism* (Applied Social Research Methods Series 16). Thousand Oaks 2001.
- Domanski, Kristina: 'Leben Jesu und Passion. Heinrich von St. Gallen, *Passionstraktat*. Handschrift Nr. 73.11.2', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 8. Munich 2019, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/73/11/2> [14. 12. 2023].
- Dorn, Florian A.: 'Vom "Gries" bis zum "Schwall". Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Augsburg vor und nach ihrer Eingliederung in den Dominikanerorden. Regesten 1239–1499. Vol. 3: St. Katharina (1239–1499). (Diss.) Augsburg 2021.
- Ehrenscheidtner, Marie-Luise: 'Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg', in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 2009/60, pp. 45–73.
- Eichenberger, Nicole: *Geistliches Erzählen. Zur deutschsprachigen religiösen Kleinepik des Mittelalters* (Hermaea N. F. 136). Berlin / Munich / Boston 2015.

- Engler, Claudia: *Regelbuch und Observanz. Der Codex A 53 der Burgerbibliothek Bern als Reformprogramm des Johannes Meyer für die Berner Dominikanerinnen (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 8)*. Berlin / Boston 2017.
- Falk, Tilman: *Hans Burgkmair. Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers*. (Diss.) Munich 1968.
- Fechter, Werner: *Deutsche Handschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts aus der Bibliothek des ehemaligen Augustinerchorfrauenstifts Inzigkofen (Arbeiten zur Landeskunde Hohenzollerns 15)*. Sigmaringen 1996.
- Ferrara, Ernesto: 'Pienza, le suore di clausura contro la Santa Sede: "Noi epurate senza un perché"', in: *La Repubblica* 2023, available at: [https://firenze.repubblica.it/cronaca/2023/02/25/news/pienza\\_le\\_suore\\_di\\_clausura\\_contro\\_la\\_santa\\_sede\\_noi\\_epurate\\_senza\\_un\\_perche-389543378/](https://firenze.repubblica.it/cronaca/2023/02/25/news/pienza_le_suore_di_clausura_contro_la_santa_sede_noi_epurate_senza_un_perche-389543378/) [14. 12. 2023].
- Freienhagen-Baumgardt, Kristina: 'Legendare. *Der Heiligen Leben*. Handschrift Nr. 74.9.5', in: Frühmorgen-Voss, Hella / Ott, Norbert H. / Bodemann, Ulrike (eds.): *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdIH)*. Vol. 8. Munich 2019, available at: <http://kdih.badw.de/datenbank/handschrift/74/9/5> [14. 12. 2023].
- Geertz, Clifford: *A Life of Learning: Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 1999 (ACLS Occasional Papers; No. 45)*. New York 1999, available at: [https://www.acls.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Haskins\\_1999\\_CliffordGeertz.pdf](https://www.acls.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Haskins_1999_CliffordGeertz.pdf) [14. 12. 2023].
- : 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in: Geertz, Clifford: *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York 1973, pp. 3–30.
- Geffcken, Peter: 'Die Welser und ihr Handel 1246–1496', in: Häberlein, Max / Burkhardt, Johannes (eds.): *Die Welser. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses (Colloquia Augustana 16)*. Berlin 2002, pp. 27–167.
- Giraud, Eleanor J.: 'Observant Dominican Nuns' Processions in Fifteenth-Century Germany: Evidence From Manuscripts of the Beinecke Library', in: *Yale Journal of Music & Religion* 2022/8, pp. 38–59.
- Graf, Klaus: 'Ordensreform und Literatur in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: Janota, Johannes / Williams-Krapp, Werner (eds.): *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts (Studia Augustana 7)*. Tübingen 1995, pp. 100–159.
- Häberlein, Mark: 'Kaufleute, Höflinge und Humanisten. Die Augsburger Welser-Gesellschaft und die Eliten des Habsburgerreiches in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 2016/43, pp. 667–702.
- Hamburger, Jeffrey F.: *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York 1998.
- Hamm, Berndt: 'Der Oberrhein als geistige und geistliche Region zwischen 1450 und 1525. Die Verschmelzung von Humanismus, Frömmigkeitstheologie und Reformation', in: Fuchs, Franz / Litz, Gudrun (eds.): *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten. Akten des gemeinsam mit dem Verein für Kunst und Altertum in Ulm und Oberschwaben und dem Stadtarchiv-Haus der Stadtgeschichte Ulm am 25./26. Oktober 2013 veranstalteten Symposions im Schwörhaus Ulm (Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung 29)*. Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 9–35.
- Hasebrink, Burkhard: 'Tischlesung und Bildungskultur im Nürnberger Katharinenkloster. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Rekonstruktion', in: Kintzinger, Martin / Lorenz, Sönke / Walter, Michael (eds.): *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur europäischen Bil-*

- dingsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 42). Cologne / Weimar / Vienna 1996, pp. 187–216.
- Heinonen, Meri: ‘The Books of the Laity and the Observant Dominican Reform in Nuremberg at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century’, in: Rubin, Miri (ed.): *Modus Vivendi: Religious Reform and the Laity in Late Medieval Europe* (Viella Historical Research 19). Rome 2020, pp. 121–136.
- Heinzer, Felix: ‘Herrenalb – Frauenalb – Lichtenthal. Spurensuche in einem bibliotheksgeschichtlichen Dreieck’, in: Heinzer, Felix (ed.): *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten* (Mittelalterliche Studien und Texte 39). Leiden / Boston 2008, pp. 485–502.
- Hirbodian, Sigrid: ‘Reformschwester und Reformverliererinnen. Strategien und Handlungsmöglichkeiten geistlicher Frauen in den Reformen des 15. Jahrhunderts’, in: Bihrer, Andreas / Schiersner, Dietmar (eds.): *Reformverlierer 1000–1800. Zum Umgang mit Niederlagen in der europäischen Vormoderne* (Zeitschrift für historische Forschung. Beihefte 53). Berlin 2016, pp. 449–473.
- Illing, Kurt: ‘Christus als Koch’, in: *Verfasserlexikon* 1978/1, col. 1234f.
- Jansen, Sabine: *Die Texte des Kirchberg-Corpus. Überlieferung und Textgeschichte vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. (Diss.) Cologne 2005.
- Jones, CJ: ‘Liturgical Manuals – Liturgical Norms Reforming the Liturgy in Kloster Weiler OP in Esslingen’, in: Palmer, Nigel F. / Rückert, Peter / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Württemberg als Kulturlandschaft. Literatur und Buchkultur an Klöstern und Höfen im späteren Mittelalter* (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 12). Berlin / Boston 2023, pp. 283–312.
- : *Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy, and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany* (The Middle Ages Series). Philadelphia 2018.
- Jungmayr, Jörg: *Die Legenda Maior (Vita Catharinae Senensis) des Raimund von Capua*. Edition nach der Nürnberger Handschrift Cent. IV, 75. Edition and Commentary. 2 Vols. Berlin 2004.
- Kiening, Christian: *Fortunatus. Eine dichte Beschreibung*. Mit Beiträgen von Pia Selmayr (Mediävistische Perspektiven 13). Zurich 2022.
- Kießling, Rolf: *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter*. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse der oberdeutschen Reichsstadt (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg 19). Augsburg 1971.
- Kington, Tom: ‘Sociable Tuscan Nuns Defy Vatican Discipline’, in: *The Times* 2023, available at: <https://www.thetimes.com/world/europe/article/sociable-tuscan-nuns-defy-vatican-discipline-hm6w57g2z> [14. 12. 2023].
- Kirakosian, Racha: *From the Material to the Mystical in Late Medieval Piety: The Vernacular Transmission of Gertrude of Helfta’s Visions*. Cambridge (Mass.) 2021.
- Krämer, Sigrid: *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*. Vol. 1 (Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz. Ergänzungsband 1). Munich 1990.
- Löser, Freimut / Steinke, Robert / Hägele, Günter (eds.): *Meister Eckhart in Augsburg*. Deutsche Mystik des Mittelalters in Kloster, Stadt und Schule. Augsburg 2011.
- Mossman, Stephen: ‘The Literary Culture of Dominican Women in Late Medieval Germany: Reutin Near Wildberg on the Nagold’, in: Palmer, Nigel F. / Rückert, Peter / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Württemberg als Kulturlandschaft. Literatur und Buchkultur*

- an Klöstern und Höfen im späteren Mittelalter* (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 12). Berlin / Boston 2023, pp. 157–281.
- : Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany: The Passion, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary. Oxford 2010.
- Müller, Annalena: ‘Kampf der Nonnen: Wie viel Welt darf ins Kloster?’, in: *Kirche Schweiz – katholisch, aktuell, relevant* 2023, available at: <https://www.kath.ch/newsd/kampf-der-nonnen-wie-viel-welt-darf-ins-kloster/> [14. 12. 2023].
- Osten-Hoschek, Andrea: Reform und Liturgie im Nürnberger Katharinenkloster. Die Sterbe- und Begräbnisliturgie des 15. Jahrhunderts. Edition und Kommentar (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens, N.F. 27). Berlin / Boston 2023.
- Schawe, Martin: Rom in Augsburg. Die Basilikabilder aus dem Katharinenkloster. Munich 1998.
- Schiewer, Regina D. / Williams-Krapp, Werner: ‘Das geistliche Schrifttum des Spätmittelalters vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts’, in: Schiewer, Regina D. / Williams-Krapp, Werner (eds.): *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter. Vol. 2: Das geistliche Schrifttum des Spätmittelalters*. Berlin / Boston 2011, pp. V–XX.
- Schlotheuber, Eva / Hirbodian, Sigrid: ‘Zwischen Klausur und Welt. Forschungsfeld und Forschungsstand’, in: Schlotheuber, Eva / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Zwischen Klausur und Welt. Autonomie und Interaktion spätmittelalterlicher geistlicher Frauengemeinschaften* (Vorträge und Forschungen, Band 91. Herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte). Ostfildern 2022, pp. 9–21.
- Schneider, Karin: Deutsche mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Die Signaturengruppen Cod. I.3 und Cod. III.1 (Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg II,1). Wiesbaden 1988.
- Schnell, Bernhard: Thomas Peuntner, ‘Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes’. Edition und Untersuchungen (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen 81). Munich 1984.
- Schramke, Marius: Tradition und Selbstbestimmung. Das geistliche Leben nichtobervanter Dominikanerinnenklöster in Süddeutschland im Spiegel der Überlieferung (Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 62). Freiburg (Breisgau) 2020.
- Seitz, Reinhard H.: ‘Zur Geschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters Sankt Katharina in Augsburg’, in: Schiedermaier, Werner (ed.): *Das Dominikanerinnenkloster zu Bad Wörishofen*. Weißenhorn 1998.
- Studer, Monika: Exempla im Kontext. Studien zu deutschen Prosaexempla des Spätmittelalters und zu einer Handschrift der Straßburger Reuerinnen (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 6). Berlin / Boston 2013.
- Sturm, Katrin: ‘Württembergisches in Donaueschinger Handschriften? Unbekanntes Quellenmaterial aus Württemberg im Bestand der ehemals Donaueschinger Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe’, in: Palmer, Nigel F. / Rückert, Peter / Hirbodian, Sigrid (eds.): *Württemberg als Kulturlandschaft. Literatur und Buchkultur an Klöstern und Höfen im späteren Mittelalter* (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 12). Berlin / Boston 2023, pp. 487–523.
- Thali, Johanna: Beten – Schreiben – Lesen. Literarisches Leben und Marienspiritualität im Kloster Engelthal (Bibliotheca Germanica 42). Tübingen / Basel 2003.

Theben, Judith: Die mystische Lyrik des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen – Texte – Repertorium (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raumes 2). Berlin / New York 2010.

Williams-Krapp, Werner: Die Literatur des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Vol. 1: Modelle literarischer Interessenbildung (Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit, Bd. III: Vom späten Mittelalter zum Beginn der Neuzeit). Berlin / Boston 2020.

