

**Spirituality and the Everyday: A History of the Cistercian
Convent of Günterstal in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries**



Edmund Hugh Wareham

Jesus College

University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in History

Trinity Term 2016

Short Abstract

This thesis explores the evolving history of the Cistercian convent of Günterstal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is structured around the anointing of the Last Rites of a Günterstal nun who was blessed on her eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, heart and feet. The thesis takes each body part as a symbol for understanding the changing environment and practices of the convent, especially the relationship between the nuns' spiritual and everyday lives, and the ways in which the nuns interacted with the world outside.

It argues that the nuns developed a spirituality in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries which was closely connected with the everyday world around them in a series of practices which went into decline following the criticism of the Reformation. Many of these were strategies developed by the nuns themselves for breaking down boundaries between convent and world. Attempts at revival in the later sixteenth century of convent life sought to heighten the distance between the convent and the world, in part by developing new forms of internalised spirituality. Yet these attempts at reform were made more difficult by the conflicting interests of those who sought change, the criticism which had come before, and the response of the nuns themselves.

The thesis analyses a number of different external symbols of convent life, from the spaces they inhabited to the objects they handled, and shows how these represented a number of different values of what it meant to be a nun in this period, values which did not always sit easily with each other. Günterstal maintained a noble character throughout this period and the social profile of its inhabitants often jarred with the push towards religious uniformity. This thesis shows that the symbolic value of these markers became increasingly heightened over the sixteenth century and took on new forms as a direct result of the attack on the convent way of life in the Reformation

Long Abstract

This thesis explores the history of the Cistercian convent of Günterstal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The convent was founded around 1221 by Adelheid, the daughter of a noble lord called Ginther. It was located just over three miles to the south west of the *Münster* in Freiburg im Breisgau, in a valley which led to the silver mines of Schauinsland mountain. Freiburg was a territorial town (*Landstadt*, i.e. subordinate to a territorial prince) on the Upper Rhine under Habsburg rule, in an area known as Outer Austria, had a population of around 6,300 people in 1500 and remained Catholic after the onset of the Reformation. Günterstal was one of eleven convents and monasteries which lay outside the town's walls but owned property within the town. They were classed as corporate outburghers and enjoyed the rights and obligations of citizens. The convent owned substantial landholdings in the region and relied on this for support. The community numbered twenty-nine professed sisters in 1482, twenty-two in 1516 and just eight by 1573.

The starting point of this thesis is 1480 when a flood caused substantial damage to the convent and wider region and the nuns began to record a notebook about their daily lives. This included chronicle entries on important events in the convent year, recipes, account lists, a book catalogue, New Year present lists, sewing patterns and even instructions on how to grease a wagon wheel. The period was marked by a close sense of community within the convent walls as the nuns maintained a regimented liturgical life of prayer and readings; took part in paraliturgical activities such as communal prayers for the dead and steadily increased the already large convent library. In turn, the nuns fostered relations with the outside world through a highly-regulated process of gift exchange; were members of one of the town's fraternities and took part in civic events within the convent walls such as mental pilgrimages. But convent life was not always harmonious: in 1485 a plague ripped through the convent and killed twelve sisters in one year and the period was marked by constant disagreement with the town council and the neighbouring Dominican convent of Adelhausen about land rights.

1525 marked a turning point for the convent when its long-standing abbess, Agnes von Tüsslingen (1482-1504; 1508-25), passed away and the nuns were forced to flee to Freiburg following an attack by peasants in the uprising. Günterstal was not so severely damaged as other houses in the region and the nuns were able to return but the subsequent years were, seen in comparison with the period before, certainly ones of decline. The convent struggled to recruit new novices, donations to the convent dried up and practices such as maintaining the convent

necrology, an important connection to the outside world, gradually came to a halt. In the later 1530s services stopped completely as the convent became divided when a group supported the prioress, Maria von Roggenbach, in a bid to replace Verena Tegelin von Wangen as abbess. Tensions ran so high that Tennenbach, the father monastery of Günterstal, was forced to ask the Outer Austrian government to intervene and to pension off Verena. This had a significant impact, as longstanding members of the community left for other convents.

From the 1570s a number of attempts were made to revitalise convent life: visitations were carried out, the nuns successfully appointed the Franciscans in Freiburg to act as confessors following the neglect of duties by the Cistercian monks of Tennenbach, and the nuns developed a relationship with Professor Jodocus Lorichius, a university theologian from Freiburg, who provided the nuns with a stream of books. Numbers began to rise and by 1616 there were fourteen professed sisters. The convent also increasingly became a political tool for its Habsburg rulers, as the various interests behind the reform of convent life – the Cistercians, the Diocese of Constance, the university and the nuns themselves – crossed paths. The precepts of the Council of Trent on convents were felt in the convent and did act as an important watershed but its implementation was closely tied with local circumstance and the nuns were able to negotiate and compromise on certain issues.

This thesis aims to tell the story of this convent and those connected with it but does so in an innovative way. It is structured around the description of the anointing of the Last Rites on the Günterstal nun Beatrix von Blumenegg in 1482. The description notes how a priest blessed her on her eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, heart and feet, to forgive her for when she had transgressed in sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, her heart and in her steps. The thesis takes the seven parts of Beatrix's body to chart the changing nature of convent life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Each chapter understands each body part as a symbol for understanding changes in the convent environment and its practices, the changing relationship between the nuns' spiritual and everyday worlds and the ways in which the nuns interacted with the outside world. It shows how the nuns' religious and social status in society was symbolised by a number of external markers, how these came under sustained pressure during the Reformation and how in the later sixteenth century attempts were made to reassert the convent as a symbol of society's wider values. Convent life was based on the paradox of the nun being physically enclosed but spiritually free and this thesis shows how attempts to enforce this or break this down could be

met by different responses by the nuns, sometimes as active agents but also as passive recipients.

In addition, it argues that governance of the five external senses, the heart and the feet became crucial in dividing the convent from the world. All Christians faced the triple threat of the world, the body and the devil in leading the senses astray but widely divergent views arose out of how best to control this threat and whether the monastic life offered the correct solution. The convent offered a very particular response to that challenge, as Reformation criticism centred in particular on the way certain senses were dulled through practices such as silence, fasting and chastity. This thesis hopes to blend the specific changes in Günterstal with these wider developments in society.

Günterstal is a particularly interesting case-study for a number of reasons. First, in terms of source material, many convent studies focus on one particular genre of writing, such as chronicles or visitation records, but the danger of this approach is to adopt a too one-sided, and often overly positive, view. This thesis merges archival and library sources to try and build a more complete picture of convent life, both from the perspective of the nuns themselves and of external parties. To that end it draws on material as diverse as fifteenth century manuscripts transmitting visionary experiences of nuns to account books from the first half of the sixteenth century.

Secondly, this thesis adopts a much wider chronological breadth: most studies on medieval convents tend to stop at the onset of the Reformation without considering why this way of life came under such sustained and widespread criticism, whilst the decrees of the Council of Trent on convents in 1563 are used as a starting point for studies of convents in the Counter-Reformation period. This thesis understands each period in its own right, but also attempts to join the dots between them.

In particular, it offers important contributions to each period. First, Günterstal was not reformed in the fifteenth century monastic reform movement. Much of the current historiography focusses on the primarily Dominican houses which were reformed during the fifteenth century, such that this form of convent experience has been taken as a norm. Nevertheless many of the supposedly distinctive features of these reformed houses, such as specific forms of communal devotion and writing practice, were in evidence in Günterstal, an unreformed house. This thesis argues that we must not use the case-study of Günterstal in an attempt to understand the wider

situation across Germany but rather recognise the varied nature of convent experience in the period.

Secondly, this thesis explores a convent which survived the upheavals of the Reformation. Studies on convents in the Reformation tend to focus on nuns leaving convents to the exclusion of convents which remained Catholic. Nevertheless the impact of the Reformation on the town could still be felt as numbers fell, peasants looted the convent and the relationship with the outside world changed. There is also a pressing need to understand the impact of the Reformation beyond the social, such as in terms of reading practices and the wider spiritual landscape of the convent.

Thirdly, by taking the story into the Counter-Reformation, we can understand this in much-needed context. Whilst historiography has now tended to focus on how women responded to the calls for reform, in particular stricter enclosure, the nature of the imposition of such reforms could vary. In Günterstal, calls for reform came outside the formal nun-confessor relationship and the material which the nuns received, whilst often drawing on pre-Reformation material, was adapted for new contexts. Moreover, the nuns were able to negotiate their position and did not simply accept changes.

Finally, this thesis aims not be a narrow study of one convent but rather draws on relations it had with the world outside. In particular convents in Freiburg and in the surrounding area offer a useful point of comparison to understand what was distinctive about Günterstal but also place the findings in a broader context. The connections also underline the fundamental point that convents were not isolated institutions in this period but were part of wider networks.

The chapter *Eyes* considers the changing appearance of the convent and nuns across the period. It argues that internal signs of convent life, such as the clothes the nuns wore and the cells they slept in, took on an increasingly more important external purpose in an attempt to ward off the triple threat of the world, the body and the devil. The difficulties in trying to reform these markers, as well as moments when the status of the convent was directly challenged, were tied with the religious and social identity of the nun and convent. Alongside the spatial environment of the convent, reformers also became increasingly interested in more unusual forms of visions, and what appeared before nuns, and the increasing threat of the devil in that process. The language of enclosure and separation could even extend to the closed eyes of the nuns.

Attention turns in the chapter *Ears* towards internal and external acoustic markers of the convent. This chapter argues that sound conveyed a lot of information, especially sounds to do with summoning people or commemorating them, and this always involved hierarchies. As such, sounds were closely tied up with control, in particular objects like the convent bells. In turn, Reformation criticism was directed towards the carefully controlled soundscape of the convent, especially the language the nuns heard on a daily basis. This chapter considers the criticism of these acoustic markers and the ways in which these, even though they could not often be heard on the outside, took on new significance.

In the chapter *Nose* focus shifts to the question of convent purity. Whilst this has traditionally been framed in terms of virginity, it was also connected to cleanliness. This chapter examines cases of nuns going on trips to baths, which moves beyond seeing this as a deviant, sexual act. Trips to the baths actually reflected many of the realities of convent life in the period, as nuns travelled there for both medical and social reasons, and even journeyed there in their minds for spiritual purposes. In turn, Reformation criticism of the convent could centre on the baths and what these trips represented. Moreover, whilst the later sixteenth century is often framed in terms of control, the reality was that nuns were permitted to continue to travel to the baths. Enclosure had its limits and faced a constant battle against everyday realities.

The chapter on the *Mouth* turns to two external markers of a nun's identity: silence and food. It argues that silence became increasingly important in convents, directly linked with the increased emphasis on enclosure, despite the obvious difficulties in controlling what a nun could or could not say. Attempts to dull the senses faced a constant battle against both practical realities and Reformation criticism. Those practical realities extended to the food a convent needed and the second half of the chapter takes food as a marker of social status. Late medieval concerns about overcrowding and not supporting the convent soon gave way to not being able to hold services correctly, whilst simultaneously maintaining an exclusive social profile. This became particularly important because the convent became more of a political symbol – a sign of society's values – over the sixteenth century.

The chapter *Hands* centres on gift-giving in the convent, as the nuns gave out gifts of gloves and gingerbread at New Year. It shows how gifts helped to cement relations between the convent and the outside world, as the nuns created a strict hierarchy based on the size, shape and even colour of different gifts. It aims to move beyond seeing gift-giving simply as a two-way process, and underlines instead the labour behind the gifts. This will show how the

production of gifts within the convent could help to empower the nuns, as it became a spiritual exercise. Following criticism of these practices, these gifts took on new meanings, as a confessional marker and a way for convents to extend influence beyond their walls, without physically touching the people they interacted with.

The chapter on the *Heart* considers questions of spirituality in more depth. The heart was the only body part of the seven to be hidden from view but it increasingly became an external symbol of convent identity, whilst at the same time representing a more internalised form of spirituality. The Reformation attack on convent identity, in particular the value of chastity, and on forms of spirituality, offered new ways of controlling and understanding the heart.

The final chapter *Feet* considers the issues of enclosure and control. It shows how attempts to impose stricter enclosure in the later sixteenth century were not necessarily universally enforced and came from a variety of different parties, how the nuns could respond to these attempts through compromise, and how practices developed in the fifteenth century to work around enclosure survived only in sporadic form. The chapter concludes that enclosure represented only one form of convent space and that this space extended into the world outside, with all the tensions that this could bring, not least in the Peasants' War when the nuns were forced to flee.

The aim of this thesis is therefore to understand changing spiritual and everyday practices in the convent, its relationship with the outside world and the extent to which the nuns themselves had a role to play in those processes.

Acknowledgments

I first came into contact with Günterstal in September 2008 when I attended a language course in Freiburg. Every day I would take the number two tram, whose final destination was Günterstal, from my *Studentenwohnheim* to the city centre. I never travelled to the end of the line. But I have now and this thesis is a culmination of a happy five years working on the history of the convent and region.

Jesus College funded the original trip to Freiburg, supported various archival and library trips and provided more hot meals than I care to imagine over the past seven years. The Arts and Humanities Research Council generously supported the years spent in Oxford and I was fortunate to receive, somewhat paradoxically, a Hanseatic Scholarship for Britons, funded by the Toepfer Stiftung, to spend a research year in Freiburg.

I first met Lyndal Roper in January 2009 as that rare breed of undergraduate interested in early modern German literature and culture. Since then she has guided me in so many different ways, both academically and personally. She has made me write more persuasively, probed me with challenging questions and been a constant support.

In Oxford I have been fortunate to have been part of two wonderful academic communities and I hope this thesis reflects these two worlds. The Early Modern workshop has been a friendly and stimulating forum for testing ideas and in particular I would like to thank Martin Christ, Carla Roth, Hannah Murphy, Mette Ahlefeldt-Laurvig, Duncan Hardy, Tom Hamilton, Clare Copeland, Kat Hill, Jan Machielsen and Chris Kissane for their input. In addition Glyn Redworth, Nick Davidson and Giora Sternberg have provided insightful criticism of my work. The Medieval German Graduate Seminar has likewise been a wonderful community to have been involved in and particular thanks go to Johannes Depnering, Christina Ostermann, Charlotte Hartmann, Linus Ubl, Alastair Matthews, Annette Volfing, Almut Suerbaum, Nigel Palmer and Henrike Lähnemann. My year in Freiburg was a real highlight and I would like to thank Hannah Witteveen, Julia Frick, Rebekka Becker, Linus Möllenbrink, Stephan Mossman, Karl-Heinz Braun, Ronald Asch, Birgit Studt, Henrike Manuwald, Johanni Thali, Martina Backes, Stefan Seeber, Burkhard Hasebrink and Tom Scott for welcoming me so warmly.

A number of friends have heard me talk about the nuns (and even seen the convent!) and in particular I would like to thank Tom Elworthy, Marius Rubin, Simon Gordon, Tim Dooley, Matt Watson, Feng Li, Claire Deligny, Karan Nagpal and Leonie Wanitzek.

My parents, Helen and Philip, have been unwavering in their love and support and I am grateful for all they have done for me. Nicholas and Victoria, my brother and sister, have been there throughout. Grand'maman and Grand-papa are not here to see the end of this thesis but I know they would have been so proud. Joy has provided constant encouragement, support and strawberry jam. Finally I have been very fortunate to be able to read a number of the manuscripts from Günterstal together with my grandfather, Fred. He worked on the fourteenth century so has always seen this thesis as somewhat modern but he has shared his knowledge and love throughout. I would like to dedicate this thesis to him.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations and Conventions... 2

I: Introduction..... 3

Part I: Günterstal and Its Context (3-26)

Part II: The Senses (26-40)

II: Eyes..... 41

Miracles (41-47) – Clothes (47-53) – Cells (53-56) – Sleep, Dreams and Visions (56-61) – Symbolism and Destruction (61-65)

III: Ears..... 66

Reformation Criticism (66-72) – Bells (72-74) – The Large Prayer (74-77) – Latin and German (77-83) – Control (84-86) – Post-Reformation Consequences (86-90)

IV: Nose..... 91

Bathing (91-105) – The Olfactory and Purity (105-111)

V: Mouth..... 112

Silence (112-120) – Food and Social Status (120-132)

VI: Hands..... 133

Gift-giving (133-155)

VII: Heart..... 156

Spirituality (156-176)

VIII: Feet..... 177

Enclosure (177-188) – Pilgrimage (188-195) – Processions (195-197) – The Peasants' War (197-202)

IX: Conclusion..... 203

List of Illustrations..... 208

Bibliography..... 210

Abbreviations and Conventions

BLB = *Badische Landesbibliothek (Karlsruhe)*

Cod. Sang. = *St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek*

DWB = Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 16 vols (Leipzig: 1854-1966).

FDA = *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*

GLA = *Generallandesarchiv (Karlsruhe)*

LW = Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann and Christopher Brown, eds, *Luther's Works*, 75 vols (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-86).

StaFr = *Stadtarchiv Freiburg im Breisgau*

VD 16 = *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983-).

VL² = Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd edn., 14 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978-2008).

WA = *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 73 vols (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-2009).

ZGO = *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*

In the sources there are a number of variations in the spelling of Günterstal but this thesis retains that spelling throughout. Manuscripts from the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, which has catalogued the books as 'Günthersthal', are the one exception. All Latin and German sources are rendered in English in the main body of the text, while the original is provided in the footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own. Increasingly in line with general usage and for ease of use, I have used the term 'convent' to refer to a cloister of nuns and 'monastery' to a cloister of monks.

Sources frequently refer to the *Pfund Pfennig*, or pound pence, whereby one pound (lb.) = 20 shillings (ß) = 240 pence (dn.). 240 pence were in turn equal to 1 *Gulden*. The *Jauchert* was the most common land measurement and was roughly equivalent to an acre.¹ The symbol '½' is used in transcriptions for a half.

¹ On a guide to currencies in the region see Katherine Brun, *The Abbot and his Peasants: Territorial Formation in Salem from the later Middle Ages to the Thirty Years War*, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte* 56 (Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2013), pp. viii-ix.

I: Introduction

In November 1482 Beatrix von Blumenegg lay dying in the infirmary of the Cistercian convent of Günterstal, just over three miles to the south west of Freiburg im Breisgau, thirty-two years after having entered the house.¹ On the eve of the Nativity of Mary she received the Eucharist in both kinds from one of two priests who were present. When these two priests had entered the church, the sacristans of the convent had begun to ring two peals with the large bells for the same length of time as for Mass. They continued ringing until one priest had put on his alb and the other a stole, at which point a different peal was sounded. The priests carried the wafer, wine and holy oil. The (female) sacristan meanwhile prepared two little bowls – one filled with twelve balls with medical benefits² and another filled with wine and water – and also brought a bowl of salt, a chalice, a towel and a jug of water with her. The party proceeded in a procession to the infirmary and carried holy water at the front, followed by a candle and the crucifix. When they arrived at Beatrix's bedside, one of the priests asked if she desired the Eucharist in both kinds and she answered in the affirmative, 'yes' ('jo'). After granting her absolution, he asked her to kiss the cross and administered the sacrament.³ He then blessed her on the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, heart and feet. He washed his hands and dried them, applied salt to the finger which had touched the oil and the dying nun's body and then rinsed his hands once again. He concluded by praying a series of collects.⁴

¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 67/639, fols. 111^r-114^r records the interest on Beatrix's dowry of three pounds pence which her father and mother, Heinrich and Veronica von Blumenegg, provided for her. On her death one pound pence would be returned to Heinrich and Veronica or her successors, whilst the remaining two would be given to the abbess and her convent.

² Ulrich Goebel, Anja Lobenstein-Reichmann and Oskar Reichman, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 8, part 4 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), col. 1760 refers to 'kugel' as 'Arzneimittel in Form von kleinen Kugeln'. This is presumably what is meant by 'zwelff kygeli werck'.

³ Ulrich Goebel and Oskar Reichmann, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 7, part 3 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2007), col. 1495 lists 'heiligkeit' as 'Sakrament, heilige Handlung; auch auf ein einzelnes Sakrament (vor allem Taufe, Abendmahl und Hl. Ölung) bezogen.' Examples of its use with 'geben' are listed.

⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 20^{rv}: 'Item anno domini m cccc lxxxii also hielt man sich do man beatrix von blümneck dz sacrament vnd dz heilig o^el gab Item an vnser lieben frowen oben natiuitas gab man ir beidy sacrament im lxxxii ior. Item zû dem ersten als bald die herren in die kilchen kumend so so^end die kustren nun zweig zeichen noch einander lûten mit der grossen cloggen in der lengi als man ze mess lût vnd so^end denn beiten biß sich die herren anlegen so sol man denn aber ein zeichen lûten dz sund tri zeichen der herr der sie berichten wil der sol die albon an legen vnd der ander ander numen ein stol der sol dz heilig öl tragen vnd der in der alben dz sacrament Item die kusterin sol han zweig bekily in eim zwelff kygeli werck vnd in einen schußlen saltz vnd in dem andren win vnd wasßer ein kelcly vnd dz tûchli dz man alwend noch dem sacrament brucht vnd dz gieß vesßly mit wasser vnd ein zwehelen vnd sol den herren aller nechst noch gon vnd vor dem herren sol zû dem ersten gon dz wich wasser tornoch dz lieht vnd tornoch dz crutz Item also hielt si sich do man zû ir kam do sprach er ob sie der beiden sacrament begerty do sprach si jo vnd do er ir die absolution sprach do bot er ir dz crûtz ze kussen + Dor noch gab er ir die heilikeit zum ersten an die ougen an die oren an die naßen an den mund an die

Written by one of Beatrix's fellow sisters and a later sacristan of Günterstal,⁵ the description of Beatrix's death offers a glimpse of the final moments of her life which were played out in a carefully-choreographed ritual involving the whole community of a convent, both women and men. This was not a normative text and it differed in its detail from the statutes of the Cistercian Order to which the nuns had access around this time, in particular since it listed each of Beatrix's organs which the priest blessed.⁶ These were directly linked with the senses. A Latin-German *Ordinary (Liber Ordinarius)* from a Bavarian Cistercian convent records the practice in more detail, as the nun was blessed 'on her eyes, ears, the nostrils, the outside of her closed mouth, the inside of both extended hands and from the top of both feet. He [the priest] should say: "Through this blessed Unction and his most pious mercy, May the Lord forgive you for when you have transgressed in sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and steps".⁷ In Günterstal significantly, the heart was included, although it remains to be seen why the nuns included this organ to be blessed and on what basis they did so.⁸

hend an dz hertz vnd an die füß + Wüsch er die hend vss dem gieß vessly vnd trucknet die an zwehelen tor noch do er ir heilikeit gab do wüsch er die vinger mit saltz vnd aber mit wasser vss dem gieß vessli vnd bettet tornoch die collecten die do zû horen dor noch hatt si erst die frowen dz sy ir verzygen vnd leit man ir denn dz tuschlechily fvr vnd spricht denn aber dz confitteor vnd er nimpt denn aber wasßer an die hend vnd noch dem sacrament aber win vnd wasser'.

⁵ It was written by the same hand of a sacristan of the convent who was born in 1455 and who entered Günterstal at the age of twelve. She was appointed sacristan in 1506. Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 25^v: 'Item do ich har kam do zalt man von der geburt christi m cccc lv jor vnd do ich xii jor alt wz do ward ich ein novitz vnd dem selben jor gewilet Item anno domini im xv^c vnd im vi jor vff mitwochen noch der hailigen drÿ kung do ward ich s [sic] vnd kusterin.'

⁶ Danièle Choisselet & Placide Vernet, eds, *Les Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciens du XIIIème Siècle. Texte Latin selon les Manuscrits édités de Trente 1711, Ljubljana 31 et Dijon 114. Version Française. Annexe Liturgique, Notes, Index et Tables*, La Documentation Cistercienne 22 (Reiningue: Abbaye d'Oelenberg, 1989), p. 266 contains the instructions from the *Ecclesiastica Officia*: 'Et post abbas si affuerit dicat hanc absolutionem Dominus Iesus Christus. Si vero abbas defuerit. dicat ipse qui inungit indulgentiam et remissionem. Quo dicto. qui inunxerit offerat ei crucem ad osculandum. Quo facto et cruce reddita. dicat per sanctam unctionem et cetera. et sic inunctionis impleat officium.' Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 601 contains a German translation of the *Ecclesiastica Officia* (a set of normative rules for the Order) from the early sixteenth century, which notes simply that the priest 'should anoint the person with oil' ('sol in also öln'), without listing which parts of the body were to be blessed. As the inclusion of the cross symbol (+) makes clear in the description of Beatrix's death, the priest made a sign of the cross on each part of the body. On the normativity of sources for the sensory history of medieval religion see Béatrice Caseau, 'The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation', in Richard G. Newhauser (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, Cultural History of the Senses 2 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 89-110 (p. 92).

⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 78, fols. 7^{rv}: 'Die weil vnd die psalmen also gesprochen werden sol der prister czu der siechen gen vnd sol sie salben mit dem heiligen oley vnd sol mit dem dawmen das oley anruren vnd da mit ein creutz machen In iren augen In iren oren In iren naszlochern In irem munde beslossen auszwendig In beyden henden ausgestreket innerhalb oder innwendig vnd in beiden fusen von oben vnd sol da mit sprechen. Per istam vnctionem et suam sanctam at piissimam misericordiam indulgeat tibi deus quidquid deliquisti per visum. vnd des gleichen sprech der prister auch zu den andern...per auditum. per odoratum. per gustum. per tactum. per gresum.' This dates from 1439.

⁸ The heart was also excluded in an early sixteenth century description from a Dominican convent, possibly from Strasbourg: Karlsruhe, BLB, St Peter pap. 18, fols. 28^v-29^r. In the Carolingian period, by contrast, up to fifteen individual blessings were made: Bernard Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, tr. Francis Courtney (Freiburg: Herder; London: Burns & Oates, 1964), pp. 247-8.

Seen in isolation, the Günterstal nun who wrote the account of Beatrix's last moments and who painted a harmonious picture of convent life was aiming to establish wider norms for the community as a whole and contribute to the collective memory of the convent. Indeed, alongside the sacrament of the Last Rites, Beatrix's fellow sisters commemorated her death through the 'Great Prayer' ('Das Groß Gebet'), whereby the whole community said 100,000 *Ave Marias* in her memory, a very particular form of convent spiritual practice.⁹ But over time both the practice of the Last Rites and the fate of the convent were evolving. In his 1520 treatise, *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (De captivitate Babylonica)*, Martin Luther dismissed the practice as a 'folly' and argued that it should be discounted as one of the seven sacraments: 'If this unction is a sacrament, it must necessarily be as they say an "effective sign" of that which it signifies and promises. Now it promises health and recovery to the sick...But who does not see that this promise is seldom, if ever fulfilled?'¹⁰ In response, the 1551 session of the Council of Trent reaffirmed the sacramental status of the rite, rallied against those who had undermined it, and instead emphasised that the person 'resists more easily the temptations of the devil who lies in wait at his heel; and sometimes he regains bodily health when it is expedient for the salvation of his soul.'¹¹ Attitudes towards dying, death and burial were by no means consistent.¹²

Alongside the changes to ritual in wider society, the convent was itself an institution increasingly under pressure, as is revealed from tracing the deaths of nuns who died after Beatrix. Agnes von Tüsslingen, who knew Beatrix and served as abbess between 1482 and 1504 and again between 1508 and 1525, did not die in the convent's infirmary but in Freiburg, forced to flee because the convent was attacked and looted by peasants in 1525.¹³ One of the sisters under Agnes's care was Cordula von Krotzingen, who probably entered Günterstal around 1507 as a girl and who died in 1572 as the abbess and only remaining sister of the canonical foundation of Andlau. She had left Günterstal in 1538 at a time when the convent was marred by disagreement and split into two camps about who should be abbess and when

⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 3^v: 'Dz groß gebett ist hundert tusent aue maria.'

¹⁰ LW 36 (1959), p. 124; WA 6 (1888), p. 569: 'Ulterius, si unctio ista sacramentum est, debet sine dubio esse (ut dicunt) efficax signum eius quod signat et promittit. At sanitatem et restitutionem infirmi promittit ut stant aperta verba 'Oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum dominus.' Quis autem non videt hanc promissionem in paucis, immo nullis impleri?' Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 145-50.

¹¹ Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2 (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, D.C.: George University Press, 1990), p. 710: 'et tentationibus daemonis calcaneo insidiantis facilius resistit.'

¹² Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 2000).

¹³ Ernst Dreher, 'Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Günterstal', *FDA* 120 (2000): 5-51 (pp. 25-9).

services had ground to a halt. Cordula left to reform the religious life of the Alsatian house, but this ended in failure as the three sisters under her care departed soon after her appointment.¹⁴ Whilst Cordula lived out the last years of her life alone in Andlau, Maria Stör von Störenberg was appointed abbess in Günterstal in the early 1570s and had just eight professed sisters under her care, a reduction from twenty-nine from when Beatrix had been a nun. Members of the same institution at different points in time, the convent experience of Maria's time had evolved significantly from Beatrix's period as a nun. This thesis seeks to record and explain those changes.

The village of Günterstal lay next to Freiburg, a territorial town (*Landstadt*, i.e. subordinate to a territorial prince) on the Upper Rhine under Habsburg rule, in an area known as Outer Austria (*Vorderösterreich*). Around 1500 Freiburg had a population of 6,300 people. A university had been founded there in 1457, which was to be of some significance for the nuns of Günterstal, and in 1498 the town had hosted the Imperial Diet under Emperor Maximilian I.¹⁵ Günterstal was one of eleven convents and monasteries outside the town's walls which maintained houses within the town, offering residence (often in times of conflict) and a tithe barn, stabling, workshop and possibly a chapel.¹⁶ Günterstal's house lay on the northern edge of the Old City (on the present-day *Nußmanstraße*), behind the *Münster* and near the market square, allowing it access to the town's trade.¹⁷ As rural citizens (*Ausburger*), they enjoyed certain rights and obligations.¹⁸ They also played a crucial role within the life of the town, even a convent such

¹⁴ Sabine Klapp, *Das Äbtissenamt in den unterelsässischen Frauenstiften vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Umkämpft, Verhandelt, Normiert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 235-9; 292-305; Eugène Becourt, 'La Réforme à Andlau (1538-1609)', *Revue d'Alsace* 72 (1932): 3-12 (pp. 5-9).

¹⁵ For an introduction to the history see Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vols 1 and 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1992-96); Hans Schadek, ed., *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt. Maximilian I. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg 1498* (Freiburg i. Br.: Kore, 1998); on town, countryside and population Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau: Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

¹⁶ The book catalogue from the convent, Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 39^v-40^r, notes the presence of twenty books 'in Freiburg in our house' ('ze Friburg in unserem hus').

¹⁷ Yu-Kyong Kim, *Die Grundherrschaft des Klosters Günterstal bei Freiburg im Breisgau. Eine Studie zur Agrargeschichte des Breisgaus im späten Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 45 (Freiburg i. Br.; Munich: Karl Alber, 2002), pp. 112-3; Horst Buszello, 'Krise, Reform und neuer Aufschwung. Die Stadt Freiburg am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Schadek, *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt*, 275-312 (p. 283) estimates the number of monks and nuns in Freiburg as between 350 and 400. Within the city walls there were Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinian Canons and Friars, Wilhelmites, Antonines, the Order of St John and the Teutonic Order. Of the convents there were four Dominican houses (Adelhausen, St Agnes, St Katharine's and St Mary Magdalene *zu den Reuerinnen*) and the Poor Clares. Just outside the town lay the Charterhouse and Günterstal. Tennenbach, Beuron, Friedenweiler, Schuttern, St. Blasien, St. Peter im Schwarzwald, St. Trupert and St. Ulrich were the other rural convents with the status of citizens.

¹⁸ Tom Scott, 'Why was there no Reformation in Freiburg im Breisgau?', in Tom Scott (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Germany. Between Secular Impact and Radical Vision* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 143-81 (pp. 158-9).

as Günterstal which lay some distance from the town centre. As the jurist and humanist Ulrich Zasius remarked in 1495 ‘it is not possible that the town can prosper without its convents or the convents without the town.’¹⁹ As this thesis shows, changes over the sixteenth century challenged the extent to which this was true and framed the relationship in new ways.

One-fifth of Freiburg’s property around 1500 was estimated to be owned by monastic houses.²⁰ These houses formed a distinctive religious landscape, made up of convents and monasteries of different orders.²¹ Five convents belonged to the Dominican order and all lay just outside the town’s walls: Adelhausen, St. Agnes, St. Maria Magdalena, St. Katharina in der Wiehre and St. Katharina von Siena *auf dem Graben*.²² The first three of these convents were reformed on the same day in 1465, due to a large extent to the efforts of Johannes Meyer (1422/3-85), Dominican monk and author of a large number of works promoting reform.²³ Meyer was a key propagator of the Observant reform movement whose ideas had reached the Upper Rhine Valley by around 1400 and had become particularly widespread in Dominican convents of the region. The movement stressed the importance of communal, devotional practice and the value of the common life in matters of enclosure, property, food and sleeping arrangements.²⁴ A key

¹⁹ As quoted in Scott, ‘Why was there no Reformation in Freiburg im Breisgau’, pp. 153-4: ‘...so ist nit wol möglich, das die stat on die clöster noch die clöster on die stat vfgon mögen’.

²⁰ Tom Scott, ‘Die Rolle der Freiburger Klöster in der Wirtschaftskrise der Stadt im 15. Jahrhundert’, in Heinz Krieg & Johannes Waldschütz, eds, *Klöster und Stadt am südlichen Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Das Markgräflerland 2 (Schopfheim: 2011), 203-23.

²¹ For a summary see Hans Schadek and Jürgen Treffeisen, ‘Klöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg. Frühgeschichte, Sozialstruktur, Bürgerpflichten’, in Haumann and Schadek, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 1, 421-67 (pp. 433-4). See also the online database of monastic houses in Baden-Württemberg created by the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe: [<https://www.kloester-bw.de/>] (6 February 2017).

²² As a result of damage in the Thirty Years’ War, Adelhausen and St. Agnes became united in 1647 and St. Katharina and St. Maria Magdalena in 1651. In 1694 all four grouped together in the newly founded Adelhausen *Neukloster* in the *Schnecken-Vorstadt* area of Freiburg. See Sebastian Bock, Maria Effinger & Lothar A. Böhler, eds, *Bestandskataloge der weltlichen Ortsstiftungen der Stadt Freiburg i. Br.*, vol. 2 (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1999), pp. 15-8.

²³ Sarah Glenn DeMaris (ed.), *Johannes Meyer. Das Amptbuch*, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica 31 (Rome: Angelicum University, Press 2015), pp. 1-37 for an account of his life, pp. 153-350 for an edition of the *Amptbuch* and pp. 351-521 for an English translation. See also Loë and Reichert, eds, *Johannes Meyer Ord. Praed. Buch der Reformacio Predigerodens. I, II und III. Buch*.

²⁴ Within the English-language scholarship, for example, Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*; Woodford, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany* and Leonard, *Nails in the Wall*, all focus on Dominican houses. From a literary-historical perspective see Martina Backes, ‘Literarische Interessenbildung im mittelalterlichen Südwesten am Beispiel der Stadt Freiburg/Br.’, in Anne Keck & Theodor Nolte, eds, *Ze Hove an der Stâzen. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters und ihr ‘Sitz im Leben’*. *Festschrift für Volker Schupp zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1999), 1-11 (pp. 1-3), who notes the attention given to Strasbourg and Basle in the region to the exclusion of other areas. On the Cistercian context see Kasper Elm & Peter Feige, ‘Reformen und Kongregationsbildungen der Zisterzienser in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit’ in Kasper Elm, Peter Joerissen, Hermann Roth & Rheinisches Museumsamt, eds, *Die Zisterzienser: Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Eine Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler: Aachen, Krönungssaal des Rathauses 3. Juli-28. September 1980*, Schriften des rheinischen Museumamts 10 (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1980), 243-54.

strategy to implement this reform programme was the transfer of nuns from one convent to another and in 1465 six Dominican nuns came in a carriage to Freiburg from St. Katherine's in Colmar to reform Adelhausen and were received by the town's council and nobility, whilst five sisters came from Basle's convent *An den Steinen* to reform the Dominican house of St Agnes's.²⁵ The commitment to enclosure was not universally welcomed by the nuns and actively resisted: five nuns of St. Maria Magdalena, for example, escaped the convent at night by a stream.²⁶ Günterstal had particular contact in this period with Adelhausen, St. Agnes and St. Katharina *auf dem Graben*: it sent the former two convents gingerbread at New Year and sent alms to support the sisters of the latter institution.²⁷ Günterstal remained, however, distinct in many respects from these convents: it belonged to the Cistercian order which never underwent such a sustained programme of reform as the Dominican order did; it was never formally enclosed like three of the town's Dominican convents; and it lay further outside the town.

Numbering fifty-seven choir sisters in 1447, the convent of the Poor Clares was the other major women's house in Freiburg. In 1429, inspired by the actions of the nun Magdalena Beutlerin, the convent underwent an internal reform but this centred primarily on the nuns' commitment to poverty and not, as in the case of the Dominicans, to enclosure.²⁸ Alongside the five Dominican houses and the convent of the Poor Clares were a number of smaller communities, many of whom formerly housed beguines, and which were not formally incorporated into a religious order. This included the sisters of St. Anna *zum grünen Wald*, which became attached to the Augustinians in 1451, and the *Regelhäuser zum Lämmlein, zum Pfauen* and *zur*

²⁵ Madlen Doerr, *Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen in Freiburg in 15. Jahrhundert: Sozialstruktur und Reform* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. Dr. phil. Thesis, 2012), p. 269: 'uff ainem verhenekten, verdeckten wagen gen Fryburg mit erber gaistlicher, gûter hût koment' and pp. 269-71 on Adelhausen; pp. 145-8 on St Agnes.

²⁶ Within Freiburg, for example, the Adelhausen nuns originally 'were really very unwilling...to let themselves be locked in, be reformed and let in the sisters of the Observance and to be ruled by them since they were used to worldly joys and bodily comforts and their own will' ('vast ser unwillig...sich lasen zû beschliessen und zu reformieren und die swöstren der observantz in zû lasen und von in zû regiirt zû werden, als sy denn gewonent hatent vil weltlicher fröd und liplichs gemachts und aygens willens'); the sisters of St Agnes were 'unwilling to accept Observance' ('nit willig zû der observantz') whilst the nuns of St. Maria Magdalena resisted with hands and feet and 'were quite improper with words and with gestures in the presence of so many knights and servants, spiritual and worldly people' ('so warent sy gar unzüchtig mit Worten und mit geberden in unser aller gegenwürtigkait vor so vil ritter und knechten, gaistlich personen und och weltlich'). Five of the ten sisters accepted the reform but the other escaped by night through a stream that flowed through the cloister: Doerr, *Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen in Freiburg in 15. Jahrhundert*, p. 240.

²⁷ See the discussion in the chapter 'Hands' and Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 11^v, the nuns' notebook, which contains a list of alms with the entry: 'Den swestern vf dem graben 3 schußlen gewirtz.'

²⁸ Wilhelm Schleußner, 'Magdalena von Freiburg: eine pseudomystische Erscheinung des späteren Mittelalters 1407-1458', in *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholisches Wissen und kirchliches Leben* 87 (1907): 15-32, 109-27, 199-216

Krozingerin which merged in 1489 and were a community of sisters following the Third Order of Saint Francis.

Within the town's walls were also a number of male communities: Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinian Canons and Friars, Wilhelmites, Antonines, and monks of the Order of St. John and the Teutonic Order. Just outside the town walls lay the Charterhouse. A number of other houses which lay further afield had the status, as with Günterstal, of citizens: this included the important Benedictine houses of St. Peter im Schwarzwald, St. Blasien and St. Trupert. Günterstal had particular connections with the Charterhouse and St. Peter im Schwarzwald and were members of a prayer fraternity.²⁹ Significant changes in this monastic landscape occurred primarily towards the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century with the arrival of a Capuchin community in 1591 and the Jesuits in 1620.

Günterstal was the closest Cistercian house to Freiburg. The convent's father monastery, Tennenbach, lay twelve miles to the north in Emmendingen and provided confessors and chaplains for the Günterstal nuns.³⁰ Eight miles to the north east of Tennenbach – and also under its care – lay another Cistercian convent, Wonnental.³¹ Marienau was a Cistercian convent in the town of Breisach to the west of Freiburg on the River Rhine. Tennenbach, Wonnental and Marienau all suffered extensive damage during the Peasants' War (1525) and the latter was forced to closed and its last abbess, Lucia Storck, broke her vows and married.³² Other Cistercian convents in the wider region included Rottenmünster³³, in the town of Rottweil to the east of Freiburg; Königsbrück, near Hagenau in the Alsace and the still-surviving convent

²⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, the Günterstal notebook, notes the reciprocal prayer agreements on the death of members for Günterstal, Tennenbach (Günterstal's father monastery), the Charterhouse and St. Peter.

³⁰ Werner Rösener, Heinz Krieg and Hans-Jürgen Günther, eds, *850 Jahre Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach: Aspekte seiner Geschichte von der Gründung (1161) bis zur Säkularisation (1806)* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2014); Philipp F. Rupf, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach im mittelalterlichen Breisgau: Besitzgeschichte und Aussenbeziehungen* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2004); Christian Stadelmaier, *Zwischen Gebet und Pflug: das Grangienwesen des Zisterzienserklosters Tennenbach* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2014); Ralf Schurer, Jutta Zander-Seidel and Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, eds, *Erwerbungen zur Kunst des Mittelalters: Ziborium aus Kloster Tennenbach, zwei Nürnberger Bildteppiche* (Berlin: Kulturstiftung der Länder, 2004).

³¹ Engelbert Krebs, 'Wonnental im Breisgau 1240-1806. Geschichte eines verschundenen Cisterzienserinnenstiftes', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 4 (1914): 281-92; a history of the convent was written in the seventeenth century by a Tennenbach monk: Hermann Mayer, 'Chronik des Cisterzienserinnen-Klosters Wonnenthal von P. Konrad', *FDA* 1 (1900): 131-221. See, most recently, *Die Pforte* 22-5 (1992/3) and 50-3 (2006/7), which contain a number of contributions on the convent, and Werner Heiland-Justi, *Das Graduale des Klosters Wonnental bei Kenzingen* (Lindenberg: Josef Fink, 2012).

³² Berent Schweineköper, 'Klosteraufhebungen als Folge von Reformation und Bauernkrieg im habsburgischen Vorderösterreich (Zisterzienserinnenkloster Marienau und Augustinerkloster zu Breisach 1525/26)', in Herwig Ebner (ed.), *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 489-504.

³³ Margareta Reichenmiller, *Das ehemalige Reichsstift und Zisterzienserinnenkloster Rottenmünster. Studien zur Grundherrschaft, Gerichts- und Landesherrschaft*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg 28 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964).

of Lichtenthal, to the north of Freiburg outside Baden-Baden.³⁴ In 1570 Lichtenthal sent nuns to the former Benedictine convent of Friedenweiler and in 1573 to the former Dominican convent of Maria Hof in Neudingen as these houses became Cistercian.³⁵ These two houses lay under the jurisdiction of the prominent Cistercian monastery of Salem, near Constance, whose influence extended across the region.³⁶

Günterstal's origins stretched back to around 1221, when Adelheid, the daughter of a noble lord called Ginther, settled with other young noble daughters in a house below the ruins of Kybenfels castle.³⁷ In 1224 these women swore obedience to abbot Berthold of Tennenbach and were given Cistercian habits. In September that year the Bishop of Constance, Konrad von Tegerfelden (1208/10-33), consecrated the altar in the incomplete chapel building. In 1233 difficulties emerged over land between the newly-founded convent and the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter im Schwarzwald and the nuns were forced to move to Oberried, later the site of a Wilhelmiter priory, for eleven years. The subsequent years saw an expansion in land ownership, through donations and purchases, followed by consolidation, which resulted in the production of two rent-rolls (*Urbaria*) between 1344 and 1348 and in 1409, which recorded a register of fief ownership.³⁸ In 1435, the convent was excommunicated by the Council of Basle for burying Konrad Schnewlin von Landeck in its graveyard, who was deemed to be under the ban. Interestingly, if not credibly, the nuns claimed that they were unaware of this fact.³⁹

³⁴ For an introduction to the convent see the collection of essays in Harald Siebenmorgen, Rosemarie Stratmann-Döhler, Brigitte Herrbach-Schmidt and Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, eds, *750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal: Faszination eines Klosters. Ausstellung des Badischen Landesmuseum, 25. Februar bis 21. Mai 1995, Karlsruhe, Schloss* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995).

³⁵ Maria Pia Schindele, 'Das Kloster Lichtenthal vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert' in Siebenmorgen et al., *750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal*, 129-35 (p. 130).

³⁶ For an introduction see Reinhard Schneider (ed.), *Salem: 850 Jahre Reichsabtei und Schloss* (Constance: Stadler, 1984).

³⁷ On the convent's foundation see Ulrike Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau. Ihre Einbindung in den Orden und in die städtische Kommunität*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 32 (Munich: Karl Alber, 1997), pp. 58-66; Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, pp. 15-21; Ernst Dreher, *Günterstal. Seine Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Klosterauflösung im Jahre 1806. Die Gemeinde Günterstal zwischen 1806 und 1830* (Lahr: Technische Dokumentation, 2001), pp. 18-23. Around 1250 there were around 22 Cistercian women's houses in what is now Baden-Württemberg. The founding date is in keeping with other German Cistercian convents: Maren Kuhn-Refus, 'Zisterzienserinnen in Deutschland', in Kaspar Elm, Peter Joerissen, Hermann Roth and Rheinisches Museumsamt, eds, *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler* (Cologne, 1981), 125-47 (pp. 125-6); Hans Schadek and Jürgen Treffeisen, 'Klöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg. Frühgeschichte, Sozialstruktur, Bürgerpflichten', in Haumann and Schadek, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 1, 421-67 (pp. 433-4).

³⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 66/3210 ('Urbar I') and 66/3212 ('Urbar II'): Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, pp. 48-77.

³⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/58 (29 March 1435).

Ulrike Denne has stressed the ‘elite’ character of the social status of Günterstal’s nuns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴⁰ She argues that Günterstal appealed to the higher echelons (‘die höhere Oberschicht’) of the population in and around Freiburg, as it recruited and received donations from the rural nobility, the *ministeriales* (people raised from serfdom), such as the Falkenstein, Stauffenberg and Keppenbach families, and the urban patriciate, most prominently in its connections with the different branches of the Snewlin family.⁴¹ The convent did not recruit from guild families. Nevertheless, it is hard to reach an overriding conclusion as no complete list of all the nuns at any one time survives.

One such list does survive from the later fifteenth century in a manuscript recording the 2,500 members of the Rosary Fraternity (*Rosenkranz-Bruderschaft*), based in Freiburg’s Dominican monastery.⁴² The Günterstal nuns were members of this fraternity and the manuscript includes names of the twenty-three choir sisters and three lay sisters who made up the community.⁴³ No precise date is given but must have been written after 1482 (Agnes von Tüsslingen is listed as abbess) and before 1498 (the year in which Ursula von Landeck, one of the nuns who is listed, passed away). The particular status of the convent at this time can be seen by the fact that eleven of the choir sisters listed had relatives who were members of the Outer Austrian knighthood (*Vorderösterreichische Ritterschaft*) which was made up of ‘Grafen, Herren, Ritter und Knechte.’⁴⁴ Some of the sisters were from noble families (designated as *milites*), including the Alsatian Mühleim family, but many of the Günterstal sisters were from families of the lower nobility who owned their own land (in *allodium*) but also acted as vassals of the higher nobility, such as the Margraves of Baden or Hachberg: this was the case for the Stauffenberg, Neuenfels, Blumenegg, and the Tegelin von Wangen families, all of whom were represented in Günterstal.⁴⁵ Not all nobility within Outer Austrian territory was necessarily a member of the knights’ estate: Margareta and Beatrix Brennerin, for example, two nuns at Günterstal, were

⁴⁰ Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau*, pp. 153-77.

⁴¹ Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau*, pp. 154-5 (nobility), 155-8 (*ministeriales*) & 158-75 (patrician class).

⁴² Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 10; see Jan Gerchow, ‘Bruderschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg i. Br.’, *FDA* 113 (1993): 5-74 (pp. 24-31).

⁴³ Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 10, fol. 44^v.

⁴⁴ Dieter Speck, *Die vorderösterreichischen Landstände. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Ausbildung bis 1595/1602*, vol. 1, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 29/1 (Freiburg; Würzburg: Ploetz, 1994), pp. 114-22 who provides a table of names of all members of the *Ritterschaft* who attended regional diets (*Landtage*) in 1445, 1455, 1468, 1469, 1473, 1480 and 1484. The families Tüsslingen, Tegelin von Wangen, Mülheim, Bolschwiler, Blumenegg, Reischach and Staufenberg are represented in both this list and the Günterstal entry in the fraternity membership.

⁴⁵ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 1, pp. 112-8 (Blumenegg) 202-3 (Tegelin); vol. 3, p. 202 (Neuenfels).

descendants of the noble Brenner family, with its seat in Neuenburg, but this name does not appear in the list of representatives at regional diets.⁴⁶ Moreover, not all the Günterstal nuns were from noble families: Ursula von Bumbach's family, for example, were vassals (*Lehnsmann*) of the noble house of Geroldseck and did not own their own land.⁴⁷

In comparison with Freiburg's other convents, the noble status of a significant proportion of Günterstal's sisters, even if members of the lower nobility, was apparent. Madlen Doerr has investigated the social status of four of Freiburg's Dominican convents and the convent of the Poor Clares. Although no complete lists of nuns survive from any of these convents, she draws more general conclusions on the basis of the social profiles of individual nuns in the fifteenth century. In the case of Adelhausen she suggests that the convent was primarily attractive for the patrician class of Freiburg and, in one individual case, for a noble member and in the case of St. Maria Magdalena and the convent of the Poor Clares that the majority of its members were from guild families. Evidence from St. Katharina and St. Agnes is insufficient to draw general conclusions.⁴⁸ There was some overlap between nuns of different convents from the same families but this was exclusively the case between Günterstal and Adelhausen: Agnes von Tüßlingen's sister, Elisabeth, for example, was a nun in Adelhausen.⁴⁹ In general, however, Günterstal seemed to have appealed more to members of the lower nobility as a place to house their daughters. Indeed, eight of the convent's sisters at this time had relatives in the convent.⁵⁰

In 1480 a flood brought huge devastation to the convent and the Upper Rhine more generally and marked a new starting point in the life of the convent as the nuns began to recover.⁵¹ This may have been the motivation for the nuns, in the same year, to begin work on a notebook which contained the details of Beatrix's death and the ritual surrounding it. Written by at least four nuns between 1480 and 1519, it contains chronicle-style entries on life in the convent, a book list, recipes, list of gifts, sewing patterns and account lists.⁵² It was written, presumably

⁴⁶ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol.1, pp. 158-60.

⁴⁷ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol.1, p. 169.

⁴⁸ Madlen Doerr, *Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen in Freiburg im 15. Jahrhundert: Sozialstruktur und Reform* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. Dr. phil. Thesis, 2012), pp. 37-41 (Poor Clares), 139-42 (Adelhausen), St. Agnes (145-8), St. Katharina (154-9) and 167-78 (St. Maria Magdalena).

⁴⁹ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol.1, p. 268.

⁵⁰ The Tegelin, Brenner, von Reischach and Blumenegg all had more than one daughter in the convent.

⁵¹ Iso Himmelsbach, *Erfahrung – Mentalität – Management, Hochwasser und Hochwasserschutz an den nicht-schiffbaren Flüssen im Ober-Elsass und am Oberrhein (1480-2007)* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. Dr. Phil. Thesis, 2012), pp. 87-103.

⁵² For a description see Michael Klein, *Die Handschriften 65/1-1200 im Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe*, Die Handschriften der Staatsarchive in Baden-Württemberg 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), p. 100.

under the oversight of the abbess, by the convent sacristan⁵³, prioress⁵⁴ and two unknown scribes, who may have held administrative offices within the convent.⁵⁵ It formed part of a wider programme of administrative writing within the convent around this time, a form of pragmatic literacy which was particularly widespread in convents.⁵⁶

The notebook, consisting of fifty-four leaves, presents a particular view of convent life from the perspective of the nuns themselves – it contains entries on important visitors, participation in civic events and, in particular, records of the deaths of sisters and those connected to the convent, from Duke Sigismund of Outer Austria to local inhabitants of the village. Particular attention is devoted to questions of liturgy, but also to more practical concerns such as baking and sewing. The title of this thesis – ‘Spirituality and the Everyday’ – aims to capture the spirit of this sort of record keeping, as nuns wrote down, for example, the number of books they owned alongside the number of cushions in the convent’s guestroom.⁵⁷

The book list recorded in the notebook from the convent lists 199 titles.⁵⁸ The majority of the works listed in the catalogue are now lost, due in part to the impact of the Thirty Years’ War, which forced the nuns to leave the convent between 1632 and 1633, and the secularisation of

⁵³ See footnote 5.

⁵⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 33^v: ‘In the year of our Lord 1495 I became prioress. The Espach sister gave me a chest in which there were thirteen books, large and small, five bound and eight in leather’ (‘Item anno domini in cccc lxxxv vf dnici ward ich priory die von espach gab mir ein laden do woren in xiii bücher klein vnd gros v in gebunden viii in leder gehefft’). The library catalogue from the convent indicates that the abbess had her own books as well (fol. 40^r): ‘These [books] belong in the abbess’s house’ (‘Diss hoert in unser frowen der eptissin hus’).

⁵⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 8^r-14^v, contains 52 instructions on various aspects of convent life, from recipes to purchases and was written by one scribe during the 1480s; fols. 1^v-7^r and 41^r-48^r was written in the sixteenth century and contains entries until 1519.

⁵⁶ The convent produced a number of cartularies (*Kopialbücher*) including Karlsruhe, GLA, 66/3205 (a *Zinsberain* which recorded entries in the late 1490s and early sixteenth century), 66/3206 (a list of all the pigs which the convent received dating from 1478), 66/3123 (a *Zinsberain* for villagers in Günterstal from 1474) and 67/639 (copies of records from the convent archives, primarily appanages, with entries from 1273 until 1491). Later records include 66/3126 (a *Berain* for the village of Waltershofen from 1542), 66/3211 and 66/3214 (copies of records from 1374 to 1580 by the notary Caspar Burgknecht, on the request of the convent’s abbess, Maria Störin von Störenberg). On pragmatic literacy see Sabine Klapp, ‘Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit in Straßburger Frauenklöstern des späten Mittelalters’, in Stephan Mossmann, Nigel F. Palmer & Felix Heinzer, eds, *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*, Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 213-28.

⁵⁷ Wil (Kanton St Gallen), Klosterarchiv St Katharina, ohne Sign., the ‘Klosterchronik’ from the Dominican convent of St Katherine’s in St Gallen, kept between 1481 and 1528, similarly records library catalogues alongside the number of spoons in the convent kitchen. On the need to bring together the economic and religious lives of Cistercians see Werner Rösener, ‘Spiritualität und Ökonomie im Spannungsfeld der zisterziensischen Lebensform’, *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 34 (1983): 245-74.

⁵⁸ Karlsruhe; GLA, 65/247, fols. 38^v-40^r. The list has been edited by Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz. Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, vol. 1 (repr. Munich: Beck, 1969), pp. 150-2.

the convent in 1806.⁵⁹ Whilst the surviving manuscripts only offer therefore a relatively small sample of what must have been in the convent at any one time, they are nevertheless a significant body of sources which have not been analysed. Ernst Dreher's general history of the convent from its foundation to secularisation, Yu-Kyong Kim's reliable economic history of the convent in the Middle Ages and Ulrike Denne's study of the social history of the convent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries all draw exclusively on archival, and not library, sources.⁶⁰ 793 records from the convent, from its foundation to secularisation, are held in the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe.⁶¹ Alongside a number of charters, the collection holds a number of visitation records from the convent from across the sixteenth century.⁶²

The Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe holds a number of liturgical manuscripts believed to have a Günterstal provenance, based on stylistic reasons, ownership marks and an unusual rhyme form in the office of Corpus Christi⁶³:

- Codex Günterstal 1, Antiphonary, c. 1300.
- Codex Günterstal 2, Processional, c. 1600.
- Codex Günterstal 3, Processional, second half sixteenth century.
- Codex Günterstal 4, Hymnal, first half fourteenth century.
- Codex Günterstal 5, Breviary (winter section), first half fourteenth century.
- Codex Günterstal 6, Hymnal and Processional, fifteenth century.
- Codex Günterstal 7, Diurnal, beginning of fourteenth century, with fifteenth century additions.
- Codex Günterstal 8, Ferial Psalter, first half thirteenth century.
- Codex Günterstal 9, Diurnal, c. 1300.
- Codex Günterstal 10, Processional and Ritual, fourteenth century.

⁵⁹ Armin Schlechter, *Die kleinen Provenienzen*, Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 68-9.

⁶⁰ Dreher, *Günterstal. Seine Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Klostersauflösung*; Kim, *Grundherrschaft*; Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau*.

⁶¹ With the signature 23 Günterstal. See Hansmartin Schwarzmaier & Gabriele Wüst, eds, *Die Bestände des Generallandesarchivs Karlsruhe, Teil 2, Urkundenbestände (1-45)*, Veröffentlichungen der staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg 39/2 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996), pp. 179-82. By way of comparison 1,286 records survive from the nearby Cistercian monastery of Tennenbach and 524 from the convent of Wonnental (pp. 183-8).

⁶² Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/69 (22 September 1516); 23/115 (11 October 1573); 23/70 (25 November 1573; 18 May 1593; 3 December 1599).

⁶³ On these holdings see Armin Schlechter, *Die kleinen Provenienzen*, Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 68-78, 207-35; on the later history of the St. Peter manuscripts see Felix Heinzer, 'Die Handschriften der Bibliothek von St. Peter im Schwarzwald. Ein Zeugnis der 'Klosteraufklärung' am Oberrhein', in Kurt Andermann (ed.), *Historiographie am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Oberrheinische Studien 7 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1988), 331-46 (p. 340) and Felix Heinzer, 'Die Inkunabeln der ehemaligen Klosterbibliothek von St. Peter im Schwarzwald in der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 18 (1984): 1-46.

- Codex Güntersthal 13, Printed Psalter with manuscript additions from late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
- Codex Güntersthal 16, Processional, 1629.
- Codex Güntersthal 17, Processional, c. 1630.
- Codex St. Georgen 5, Antiphonary, c. 1300.

In addition the library holds certain non-liturgical manuscripts from the convent:

- Codex Güntersthal 15, Rule of Benedict (German), c. 1526.
- Codex St. Peter pap. 27, Alsatian Golden Legend (*Elsässische Legenda Aurea*), from the Cistercian convent of Wonnental and given to the Günterstal nun and future abbess Maria Stör von Störenberg at some point after 1560.
- Codex St. Peter pap. 29, Allan of Lille's *Distinctiones dictionum theologialium*, 1490, written for Günterstal's abbess Agnes von Tüsslingen.

A number of early printed books are also held in the library's collection:

- Dd 195, Thomas à Kempis's *Die wahre Nachfolgung Christi* (a German translation of the *Imitatio Christi*) (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1486).
- De 11,2, *Biblia* (German) (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1485).
- Df 270, *Mammotrectus super Bibliam* (Strasbourg: Martin Flach, 1487).
- Pc 208, *Gesta Romanorum* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1488).

In addition to the manuscripts which came to Karlsruhe following the convent's secularisation, survivals can be found in other libraries in the region. Between 1779 and 1782 the Ebringen parish priest, Gall Metzler, acquired a number of manuscripts from the convent for the Stiftsbibliothek in St Gall:

- Cod. Sang. 1140-42: three mid-fifteenth century volumes of a lectionary for the months of August to October, comprising over 2000 pages of material.
- Cod. Sang. 1156, a collection of sermons from the mid-fifteenth century.
- Cod. Sang. 1343: a German translation of the Cistercian *Liber Usuum*.
- Cod. Sang. 1344: statutes of the Cistercian order from the first decade of the sixteenth century.
- Cod. Sang. 1345: statutes of the Cistercian order, translated by the Freiburg university professor, Jodocus Lorichius, for the nuns in 1583.

The final manuscript formed part of a wider pattern of exchange between Lorichius and the Günterstal nuns towards the end of the sixteenth century. A number of printed books in Freiburg's university library contain printed and handwritten dedications from Lorichius for Günterstal sisters:

- K 2161, r: *Von Artickeln Christlichen Glaubens S. Augustini etc.* (Cologne: Cholinus 1582).
- K 4209, d: *S. Bernards Des Heiligen Hochgelehrten Abtts zu Clarevall: Christliche Geistliche Predigen etc.* (Cologne: Cholinus, 1581).
- M 3742, d: *Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1598), contained a dedication from Lorichius but was written by Johann Schuttenheimer, a former Freiburg parish priest.
- N 8836, c: *Weltlicher eytelkait Verachtung* (Cologne: Johann Quentel: 1586).
- N 9528, 1/2: *Christlicher Laienspiegel* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1593).

The university library also holds one manuscript from the convent:

- Codex 37, Processional, 1611, written for Günterstal's abbess Anna von Hagenbach (1596-1616).

Finally the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich holds one manuscript with a Günterstal provenance:

- Codex C 157 (808), Glossed Pauline Epistles, thirteenth century.

The written word only tells part of the story and this thesis also draws on the material culture of the convent, including survivals from an archaeological dig⁶⁴ and objects in Freiburg's Augustinermuseum.⁶⁵

Although not as large in scope as other convent libraries, the Günterstal collection offers particular clusters of holdings which offer insights into various aspects of the nuns' lives: liturgical manuscripts; rules; prescriptive literature; readings for table and devotional works. Moreover, unlike other studies which focus exclusively on nuns' writing or on the perspective of visitation records, this study aims to merge a broad range of sources, above all to integrate archival and library holdings and see them as part of the same convent history. Whilst it was important that the nuns wrote records themselves such as the notebook between 1480 and 1519, the periods when the nuns were not writing such records were no less significant in the convent's history but rather offer a different perspective and underline changing circumstances. To look solely at nuns' writing, for example, risks wearing rose-tinted spectacles and adopting an overly positive view of a convent's history. The fact that this sort of writing stopped in the

⁶⁴ Heiko Wagner, 'Fundbericht: Kloster Günterstal', TK 8013 Freiburg i. Br.-SO-DGK (21 May 2005) which was available in the Landesdenkmalamt in Freiburg.

⁶⁵ Städt. Museen Freiburg i. Br., eds, *Kunstepochen der Stadt Freiburg. Augustinermuseum Freiburg. Ausstellung zur 850-Jahrfeier* (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach & Co., 1970), pp. 167-74.

1520s was surely significant and suggests a changed set of circumstances within the convent as the nuns no longer reflected on their lives.

This thesis also draws on surviving evidence from other Cistercian houses in the region and convents of the other orders in Freiburg, as both a comparison with Günterstal but also to complement and contextualise the findings from that convent. The Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal offers a particularly rich point of comparison given that it was not secularised in the nineteenth century: 144 manuscripts alone survive in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, a collection far more extensive in scope in comparison to Günterstal and more representative of what was read in a Cistercian convent in the period and region.⁶⁶ In addition, comparisons can be made with the far smaller set of survivals (seventeen manuscripts) from the Cistercian convent of Wonnental.⁶⁷ The collection of archival sources, manuscripts and objects from Freiburg's Dominican convents also offer a useful point of comparison.⁶⁸

In addition this thesis aims to make thematic connections with other convents and wider society. In particular, it contrasts the specific written culture of convents such as Günterstal with the broader, rhetorical claims of evangelical reformers who painted such a critical view of convents in the period. The aim of this approach is to contrast such criticism with the realities on the ground and to place the specific findings from Günterstal within broader changes within society. Although it cannot be proved that such writing was read by the Günterstal nuns, it was nevertheless indicative of a general shift in mood as the very basis of convent identity was held up to scrutiny.

The reasons why entries in the Günterstal notebook came to a halt in 1519 remain unclear, but may have been linked to a plague which devastated the town. In four months alone, for instance, fifteen sisters died in the convent of the Poor Clares in Freiburg.⁶⁹ It was also from around this point that new questions about the role of convents began to be raised. Freiburg remained Catholic during the Reformation and in his article, 'Why was there no Reformation in Freiburg', Tom Scott identifies the presence of the convents as one of three factors – alongside the town's ties with the Habsburgs and the foundation of the university – behind the town's

⁶⁶ Felix Heinzer and Gerhard Stamm, *Die Handschriften von Lichtenthal* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1987).

⁶⁷ Schlechter, *Die kleinen Provenienzen*, pp. 342-83.

⁶⁸ See Bock, et al., *Bestandskataloge der weltlichen Ortsstiftungen der Stadt Freiburg*, vol. 1. The Stadtarchiv holds a significant number of prayerbooks from the convents, with the signature E1.

⁶⁹ GLA Karlsruhe, 65/217, 'Gedenkbuch der Klarissen Freiburg', fol. 6^v: 'Im Jar als man zalt 1519 ward ain grosser sterbent alhie in der stat Freÿburg...do fieng es beÿ vnß an, vnnd starben in 4 monat funffzehen schwestern.'

decision to hold onto the old faith. In Scott's eyes, tensions between convents and city council reached a peak in the late 1490s, which centred on the high density of untaxable property which the convents owned within the town.⁷⁰ The fact that these tensions were defused during the early sixteenth century helped to create a more harmonious disposition towards the convents at the time when their very existence would come under attack during the Reformation. However, tension continued to exist between Freiburg, the town council and other convents, primarily in arguments over land and forestry rights in the years leading up to the Reformation, which came to a head during the outbreak of the Peasants' War (1524-5), so that Scott's thesis on a more harmonious relationship can be questioned. Moreover, it was in the town's convents that Lutheran ideas began to seep in. The town council in the 1520s became increasingly worried about the presence of confessors sympathetic to the Lutheran cause in the Dominican convents of Adelhausen and St. Agnes's and in the convent of the Poor Clares. This could result in dramatic life changes for individuals: in 1526 Adelhausen's bursar (*Schaffnerin*) left the convent for evangelical Strasbourg. The town council were quick to try and suppress this threat.⁷¹ More broadly, a number of evangelical reformers were educated in Freiburg before switching to the new faith, including Jakob Strauß and Matthäus Zell, whilst people such as Michael Sattler, Prior of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter im Schwarzwald, with whom Günterstal had a longstanding connection, left his monastery in May 1525 and became a prominent Anabaptist.⁷²

Although there is no direct evidence that Lutheran confessors had infiltrated Günterstal, the effects of the Reformation, and in particular of the Peasants' War, were widely felt in the convent. Indeed, 1525 marked a changing point in its fortunes as local and national events came

⁷⁰ Scott, 'Why was there no Reformation in Freiburg im Breisgau?', pp. 148-57. In August 1479, for example, Archduke Sigismund's *Landvogt* in Outer Austria wrote to the convents complaining of the 'noticeable decline of the houses and buildings in Freiburg' ('den merglichen abgang der hüser vnd buw zuo Fryburg'), perceived to be caused by the lack of taxable income from the monastic houses: Heinrich Schreiber (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2 part 1 (Freiburg i. Br.: Herderische Kunst- und Buchhandlung, 1828), p. 560.

⁷¹ StaFr, B5 XI Missiven 12, (9 October 1523), fol. 152^r, a letter from the town council to the provincial of the Dominican order concerning St Agnes's, feared 'das die frawen im selben gotzhüss diser zeit eins getrüwen bichtvatters manglen' and to prevent 'ein anfang manilerley irrung erwachsen' they asked for the order to provide 'mit getrüwen bichtvettern' who were 'nit befleckt' by Lutheran ideas. StaFr, B5 XI Missiven 13, fols. 97^v-98^r, was written to the Franciscan provincial chapter in Tübingen concerning St Clara's and recorded similarly concerns that the convent 'mit gemainer yetzigen lütischer ler befleckt. dadurch sie dann in iren seelen vnd leib gearlicheit fallen mochen.' Petra Rohde, 'Die Freiburger Klöster zwischen Reformation und Auflösung', in Haumann and Schadek, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2, 418-45 (p. 432) notes a similar phenomenon in Adelhausen. The town council railed against the presence of Lutheran inspired confessors in both 1523 and 1527.

⁷² C. Arnold Synder, *The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler*, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History 26 (Scottsdale, Pa.; Kitchener, On.: Herald Press, 1984), pp. 36-40.

together: it was in this year that Agnes von Tüsslingen, who had served as abbess from 1486, except for a four-year hiatus between 1504 and 1508, died in Freiburg, forced to flee from the convent when it was attacked by peasants.⁷³ Günterstal fared better than neighbouring houses: the nearby Cistercian convent of Wonnental in Kenzingen was destroyed during the outbreak and the community reduced to just a single nun by 1573.⁷⁴ Tennenbach, the father monastery of both Günterstal and Wonnental, was raised to the ground during the war, the monks were forced to flee to Freiburg and the monastery's survival only guaranteed by accepting Catholic exiles from the Cistercian monastery of Bebenhausen, where the Reformation had been introduced.⁷⁵ In 1556 the difficulties facing the monastery were compounded when the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, Charles II, made Lutheranism the official religion of his territory and as such Tennenbach became a Catholic enclave within the Margrave's lands. This complicated situation had a direct effect on the spiritual care of the nuns, as Tennenbach was directly responsible for both Günterstal and Wonnental. In October 1573 the situation had become so unsustainable that the Günterstal nuns complained of the negligence of the Tennenbach monks in hearing confessions and distributing communion and this eventually led to Freiburg's friars being appointed confessors of the convent for a while.⁷⁶

Indeed, alongside the physical destruction of buildings and the loss of possessions, falling numbers was the most immediate result of the Reformation. Whilst in nearby Basle convents were closed, the effect in Freiburg was more gradual.⁷⁷ The number of professed sisters reduced in Günterstal from twenty-two in 1517 to just eight in 1573 as the convent failed to recruit new nuns. No profession records survive, for instance, from between 1520 and 1542. The reasons behind this gap cannot solely be explained by survival rates.⁷⁸ The situation in Günterstal mirrored wider changes within the Order as the number of Cistercian women's houses in Europe dropped from 255 in 1500 to 150 in 1555, and the number of nuns halved in the same period from over 15,000 to 7,500.⁷⁹ This must have had a profound effect on what it meant to

⁷³ Dreher, 'Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Günterstal', pp. 25-9.

⁷⁴ Postina, 'Geschichte der Cistercienserklöster des 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland', p. 237.

⁷⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 24/5 (21 March 1530) records the case, for example, of Brother Christoph Sutter leaving the monastery.

⁷⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/6 (11 October 1573).

⁷⁷ Emil A. Erdin: *Das Kloster der Reuerinnen Sancta Maria Magdalena an den Steinen zu Basel: von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation, (ca. 1230–1529)* (Fribourg: Paulusdruckerei, 1956).

⁷⁸ Twenty-seven oaths on entry to the convent survive from the convent, dating from the early fifteenth to late sixteenth centuries: Erzbischöfliches Archiv Freiburg im Breisgau, UH 516, Nos. 1-27.

⁷⁹ Manfred Eder, 'Die Zisterzienserinnen', in Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Elisabeth Schwertdtfeger, eds, *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und katholischer Reform 1500-1700*, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* 65, vol. 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 99-124 (p. 99).

live in such an environment, as the nuns' prayers in the choir, for example, must have resonated less and the nuns more generally were living in a set of buildings in which there were far fewer inhabitants.

More broadly, it led to concerns in the period about the need to recruit more widely from beyond the convent's traditional social base. One of the central disagreements in the period lay in the need to raise numbers, whilst simultaneously maintaining the traditional social profile of the convent. A decision over whether to enter the convent or not could even split families. In 1537 the Dominican convent of St. Nicholas in undis in Strasbourg accepted the patrician Andreas Röder's daughter and her two cousins into the cloister without his permission. Andreas had wanted to send his relatives to Günterstal and tried to remove them, but the Strasbourg nuns refused to let them go.⁸⁰

The transfer of nuns from one convent to another was not unusual in the period and in 1520, for example, Anastasia and Petronelle von Reischach, blood sisters, left Günterstal to join Wonntental, before Anastasia was elected as Abbess of the abbey of Masevaux (Masmünster), west of Mulhouse, in 1523.⁸¹ The Reformation ushered in, however, a new era of movement between and out of convents. Significantly there is no direct evidence that Günterstal nuns left the convent to marry. But family members of nuns in Günterstal were prepared to make that decision. Aurelia von Mülheim, the sister of Veronica, abbess of Günterstal between 1504 and 1508, left her convent of St Mark's in Strasbourg and married Wolfgang Cün, a town citizen.⁸² The fact that Freiburg held onto the old faith was surely the major contributory factor for why more nuns did not leave. Yet, there was no denying that new conflicts emerged in this period as the convent increasingly became an institution under pressure. Margaretha Tegelin von Wangen's niece, Verena, was abbess of Günterstal from 1534, but was forced to leave the convent in 1540 and pensioned off, following a division within the convent which led to services being stopped. A group of nuns had rallied around Maria von Roggenbach, the prioress, and supported her election as abbess in opposition to Verena. The reasons behind the split remain unclear but seem to have been linked to the future direction of the convent. In 1538, precisely at the time the tensions in the convent began to emerge, Cordula von Krotzingen left Günterstal to become abbess of the canonesses of Andlau and attempted an

⁸⁰ Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 96.

⁸¹ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 3, p. 481; see StaFr, B1 186 Anniversar des Barfüßerklosters Freiburg, fol. 9^r.

⁸² Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 3 (Heidelberg: 1919), p. 133.

ultimately unsuccessful programme of reform. Verena was eventually forced out of Günterstal and returned to her family, before moving to be an administrator of the canonical foundation of Ottmarsheim in the Alsace, where her tombstone can still be seen.⁸³

The effect of the Reformation was also keenly felt in Freiburg's other convents. In 1530, for example, ten Poor Clares left confessional upheaval in Mulhouse and five in Basle to come to Freiburg and brought with them books, church decorations and relics.⁸⁴ Whilst other houses in Freiburg saw falling numbers, this was not the case for Freiburg's Poor Clares and the rise in numbers helped to contribute to the elevated status of the convent over the course of the sixteenth century. This was more pronounced because of the convent's location within the town walls, as opposed to lying some way outside, as was the case with Günterstal. Moreover, the movement of sisters to reform houses and fulfil needs elsewhere continued into the Counter-Reformation period. From 1570 until 1599 the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal near Baden-Baden was required to send sisters to other convents in the region in order to maintain numbers in those communities.⁸⁵ Convents were by no means static institutions.

Alongside the fall in numbers and the attack of the convent in the Peasants' War, there were other signs of a changing spiritual landscape. Books are no longer attested as having been added to the convent's collection⁸⁶, the convent necrology was no longer continued from the 1530s⁸⁷, entries to the Rosary Fraternity of the Freiburg Dominican Monastery, of which Günterstal was a member, became sporadic after 1520 and only continued by the town's Poor Clares⁸⁸ and

⁸³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/114 (1 October 1540).

⁸⁴ Joseph Ludolph Wohleb, 'Beiträge zur Baugeschichte des Klosters St. Klara in der Predigervorstadt in Freiburg', *Schau-ins-Land* 72 (1954): 49-56 (p. 51).

⁸⁵ In 1570 a group of sisters was sent to the former Benedictine convent of Friedenweiler, which had laid empty since 1561. Sisters were also sent in 1573 to Maria Hof in Neudingen and in 1593 to Olsberg. Between 1588 and 1598 Wonnenthal's three abbesses all came from Lichtenthal: Maria Pia Schindele, 'Das Kloster Lichtenthal vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert' in Siebenmorgen et al., *750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal*, 129-35 (p. 130).

⁸⁶ A gap exists between Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Günthersthal 15, a German *Rule of St Benedict*, which was written in 1526 and Karlsruhe, BLB, Dp 312, a printed copy of Otto von Passau's *24 Alten* which contains an entry mark from 1549. On the approach of using the history of the library to reflect the wider history of the convent, see Felix Heinzer, 'Lichtenthaler Bibliotheksgeschichte als Spiegel der Klostergeschichte', *ZGO* 136 / N.F. 97 (1988): 35-62.

⁸⁷ 'Necrologium Günterstalense', in Franz Ludwig Baumann (ed.), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1888), 296-309. Baumann was working on a copy of the original (now lost) manuscript, made by the Benedictine monks of St Peter im Schwarzwald, Anton Engist and Gregor Baumeister. See Felicitas Stampfer, 'Das Zisterzienserinnenkloster Günterstal im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Eine Sozialgeschichtliche Analyse', (Magisterarbeit, Freiburg i. Br., 2004).

⁸⁸ The 2500 members of the fraternity are listed in Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 10; see Jan Gerchow, 'Bruderschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg i. Br.', *FDA* 113 (1993): 5-74 (pp. 24-31). Fols. 49^r (1540, 1596) and 53^v (1574) include later entries by Freiburg's Poor Clares. In 1598 the Cistercian monks of Tennenbach, Günterstal's father monastery, added the final entry (fol. 54^v).

donations for Masses for the Dead dried up.⁸⁹ Moreover, evangelical ideas were never far away as neighbouring villages to Günterstal, such as Haslach, Opfingen and Tiengen, became evangelical following the conversion of the margrave of Baden-Durlach in 1556.

The continual updating of the Freiburg fraternity well into the sixteenth century reflected a wider Counter-Reformation phenomenon of attempting to revitalise a lost convent past. In Günterstal, this significantly developed outside of the formal *cura animarum* relationship, but through the developing relationship with Lorichius, the Freiburg university professor. Between 1581 and 1598, Lorichius provided abbess Maria, and her successor Anna von Hagenbach, with a stream of printed books and manuscripts on what it meant to lead a correct convent life.⁹⁰ Drawing primarily on pre-Reformation material, in some cases translated into German for the first time, Lorichius presented the nuns with an idealised view of convent life. This sort of literature was widespread in the fifteenth century, and Lorichius drew on this tradition, but it had found its way into Günterstal in the latter half of the sixteenth century with a new force. Lorichius's writings therefore, alongside more frequent and more detailed visitation reports, reflect the ever-increasing importance of control in the Counter-Reformation period, as the emphasis placed on enclosure, uniformity and correct liturgical practice reached a new peak. The nature and extent of the imposition of this newly-found emphasis on enclosure, the development of the relationship with a Freiburg university professor, and the increase in prescriptive literature all marked an important break from what had come before.

Anna von Hagenbach, a member of an influential Alsatian noble family⁹¹, reigned as abbess from 1594 until 1617 and her period of office acts as a useful timeframe for the end of this thesis: sufficiently removed in time to trace the effects of the Council of Trent on the convent. The following years were marked by increased confusion: in 1632 the nuns had to flee to Steckborn in Switzerland because of the Thirty Years War, eventually returning in 1633. Subsequently Weimar troops ransacked the convent in 1638 and French troops in 1677, which brought about an economic downturn. But the effects of the Thirty Years War cannot have been entirely negative as a Benedictine monk from Reichenau gave a relic of the holy blood of Christ to the convent for safekeeping, following an attack by Swedish troops on his monastery. The monk stayed in Günterstal as confessor and following his death the relic remained and

⁸⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA 23/4 (14 August 1521) is the last recorded instance: the nuns received a donation to pray for Hermann Berken and his family's souls at the Altar to the 10,000 Knights ('vff den zehentusent ritter altar').

⁹⁰ Cod. Sang. 1345, a German translation of the twelfth-century customary of the Cistercian order, the *Ecclesiastica Officia*. Wareham, "Wann du frommst / so wirst du nimmer trawrig", pp. 363-4.

⁹¹ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol.1, pp. 517-9.

became an important site of veneration as the convent slowly began to rebuild, before the Reichenau monks came to claim it back later in the eighteenth century. Indeed, over the course of the eighteenth century the economic foundations of the convent allowed it to flourish and between 1728 and 1730 the nuns built a new Baroque church designed by Peter Thumb. This only began to serve as the parish church for the village as late as 1787. The period also witnessed the purchase of a number of books and manuscripts. Abbot Philipp Jakob Steyrer (1749-1795) of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter im Schwarzwald purchased a series of manuscripts from Günterstal for his library in 1753 and Gall Metzler (1743-1820), the parish priest of Ebringen, did likewise between 1779 and 1782. On 3 February 1806 the convent was closed as part of a wider programme of secularisation in South West Germany and the twelve remaining inhabitants pensioned off. The buildings became a textile factory and subsequently a brewery but a large fire in 1829 necessitated largescale rebuilding works. The church was rebuilt for the parish and still serves it today, whilst the rest of the convent's buildings became Freiburg's orphanage.⁹² They now serve as boarding accommodation for the town's French *lycée*, a nursery and a school for children with learning disabilities. In 1927 a Benedictine congregation purchased an ornate Tuscan villa in Günterstal from a bankrupt Freiburg businessman, and converted it into a community dedicated to St Lioba. Edith Stein, who had come to Günterstal because of her close connection to the philosopher Edmund Husserl, a resident of the village, lived in this community between 1931 and 1932, and wrote of this 'withdrawn paradise' ('verschlossenes Paradies').⁹³

This study does not claim that Günterstal was representative of all convents but rather suggests that we must be attuned to local circumstance and understand the variety of convent experience in the period. By looking in depth at a convent such as Günterstal, this thesis aims to make contributions to current research on the pre-Reformation, Reformation and Counter-Reformation periods. First, Günterstal was not reformed during the fifteenth century. Whilst three of Freiburg's Dominicans were enclosed and reformed on the same day in 1465 as part of the coordinated and widespread Observance movement, no such reforming programme existed for the Cistercians. In 1426, the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order decreed the 'reformation' of the convent of Lichtenthal, near Baden-Baden, and called upon the abbots of

⁹² Dreher, *Günterstal*, pp. 73-203.

⁹³ Hugo Ott, 'Edith Stein (1891-1942) und Freiburg. Ein Beitrag anlässlich der Seligsprechung am 1. Mai 1987', *FDA* 107 (1987): 253-74.

Lucelle, Maulbronn and Herrenalb to enact change ‘in head and in members.’⁹⁴ This reform has been held up as the decisive reason for the flourishing of writing activity in the mid-fifteenth-century in the convent.⁹⁵ This remained, however, very much an isolated example and any notion of Cistercian reform in the period cannot be held in the same breath as the Dominican Observance movement.

Indeed, within the current literature, the reform movement in convents has come to be seen as a catch-all, the deciding factor in female agency of the period: in female writing activity⁹⁶, in the writing of history⁹⁷, in music and liturgy⁹⁸, in material culture⁹⁹, in visual culture¹⁰⁰ and in responses to the Reformation.¹⁰¹ The result of stricter enclosure, so it is argued, was not negative but rather resulted in a period of sustained cultural activity. This thesis does not deny that this movement had a crucial role to play, but shows how this cultural activity was not

⁹⁴ Joseph M. Canivez & A. Trilhe (ed.), *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol. 4 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1936), 1426, no. 32, p. 304: ‘Reformationem monasterii monialium Lucidaevallis, in quo regulares observantiae, prout generalis Capituli pervenit ad aures, pene penitus ruinantur, in risum populi, Ordinis irreverentiam et scandalum plurimorum, de Lutzela, de Malembum et de Alba monasteriorum abbatibus et eorum duobus in casu quo tres simul in praesenti negotio vacare non possent, committit idem Capitulum cum omnimoda potestate ipsius Capituli et suis clausulis opportunis et rationalibus, tam in capite quam in membris requitis.’ On its reform see Pia Schindele, ‘Die Abtei Lichtenthal (I)’, *FDA* 104 (1984): 19-166 (pp. 124-5).

⁹⁵ Astrid Breith, *Textaneignung: das Frauenlegendar der Lichtenthaler Schreibmeisterin Schwester Regula* (Münster; New York: Waxmann, 2010).

⁹⁶ This thesis was first posited by Werner Williams-Krapp, ‘Ordensreform und Literatur im 15. Jahrhundert’, *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 4 (1986/7): 41-51 and has been taken up by scholars such as Antje Willing, *Literatur und Ordensreform im 15. Jahrhundert. Deutsche Abendmahlsschriften im Nürnberger Katharinenkloster*, Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit 4 (Münster; New York: Waxmann, 2004).

⁹⁷ Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*; Heike Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten, Monastische Reformen des späten Mittelalters in den Vorstellungen von Klosterfrauen*, Religion in der Geschichte, Kirche, Kultur und Gesellschaft 14 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008), Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*. From a male perspective: Constance Proksch, *Klosterreform und Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994).

⁹⁸ Claire Taylor Jones, ‘Rekindling the Light of Faith: Hymn Translation and Spiritual Renewal in the fifteenth-century Observant Reform’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42/3 (2012): 567-96; Joachim Angerer, *Die liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung der Melker Reform. Studien zur Erforschung der Musikpraxis in den Benediktinerklöstern des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikforschung 15; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 287,5 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974).

⁹⁹ Gudrun Gleba, *Reformpraxis und materielle Kultur. Westfälische Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter*, Historische Studien 462 (Husum: Matthiesen, 2000).

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Lentès, ‘Bild, Reform und cura monialium. Bildverständnis und Bildgebrauch im Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens des Johannes Meyer (†1485)’, in Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, ed., *Dominicains et dominicaines en Alsace XIIIe-Xxe siecle. Actes du colloque de Guebwiller 8-9 avril 1994* (Colmar: Conseil général du Haut Rhin, 1996), 177-95.

¹⁰¹ Steinke, *Paradiesgarten oder Gefängnis?*; Berndt Hamm, ‘Von der spätmittelalterlichen reformatio zur Reformation: Der Prozeß normativer Zentrierung von Religion und Gesellschaft in Deutschland’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 84 (1993): 256-93; Merry E. Wiesner, ‘Ideology meets the Empire: Reformed Convents and the Reformation’ in Andrew C. Fix and Susan Karant-Nunn, eds, *Germania Illustrata. Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 181-95.

unique to reformed convents: Günterstal nuns must have read many of the same texts as reformed convents did and taken part in the same communal, spiritual practices, for instance. Recent case studies have begun to show this.¹⁰² Reformed convents represented only one form of monastic life in the period and it is important that conditions within these convents do not come to be seen as representative of the wider situation.¹⁰³ As Immo Eberl has observed, there is a danger that the scholarship has one-sidedly taken up the perspective of the reformers.¹⁰⁴

In Reformation research, Günterstal provides an interesting case-study as Freiburg remained Catholic. The attention given to convents which closed and the nuns who left and those which survived in Protestant areas as *Damenstifte* risks masking the developments in convents which remained in established Catholic areas.¹⁰⁵ The Peasants' War had a profound effect on monastic houses in the region as physical destruction left monks and nuns without a home. In addition, even in an ostensibly Catholic area, the Reformation could have a real impact in different areas of convent life and bring about longer-term changes, as in the social profile of convents, its spiritual practices and its relation with the outside world. It is important not to forget the literary, spiritual and cultural changes which the Reformation helped to usher in. In turn, this thesis does not simply provide a much-needed context for understanding the changes which the Counter-Reformation brought about, but focusses on a convent of one of the old orders, the

¹⁰² Johanna Thali, *Beten – Schreiben – Lesen. Literarisches Leben und Marienspiritualität im Kloster Engelthal*, Bibliotheca Germanica 42 (Tübingen; Basel: A. Francke, 2003); Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*.

¹⁰³ On the variety of forms of cloistered life on the eve of the Reformation see Sigrid Hirbodian, “‘Töchter der Stadt’ oder Fremde? Geistliche Frauen im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg zwischen Einbindung und Absonderung”, in Geschichtsverein Markgräflerland e. V. (ed.), *Kloster und Stadt am südlichen Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Das Markgräflerland 2 (Schopfheim: 2011), 52-70.

¹⁰⁴ Immo Eberl, ‘Stiftisches Leben in Klöstern. Zur Regeltreue im klösterlichen Alltag des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit’, in Irene Crusius (ed.), *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 167; Studien zur Germania Sacra 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 275-315, (p. 275); Sabine Klapp, ‘Die “Äbtissinnenrechnungen” des Klosters St. Klara auf dem Werth. Alltag und Festtag einer geistlichen Frauengemeinschaft Straßburgs am Ausgang des Mittelalters’, *ZGO* 159 (2011): 211-48 (p. 248); Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten*, p. 13 who notes that ‘die nicht-reformierten Konvente hat die Forschung bei aller Begeisterung für die Observanzbewegungen, bislang stiefmütterlich behandelt’, before proceeding to focus on reformed convents once again.

¹⁰⁵ Leonard, ‘Female Religious Orders’, pp. 244-8; Anna Sauerbrey, *Die Straßburger Klöster im 16. Jahrhundert. Eine Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschlechtergeschichte*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); Barbara Henze, ‘Orden und ihre Klöster in der Umbruchszeit der Konfessionalisierung’ in Anton Schindling and Walter Zeigler, eds, *Die Territorien des Reiches im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500-1650*, Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 57, vol. 7 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1997), 91-105, who encourages the need to think about the changes in convents in terms of power and piety; Gisela Muschol, “‘Ein jammervolles Schauspiel...?’ Frauenklöster im Zeitalter der Reformation’, in Sigrid Schmitt (ed.), *Frauen und Kirche*, Mainzer Vorträge 6 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 2002), 95-114.

Cistercians.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the relatively late arrival of the Jesuits into Freiburg in 1620 encourages us to think about the onset of the Counter-Reformation without focusing exclusively on the new order.

*

This thesis is structured around the description of the Last Rites of Beatrix von Blumenegg in the Günterstal notebook. The practice of the Last Rites made use of the senses. Aristotelian thought, drawing on his *De Anima*, considered the senses essential in explaining human perception. Aristotle's fundamental question was how sense data – received in the external sense organs of the eyes (sight), ears (sound), nose (smell), mouth (taste) and hands and feet (touch) – become something which the mind could work with. The human soul had the capability to gather this data from the five senses in a single perception, known as the *Sensus Communis*. Common sense was defined as one of the internal senses which also included the imaginative, the estimative and the memorative. The process of cognition occurred when the *imaginatio* composed images from the sensory data, which could be acted upon by the faculty of the estimative. In turn, the memory was a storehouse of these processed images which could be recalled to reason.¹⁰⁷ Such ideas held sway throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, until new theories of common sense developed with René Descartes (1596-1650). In 1503, for example, the Freiburg Carthusian, Gregor Reisch, published his *Philosophical Pearl* (*Margarita Philosophica*), which would be republished at least twelve times during the course of the sixteenth century, and which provided summaries of Aristotelian sensory theories.¹⁰⁸ Figure 2 illustrates the process of rational activity within the sensory soul.

¹⁰⁶ Muschiol, 'Die Reformation', pp. 186-87. On the new orders see Anne Conrad, *Zwischen Kloster und Welt: Ursulinen und Jesuitinnen in der katholischen Reformbewegung des 16./17. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz: Zabern, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 92; Patricia Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 96;

¹⁰⁸ Andrew Cunningham and Sachiko Kusukawa, trans. and eds., *Natural Philosophy Epitomised. A Translation of Books 8-11 of Gregor Reisch's Philosophical Pearl (1503)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 205.

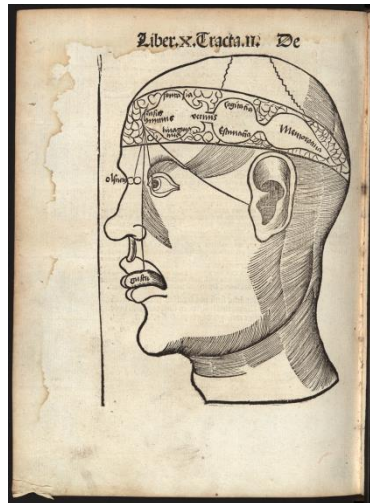


Fig. 1: Gregor Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Basel: 1517), sig. avii^r, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, VD 16 R 1040, is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Recent work on the cultural history of the senses has sought to understand the central role which senses played in the development of cultural practice in the Middle Ages and Early Modern periods.¹⁰⁹ In particular historians have sought to reconstruct the sensory environments, both physical and discursive, in which humans experienced and structured their perceptions. The senses were socially and culturally constructed: by language, by cultural practice, by belief and by power relations.¹¹⁰ One aim of this thesis is to trace the changing sensory environment of a convent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As the description of Beatrix's dying moments made clear, the senses were absolutely crucial for the practice of the liturgy.¹¹¹ The sensory experience of liturgy aimed to evoke all the senses in a concept known as 'synaesthesia', or joint perception, as a sensation in one of the senses triggered a sensation in another.¹¹² As Saint Paul stressed: 'And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you (1 Cor. 12:21).' The senses were interconnected and were involved both passively – as the nun saw, heard and smelt what was around her – and actively as she participated directly in the liturgy. The sensory was crucial in the ceremony surrounding Beatrix's death in the infirmary: the nuns

¹⁰⁹ See Richard G. Newhauser, 'Introduction: The Sensual Middle Ages', in Newhauser (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages* (London etc.: Bloomsbury, 2014), 1-22 (p. 1).

¹¹⁰ Wietse de Boer, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Senses' in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 225-36.

¹¹¹ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Paradoxes of the Senses', in Stephen G. Nichols, Andreas Kahlitz and Alison Calhoun, eds, *Rethinking the Medieval Senses. Heritage, Fascinations, Frames* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 186-93 (pp. 187-8).

¹¹² Caseau, 'The Senses in Religion', pp. 91, 95; Herman Roodenburg, 'Introduction: Entering the Sensory Worlds of the Renaissance', in Herman Roodenburg (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, Cultural History of the Senses 3 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 1-17 (p. 6).

had to carry in candles and they were required to sing and speak alongside the ringing of bells whilst Beatrix had oil pressed onto the different parts of her body, consumed the bread and wine, and kissed the crucifix held before her eyes.

But at the same time there was a striking contrast between the richness of this sensory experience and insistence on the need to control the senses.¹¹³ The nun was to shun the sensory temptations of the outside world, to renounce the pleasures of the senses and to use her senses to discern vice from virtue. As Thomas à Kempis explained to his readers in the *Imitation of Christ (Imitatio Christi)*, a printed copy of which the Günterstal nuns owned: ‘Blessed are the ears that listen to Truth teaching inwardly, and not to the voices of the world. Blessed are the eyes that are closed to outward things, but are open to inward things... Consider these things, O my soul, and shut fast the doors against the desires of the senses, that you may hear what the Lord your God speaks within you.’¹¹⁴ Crucially the nuns faced a triple danger from the devil, the world and the body which were constantly threatening to enter the nun’s soul through her five doors or senses and ‘wound me with their arrows, as if death was going through my windows, right up into my soul.’¹¹⁵

The physical barrier of enclosure, the question of who could enter and leave a convent, was a crucial line of defence against such threats, a particular issue for nuns and which was less of a concern in male houses.¹¹⁶ As the widely transmitted late thirteenth-century *Black Forest*

¹¹³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 121, fols. 320^v-321^r, a fifteenth century manuscript owned by the Benedictine nuns of Nonnberg in Salzburg, makes the paradox explicit: P. Eginio Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 10 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1965), 44-52 (p. 48): ‘Sehen / hören / chosten / riechen oder smekchen / und greiffen Dye hat uns got geben auswendig und ynwendig zeprauchen ym zu lob, uns zu hail und unserm nachsten zu guetem ebenbild. So prauchen wir sy laider dick mer wider got und die gerechtichait und wider unnser sel salichait zu unordenleichen gelüsten und manigveltiger eittelchait und ergernuß unsers nachsten.’

¹¹⁴ Karlsruhe, BLB, Dd 195, Thomas à Kempis, *Die wahre Nachfolgung Christi* (Augsburg, Anton Sorg, 1486), fols. 61^r: ‘Sa^elige seind sicher dÿe oren dÿ da aufmerckent ho^ren die warheit die da inwendig lert nit die stimm die außwendig do^enet. Sa^elig seind die augen die den inneren seind offen vnd den ausseren beschlossen... Diser ding nymm eben war mein sel vnnnd beschleuß die thür deiner sÿnnlicheÿt vmb das du mügest gehoeren was dein herr gott in ir red.’ The Karlsruhe copy contains a Günterstal ownership mark. On its transmission and reception in the medieval and early modern periods see Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Traditions of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

¹¹⁵ Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, K 4202: Christoph Grienewald, *Meditationes, das ist andechtige Betrachtungen zu erkandtnuß menschlicher Condition, eigenschafft und wesens, welchs genennt wirt: das Buch von der Seel* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1557), fol. 47^v: ‘Die welt die vmbgürt vnd besitzt mich allenthalben / auch durch die fünff thüren / namlichen durch die fünff sinn des leibs / als da ist / dz gesicht / geho^rr / geschmack / geruch / vnnnd angreiffung: sie verwundt mich mit iren pfeylen / alsdann so geht der todt durch meine fenster / biß auff mein seel hinein.’

¹¹⁶ Heike Uffmann, ‘Innen und Außen: Raum und Klausur in reformierten Nonnenklöstern des späten Mittelalters’, in Gabriela Signori (ed.), *Lesen, Schreiben, Sticken und Erinnern: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), 185-212.

Sermons (Schwarzwälder Predigten) noted: ‘But if you do not close the door of your five senses, so know that the grace of the holy spirit will never grow in the house of your heart.’¹¹⁷ The parallels in the space of the convent, a world of grilles, doors and high walls, and the language of the senses was no mere coincidence, as the tightening of enclosure brought with it a shared aim to control more strictly the sensory environment of the convent. In Günterstal enclosure was not as strictly enforced as in other convents: the nuns welcomed family members to meals; went on trips to the baths and regularly exchanged gifts with the outside world. In the later sixteenth century, however, attempts were made to impose a stricter separation from the world and enforce enclosure more tightly. The situation in the Middle Ages contrasted with Dominican houses which underwent Observant reform. The Dominican Johannes Meyer underscored this in his description of the life of Clara von Ostren, a founding member of the reformed Dominican convent of Schönsteinbach in the Alsace, who related how she enclosed herself metaphorically in a series of locked chambers: ‘I enclose myself every day in three locks: the first lock is the pure, clear, and maidenly heart of the noble Virgin Mary against all temptations of the evil spirit. The second lock is the good heart of our beloved Lord, Jesus Christ, against all temptation of the body...The third lock is the Holy Sepulchre, in which I hide myself with our Lord from the world and all harmful creatures.’¹¹⁸

This separation from the world extended to contemporary understandings of spirituality, as authors such as the Swabian Johannes Altenstaig (ca. 1480-1524), drawing on the Parisian theologian Jean Gerson (1363-1429), framed the spiritual in opposition to the carnal, as truly spiritual persons separated themselves from earthly affections.¹¹⁹ The spiritual life was seen in opposition to the material and sensual aspects of life. A tension between convent and world

¹¹⁷ Hans-Jochen Schiewer (ed.), *Die Schwarzwälder Predigten: Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonntags- und Heiligenpredigten: mit einer Musteredition* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), p. 362: ‘Jst aber dz du der tu^r. der fivnf sinne nit zû slivssest. So wiss. daz dir die genad dez heiligen geistes in dem hus dines herzen nimmer gewehset.’

¹¹⁸ Paulus V. Loë and Benedictus Maria Reichert, eds, *Johannes Meyer Ord. Praed. Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens. II, II und III Buch*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1909), p. 74: ‘Ich beschlüss mich alle tag in druy sloss: Daz erst sloss ist daz rayn, luter, megtlich hertz der edlen junckfrowen Marien für alle an vechtung des bösen gaistes. Daz II sloss ist daz gütig hertz users lieben heren Jesus Christus für alle an vechtung des libs...Daz III sloss ist daz hailig grab, da verbirg ich mich zû unserm heren vor der welt und vor allen schedlichen creaturen’; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists. The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1997), p. 159.

¹¹⁹ Jill Raitt, ‘Saints and Sinners: Roman Catholic and Protestant Spirituality in the Sixteenth Century’ in Jill Raitt (ed.), *Christian Spirituality. High Middle Ages and Reformation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 454-63 (pp. 454-6); Johannes Altenstaig, *Vocabularius theologie complectens vocabulorum descriptiones diffinitiones et significatus ad theologiam utilium: et alia quibus prudens et diligens lector multa abstrusa et obscura theologorum dicta et dissoluere poterit magno cum labore et diligentia compilata* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1517).

had always been at the heart of monastic life but this period witnessed unprecedented changes in this area as the boundaries between these two poles were challenged during the Reformation and then reaffirmed with new vigour in the later sixteenth century. Notions of spirituality were not fixed but constantly shifting.¹²⁰

The title of this thesis aims to explore the tension which existed in convent life between the nuns' spiritual lives, on the one hand, which was supposed to be separate from the world; and their everyday lives, on the other hand, which was directly connected with the world in a number of different areas.¹²¹ Indeed, a defining feature of the later Middle Ages was the way in which the nuns sought to give their daily lives spiritual meaning, such as using baking as a spiritual exercise and then distributing these baked goods into the outside world. For all that there was an ideal of the spiritual life being defined by its separation from the world, the reality was far more complex and these forms of spiritual exercise broke down binary categories.

The Reformation ushered in a new era, as evangelical reformers rejected the division between the convent and the world, undermined the regimented daily life of the nun and considered widespread convent spiritual practices as worthless or even a joke. Indeed, the senses have been recognised in the last two decades as an important route to understanding the changes which the Reformation brought about and have challenged the view that the Reformation was simply a change from an emphasis on the visual (made manifest by an object like a monstrance) to the auditory (emphasised by the role of the sermons).¹²² Scholars have adopted opposing views on the place of the senses in newly reformed communities, questioning whether the

¹²⁰ Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen Mangion, 'Introduction: Gender, Catholicism and Women's Spirituality over the *Longue Durée*', in Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen Mangion, eds, *Gender, Catholicism and Spirituality. Women and the Roman Catholic Church in Britain and Europe, 1200-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-18 (pp. 1-5).

¹²¹ On the everyday see Eugen Hillenbrand, 'Klösterlicher Alltag in oberrheinischen Städten', in Sönke Lorenz & Thomas Zotz, eds, *Spätmittelalter am Oberrhein. Alltag, Handwerk und Handel 1350-1525* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2001), 445-52; Andreas Wilts, 'Alltag und Sachkultur in spätmittelalterlichen Frauenzisterzen', in Harald Siebenmorgen, Rosemarie Stratmann-Döhler, Brigitte Herrbach-Schmidt and Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, eds, *750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal: Faszination eines Klosters. Ausstellung des Badischen Landesmuseum, 25. Februar bis 21. Mai 1995, Karlsruhe, Schloss* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995), 49-62.

¹²² On sound, for example, see Philip Hahn, 'The Reformation of the Soundscape: Bell ringing in early modern Lutheran Germany', *German History* 33/4 (2015): 525-45; on smell Jacob M. Baum, 'From Incense to Idolatry: The Reformation of Olfaction in Late Medieval German Ritual', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44/2 (2013): 323-44; on vision Robert W. Scribner, 'Perceptions of the Sacred in Germany at the End of the Middle Ages', in Robert W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 81 (Leiden; Boston; Cologne: Brill, 2001), 85-103; on touch Berndt Hamm, 'Gott berühren': *Mystische Erfahrung im ausgehenden Mittelalter. Zugleich in Beitrag zur Klärung des Mystiksbegriffs*, in Berndt Hamm and Volker Leppin, eds, *Gottes Nähe unmittelbar erfahren: Mystik im Mittelalter und bei Martin Luther* Spätmittelalter und Reformation, neue Reihe 36 (Tübingen: 2007), 111-37; more generally Neil Gregor and Bridget Heal, 'Forum: The Senses', *German History* 32/2 (2014): 256-73.

senses were dulled in more austere services¹²³ or in fact became direct channels of grace, as people tasted the bread and wine of the Eucharist, listened to sermons and were touched with baptismal water.¹²⁴ However, as Matthew Milner has argued with regard to the Reformation in England, reformers and their opponents both agreed that governance of the senses was essential, but could not agree on its form.¹²⁵

Nevertheless these debates do not address the particular sensory environment of the convent in which questions about the role of baptismal water, for instance, had far less of a role to play. The importance placed on enclosure – and the separation of the convent from the world – brought with it a whole set of unique sensory concerns and the issue of sensory control was heightened in the closed-off community of the convent. Above all, evangelical criticism of convent life centred on the blunting of the nun's senses, as criticism of silence, chastity and fasting were attacks on a specifically monastic way of controlling the senses. Previous studies on the senses in convents have not addressed the Reformation period and do not draw on the fundamental link between the senses and enclosure.¹²⁶ This thesis seeks to show how the control of certain senses was a dividing point when two divergent views emerged of the place of the convent in the world. Was the convent a garden of paradise and sensory delights, a place of virtuous, idealised living in which the nun was spiritually free but physically enclosed? Or was the convent a prison, a place where the senses were dulled and where the nun was trapped by

¹²³ Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) argues that the religious emotions were suppressed after the Reformation and that the contrast between the multi-sensorial late medieval mass and the austerity of the Lutheran service was crucial for this development.

¹²⁴ Thomas Kaufmann, 'Die Sinn- und Leiblichkeit der Heilsaneignung im späten Mittelalter und in der Reformation', in Johanna Haberer and Berndt Hamm, eds, *Medialität, Unmittelbarkeit, Präsenz: Die Nähe des Heils im Verständnis der Reformation, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 70* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 11-45.

¹²⁵ Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1-3; Matthew Milner, 'The Senses in Religion: Towards the Reformation of the Senses', in Herman Roodenburg (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, Cultural History of the Senses 3 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 87-105.

¹²⁶ Erika Lauren Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2009); Nicky Hallett, *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600-1800. Early Modern 'Convents of Pleasure'*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). One exception is Corine Schleif and Volker Schier, *Katerina's Windows: Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, as Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), pp. 401-63, who interpret the ransacking of the Bridgettine convent of Maria Mai in Maihingen in terms of sensory disruption of what had come before.

the burdens of a rule-based system and deprived of marriage which God had established for all women?¹²⁷

The division of the convent into these dual polarities was above all reinforced by the rhetoric of evangelical and Catholic reformers, as convents were painted in broad brush strokes as bastions of chastity and prayer in the eyes of some, but dens of sexual and moral decay by others.¹²⁸ Johann Eberlin von Günzburg (c.1470-1533), the southern German evangelical reformer and former Freiburg Franciscan, who lived in Freiburg during the 1490s and 1500s before moving to Ulm, criticised the separation between convent and world and framed alleged positive and virtuous aspects of the convent experience, such as seclusion, in negative terms: ‘many have such a feeble mind that the cloistered life becomes a prison for them; many have such restless minds that the seclusion becomes a purgatory; many have such a tender, simple, humane heart that cloistered churlishness is hell for them.’¹²⁹ In descending terms of imagery, the convent was compared with a prison, then purgatory and finally hell.

By contrast, one of the defining features of a convent such as Günterstal was the heightened importance given to these divisions in the latter half of the sixteenth century, as the supposedly positive elements of convent life – this heaven on earth – were contrasted with the negative counterpart of the world outside. The reinforcement of this division in the Counter-Reformation to cement the separation between the convent and the world was in direct response to the Reformation challenges to both of these poles.¹³⁰ In 1581, for example, the Günterstal abbess, Maria Stör von Störenberg received a dedicated copy of the *Book of How to Lead a Good Life* (*Liber de modo bene vivendi ad sororem*) from Professor Jodocus Lorichius (1540-1612) who had translated the work into German for the first time.¹³¹ This anonymous twelfth-century Latin

¹²⁷ Barbara Steinke, *Paradiesgarten oder Gefängnis?: Das Nürnberger Katharinenkloster zwischen Klosterreform und Reformation*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, neue Reihe 30 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

¹²⁸ Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, p. xxviii.

¹²⁹ Geoffrey Dipple (ed. & tr.), *The Fifteen Confederates: Johann Eberlin von Gunzburg*, (Eugene, Or.: Pickwick Publications, 2014), p. 45; Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *15 Bundsgeossen* (Berlin: 2013), pp. 18-9: ‘manche hat so ein blödes haupt, das ir der beschluß ein kercher ist, manche is so vnrüwiger sinn das ir ainigkeit ein fägefür ist, manche hat so ein adelich, burgerlich, menschlich hærtz das ir klosterliche pawrtheit ain helle ist.’

¹³⁰ Horst Buszello, Dieter Mertens and Tom Scott, “Lutherey, Ketzerey, Ufffrur.” Die Stadt zwischen Reformation, Bauernkrieg und katholischer Reform’, in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1996), 13-68 (p. 53) argue that, instead of the term Counter-Reformation (‘Gegenreformation’) it is better to speak of a ‘Stabilisierung der alten Kirche durch Abwehr und Reform’. Yet, the nature and language of the material from the 1570s in Günterstal was a distinct break from what had come before, used increasingly aggressive language and sought to counter the criticism of convent life which had arisen during the Reformation. This thesis therefore retains the term Counter-Reformation.

¹³¹ Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, K 4209, d: *S. Bernards Des Heiligen Hochgelehrten Abtts zu Clarevall: Christliche Geistliche Predigen etc.* (Cologne: Cholinus, 1581); the original Latin text can be found in Jacques-

text included in the chapter on perseverance a series of twelve contrasts between the convent and the world: holy versus burdensome, spiritual versus fleshly, heavenly versus earthly and so on.¹³² These series of contrasts were a common rhetorical strategy in the work as a whole. In the chapter on discipline, for instance, the author forcefully argued that it was better to be beaten by the hands of the abbess in this life than to suffer in hell in the next.¹³³ This increasingly aggressive rhetoric was a defining feature of the writing which the nuns received at the time, as they were required to take ‘strong, spiritual weapons’ in their hands and fight off the ‘enemies’ of the world, body and devil ‘who storm the fortified town of your will which you have placed in God.’¹³⁴

The difference was stark. For Lorichius the nun could avoid hell through her life behind walls, but for Eberlin that life was in fact akin to hell. The efforts of convent reformers in the latter half of the sixteenth century were an attempt to reaffirm these divisions, undone by the criticism which emerged during the Reformation, as part of a wider drive towards uniformity and conformity.¹³⁵ In Günterstal that drive came from the Cistercian order and the diocese of Constance in the form of increasingly frequent and more wide-ranging visitations,¹³⁶ from Lorichius, a Freiburg university professor, in the form of printed books, manuscripts and

Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, vol. 184 (Paris: 1854), cols. 1199-306; Edmund Wareham, “‘Wann du fromm lebst / so wirst du nimmer trawrig’: Professor Jodocus Lorichius and the Cistercian Nuns of Günterstal”, *Oxford German Studies* 43/4 (2014): 362-79; Karl-Heinz Braun, *Pugna spiritualis: Anthropologie der katholischen Konfession: Der Freiburger Theologieprofessor Jodocus Lorichius (1540-1612)*, Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte, N.F. 23 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003).

¹³² Lorichius, *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, p. 144: ‘[I]m Kloster ist ein Heiligs leben / in der Welt ein lasterichs leben: im Kloster ist ein Geistlich leben / in der Welt ein fleischlich leben: im Kloster ist ein Himmlisch leben / in der Welt ein Irdisch leben.’

¹³³ Lorichius, *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, p. 126: ‘Besser ists dir / du werdest von der hand der Abtißin mit Streichen geschlagen / dan das du die pein der Hellen leiden mussest. Besser ists dir / mit der hand der Abtißin geschlagen werden in diesem leben / dan im kunfftigen geplagt werden in der Hellen.’

¹³⁴ Jodocus Lorichius, *Geistlichs Sendtschreiben* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1588), sig. Ax^r: ‘Wider diese feind / welche die feste Statt deines gesetzten willens in Gott zustu^rmen vnd einzunemen vnd erstanden / must du allerhand starcke gaistliche gegenwehr jederzeit bey der hand haben.’ This was dedicated to the abbess and Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal near Baden-Baden

¹³⁵ Amy Leonard, ‘Female Religious Orders’, in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Malden, MA; Oxford; Melbourne: Blackwell, 2004), 237-54 (p. 249) writes that ‘control and obedience, to either lay or religious authorities, became a hallmark of female religious life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.’

¹³⁶ Karlsruhe GLA, 23/70 (11 October 1573; 18 May 1593; 31 December 1599). The 1573 visitation was part of a wider programme of reform as Abbot Nikolaus I Boucherat of Cîteaux visited the 104 surviving Cistercian houses in German-speaking Europe between 1572 and 1574: Alois Postina, ‘Geschichte der Cistercienserklöster des 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland’, *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 13 (1901), 225-37 (pp. 225-7 on Günterstal and surrounding convents). In June 1571 the convent was one of several convents visited by Diocesan reformers, again as part of a wider drive towards reform: Moriz Gmelin, ‘Das Visitationsprotokollen der Diözese Konstanz von 1571-1586. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Klerus’, *ZGO* 25 (1873): 129-204 (pp. 156-8).

increasingly prescriptive literature,¹³⁷ and from Freiburg's Habsburg rulers, who developed an increasing interest in the social make up of the convent.¹³⁸ The imposition of the supposedly universal values of the Council of Trent was in fact tied closely with local circumstance.¹³⁹ The relationship with Lorichius demonstrated that the imposition of the values of Trent could be closely connected with an exchange of knowledge and not always framed in terms of top-down control.¹⁴⁰ In turn, the emphasis placed on the nun's virginity reflected a desire for purity and chastity of its inhabitants which contrasted with the sexualised lower-class woman who risked polluting the Catholic community.¹⁴¹ Although hidden from view, convents increasingly acted as a public face of society's ideals, reflected by a number of works on virginity which came off Freiburg's printing presses at the time.¹⁴² Whilst these values had been important before, they were given new emphasis at this time as the symbolic value of the convent became more pronounced. The challenges in implementation of this spiritual ideal were, however, acute and a constant tension existed between the everyday realities of convent life and the expectations of a nun in society.

The reaction to evangelical criticism and the increased desire to consolidate the difference between convent and world clearly show that the contrasting nature of convent life was not static but constantly evolving and fluctuating. For the nuns of Günterstal and many other convents the increased emphasis on this dichotomy was a watershed and marked a clear shift in purpose. Yet, this thesis takes a broad approach in considering the late medieval and Reformation context and meanings behind the convent as both open and closed.¹⁴³ This is

¹³⁷ Alongside the *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, Lorichius donated a further four printed books and one manuscript over the course of the 1580s and 1590s.

¹³⁸ This is discussed in depth in the chapter *Mouth*.

¹³⁹ Laqua-O'Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation*, pp. 15-49 has also emphasised the variations that existed in the degree of implementation.

¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth A. Leffeldt, 'The Permeable Cloister', in Allyson M. Poska, Jane Couchman and Katherine A. McIver (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 13-31, who argues that future research must concentrate on the role of convents in the exchange of knowledge and less on the Council of Trent but the issues do not seem to be mutually exclusive.

¹⁴¹ Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), p. 77.

¹⁴² See, for example, Damianus Macherentinus, *Jungfrawschafft* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1594), dedicated to the Dominican convent of St Margareta and St Agnes in Strasbourg.

¹⁴³ On this approach see Craig Harline, 'Active and Contemplatives: The Female Religious of the Low Countries before and after Trent', *The Catholic Historical Reviews* 81/4 (1995): 541-67; John H. Arnold, 'Catholic Reformations: A Medieval Perspective', in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 419-34; Gisela Muschiol, 'Die Reformation, das Konzil von Trient und die Folgen. Weibliche Orden zwischen Auflösung und Einschließung', in Anne Conrad (ed.), *"In Christo ist weder Man noch Weyb": Frauen in der Zeit der Reformation und der katholischen Reform*, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* 59 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999), 172-98.

important, since it enables the tracing of the changes which did actually occur, without ignoring the fact that such changes did not evolve in isolation. Attempts at enclosure were not new in Günterstal – a visitation was carried out in 1516, for instance, which advocated the use of the speaking grille¹⁴⁴ – but they were heightened after the Council of Trent (1545-63), imposed with new force and had become a political issue.¹⁴⁵

The convent therefore had a very particular role to play in debates about the control of the senses and the ways in which this connected to the doctrinal disputes of the Reformation era. This did not just centre on the nature of enclosure but extended to the convent as a site where more unusual forms of sensory and spiritual experience could take place, which in the eyes of some was a threat to the control of the sensory environment. Over the course of the fifteenth century there was widespread interest, reflected in the manuscript transmission, of the lives and experiences of holy women of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These visionary and mystical experiences suggested a close link between the nun's spirituality and bodily experience.¹⁴⁶ An Alsatian manuscript dating from 1443-8, which contains a collection of miracles associated with Mary and John the Baptist, includes the vision of Sister Guta from Günterstal of Mary, Agnes and Katherine. In the vision Guta pressed her hand 'tenderly' on Mary's breast and 'the signs of Guta's touch on her fingers remained on her skin until the day of her death and was whiter than the rest of her skin. This was seen by many sisters of the convent.' Indeed, as she neared death Guta was given the Last Rites and lay half dead until her fellow sisters woke her 'and her bodily senses were returned to her.' Guta rebuked the sisters as they had interrupted another vision.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/69 (22 September 1516).

¹⁴⁵ This differs from the view of Lehfeldt, 'The Permeable Cloister', p. 27 who argues that 'the Tridentine decree of enclosure was not a watershed, but rather one in a long series of attempts to enclose nuns more strictly.'

¹⁴⁶ Caroline Walker-Bynum, 'The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages', in Caroline Walker-Bynum (ed.), *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 181-238; Caroline Walker-Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Barbara Newman, 'The Visionary Texts and Visual Worlds of Religious Women', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds, *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 151-71 (p. 166).

¹⁴⁷ Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 86409, fols. 66^v-68^r: 'Sunder sy wart trurig vnd betrübt geleit in ein kemerlin der siechen als gewonheit ist vnd do die anderen swestern zu dem götlich dienst vnd zu capitel gengen, do lug sy allein an dem bett, do erschein ir die selige juncfrow Maria mit zweyen juncfrowen iren noch gengerin Sca Agnes vnd S Katherine vnd troste sy... do truckte sy die selige juncfrow Maria zertlich mit ir hant vor nan vff die brust vnd entzoch sich also gächlich von ir vnd verswant. Aber die zeichen der berürde ir vinger bliben aller worlichst an ir hut der selben closter frowen vntz an den tag irs todes vnd worent wissere denn die ander hut als es wart gesehen von vil swestern des selben closters... Do wart sy bewart mit den cristenlichen sacramenten vnd do alle ding ördenlich volbracht woren do lag sy als halb tod einen gantzen tag vnd ein gantze nacht vnd enrette / noch gesach / noch bevant nüt / Vnd do die mörgen röt uff gieng do weckte sy die swestern

Nevertheless in parallel with this interest in this sort of visionary writing, questions emerged whether the nun did really see, hear, smell, touch and taste what she claimed.¹⁴⁸ In particular Dominican reformers of the Observance movement, such as Johannes Meyer and Eberhard Mardach, expressed doubts about what these women really perceived and cautioned against their veracity. Mardach, Prior of the Nuremberg Dominican monastery, wrote in his *Open Letter on the Deception of Appearances of the Devil (Sendbrief vom Betrug teuflischer Erscheinungen)* that ‘one should note, how whenever a man has a vision or feeling with his external senses, whether a figure or image of Christ, Mary or an angel, he should be terrified with his whole heart and fear that the light of the devil will deceive him.’¹⁴⁹

At the heart of all these debates – about the open and closed, the convent and the world, the spiritual and the everyday – was the nun herself. Modern historiography has done much to correct a previous position, often echoing the values of male reformers, of nuns as helpless and powerless victims but rather has accentuated that they were powerful women who used their separation from the world as an opportunity to enable and promote female agency. This is a defining feature which stretches across the entire period, with the independence, creativity and determination of nuns a constant theme in the literature.¹⁵⁰ A hallmark of this agency, both before and after the Reformation, was an attempt to interact with the world outside in spite of

vnd sy tet ir ougen uff vnd die liblichen synne wurden ir wider geben vnd sy rette zu ir liblichen swestern also vnd sprach wor vmb hestu mich entrüwiget / Mir wz gut zu sloffen do sich der herr bewirdgete mir so grosße ding zü erzöigen Ich wz verzuckt vnd wart gefurt für die erliche angesicht der juncfrowen Marie der mutter des herren.’ It is not clear from the text when Sister Guta lived in Günterstal. The convent’s fourth abbess, who reigned in the 1290s, was called Guta: Ernst Dreher, ‘Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Günterstal’, *FDA* 120 (2000): 5-51 (p. 15). On the manuscript see Lotte Kurras, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften: Die literarischen und religiösen Handschriften. Anhang: Die Hardenbergschen Fragmente*, Kataloge des Germanisches Nationalmuseums Nürnberg 1,1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974), pp. 119-22.

¹⁴⁸ Tamar Herzog, ‘Female Mysticism, Heterodoxy, and Reform’, in James D. Mixson and Bert Roest, eds, *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 59 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 255-82.

¹⁴⁹ Williams and Williams-Krapp, ‘Eine Warnung an alle, dy sich etwaz duncken’, p. 177: ‘Ez ist zu mercken, wenn nu ein mensch hat ein gesicht oder enpfinden mit den äusserlichen sinnen, ez sey ein gestalt oder pyld Cristi, Marie oder eins engels, so sol er von ganzem seinem herczen erschrecken vnd sich fürchten, daz vil leycht der tewefel yn wöll betrigen.’ See also Thomas Lentz, ‘Bild, Reform und cura monialium. Bildverständnis und Bildgebrauch im Buch der Reformatio Predigerordens des Johannes Meyer (†1485)’, in Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, ed., *Dominicains et dominicaines en Alsace XIIIe-XXe siècle. Actes du colloque de Guebwiller 8-9 avril 1994* (Colmar: Conseil général du Haut Rhin, 1996), 177-95. This was transmitted, for example, in an Alemmanic manuscript dating from 1472: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St. Peter pap. 19, fols. 86^r-104^r.

¹⁵⁰ The literature on this is extensive. For the pre-Reformation period see, for example, Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing About Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); for the Reformation see Merry Wiesner-Hanks, ‘Women’s Responses to the Reformation’ in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *The German People and the Reformation* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1998), 179-200; for the Counter-Reformation see Marilyn Dunn, ‘Convent Creativity’, in Allyson M. Poska, Jane Couchman and Katherine McIver, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 53-73 and the collection of essays in Cordula van Wyhe (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

enclosure, to break down the boundaries between convent and world.¹⁵¹ Ulrike Strasser has, for example, referred to the case of the Munich nuns in the seventeenth century who acquired the body of the Christian martyr St Dorothea without the knowledge or permission of their superiors and who exhibited her relics for public veneration in the convent church.¹⁵²

Yet, there is a danger of adopting an overly positive view of the convent, without considering the fact that the relative position of these values – powerful versus powerless – could, like the other dualities which characterised convent life, fluctuate. The nun's influence in breaking down these boundaries was by no means constant and the nature of the interaction between convent and world was subject to change. In the early part of the sixteenth century the Günterstal nuns were involved in a number of practices which sought to break down boundaries with the outside world, such as gift-giving and imaginary pilgrimages. Whilst not as sophisticated as Strasser's later Munich example, they identify a group of nuns who adapted the everyday space and objects around them to create and cement connections with the world outside, as well promote specific forms of convent spirituality. Yet, over the course of the sixteenth century the influence of these practices waned and evidence of their use becomes more sporadic. This reflected wider changes in convent spirituality as it became more internalised, more inward-looking and more emotive, focussing on the heart, as nuns eschewed these paraliturgical activities. Contact with the world was still very much in evidence, as nuns were involved in disputes over boundaries, went to family weddings and managed a community, but specific spiritual practices which helped to define their separation from the world, at least symbolically, were no longer in evidence. Part of the challenge in the Counter-Reformation was to re-establish that symbolic separation and a more internalised spirituality formed one important aspect of that approach.

In addition, it is important to remember that it was not only male reformers in a position of authority who had a perspective on the convent from the outside. For peasants under convent rule, for instance, the nuns very much held a seat of power, most obviously by their appearance in the village manorial court. In much of the everyday pattern of administrative and economic life it was the nuns who exercised control and had authority. But conversely there were moments when this traditional power structure could be overturned, not least during the

¹⁵¹ Lehfeltdt, 'The Permeable Cloister'.

¹⁵² Ulrike Strasser, 'Clara Hortulana of Embach or How to Suffer Martyrdom in the Cloister', in van Wyhe (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe*, 39-57.

Peasants' War when the convent was looted. This had far-reaching consequences for the community and challenged directly the place of the convent in the world.

This thesis adopts a broader chronological framework than many previous studies, balances moments when nuns were both active agents and passive recipients, and demonstrates that the divisions of convent life (internal/external, open/closed, convent/world, spiritual/everyday, the senses as both positive and negative) were not fixed, but could sometimes come together and sometimes fall apart. It considers these changes through a structure based around the body parts which were blessed during the Last Rites: the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, heart and feet. Each chapter uses the respective body part as a symbolic means of considering the relationship between convent and world, the balance between the nuns' spiritual and everyday lives, the relative involvement of the nun in those processes and the extent to which this underwent change.¹⁵³ The advantage of this approach is that it allows us a consideration of the whole gamut of convent life both inside and outside walls: the buildings the nuns inhabited, the places they visited, the objects they handled, the books they read, the clothes they wore, the words they spoke, the devotions they practised, and the food they ate.

The chapter on *Eyes* focusses on the visual environment of the convent and argues that internal features of convent life took on an increasingly more important external purpose in an attempt to ward off the triple threat of the world, the body and the devil. The difficulties in trying to reform these markers, as well as moments when the status of the convent was directly challenged, arose as both were tied to the religious and social identity of the nun and the convent. Moreover, concern extended to more unusual forms of vision and to what could appear before the nun with her eyes closed – in visions and dreams – and this chapter aims to show that the ideal of enclosure was not just concerned with physical surroundings but the body itself.

The chapter on *Ears* argues that there was also a distinct acoustic dimension to convent space and that, as with the visual, this could combine religious and social elements. Above all, many convent sounds, in particular its bells, conveyed information to the outside world, expressed internal and external hierarchies and were carefully regulated. It shows that this regulation

¹⁵³ See Anne Müller, 'Symbolic Meanings of Space in Female Monastic Tradition', in Janet Burton & Karen Stöber, eds, *Women in the Medieval Monastic World*, Medieval Monastic Series (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 299-325.

came under real criticism after the Reformation and that acoustic markers, even when they could not be heard on the outside, took on new significance.

The chapter entitled *Nose* explores occasions when nuns left the convent to travel to the baths. Such trips were surprisingly widely practised and were a way in which nuns could maintain relations with the outside world and elements of their former lives. Moreover, as in *Eyes* and *Ears*, criticism of the practice in the post-Reformation years was directed at its religious and social elements. The chapter is about purity and contrasts ideals about this with the practicalities of everyday life.

The chapter on the *Mouth* explores two seemingly different issues – silence and social status – which underwent change over the course of the sixteenth century. Silence was a concern increasingly directed towards nuns and centred on how much and what a woman should say in the convent and the way in which a lack of noise conversely became an external indicator of the convent's value in the world, despite the difficulties in enforcing such measures. The chapter then turns to food as a guide to understanding the nuns' social status and analyses the tensions surrounding convent entry in this period. Late medieval concerns about overcrowding gave way to new post-Reformation anxieties about the ability to hold services correctly, whilst maintaining a particular social profile. This became particularly important because of the increased political symbolism of the convent in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The chapter on *Hands* considers direct exchange with the outside world through gift-giving. It shows how nuns used gifts to maintain relations with the outside world, as well as using the labour behind the gifts as a spiritual exercise. In the post-Reformation world gifts increasingly came to act as an indicator of a convent identity under fire.

The chapter on the *Heart* considers the one internal body part from the list but shows how attempts were made to make the organ more visible, as the heart became both a public pointer of confessional status and convent identity, whilst at the same time increasingly symbolised a more internalised form of spirituality.

The final chapter *Feet* returns to the central issue of enclosure and shows how it became more strictly enforced. Whilst nuns could sometimes respond creatively to the limits of their movement, this was not necessarily always the case. It contrasts the use of movement in the convents to promote harmony with the reality on the ground, as convents became a symbol of suppression in the uprisings of the sixteenth century.

In 1532 the former Freiburg student, chaplain and confessor to King Ferdinand I and bishop of Vienna Johann Fabri (1478-1541) published his *Little Book of Consolation for all Pious, Afflicted Christians of the Old, and Undoubtedly Holy, Christian Faith* which made clear the differences between the old and new faiths. For Fabri evangelical reformers ‘had eyes but have seen nothing; had ears but have heard nothing; they had hands with which they did not want to touch truth and feet with which they did not want to follow the path of God’s praise and good works.’¹⁵⁴ Fabri listed only four body parts, but he too was drawn to the imagery of the body as he tried to convey what angered him about the evangelicals at a time when the Reformation was well underway and when his world had come under unprecedented attack. The aim of this thesis is to understand the contexts in which such divisions emerged, the effects that the divisions had, and the attempts to restore and reframe what had been undermined.

¹⁵⁴ *Drostbiechlin an alle frummen betribten Christen des alten ungezweifleten heyligen christenlichen Glauben von dem wunderbarlichen und von Gott seiner lieben und werden Mutter Maria gegebenen und erlangten Sig der fünf christenlichen Orten Lucern, Ury, Schwytz, Underwalden und Zug* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johannis Faber aus Emmich, 1532), sigs. Aii^rv: ‘nichts desterminder habent sye augen gehabt / nichts gesehen / oren gehabt nichts geho^rt / hend / aber sy habent mit den selbigen die warheit nit wellen greiffen / fu^oß die in gottes lob vnd g^uten wercken nit haben wo^ellen wandeln.’

II: Eyes

Around Shrovetide 1558, a man from Langendenzlingen, a village north of Freiburg, was making adjustments to the wall of his house when a piece of wood fell and lodged in his eye. He suffered for fourteen years, with doctors unable to help him, until he went ‘to the right doctor’, namely calling on God the Almighty and the loving virgin Saint Odilia. In answer to his prayers, the wood gradually began to come out of his eye and he took the splinters as an offering to a chapel dedicated to St Odilia in Freiburg, on the hill above the Charterhouse and the river Dreisam, and hung them on the picture of the saint in the chapel. Many people acted as witnesses to this miraculous cure.¹ In 1521, the Humanist Hieronmyus Gebwiler (1480-1545), had compiled a German life of Odilia, relating how the daughter of the Alsatian Duke Etichon had been born blind but gained her sight when baptised at the age of twelve, and how she had entered the women’s house of Hohenburg and had founded the house at Niedermünster.² In 1598, this life was amended and reprinted by Johann Schuttenheimer from Freiburg, parish priest of Ottrott and St Nabor, near Niedermünster.³ Schuttenheimer appended a series of miracle stories and the tale of the Langendenzlingen builder was one of twenty-seven miracles associated with the Odilia Church in Freiburg and the shrine dedicated to the saint in the foundation monastery of Hohenburg, both sites of pilgrimage which were located by fresh water springs. The Hohenburg chapel was managed by a group of canonesses, whose female sacristan was responsible for managing the wide range of votive gifts which were donated to the saint, whilst the monks of Tennenbach had a direct interest in the Freiburg

¹ Johann Schuttenheimer, *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1598), pp. 134-5: ‘Ein Mann von Langendenzlingen ein halb meill von Freyburg in ein Dorff gesessen / hat auff ein zeit Holtz im Wald gemacht / da ist er in ein Holtz gefallen / so ihm neben eim Aug hin ein gangen / dasselb hat er vierzehnen Jahr bey sich gehabt / vnnd kein Scherer ihme koⁿden helffen / vnd war das Holtz zweyer glaichlang / auch also Dick als ein Spindel zu hinderst dick ist vnd hat nimmer mehr ruh am aug...da ist er zum rechten artzet gangen / Namlich hat Gott den Allmechtigen angerufft / vnd der lieben Jungfrauen Sant OTILIEN geschrien / da hat sich das Holtz angehebt Regen / nach vnnd nach herauß geschoben / als bald hat er die fart mit einem opffer verricht / vnnd das Holtz mit sich dahingetragen / dasselb an Sant OTILIEN Bild angehengt. Solichs ist beschehen vmb die Faßnacht / Im 1558. Jar kan man mit vil Leuthen / die es gesehen haben bezeugen: Gott sey gelobt.’ The exemplar Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, M 3742, d, contains a handwritten dedication to Anna von Hagenbach, who was abbess of Günterstal between 1594 and 1605: Ernst Dreher, ‘Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Günterstal’, *FDA* 120 (2000): 5-51 (pp. 34-5).

² Dieter Mertens, ‘Gebwiler (Gebwilerius), Hieronymus’, in Franz Josef Worstbrock (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480-1520. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter: 2008), 870-89; *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, p. 59 on her blindness from birth.

³ Luc Ottmann, *Die Geschichtliche Entstehung und Entwicklung der Pfarrei Ottrott=St. Nabor* (Obernai: Ch. Gyss, 1939), pp. 32-3.

chapel.⁴ The Cistercian nuns of Günterstal received a copy of this collection at the end of the sixteenth century from the Freiburg professor, Jodocus Lorichius.⁵



Fig. 2: Image of St Odilia praying before an altar to release her father from purgatory, S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens, sig.): (1^v, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, VD 16 ZV 6426, available in the public domain.

The latter half of the sixteenth century witnessed a huge surge in interest in these ‘mixed miracle books’, in which the stories of cures of individual pilgrims – men, women and children – were combined with information about the local shrine and the development of its cult.⁶ The miracle stories bore witness to the social and medical realities of the time as babies such as Moritz Francken from Freiburg were born with blood in their eyes and then cured⁷ or Lienhart Guck, the parish priest of Biengen, where the Günterstal nuns owned land, injured his eye on

⁴ Sabine Klapp and Peter Rückert, ‘Die Ordnung der Küsterin: Auszug aus den Statuten für das Frauenstift Hohenburg von 1444. Edition und Kommentar’, in Stephan Mossman, Nigel F. Palmer and Felix Heinzer (eds), *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*, Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2012), 299-310 (p. 305 notes, for example: ‘es sol ein küsterynne die sacrastige, treßkammer, sante Odilien cappelle und das oppfer, es sij an wachße, silber, cleinot, dücher oder anderm, getruwelich versorgen und von dem, das sie innympt und entpfahet, in gegen wertikeit einer eptissin und des cappittels ein gantze ußwisunge und vollekome rechenunge tün, uff das man wissen möge, was davon dem buwe und an das liecht des closters jerlichen gefallen sij’); Karlsruhe, GLA 24/51 (22 June 1513): Margrave Christoph of Baden gave over half of the church tithes of the parish in Muspach to Tennenbach, in return for one pound pence to be given yearly to those attending the church in Muspach.

⁵ Edmund Wareham, ‘Wann du fromm lebst / so wirst du nimmer trawrig’: Professor Jodocus Lorichius and the Cistercian Nuns of Günterstal’, *Oxford German Studies* 43/4 (2014): 362-79 (pp. 366; 372-3).

⁶ Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous is his Saints. Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1993); Trevor Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles. The Counter-Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 271-91.

⁷ S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens, pp. 128-9: ‘[W]elches Blutmasen in seinen augen gehabt’; on child blindness see Ronald Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocent: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 78-83.

his roasting spit on the evening of 14 December 1499.⁸ Pilgrims brought votive offerings to the shrines, such as an ‘honourable lady’ who in 1500 brought ‘two silver eyes, two little hearts of chalcedony encased in silver’ and an altar cloth to the Freiburg church or Lorentz Schnellen who in 1588 brought a candle made up of a pound of wax to the Hohenburg shrine to help heal his blind child.⁹

The collection also reveals, however, a changing post-Reformation world in which the reality of such cures and the sacred nature of these places were placed under the microscope. A mother from Sélestat, for example, took her blind four-year old daughter to the Hohenburg shrine and washed her eyes with the holy water. But when she returned home her Lutheran husband ‘was filled with anger, cursed and said: “You could have washed her eyes in any old spring and she could have perhaps regained her sight.” It is in this way that such people thank the gifts of God’, adds Schuttenheimer.¹⁰ Similarly, stories were included of a ‘godless heretic’ who, ‘out of hatred and mockery towards God and Saint Odilia’ dipped his friend in the spring, resulting in his friend’s immediate blindness, or the man who stole a wax candle from the shrine (hidden under his hat) and whose horse and dog subsequently fell in a river and were drowned.¹¹ In his prologue, Schuttenheimer framed the life and the miracle collection within a wider defence of the practice of pilgrimage, to ‘this place which could well be labelled a treasury of holiness.’¹² In a succession of ‘ver-’ verbs, he writes of those who ‘scorn, haunt, deprecate and bedevil’ such places ‘in an unchristian and heathen manner.’¹³ Nevertheless, in recognition that confessional boundaries were not always clear-cut and that questions of belief, particularly between the links of faith and healing, were complex, he also writes of those ‘evangelicals

⁸ *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, pp. 129-30: ‘Herr Lienhart Guck Kirch Herr zu Biengen / hat auff Sontag zu Nacht nach S. Lucien tag im 1499. Jahr ein Hu^oltzen Spiß mit einem Braten getragen bey Nacht / vnnd ist mit dem Spiß wieder ein Wand gangen / Also das der Spiß zerbrochen / vnnd das ein theil ihme in ein Aug gangen...’; Karlsruhe, GLA 66/3205, fols. 100^v-102^r but this has no reference to Lienhart.

⁹ *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, pp. 131, 124: ‘[Z]wey Silberin Augen / zwey Calcedonier Hertzlein in silber gefast / ein schwartz Scherter Altar Teckin / vnd Wachs’; ‘ein Kertzen eines pfundts schwer.’

¹⁰ *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, p. 113: ‘[D]er Vatter so lutrisch war / sich etwas Zorns angenommen / geflucht vnd gesagt / du hettest es wol sonsten auß einem Brunnen gewesen / es hette villeicht sein gesicht auch bekommen. Also dancken solche Leuth den Gaben Gottes.’

¹¹ *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, pp. 124-6: ‘[E]in Gottloser Ketzer...zu hon vnnd spot Gottes vnd der heiligen Otilien (das abschewlich zuho^oren) sein Harn eingegossen / darauff er gleich bald starr blind worden’; ‘ein verführter Sectischer Christ...ein Wachskertzen von Sant Otilien Altar hinweg genommen / dieselb auff sein Hut gesteckt...Bald hernach kompt er reitend in ein Wasser / in welchem im das Roß vnd sein Hund den er auch bey sich hat ertruncken.’

¹² *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, sig.): (5^r: ‘[D]iñ ort wol ein Schatzkamer deß Heiligthumbs mag genent werden.’ Hieronymus Gebwiler, whose work Schuttenheimer was using, also defended similar such Catholic practices in *Beschirmung des lobes vnd eren der hochgelobten hymelischen künigin Marie* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1523).

¹³ *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, sig.): (6^r: ‘Vnchristlicher / Heidnischer weiß verspotten / vervolgen / verwu^osten vnd verderben.’

(who on account of their authorities and out of fear of their preachers must do so in secret) have continued to visit with devotion and enthusiasm.’¹⁴

The publication of the miracles at the shrines in Freiburg and Hohenburg acted as a public manifestation of Catholicism’s power to change lives, as tales of regained sight became a confessional marking point. It reaffirmed and reemphasised what Robert Scribner has termed the late medieval devotional triangle of salvation (‘Heil’), sanctification (‘Heiligung’) and healing (‘Heilung’) but did so in a new context in which such practices had been attacked and in which these issues took on increasingly important symbolic value.¹⁵ In texts, tapestries and relief murals, Odilia’s cult had established a footing within this area of Germany, a tradition that was now called upon in the confessional defence of this practice.¹⁶

Pilgrimage was open to all and had the power to open eyes to the workings of the divine. Yet whilst this practice encouraged participation, the convent increasingly became a public display of a closed-off and exclusive world. Whilst this was most obviously seen on the outside in higher walls of convents, many of the changes in fact happened paradoxically within, as the Counter-Reformation witnessed increasing attempts to enforce, regulate and unify the appearance of the convent, not least in the clothes the nuns wore and the cells they lived in. Reformers were attempting to shape the visual environment of the convent to ward off the triple danger of the devil, the world and the body. Yet the attempts to enforce this space and those who lived in it, which adopted increasingly sexualised language, came up against the wishes of the nuns themselves, for whom their living spaces and the clothes they wore were a statement and a reminder of their previous identity and social status as members of established and noble

¹⁴ *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, sig.): (4^v: ‘Vnd wird diser Berg nicht allein von den Catholischen Christen / sondern auch von den Secktischen (die doch solches in geheim wegen irer Oberkeit vnd auß forcht der Predicanten thun muessen) staetigs mit andacht vnd eyfer besucht’; see also Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: the Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁵ Robert W. Scribner, ‘Perceptions of the Sacred in Germany at the End of the Middle Ages’, in Robert W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 81 (Leiden; Boston; Cologne: Brill, 2001), 85-103.

¹⁶ Peter Rückert, ‘Die heilige Odilia und ihre Verehrung im späteren Mittelalter’, in Mossman, Palmer and Heinzer, *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt*, 277-97; Martina Backes and Barbara Fleith, ‘Zur Funktion von Heiligenviten in Text und Bild in elsässischen und südwestdeutschen Frauenklöstern des Mittelalters am Beispiel des Odiliakultes’, in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Martin and Hedwig Röckelein (eds), *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung ‘Krone und Schleier’* (Leiden: Brepols, 2007), 165-75, pp. 169-70 on her legend in Schwester Regula of Lichtenthal’s *Buch von den heiligen Mägden und Frauen*, Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 69 from around 1460 and pp. 172-5 for details on the mid-fifteenth century Odile tapestry in the canonesses’ house of St Stephan’s in Strasbourg. Backes and Fleith trace the differences in reception between a reformed (Lichtenthal) and unreformed (St Stephan’s) house.

families. For nuns this became a way of emphasising their exclusivity – religious and social – but also maintaining connections with the outside world. Yet those links with the outside world were by no means constant and the attack on the convent in the Peasants’ War was an episode when the religious and social values embodied in the appearance of the convent came to be seen in a very different light.

The Günterstal nuns were not reading Odilia’s *Life* and the miracle collections in isolation but rather as part of a wider hagiographical and biblical tradition. In the mid-sixteenth century, for example, they received a manuscript with a transmission of certain parts of the *Alsatian Golden Legend*, including the story of St Erhart, the bishop of Regensburg, who had baptised Odilia and cured her blindness.¹⁷ As part of the church year they would have heard biblical tales such as that of Jesus healing the blind man at Bethsheda.¹⁸ In the nearby convent of the Freiburg Poor Clares, the nun Sibylla von Bondorf (c. 1450-1524) included numerous tales of miraculous healings of blindness in her illustrated German translation of Bonaventure’s *Life* of St Francis dating from 1478 which she gave to the Poor Clares of the Bicken cloister in Villingen.¹⁹ This included an image of Francis’s eye being cauterised.²⁰

Yet whilst these all told tales of lost sight being regained, none did so in the overtly confessional context of the collection which the Günterstal nuns had before their eyes. Much of the Reformation criticism of convent life had used the language of blindness in a very traditional way to question whether the external practices of the convent – such as clothes or sleeping

¹⁷ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 29, fols. 17^v-20^r, was given at some point after 1560 to Abbess Maria Störin von Störenberg of Günterstal by the nearby Wonnental Cistercian nun Christina Marschalkin. Ulla Williams & Werner Williams-Krapp (eds), *Die “Elsässische Legenda Aurea”: Das Normalcorpus*, Texte und Textgeschichte 3, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1980), p. xxi.

¹⁸ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 387-8, dating from the second third of the fifteenth century, transmits Mark 8: 22-6 in German and which the nuns would have heard on the Friday after the sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost: ‘In der zit kam jhesus zû betscida / vnd do fürten si ime zû einen blinden. vnd baten in dz er in anrürte / vnd er begreif die hant deß blinden / vnd fürte in vß dem dorf / vnd spei vß. vnd leite imß vf sin o^ugen / vnd frogte in. ob er sehe / vnd er sach.’

¹⁹ David Brett-Evans, *Bonaventuras Legenda Sancti Francisci in der Übersetzung Sibilla von Bondorf*, Texte des späten Mittelalters (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1960), pp. 170-2; on the date see Anne Winston-Allen, “‘Es [ist] nit wol zu gelobind, daz ain frowen bild so wol kan arbeiten’”. Artistic Production and Exchange in Women’s Convents of the Observant Reform’, in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Marti and Hedwig Röckelein, eds, *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung ‘Krone und Schleier’* (Leiden: Brepols, 2007), 187-95 (p. 190). The Günterstal library catalogue from 1457 (Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 39^r) includes the reference ‘Item von s. Franciscus’, although it is not clear to what this exactly refers or even in what language this was transmitted. On the transmission of Bonaventure in German Kurt Ruh, *Bonaventura deutsch. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Franziskanermystik und –scholastik*, Bibliotheca Germanica 7 (Bern: Francke, 1956).

²⁰ London, British Library, Add. Ms. 15710, fol. 61^v.

patterns – and the whole convent way of life had any bearing on internal matters of faith. Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, the former Freiburg friar, lamented how nuns had been led astray:

Oh, woe, the great blindness of those in the monasteries, how deeply they have sunk in their ignorance of true salvation. Oh, abyss of God's judgement, how you blind with the veil the so-called "spiritual" people. To require the same food, drink and clothing, waking, resting, fasting, working, etc. of different temperaments is an unbearable burden, and fine to propose, but almost impossible to endure. And that's only speaking of the physical burdens, now consider seriously the burdens placed on his soul and conscience.²¹

Similarly, Martin Luther used the language of lost sight to categorise what he saw as the deceptive practices of monasticism:

Until now we have all been groping in such blindness as this. We performed many works, contributed, fasted, prayed our rosaries; and yet we never dared to say: 'This work is pleasing to God; of this I am sure, and I would be willing to die for it.' Hence no one can boast that in all his life and activity he has ever seen God. Or if in his pride someone glorifies such works and thinks that God must be well disposed to him and reward him for them, he is not seeing God but the devil in place of God.²²

This questioning attitude of reformers like Eberlin or Luther did not emerge in isolation, but rather built on a more sceptical attitude towards the value of external practice over the course of the fifteenth century.²³ The monastic reform movement had stressed the value of the communal over the individual in sleeping arrangements, clothes and other areas of the nuns' daily lives. Yet, even those who had previously promoted such an approach, became increasingly hesitant about its value, well before the onset of the more-sustained criticism of the Reformation. In the later 1490s, for example, the Strasbourg preacher Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg wrote to the Freiburg Penitents:

²¹ Geoffrey Dipple (ed. & tr.), *The Fifteen Confederates: Johann Eberlin von Günzburg* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick, 2014), pp. 46-7; Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *15 Bundsgenossen* (Berlin: Berliner Ausgabe, 2013), p. 19: 'O we der grossen blintheit der klosterleüt, wie tieff stecken sy in vnwissenheit rechtes hails. O du abgrund der vrthail gots, wie verhengst du ein wiß vber die genannten gaistlichen. Gliche spyß, tranck vnd klaidung, wachen, rüwen, fasten, arbeiten etc. ist den vnglichen complexion ein vnträglicher last, vnd hüpsch an ze schlagen, aber schier vnmüglich zü liden. Vnd das sy gesagt von den beschwerden des lybs, jetz nim war der beschwerung ires gemüts vnd gewissen.'

²² LW 21 (1956), p. 38; WA 32 (1906), p. 329: 'Jnn solcher blindheit sind wir bisher alle gangen, wenn wir soviel werck gethan, gestiftt, gefastet, rosenkrentz gebetet haben, und doch nimer durffen sagen: Dis werck gefellet Gott wol, des bin jch gewis und wil darauff sterben. Darumb kan keiner rhumen, das er jnn alle seinen wercken noch leben jhe mal Gott gesehen habe, Odder wenn gleich jemand aus vermessenheit solche werck wolt rumen und meinete, Gott muste es ansehen und da fur lonen, das hiesse nicht Gott, sondern den Teuffel an Gottes stat gesehen.'

²³ On the breaking down of boundaries between periods see Berndt Hamm, 'Abschied vom Epochendenken in der Reformationsforschung. Ein Plädoyer', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 39/3 (2012): 373-411.

But many good, pious people enter a radiant convent where there is the appearance of Observance...These are the damaging, devilish mousetraps which capture souls and wolf lairs which are hidden, with the appearance of the external radiance of observance, with enclosed walls, white walls, locked doors, with regulated singing, decoration of the churches, with Jesus dolls, white corporals and altar cloths, and other things which the eye may well see. That is all very beautiful but nothing internal lies behind it.²⁴

Behind a nun's and a convent's appearance was therefore not just the danger of the world and the nun's previous social status but the devil himself, who could deceive the nun and lead her astray. In Günterstal, this concern about the devil showed itself above all in the Counter-Reformation as attempts to reform monastic cells mirrored similar attempts to control the nuns when asleep, as will be shown. The language of enclosure and separation even extended to the closed eyes of the nuns and emphasised the ever-growing threat of deception. This concern built on an increasingly sceptical attitude towards more unusual forms of female vision which emerged in the fifteenth century, driven by many of the same reformers who promoted unity and conformity in matters of dress and physical space.

Whilst later interest in miracle collections such as Odilia has tended to focus on what they can tell us about popular piety and the links between state power, order and religion, it is also important not to neglect the issue of reception.²⁵ The question how the nun appeared before her fellow sisters, the world outside and the divine was continually shifting and it was in this context that the nuns had the model of Odilia to imitate, a founder of the convent of Niedermünster and a noble lady who led a religious life and was praised for its 'harshness.' Despite all the obstacles which could face the nun, she had turned her eyes away from the world and opened them to the divine.²⁶ This chapter explores the challenges which faced the nun in reaching that goal, whether from herself, the world outside or the devil.

In the early 1520s, the South West Franciscan monk, Johannes Pauli, onetime guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Freiburg, included a story in his popular collection *Comedy and*

²⁴ Léon Dacheux (ed.), *Die ältesten Schriften Geilers von Kaysersberg. XXI Artikel – Briefe – Todtenbüchlein – Beichtspiegel – Seelenheil – Sendtbriefff – Bilger* (Freiburg i. Br.: Hder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1882), pp. 216-7; 219: '[A]ber in einem glastcloster / da der schein der Obseruantz ist / da verfert manich güt frumm mensch.... Das seind die schedlichen teüflischen mauszfallen / der seelen strick / vnd wolffsgrüben / die da verdeckt seind / mit dem schein eüsserliches glastes der obseruantz / mit beschlussz der mauren / mit weissen wenden / mit verrigelten thüren / mitt ordenlichem gesang / zierung der kirchen / mit Jesus knaben /weissen corporalen vnd altartu^echer / vnd anderer ding / die das aug sehen mag / das ist alles scho^en vnd leyder innwendig nichts darhinder.'

²⁵ Francis Rapp, 'Zwischen Spätmittelalter und Neuzeit. Wallfahrten der ländlichen Bevölkerung im Elsaß', in Klaus Schreiner (ed.), *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter. Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge*, Schriften des historischen Kollegs 20 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 127-36.

²⁶ S. Otilien *Fürstlichen herkommens*, p. 49: 'ein Getrewe Mutter vnnnd Eptissin...in grosser abbru^echligkeit vnd hartigkeit ihres Lebens'.

Seriousness (Schimpf und Ernst) about a male suitor who became particularly attracted to the eyes of the nun. On hearing this, the nun removed them with a knife and sent them to him as a present. Two miracles followed: in his tears of regret the man received the gift of chastity, whilst the nun's eyes grew back again and she recovered her sight. As Pauli noted: 'one no longer finds these sorts of nuns.'²⁷ Pauli remained Catholic during the Reformation and the story illustrates wider concerns about the female appearance, especially of nuns. A nun's looks were not just a threat to men, but a danger to herself, because they imperilled her most important physical asset, her virginity.

Such concerns came to be reflected in the everyday physical fabric of the convents. In the Freiburg Dominican convents of Adelhausen and St Katherine's, the nuns would have seen tapestries depicting scenes from the Old Testament (Samson and Delilah), Greek and Roman history (such as Aristotle and Phyllis), and Middle High German poetry (Iwein and Laudine).²⁸ It remains unclear where they would have hung in the convents, but were all depictions of 'Weiberlisten' or 'women's cunning' in which women could deceive men, such as Delilah cutting off the hair of Samson. These were reminders of the importance of chastity in the life of the nun, made explicit by the image of a virgin with unicorn in the last section of the 'Maltererteppich'.



Fig. 3: The *Maltererteppich*, Freiburg i. Br, Augustinermuseum, Inv.-Nr. 11508, 63.5 x 485 cm. Available in the public domain.

²⁷ Johannes Bolte (ed.), *Johannes Pauli. Schimpf und Ernst*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Herbert Stubenrauch, 1924), pp. 13-4: 'Der Botten einer antwurt ir [the nun] vnd sprach: "Frau, euwere Augen gefallen im [the suitor] so wol," vnd dergleichen etc. Die Klosterfrau sprach zû den Botten: "Warten ein wenig, ich wil euch bald ein Antwort wissen lassen." Und gieng damit hinyn und stach ir selber, oder ließ ir beide Augen ußstechen und thet die Augen in ein Bu^{ch}blin... und da er den Brieff gelaß vnd die Augen gesahe in dem Bu^{ch}blin, da fiel die Gnad Gottes uff in, und fieng an zû rûwen und zû weinen, das zwei grose Wunderzeichen geschahen. Er erwarb durch sein Weinen und Rûwen im selber Kûsheit, und derselbigen Klosterfrawen, deren Augen er u^{ber}kumen het, das ir andere Augen wûschen und u^{ber}kam ir Gesicht widerumb. Deren Klosterleut sint man ietz nit vil me.'

²⁸ Augustinermuseum, Freiburg, Inv.-Nr. 11506-7; Basel, Historisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. 190-134: Eißengarthen, *Mittelalterliche Textilien*, pp. 11-22 on the early fourteenth century 'Wappen-Teppich'. This has always been assumed to have come from Adelhausen because of the presence of the coats of arms of the Munzigen, Schnewlin, Falkenstein and Vorgassen families. It is, however, significant that Günterstal also had close connections with the first three families and a link has never been established between the Vorgassen family and any Freiburg house. It is unclear how the tapestry survived the fire which ripped through Adelhausen in the early fifteenth century. Augustinermuseum, Freiburg, Inv.-Nr. 11508: Eißengarthen, *Mittelalterliche Textilien*, pp. 23-30 on the 'Malterer Teppich' dating from 1320/30.

Yet the concerns about the danger of the nun to herself manifested themselves most clearly through the clothes which she had to wear on a daily basis. On Saint Andrew's Day 1497 (30 November), the daughter of Conrad von Ettenheim swore the vows of profession in Günterstal. In the morning she confessed and attended the early morning Mass. She wore worldly ('weltlich') clothes - a headdress with a small green garland on it and a crown of Saint Katherine on top of this. After Mass, she was led into the Chapter House where she swore to follow the monastic virtues of poverty, chastity and obedience and the rules of the Order were explained to her. After she swore her profession, she could change into the spiritual clothes ('dz geistlich gewand'), a white habit, of the Order. She was now separated from the world and a member of a spiritual community.²⁹

As this small passage shows, entry into the convent was always marked, in part, by the festive change of clothing. This entry operated on both an outer and inner level. On the outer level, the exchange of clothing had a defined role in the liturgical ceremony of this rite of passage. On the inner level, the change represented a *conversio* of *mores* as the newly-professed sister sought to turn her back on the outer world, with its joy of life and love of brightly adorned clothing, and turned, instead, to follow the divine commandments of poverty, chastity and obedience. In the ceremony – with its parallels to secular marriages – the nun was married to Christ.³⁰ Her public appearance in the ceremony, in front of both her new community of fellow sisters and her old family, helped to forge her identity. Her new clothes helped to establish this new identity in relation to her body and sexual identity, her status in society and her spirituality.³¹ They expressed who she was now to connect with, as well as who (and what) she should be separated from. The fact that her fellow nuns helped to make these clothes for her

²⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 26^v: 'Item im lxxxxvii ior fl v in die andree apostoli leit man des ettenhein tochter an ze einr swester am morgen bichtet sy dornoch leit man si weltlich an ein gebend ein grien krentzli vnd s. katerinen krantz dor vber vnd gieng also zû der friegen mes dornoch fûrt man si also weltlich in dz kapitel do nam sie die venie als man dem tût vnd seit man ir von den drin wesentlichen vnd von orden dornoch zo man sy ab vnd leit ir dz geistlich gewand an.' Julius Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*. vol. 1 (Heidelberg: 1891), p. 321 on the family.

³⁰ Eva Schlotheuber, 'Best Clothes and Everyday Attire of Late Medieval Nuns', in Rainer C. Schwinges and Regula Schorta (eds), *Fashion and Clothing in Late Medieval Europe / Mode und Kleidung im Europa des späten Mittelalters* (Basel: Schwabe & Riggisberg, 2010), 139-54; Désirée Koslin, 'The Robe of Simplicity: Initiation, Robing, and Veiling of Nuns in the Middle Ages', in Stewart Gordon (ed.), *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 255-74; Julie Hotchin, 'The Nun's Crown', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 4 (2009): 187-94.

³¹ Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 7-10.

by hand helped to cement the importance of community in the whole process. Instructions survive, for example, on how the nuns were to cut and weave the cloth for a cowl.³²

A votive wing from a Günterstal altarpiece, dating from 1506, depicts what a nun of the convent, the former abbess, Agnes von Tüßlingen, wore at the time. Dominating the picture, with its bright colours and ornate decoration are the worldly figures presenting a gift to Bernard of Clairvaux. In the right hand corner, almost hidden away and barely visible is Agnes, her gaze looking downwards, almost as if she does not want to be ensnared by the worldly trappings around her. Dressed all in white, her habit represented humility because it nullified any difference in estate; it signified chastity as it disguised the feminine form of the body and its simplicity represented obedience to the divine rules of Christ. Furthermore the colour white indicated her status as a Cistercian.



Fig. 4: Votive wing from Günterstal, 1506, Freiburg i. Br, Augustinermuseum, Inv.-Nr. M 39/3, 162 x 157 cm. Under the red and white coats of arms of the Cistercian Order the inscription reads: 'Anno domini 1506 facta e(st) hec tabu(la) a venerabili(ssima) do(mi)na ages de tissli(ng)ge(n) minima abbatissa huius monastery.'³³ Reproduced by permission of the museum.

³² Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 9^r: 'Item so du wilt ein kutten schrotten. Item die lengi iiī elu vnd ein halb fiertel halber. Item in die witi obnen i elu vnd ein halb fiertel. Item die zwei mittlestē müder ī fl min. Item die geren dor an i fiertel eis tumen minr. Item dz dritt stuck solt lenger nemen den eß wirt all wegen an den siten kurtzer. Item ein halb fiertel vnd ein breiten tumen soltu nemen zû den fier geren an den siten. Item diß ist die recht moß einer kutten, so dz tûch zwifalt einer elu breit ist, wer eß aber smeler, so nemest daß all samen dest schmeler ander sÿ wurd vndenen ze eng. Item ist eß aber vmb ein gûtz breiter So macht du ab dem dritten stuk nemen ob du wolt. Item die lengi zû den ermlen i elu vnd iiī fiertel bloß. Item zû der witi ein elu vnd ī fiertel.'

³³ Städt. Museen Freiburg i. Br. (ed.), *Kunstepochen der Stadt Freiburg. Augustinermuseum Freiburg. Ausstellung zur 850-Jahrfeier* (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach & Co., 1970), pp. 170-1.

Clothes acted therefore as a visual sign of the specific religious and sexual status of the nun. Attempts to impose uniformity in dress was long an aim of reformers, which significantly included both women and men. Cordula von Krotzingen, who had grown up in Günterstal with Agnes von Tüßlingen as her abbess but left in 1538 to head the canonical foundation of Andlau, attempted to introduce new statutes for the women under her care but was met with resistance. Cordula lamented the fact that ‘I know of no way to settle things with them and to bring them into line in a correct and appropriate way since they have never heard of any statutes.’³⁴ One of the central obstacles concerned clothes. In 1539, for example, the question of ‘what sort of clothes, dresses, coats, aprons and beds the nuns should have’ formed one of three new articles for the canonesses to adhere to, including the intention that they should always wear their habits in the choir during services. Cordula railed against brightly-coloured clothes made out of fur, silk and satin and one canoness acted ‘as if she were a noble secular woman.’³⁵ By 1547 the last canonesses left Andlau and Cordula lived there alone with her domestic servants for twenty years. Clothes in this instance represented values of uniformity and regularity which Cordula clearly had brought with her from Günterstal. Yet the visual manifestation of these values did not sit easily with the expectations of another community, for whom secular clothes helped form their own identity as canonesses.

In Günterstal itself the issues became particularly apparent and acute in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Clothes became an object of concern and increasing criticism in both the literature which the nuns were given and in the visitations which were carried out.³⁶ The visitation report of 1573 stressed, for example, that all the professed sisters, novices and lay sisters should wear uniform clothes, following both the customs of the Order and the precepts of the Council of Trent. They were permitted, however, to have longer and wider veils and sleeves, hinting at a degree of compromise.³⁷ Moreover, the difficulties which the reformers faced in enforcing such strictures can be illustrated by the fact that in 1616 the clothes which

³⁴ ‘[W]ußte ich keins wegs mit inen huß zu halten, noch in rechte geburliche ordnung und wesen zu pringen, dann sy von keinen statuten iye [sic] gehört [haben]’. As quoted in Sabine Klapp, *Das Äbtissenamt in den unterelsässischen Frauenstiften vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Umkämpft, Verhandelt, Normiert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra, N.F. 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), p. 292.

³⁵ Klapp, *Äbtissenamt*, pp. 294-6: ‘wens ein edlin fruw wer, die do weltlych wer.’

³⁶ Such a concern with clothes was not new. For the later Middle Ages see Gerhard Jaritz, ‘Von der Objektkritik bis zur Objektzerstörung. Methoden und Handlungsspielräume im Spätmittelalter’ in Robert W. Scribner (ed.), *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbüttler Forschungen 46 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 37-50 (pp. 39-40).

³⁷ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/70, fol. 5^v: ‘Daneben gebietten wir der Äbtissin und iren Closterfrauen...daß sie grössere und breyttere Weil tragen, inen auch weittere und brietter Ermel an die Kuthen machen lassen’; fol. 6^r: ‘...auch nach Ordnung dess hailigen Tritentischen Concily alle Closterfrawen Nouitzen vnd Layschwestern in der Klaidung sich gleichförmig halten.’

the nuns were wearing faced particular criticism: ‘The ladies should no longer wear worldly hats and they should be done away with.’³⁸

Reforming literature which the nuns received at the same time from Jodocus Lorichius, who had also given them the Odilia life and miracle collection, stressed the visual elements of clothing. In the German translation of the Spanish Franciscan Diego de Estella (1524-78) *On Worldly Vanity (Weltlicher Eytelkait)* the nuns were warned that ‘whoever wears expensive clothing desires to be seen and increases one’s virtues very little and the spirit of devotion cools down within you.’³⁹ He continues that ‘man only seeks what appears on the outside, whereas God seeks within the heart.’⁴⁰ Similarly, in the pseudo-Bernard treatise, *How to Lead a Good Life (De modo bene vivendi)*, the nun is admonished directly: ‘You did not enter the convent so that you could gleam in expensive clothing but so that you serve God in simplicity.’⁴¹ Rather she is encouraged to ‘look inside yourself and rid yourself of all worldly lusts and desires and you will never have cause to complain.’⁴²

Reformers centred their attention on the religious and sexual status of the nun, as they constantly emphasised the dangers of the world and the body. Yet, such criticism ignored the competing need for nuns to be confident about their spiritual and social position and to reflect the beauty and luminosity afforded by their unique position as brides of Christ. That could be seen in convent donations (‘opfer stock’) which were handed over to the convent’s new abbess, Veronica von Mülheim, in 1504 and which included ‘sixteen golden rings, Item six Pater Nosters, Item one chalcedony stone, one mother of pearl, three or four pearls, Item one large Agnus Dei cut in Freiburg which belonged to the Abbess of Falkenstein.’⁴³ Despite her

³⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 229/36789, 15 June 1616: ‘Die weltliche huett sollend die frawen nit mehr brauchen, sonder abgeschafft werden.’

³⁹ *Weltlicher eytelkait / Verachtung / F. Diadaci Stellae, / Minoriter Ordens in / Hispanien. / Erstlich auß Spanischer sprach / ins Latein versetzt, an jetzo aber / außm Latein mit fleiß / vertetutsch* (Cologne: Cholinus, 1586), p. 61: ‘Welche kostliche klaidung antragen / begeren gesehen zuwerden / vnd nemmen in tugenden sehr wenig zue / vnd der gaist der andacht erkaltet in ihnen.’

⁴⁰ P. 62: ‘Der mensch sycht allain was a^usserlich scheynt / Aber Gott sycht innerlich ins hertz.’

⁴¹ Jodocus Lorichius, *Christliche Geistliche Predigen* (Cologne: Cholinus, 1581), p. 134: ‘Du bist nit ins Kloster kommen / das du in kostlicher Kleidung daher glanzest / sonder das du Gott in einfeltigkeit dienest.’

⁴² *Weltlicher eytelkait*, p. 8: ‘Sehe in dich selbst / vnd hawe alle Weltliche gelu^esten vnd begirden von dir hinweg / so wirst nimmer vrsachen haben etwas zuklagen.’

⁴³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 35^v-36^r: ‘Item dornoch am samstag vber antwert die alt e.[ptissin] der nuwen x lb vß dem opfer stock do runder wz dz gelt o^uch dz sy hat gelo^est vß iiii ro^ecken k e r b [four initials of nuns]... Item xvi guldin ring Item vi pater noster Item i kalcidonium ein berli müter iii ald iiii barillin Item i groß angnus dei noch der schiben gemacht ze friburg ist der eptissin von falkenstein gesin.’ StaFr, C 1 Kirchensachen, 49 Kloster Adelhausen, Kultsachen, fol. 49^r, transcribed in Sebastian Bock, *Der Inventar- und Ausstattungsbestand der säkularisierten Dominikanerinnen-Neuklosters Adelhausen in Freiburg im Breisgau* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. PhD Thesis, 1997), p. 126, an inventory from 1570, likewise includes references to ‘eine große gantz silberne Monstrantz’; ‘ein Kreytz, wie ein Monstranz geformieret, mit edlem gestein, und zwen schildt / uff den fuoß

insistence in uniformity in dress, even Cordula von Krotzingen took with her a number of precious objects from Günterstal to Andlau, when appointed abbess in 1537, including ‘a mother of pearl rosary with an Agnus Dei’ and a sapphire ring.⁴⁴ The Günterstal nuns were actively involved in this as they sent broken silver to be cast by the town’s goldsmith into religious objects.⁴⁵ As such these objects reflected both the religious and social status of the nun. The concern over what a nun could or could not wear, enforced both by women as well as men, met with the social realities of everyday life in the convent.

This triangle of the spiritual, social and sexual found parallels in the appearance of the convent itself, not least in the space of the nuns’ cells. As with nuns’ clothes, the rooms represented the social status of the nuns who lived there. References relating to Günterstal from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries indicate that the nuns had their own rooms, as opposed to the custom of communal monastic sleeping in the dormitory. This mirrors evidence from other convents in the region.⁴⁶ In nearby Basle, for example, a new row of cells was added between 1510 and 1522 to the convent of St. Maria Magdalena ‘eleven shoes in length and nine shoes in width’, whilst in the Dominican convent of Klingental in the same city, larger cells with a view on the River Rhine cost more to buy: Prioress Clara zu Rhein owned nine!⁴⁷ In Günterstal, an inventory of some of the convent’s rooms was carried out in 1485 and the scribe noted how ‘I have found in every cell one table, one jug, one cup’.⁴⁸ Whilst this may appear simple, other rooms have more detailed descriptions. In the guest room, for example, she found:

5 four-poster bedsteads, 5 mattresses, 5 beds, 2 straw mattresses, 3 *vnderbet*, 1 feather pillow, 2 chests, 4 large feather cushions, 5 feather pillows, 1 large feather cushion, 2

geschmeltz’ und ‘zwey corallen patternoster Eins ist groß, daß ander klein / ein der beyde mit vergulden Eichlen gefaßt.’

⁴⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/6 (13 August 1538): ‘Ein Berliny Mütter Rosen krantz mit eim Angnußs dei... ein Ring mit eim Sophir.’ Rudolf Holbach, ‘Die Schmucksteinschleiferei von Freiburg i. Br. und Waldkirch im 16. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen und Bedingungen eines Luxusgewerbes’, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 80/3 (1993): 319-44. As Holbach notes (pp. 319-20), Sebastian Münster in his *Cosmographie*, first published in 1544, records that there was ‘ein grosse Handtierung mit Catzedonien Steinen’ in Freiburg ‘darauß man Pater noster, Trinckgeschirr, Messerhefft und viel andere ding macht’. Gemstones survive in the Adelhausen collection from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, including rings and medallions with reliefs of Christ as ‘Salvator Mundi’ and the martyrdom of St Katherine: Freiburg, Augustinermuseum Inv.-Nr., A 1808/(11657c), A 1805/(11656b), A 1305/(11656d), A 1341 a-o/(11657). Bock, ‘Medaillon: Christuskind als ‘Salvator mundi’ aus Freiburg i. Br.’, ‘Einhänger mit Medaillons: Martyrium der hl. Katharina und Maria mit dem Christuskind aus Freiburg i. Br.’ and ‘Schmuckstücke und Zierelemente aus Freiburg i. Br.’, in Hamburger, *Krone und Schleier*, pp. 396-8.

⁴⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 8^v: ‘Item ich han geben dem golt smit i lot bruch silber um ihesus beschleckt dorvß zemachen do von hiesch er mir i ß von den vergilden vnd vmb den mach lon doch ließ er mir 2 plaphart ab.’

⁴⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 6^r refers to ‘[die] von äschbach stubli’ in 1516; fol. 26^r also refers to ‘stubli’ from 1485.

⁴⁷ Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing About Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 44-5.

⁴⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 26^r: ‘Item ich hab in iedem stibli i tisch i giesuesli i becki’.

long pillows on the 2 large beds, 25 covers of good and bad quality in a chest and 2 red serges, 2 stone-coloured serges, 1 red bench cover, in the other chest 3 wool bed sheets, 3 bedcovers, 1 yellow silk bedcover.⁴⁹

A later inventory (the date is not given but was carried out by the same scribe) revealed that the red bench cover had been replaced by a blue one and had been taken by ‘our abbess...into her house.’⁵⁰ Nuns clearly expected a certain standard of living, based on what they had been accustomed before entering the convent, in which the everyday fabric of convent life reflected the social status of the convent and its inhabitants, based on internal hierarchies.⁵¹

Like clothes, these rooms could take on multiple meanings. Although the objects recorded in the Günterstal inventory do not seem to have survived, three cushion covers dating from around 1500 from the nearby Observant Dominican convent of Adelhausen have done so and include the figures of Peter and John the Baptist.⁵² An early sixteenth century wooden sculpture of Virgin and Child with Saint Anne from Günterstal shows Mary’s mother sitting on a red bench with silver cushions adorned with tassels.⁵³ Cells were a social but also a devotional space. As the Günterstal nuns could have read in the *Imitation of Christ*: ‘enter into your room, and shut out the clamour of the world...Within your cell you will discover what you will only too often lose abroad. The cell that is dwelt in continually becomes a delight, but ill kept it breeds weariness of spirit.’⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 26^r: ‘Anno domini m cccc im lxxxv jor vf mitwuch vor galli do fand ich in der gast kammer v spanbet mit himelschen v matzen v bet ii strowseck iii vnderbet i pfulgen ii kisten iii grossi flanfederini kissi v flanfederini ho^ubt kissi i groß federriti kissi ii langi pfilgli vf die ii grossi bet xxv lilachen güt vnd bo^ß in einr kisten vnd ii rot sergen ii steinecht sergen i rot banck tûch in der anderen kisten iii scheffin tecklachen iii kuter ein gel sidin kuter.’ In 1524 Hans von Schönau donated a number of objects to the Dominican Penitents in Freiburg, including ‘iii große feder bett’, ‘iiij kleine pfilglin’ and ‘ij Küsse eins mit einer wissen ziechen / das ander mit einer blawen ziechen’: StaFr, C 1 Stiftungen, 46 Hans von Schönau, transcribed in Bock, *Inventar- und Ausstattungsbestand der säkularisierten Dominikanerinnen-Neuklosters Adelhausen*, p. 126.

⁵⁰ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 26^r: ‘i blow bancktûch fur dz rot dz vnser frow nam in dz huß’. The abbess clearly had her own living quarters. When, in 1486, a bishop visited the convent he was taken there (fol. 3^r): ‘Item do fûrt in [the bishop] vnser fröw die Epttissin in die apttig’.

⁵¹ Silvia Evangelisti, ‘Rooms to Share: Convent Cells and Social Relations in Early Modern Italy’, in Ruth Harris & Lyndal Roper (eds), *The Art of Survival: Gender and History in Europe, 1450-2000. Essays in Honour of Olwen Hufton*, Past & Present Supplement 1 (2006) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 55-71 (pp. 55-6). In the Cistercian convent of Himmelthron near Nuremberg, meanwhile, the abbess’s estate from 1504 listed a number of objects including ‘viiij vnterpethe v deckpete iiij hawbt Kusse ij hawbt pfullen vnd Ein grosse deck’: Theodor Kolde, ‘Der Nachlaß einer Äbtissin des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Himmelthron zu Groß-Grundlach aus dem Jahre 1504’, *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 13 (1908): 35-77 (p. 35).

⁵² Augustinermuseum Freiburg i. Br., Inv.-Nr. 11543 a, b, K 25/2; Städt. Museen Freiburg, *Kunstepochen der Stadt Freiburg*, p. 161; Jutta Eißengarten, *Mittelalterliche Textilien aus Kloster Adelhausen im Augustinermuseum Freiburg* (Freiburg i. Br.: Adelhausenstiftung Freiburg i. Br., 1985), pp. 65-8.

⁵³ Augustinermuseum Freiburg i. Br., Inv.-Nr. 5818; Städt. Museen Freiburg, *Kunstepochen der Stadt Freiburg*, p. 174.

⁵⁴ Thomas a Kempis, *Die wahre Nachfolgung Christi* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1486), fols. 24^v: ‘[G]ang in dein ka^emerlin. schlahe auß all vngestu^emigkeit der welt. Alls geschriben steet in eürem ka^emerlin sollent ir reüen.

Just as the senses stood between salvation and sin, the cell always stood somewhere between a place of devotion and temptation. In his treatise *On the Reformation of the Coenobitic State* (*De reformatione status coenobitici*), the Dominican Johannes Nider (ca. 1380-1438) had lamented the number of private cells he had seen in South West Germany, adorned with images of sirens, monkeys and jousters, and even sculptures of women ‘so well executed as to not only distract from devotion, but to threaten the vow of chastity!’⁵⁵ By contrast, in the fourteenth century, the Dominican mystic Heinrich Seuse had, for example, described how he had put a parchment painting of Eternal Wisdom, which he had made in his youth, in the window of his cell and he ‘looked at it with eyes full of love and deep longing.’ Seuse described how, ‘in her fair loveliness’ Eternal Wisdom ‘surpasses all earthy creatures in beauty, for which reason he had chosen her as his love in the flower of his youth.’⁵⁶ Seuse’s cell points to a revival of interest in the eremitic ideal in the later Middle Ages in which a private devotional space was created within the individual cells of the cloister.⁵⁷ The cell came to be a place where nuns and monks could engage with a picture, as the Seuse example underlines, or in devotional works outside of the prescribed communal liturgical practices of the cloister.⁵⁸

With his eyes fixed on a picture, Seuse drew on erotic language (‘longing’; ‘loveliness’; ‘beauty’) to emphasise his proximity to the divine. Yet for the Günterstal nuns in their cells, reformers were becoming increasingly concerned about what happened when their eyes were closed. Seuse’s erotic language was linked positively with a certain kind of spirituality, whereas for convents much of the prescriptive literature connected the sexual nature of erotic language with sin, as Nider’s comments demonstrate. For even with her eyes closed, the nun’s senses

wann in dem ka^emerlin vnd zellin v̄ynde^estu das du dick vnd hil hie aussen verleürest. Wer die zel wol u^ebet mit einwonen wirt ye su^esser vnd den verdreüßt in der zell. der Ir übel wartet.’

⁵⁵ James D. Mixon, *Poverty’s Proprietors. Ownership and Mortal Sin at the Origins of the Observant Movement*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 143 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 171.

⁵⁶ Nicholas Niciphor (ed.) *The Life of the Servant by Henry Suso*, tr. James M. Clark (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2014), p. 104; Karl Bihlmeyer, *Heinrich Seuse. Deutsche Schriften* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1907), p. 103: ‘Sunderlich hat er im [the chapel] in siner jugend heissen gemalet an ein bermit die ewige wisheit, dú himel und erd in ir gewalt hat, und daz si in minneklicher schonheit und lieplicher gestalt übertrifet aller creaturen schonheit, dar umbe er si do in siner blu^enden jugent im selben ze einem liep hate us erkoren. Daz minneklich bild fűrt er mit ime, die wil er ze schűl fűr, und sast es fűr sich in siner celle venster und blickt es an lieplich mit herzklicher begirde. Er braht es wider hein vnd verwurkt es in die capell mit minneklicher meinunge.’

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Hamburger, ‘The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans’, *Art Bulletin* 71/1 (1989): 20-46 (pp. 29-34); Thomas Lentès, ‘Vita Perfecta zwischen Vita Communis und Vita Privata. Eine Skizze zur klösterlichen Einzelzelle’ in Gert Melville and Peter von Moos (eds), *Das Öffentliche und Private in der Vormoderne*, Norm und Struktur 10 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 125-64.

⁵⁸ Lentès, ‘Vita Perfecta zwischen Vita Communis und Vita Privata’, p. 148 refers to the library catalogue from St Katharine’s in Nuremberg, which noted that the nuns were allowed to take books with them into the cell. Significantly the Günterstal library catalogue does not include the books, most notably prayer books, which individual sisters owned.

were susceptible to danger and needed to be controlled and this had a direct link to her future salvation. Whilst sharing concerns with the appearance of the nuns or of their buildings, it points to a very different sort of vision, as what appeared to nuns at night became an object of contention.

Monastic sleep was by its nature different to that elsewhere, as the nuns' and monks' day revolved around the seven canonical hours and the eighth office of Vigils at night. The exact time of each office varied according to the season but the sequence remained the same, as the night office of Vigils was followed by Lauds at daybreak. Whilst Benedictines could rest between Vigils and Lauds, Cistercians were, in theory, supposed to remain in prayer until daybreak but this soon became unsustainable. Within Günterstal, the ideals of the monastic day did not always conform to the realities of everyday life. The nuns received a dispensation in 1573, for example, that 'because of the raw and fierce cold that they may sing compline before supper from St Michael's Day until the first Sunday during Lent.'⁵⁹ As with clothes, uniformity was the watchword as the community was supposed to fall asleep and rise at the same prescribed times. Indeed, the same report warned that nuns who were 'sleepy' ('schläfferig') in the choir would have their wine removed from their next meal.⁶⁰

This was manifest of a wider Counter-Reformation drive to reform, regulate and control all aspect of the nuns' lives, including sleep. More so than other rooms in the convent, reformers became particularly concerned with nuns' cells:

They should sing compline every day after supper, and when this is over, they should go up to the sleeping quarters or dormitory and remain there overnight as per the customs of the Order. The door of the dormitory should be locked by the prioress, and she should have the key on her during the night and daily inspect the cells or bedrooms of the other sisters. So that this can be achieved more easily we allow the abbess in holy obedience that she have little windows installed on every door of the dormitory according to the custom of the Order.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/70, fol. 3^r: 'Wir lassen inen auch zů von wegenn der rauhen vnnnd grimmen kalts, das sie von Sant Michelstag biss auff den ersten Sonntag in der Fasten die Complet mögen vor dem Nachtessen singen.'

⁶⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/70, fol. 2^r: 'Welche aber in dem Chor schläfferig, spottlich oder schwigen brechend sich erzaigenn würdenn, die sollen die nechstüolgenden Malzait des Wins manglen.'

⁶¹ Karlsruhe, 23/70, fols. 2^v-3^r: 'Die Complet sollen sie alle tag nach dem nachtessen singen, vnd so die selbig auss ist, sollen sie all auff das Dormitorium, oder Schlaaffhauß gen, vnnnd nach Ordens gebrauch vbernacht bleibenn. Die thür des Dormitorÿ soll von der priorin beschlossen werden, welichen schelisel sie auch die gantzen Nacht soll beÿ ir behalten vnd der andern frawen Cellen oder Schlaaffkammern täglich besehen. Damit aber solliches dester vleissiger beschehe gestatten wir der abbtissin baÿ der hailigen ghorsame, das sie kleine fensterlin an alle vnd iede Camerthuren des Dormitorÿ nach Ordens gwonheit machen laß.'

The instruction to have ‘little windows installed’, so that the prioress could peer in at night, echoed a wider concern about the nun’s time alone in the cell.⁶² Literature which the nuns received at this time constantly referred to the dangers of sleep. As Christoph Grienenwald’s *Meditations* noted, which the nuns were given in 1557: ‘But at night when I want to sleep, I see with closed eyes many sorts of images and fantasies and suffer them unwillingly. And all the more I attempt to turn my back from them and subordinate the strength of my mind, then all the more they worm their way in and cover my heart with arduousness and the burden of shameful thoughts.’⁶³ The author refers explicitly to the ‘lasciviousness of disorderly desires and the wantonness of the flesh’ (‘die geilheit vnordenlicher gelüsten / vnnd mutwill des fleischs’), which subtly work their way into the reader’s minds, ‘just like the poison of pestilence which gnaws its way through the whole body.’⁶⁴ Likewise Jodocus Lorichius’s translation of the pseudo-Bernhard treatise *On How to Lead a Good Life*, included a chapter on dreams and warned how ‘devils often appear at night and deceive the senses of humans with their faces. They also often come visibly and beat the bodies of humans.’⁶⁵ The anonymous author was uncertain about the causes of dreams and cautioned against believing them. Whilst there were of course biblical examples of prophetic dreams, there was also the danger that ‘perhaps the devil might turn himself into the angel of light and deceive man unwittingly.’⁶⁶ This echoed the much earlier concern of John Cassian in his *Collaciones* who wrote of a monk who ‘received a devil in the brightness of an angelic form, and was often deceived by countless revelations from him’ and was a concern shared by other literature which the nuns had access to at the time.⁶⁷ On account of the Devil’s ‘cunning’ (‘List’), dreams were considered on a par

⁶² On the links between physical and bodily enclosure see Helen Hills, ‘The Veiled Body: Within the Folds of Early Modern Neapolitan Convent Architecture’, *Oxford Art Journal* 27/3 (2004): 271-90; Helen Hills, ‘Architecture as Metaphor for the Body: The Case of Female Convents in Early Modern Italy’ in Louise Durning & Richard Wrigley, eds, *Gender and Architecture: History, Interpretation, Practice* (Chichester & New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 67-112.

⁶³ Grienenwald, *Meditationes*, fols. 93^v: ‘In der nacht aber / wann ich schlaffen wil / so sihe ich mit zûgethanen augen / viler ding bildnussen vnd fantaseyen / vnnd leide sie vngern. Vnnd je mehr ich mich bemu^h vnd vnderstehe die scherpfe des gemu^ts daruon zuko^ren vnd abzuwenden / souil dest mehr tringen sie sich ein / vnd beflecken mein hertz mit mu^hseligkeit vnnd vberlast schandtlicher gedanken.’

⁶⁴ Grienenwald, *Meditationes*, fol. 94^r: ‘Sie [die Geilikeit] schleicht listiglich / za^rtlich vnnd subtil herein / nimpt das gemu^t ein / besitzts / vnd wann sie nit schnelligklich außgetriben wirdt / so lockt sie / vnnd zindt an / zugleich als ob sie giffet der Pestilentz durch den gantzen leib aller gmechest ein vnnd zergiesse.’

⁶⁵ *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, p. 386: ‘Tvgentsame Jungfraw / ho^re was gesagt worden: Die Teuffel kommen offft zu Nacht fur / vnd betruben die Sinn des Menschen durch Gesicht / auch offermaln kommen sie sichtbarlich / vnnd schlagen die leib der Menschen.’

⁶⁶ P. 388: ‘Darumb sol man den Tra^eumen nit bald glauben / damit villeicht der Teuffel sich nit verkere in ein Engel des liechtes / vnd den Menschen vnuersehenlich betriege’.

⁶⁷ *The Conferences of John Cassian*, tr. Edgar C. S. Gibson (New York: 1894), p. 49; Migne, *PL*, vol. 49 (Paris: Migne, 1846), p. 534: ‘...qui dum longo tempore daemonem in angeli suscepit claritate, revelationibus ejus innumeris saepe deceptus...’ The Günterstal library catalogue, fol. 40^r, notes that a ‘liber de collacionibus patrum’ has been leant to the monastery of Tennenbach. Otto von Passau, *Diß buch ist genant die vierundczweinczig*

with soothsaying ('Warsagerey'): only belief in God could help lead you 'into future salvation.'⁶⁸

These texts spoke to contemporary sixteenth century concerns about the devil, deception and the illusionary, which manifested itself in tracts on Demonology, dream books and even radical religious groups. In this age of uncertainty and unreliability, visual reality could not be guaranteed.⁶⁹ Within Günterstal, the emphasis on the sexual and the delusional in the latter half of the sixteenth century spoke to wider concerns about these issues within the Counter-Reformation church and society more broadly as reformers attempted to close off the dangers of the devil to create a contemplative life in opposition to what lay outside.⁷⁰

The foundations of this sort of concern lay in a sceptical attitude which emerged in the fifteenth century on the veracity of what appeared before nuns in more unusual forms of vision.⁷¹ Emerging out of the writings of Jean Gerson and his reception in a German-speaking context at the University of Vienna, Dominican reformers such as Nider, Eberhard Mardach and Johannes Meyer (a confessor to the Dominican house of Adelhausen in Freiburg) began to express doubts about what really appeared before nuns in their visions. Mardach, Prior of the Nuremberg Dominican monastery, wrote in his *Open Letter on the Deception of Appearances*

Alten oder der guldin tron (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1480), fols. 31^v-32^r similarly advises: 'I teach you all this loving soul that you do not let yourself be deceived by dreams. Since dreams make men err and bring them into all sorts of disorder which goes against God' ('Diß alles lere ich dich gemÿnnente sele das du dich mit treümen nicht begriegen lassest Wann treüme schaffen vil irrung an dem menschen / vnd bringet sy inmanigerlei vnrichtigkeit die wider got ist').

⁶⁸ *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, pp. 388-90: 'Die Traum seindt gleich wie die Warsagerey: vnd welche acht darauff geben / die werden gehalten als andere Warsager'; p. 390.: '...setze dein hoffnung volkommentlich in die fursehung Gottes / so wirdt dir beide im alhieigen leben / vnd dort im kunfftigen heil widerfahren'.

⁶⁹ Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper (eds), *Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 3-6; Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, pp. 300-28.

⁷⁰ Jan Machielsen & Clare Copeland, eds, *Angels of Lights?: Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 164 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013).

⁷¹ Ulla Williams and Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Die Dominikaner im Kampf gegen weibliche Irrtümer. Eberhard Mardachs 'Sendbrief von wahrer Andacht' (mit einer Textedition)', in Hans-Joachim Behr, Igor Lisovy & Werner Williams-Krapp, eds, *Deutsch-Böhmische Literaturbeziehungen. Germano-Bohemica. Festschrift für Václav Bok zum 65. Geburtstag*, Studien zur Germanistik 7 (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2004), 428-46; Ulla Williams and Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Eine Warnung an alle, dy sych etwaz duncken. Der 'Sendbrief vom Betrug teuflischer Erscheinungen' (mit einer Edition)', in Horst Brunner and Werner Williams-Krapp, eds, *Forschungen zur deutschen Literatur des Spätmittelalters. Festschrift für Johannes Janota* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), 167-89; Werner Williams-Krapp, "'Dise ding sint dennoch nit ware zeichen der heiligkeit.'" Zur Bewertung mystischer Erfahrungen im 15. Jahrhundert', *Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 1 (1990): 61-71; Robert G. Warnock and Adolar Zumkeller OSA, eds, *Der Traktat Heinrichs von Friemar über die Unterscheidung der Geister. Lateinisch-Mittelhochdeutsche Textausgabe mit Untersuchungen*, Cassiciacum 32 (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1977), pp. 147-235; Tamar Herzig, 'Female Mysticism, Heterodoxy, and Reform', in James D. Mixson and Bert Roest, eds, *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 59 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 255-82.

of the Devil (*Sendbrief vom Betrug teuflischer Erscheinungen*) that ‘one should note, how whenever a man has a vision or feeling with his external senses, whether a figure or image of Christ, Mary or an angel, he should be terrified with his whole heart and fear that the light of the devil will deceive him.’⁷²

These stories told of an individual’s encounter with the divine, to the exclusion of the sisters around her, but remained widely transmitted over the course of the fifteenth century, in opposition to the increased emphasis on the community which had become a new watchword. In the early fourteenth century, for example, the mystic Luitgard von Wittichen had come to Günterstal as she sought to found a new community of women, part of a foundation story which remained popular over the course of the late medieval and early modern periods.⁷³ In Günterstal Luitgard persuaded the chaplain to hold a mass, which the sisters of the community attended. As she kneeled with great devotion during the mass, ‘a crucifix came before her, and she was rapturous, and took our Lord’s hand, which he had extended from the cross, and led her to a place, where the cloister [Wittichen] now is. And when she came around she said nothing to the sisters [of Günterstal] of what she had seen but she saw very well that nothing had appeared to them.’⁷⁴ The differences between what Luitgard and the Günterstal sisters had seen was stark.

The question of veracity versus deception came to a head in the case of the Freiburg Poor Clare Magdalena Beutlerin (1407-58). In 1430 Magdalena had foretold the time of her own death and declared that anyone who witnessed this event would be saved. Several prominent figures from Freiburg, clerical and lay, gathered in the convent but Magdalena remained alive, claiming that God had decided to spare her, leading to accusations that she had feigned sanctity: ‘Her holy, blessed life was mocked and denied by several sinful people, and it was often shown,

⁷² Williams and Williams-Krapp, ‘Eine Warnung an alle, dy sich etwaz duncken’, p. 177: ‘Ez ist zu mercken, wenn nu ein mensch hat ein gesicht oder enpfinden mit den äusserlichen sinnen, ez sey ein gestalt oder pyld Cristi, Marie oder eins engels, so sol er von ganzem seinem herzen erschrecken vnd sich fürchten, daz vil leycht der tewefel yn wöll betrigen.’ See also Thomas Lentens, ‘Bild, Reform und cura monialium. Bildverständnis und Bildgebrauch im Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens des Johannes Meyer (†1485)’, in Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, ed., *Dominicains et dominicaines en Alsace XIIIe-XXe siècle. Actes du colloque de Guebwiller 8-9 avril 1994* (Colmar: Conseil général du Haut Rhin, 1996), 177-95.

⁷³ Nicole Eichenberger, ‘Stiftermemoria, franziskanischer Eifer und poetische Erbauung: Bertholds vom Bombach *Leben der seligen Luitgart von Wittichen* und seine Rezeption in der frühen Neuzeit’, *Oxford German Studies* 43/4 (2014): 400-419.

⁷⁴ Irmtraud Just (ed.), *Die Vita Luitgarts von Wittichen. Text des Donaueschinger Codex 118*, Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700 31 (Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 90: ‘vnd do sy zû der selben mess mit grossem andaucht knüwti vnd des selben gott batt, do kam aber ain crüz für sy, vnd ward sy verzucket, vnd nam vnser herr siner hand, die er ab dem crüz lößti, vnd fürt sy an die statt, da nun das closter ist, vnd do sy zû ir selber wider kam, do sait sy nit den frowen, was sy gesechen hett, sy sachend aber an jr alli wol, das ir naimaß erschienen was.’

that she was a magician.⁷⁵ In opposition, a Cistercian nun claimed that she knew Magdalena would be saved and ‘I swear by the living God that this story was not a deception; an angel of God came to me and told me about the dear sister Magdalena.’⁷⁶ Johannes Nider included the incident in his *Formicarius* (c. 1438) as an example of the dangers of mystically-inclined women.

The concern about dreams and about the visions of women were built on the similar foundations of the threat of the devil, his power to deceive and the extent to which one could trust more unusual forms of vision. But there were also differences. First, the writings on dreams, which the Günterstal nuns received, addressed the whole community. By contrast, in the fifteenth century scepticism was directed towards individual nuns as these stories undermined the communal ideal of the convent. In 1429, for example, Magdalena Beutlerin disappeared from her convent, without telling anyone where she had gone and the rest of the community frantically sought to find her, ‘leaving no stone unturned’ and even resulting in her confessor climb the belfry to find her in vain.⁷⁷ Secondly, the language employed was sexualised, as the devil came to corrupt the nun’s body, and not simply grant her false prophecies. In the same way that the language of enclosure became moralising, emphasising the importance of virginity above all else, the concern about more unusual forms of female vision took on sexualised overtones.

Moreover, the later sixteenth century visitation reports and prescriptive literature were being written in a context in which the monastic cell was no longer accepted as a space of devotion, but rather symbolic of delusional, man-made attempts to be separate from the world. Martin Luther asked in his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, as he evoked the negative connotation of dreams to criticise and challenge the value of the contemplative life:

⁷⁵ Wilhelm Schlußner, ‘Magdalena von Freiburg: eine pseudomystische Erscheinung des späteren Mittelalters 1407-1458’, in *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholisches Wissen und kirchliches Leben* 87 (1907): 15-32, 109-27, 199-216 (p. 126): ‘Ir heiliges seliges leben war von menigen sindigen menschen verspotet und vernint, und ward dick geziget, das sie wer ein zauberin.’

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*: ‘Ess was ein andechtige magt, wonet in einem closter Berharts [sic] orden, deren ward von Gott geofenbart in einer gesicht von der vorgeschribnen soch, als sie solt sterben... Bei dem lebendigen Gott, so ist dise geschicht kein betreignuss gewesen; es kam zu mir ein engel Gottes, verkindet mir dise gesicht von der lieben frauen Madalena.’

⁷⁷ Schlußner, ‘Magdalena von Freiburg’, p. 30: ‘Nu ist iss geschen yn dissen czyden uf den egenanten dornstage früe vor dage, yn der nacht dess vorgeschriben jars, daz sie selbe junffrauwe Magdalena ist vormysscht worden und verlorn uss dem closter, also daz keyn mensche erfarn muht noch erfynnen, wie oder woehien sie were komet, wiewol daz sie myt ganzem fliss dick an allen enden yn dem clostter gesucht wart, keyn wynckel ussgenomen; auch yn dem helem dess glockenthorns wart sie gesucht von yrem bichtvatter und synen geseln.’

What does it mean to ‘see God’? Here again the monks have their own dreams. To them it means sitting in a cell and elevating your thoughts heavenward, leading a ‘contemplative life’, as they call it in the many books they have written about it. That is still a far cry from seeing God, when you come marching along on your own ideas and scramble up to heaven...But this is what it is: if you have a true faith that Christ is your Saviour, then you see immediately that you have a gracious God....⁷⁸

For Luther attempts to see the divine through separation from the world was framed in opposition to faith in Christ alone, accessible to all. Internal spaces of the convent hidden from view by walls and doors had become external symbols of the value or otherwise of the monastic way of life.

Luther’s criticism centred on the religious symbolism of the monastic cell but the reality was that the Reformation was also an attack on the social status of institutions such as convents, as traditional power structures were reversed. In 1525, at the height of the Peasants’ War, a marauding band of peasants seized a number of objects from the convent including serges, bedcovers and cushions, an indication perhaps that they entered the convent guestroom.⁷⁹ In addition they entered the church and seized altar cloths. This object was representative of both the religious and social functions of the convent. In the late fifteenth century the nuns had ordered cloth for their altars (and hoods) and even travelled to the fair in Strasbourg to buy Leiden cloth and just had enough money to do so.⁸⁰ These altar cloths played an important role in the liturgical life of the nuns, a visual marker of certain events, such as black cloth in funeral rituals, used for example when Adrian von Blumenegg died and was buried in the convent.⁸¹ But the burial itself was a sign of the power of the convent: Adrian’s two brothers, Sebastian and Matthis, had served as mayors of Freiburg and three of his cousins, Ursula, Guta and

⁷⁸ LW 21 (1956), p. 38; WA 32 (1906), pp. 328-9: ‘Was heisset aber Gott schawen? Die Moenche haben hie abermal jre trewme, das es sey jnn der cellen sitzen und hinauff dencken gen himel und ein beschawlich leben furen, wie sie es genennet und viel bucher davon geschriben haben. Aber das wird noch lang nicht Good schawen heissen wenn du mit deinen gedancken kompst getrollt und gen himel kletterst...Sonder das jsts: Wenn du einen rechten glawben hast, das Christus dein heiland sey &c., so siehestu flugs, das du einen gnedigen Gott habst.’

⁷⁹ StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 124/4, ca. 1526.

⁸⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols 10^v: ‘Item no. 21) I bought eight ells of good Leiden cloth for the cowls at the fair in Strasbourg and each ell cost eight schillings and I had just enough and no spare change’ ([xxi] Item dz xxi zû miner gûten kutten [hoods] deß leideschen tuchs koufft ich ze stroßburg vf der meß 8 elu jede elu vmb 8 ß vnd hatten eben gnüg vnd nit me’); fol. 16^v: ‘Item six ells have also been ordered for an altar cloth in the chapel of Saint Mathew’ (‘Item noch sind vi elu het geordnet zû eim altar tûch in sant mathis kappel ist inen word’).

⁸¹ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 34^v: we decorated the altar with a little altar and black altar hangings’ (‘[M]an ziert den altar mit eim a^elterly vnd swartz fur alter’). For an example of a late fifteenth century altar hanging from a Freiburg convent see Augustinermuseum Freiburg i. Br., Inv. Nr. 11769, described in Jutta Eißengarten, *Mittelalterliche Textilien aus Kloster Adelhausen im Augustinermuseum Freiburg* (Freiburg i. Br.: Adelhausenstiftung Freiburg i. Br., 1985), pp. 85-8.

Praxedis, lived as sisters in the convent.⁸² The object therefore stood for the wealth and power of the convent, something which the peasants overtly rejected by breaking down the traditional barrier between convent and world and entering into walls which had previously been cut off.

Whilst in the case of Günterstal there was a decidedly practical element to what the peasants seized, especially as they took grain and barley from the convent stores as well, the symbolic element could also be emphasised by the peasants, and this became no more apparent than in the changes to the sacrament of the Eucharist. In 1524, Bishop Hugo von Hohenlandberg of Constance, who had responsibility for Freiburg, was forced to publish a treatise defending the sacrament, alongside the role of images more broadly, and several works defending Catholic practice came off Freiburg's printing presses at the time.⁸³ In an extreme example which conflated the two, Blesy Krieg confessed in 1527 that he had entered the Wilhelmite foundation of Oberried in 1525, a place where the nuns had been based in the thirteenth century eight miles to the west of Günterstal, and 'smashed the pyx containing the Host with a blacksmith's hammer; carried the Host to the altar in a monstrance, which he then also smashed; thereafter took the Host from the monstrance and laid it on the altar...Thereupon he donned priest's robes, sang Mass, elevated the Host which he had removed from the monstrance in mockery and contempt, displayed it to the others, who had to ring the Sanctus bells, and set it down again.'⁸⁴ Outbreaks of iconoclasm were widespread in the South West, most notably in the towns of Zurich, Strasbourg and Basle, but this took place in a rural setting and was made more powerful as Blesy inverted both religious and social structures.⁸⁵ The positive and essential role which the senses had played in liturgy had been reversed as the symbolism of the objects, clothes and space of the foundation at Oberried was inverted.

⁸² Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 118.

⁸³ *Christenlich underrichtung des Hochwirdigen Fürsten unnd Herren, Herrn Hugo Bischoffen zu Costantz die Bildtmüssen und das Opfer der Mess betreffend Burgermeister und Rhat zu Zürich uff den ersten tag Junij diß Vierundtweintzigsten Jars übersendt* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johann Wörlin, 1524); Matthias Kretz, *Von der Meß und wer der recht priester sey der Meß habe auch zum teyl ob sie ein opffer sey* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johann Wörlin, 1525); Joachim von Grüd, *Christlich anzeygung das im sacrament des altars warlich sey fleisch und blut Christi, wie den schedlichen verfürischen irtumb Ulrich Zwinglins zu Zürich* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johann Wörlin, 1526).

⁸⁴ StaFr, C1 Criminalia 7 (28 August 1527), translated in Tom Scott & Robert W. Scribner (eds), *The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International, 1991), pp. 108-9.

⁸⁵ Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols & Violent Hands. Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).



Fig. 5: Altarpiece from Günterstal, ca. 1500, Freiburg i. Br., Augustinermuseum, Inv.-Nr. M 63/13, 170 x 178 cm. It depicts Saints Verena, Margaret, Barbara, Dorothy and Genevieve. Reproduced by permission of the museum.

In the same way that enclosure was about openings and closings, vision and appearance in this period centred on both open and closed eyes, as the blind regained their sight, peasants stole church decorations, Catholic reformers scrutinised nuns' clothes and cells and placed dreams and visions under scrutiny. On the one hand, vision and spiritual enlightenment were linked: the eyes could access the divine and the nuns across all periods had models to follow and imitate, from texts on the life of Odilie to finely adorned altar pieces which escaped looting in the Peasants' War and which depicted female saints (fig. 5). But on the other hand, the eyes could potentially corrupt the seer and were susceptible to deception. In a story about a doctor who removes the eyes of a colleague in the *Gesta Romanorum*, for example, the conclusion warns that the eyes lose sight of 'love towards God and his neighbour' and that the devil, represented by a raven in the story, can lead the seer to 'worldly joys'. Yet in the next breath this writer argued that the eyes represent Christ and holy scripture.⁸⁶ Similarly, in the story of the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple in the *Golden Legend*, candles were compared to 'the pure, bright, shining purity of Mary' ('die reine, lutere, schinende kuschekeit Marien') and 'bright faith' ('luterer glo^uben'). But, in other literature which the nuns owned, the nuns were warned that 'the characteristics and desires of this world shine like a burning candle, whose flame is attractive' ('die eigenschafften vnd wollu^esten diser Welt glantzen wie ain brinnende

⁸⁶ *Das bûch Gesta Romanorum / der roemer von den geschichten oder geschehen dingen gaistlichen vnd weltlichen* (Augsburg: 1488), sig. eiii^rv.

kertz / dero flamm hu^epsch’).⁸⁷ The internal and the external was at the centre of this sort of writing, ‘since the external world blinds with its beautiful form so that one does not see its internal things. Whoever lives in this deceptive world must be careful not to be deceived.’⁸⁸

A characteristic feature in Günterstal was the increase in this sort of writing towards the end of the sixteenth century, as the threats of the devil, the world and the devil were emphasised. Such threats had always been present. In 1490, for example the Günterstal abbess Agnes von Tüßlingen received a manuscript, copied by Brother Johannes Strentzlin, of Alan of Lille’s *Distinctiones dictionum theologialium*, in which the twelfth-century French theologian provided sixteen definitions for the meaning of the ‘eye’, ranging from the contemplative life to the desire for worldly things.⁸⁹ But each element of this triple danger was given greater weight towards the latter half of the sixteenth century as the symbolic value of the convent and its inhabitants, having faced unprecedented pressure in the years before, was given new focus.



Fig. 6: *Eine Nonne schlafend*, circle of Bernhard Strigel (1460-1528), ca. 1500, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv.-Nr. Gm576, 57 x 45 cm.⁹⁰ Reproduced by permission of the museum.

⁸⁷ Karlsruhe, BLB, Codex St Peter pa. 29, fols. 48^r-52^v; *Weltlicher Eytelkait*, p. 25.

⁸⁸ *Weltlicher Eytelkait*, p. 157.

⁸⁹ Karlsruhe, BLB, St Peter pap. 29, fols. 102^r-103^r. Cynthia Cyrus, *The Scribes for Women’s Convents in Late Medieval Germany* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p. 174 uses this manuscript as an example of a contractual relationship in which the scribe, working directly for the abbess, copied for financial reward. Nevertheless the copying could equally well have been part of the care of souls by a monk for a nun.

⁹⁰ Lena Weber, ‘342 a-b: Aus dem Tagesablauf in einem Nonnenkloster: Nonne bei der Betrachtung und schlafende Nonne in ihrer Zelle’, in Jutta Frings & Jan Gerschow (eds), *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), 436-7.



Fig. 7: Eine Nonne bei der Betrachtung, circle of Bernhard Strigel (1460-1528), ca. 1500, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv.-Nr. Gm577, 57 x 44 cm.⁹¹ Reproduced by permission of the museum.

These two panels originate from Swabia and were part of a series of four images in which the daily routine of a Poor Clare was depicted. Both images show a moment in time, as the nun, in an idealised depiction, correctly goes about the regular routine of her day, wearing appropriate clothes, reading suitable books and sleeping at the correct time. But over time, and particularly after the Reformation, such a pattern was subject to ever-increasing disruption, as peasants entered convents, reformers attempted to shape internal space and the devil became an ever-greater threat. Looking at all these changes from both outside and inside the walls were the nuns themselves, sometimes forced to flee but at other times offering up more active responses to attempts at change. For them the convent was not just a place of devotion but a home as well and the challenges in this period centred on how that should look, not just in the external trappings of the nun's clothes and the spaces she lived in but also in the internal visions of her mind. Physical and imagined space was not easily contained.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

III: Ears

On 7 May 1591, Israel Bock and his cousin, Ulrich Schuster, travelled to the shrine to Odilia in Hohenburg. Both were Lutheran, but they had heard that the water could restore their sight and hearing if one had faith, something Israel was in need of as he had become deaf. Israel travelled to the shrine with real confidence, optimistic of a cure, and washed his head, eyes and ears. At once his hearing returned. Ulrich, however, burst out laughing and took away Israel's cash donation to the saint and hid it in his shoe. When Ulrich returned home, however, he suddenly became lame, he was partially deprived of his sight and he died a cripple. This was all witnessed by Diebolt Eßlinger, a fellow resident of Ulrich and Israel in the Alsatian village of Boersch, 'who had often heard of such miracles.'¹ The example serves as an important reminder that questions of sight did not have a monopoly on issues of belief, but that these extended to the other body parts as well, not least to the ears. For space was not simply visual or physical but filled with sounds.²

As with the visual, the acoustic environment of the convent was also subject to disruption and change in this period. Acoustic patterns helped to define the identity of a nun and her status in society but these could also be challenged. Objects such as the speaking grille, whereby a visitor could hear the voice of a nun but not see her face, exemplified the relationship of the convent with the outside world and the links between the visual and the acoustic. In their attempts to enforce stricter enclosure as part of a visitation in 1516, for example, the monks of

¹ S. *Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens*, pp. 117-21: 'Da nun vielgemelter Israel vernommen / das diß Wasser solche krafft vnd wirkung haben solle / (er auch damaln schier gantz geho^rloß war) gedacht er bey sich selber / ist das Wasser so krefftig / das es dem Menschen durch vngezweiffelten Glauben / das Gesicht kan stercken / oder wo es verloren / gantz widergeben: Ey so halt ich tro^estlich darfu^r / vnnd Glaub gantzlich / es werde auch gut vnd krefftig sein / fu^r das Geho^r. Gienge derwegen in solcher zuuersicht / vnverzoglich mit seinem Vetter Vlrich dem Berg zu... da name Israel des Wassers... vnd weschet sein gantz Haupt / Augen vnd Ohren / vnnd sihe an stund ist ime sein Geho^r widerumb kommen... Weyl aber sein Vetter Ulrich solches gesehen / hat er daru^eber (Als der jetzt verkerter Leuthen art ist /) gelacht / vnnd das Gelt ohnwissent des Israels wider hinweg genommen / in ein Schuch gestossen / vnd also vollend mit einander auff den Berg gezogen... [Ulrich] ist meniglichen zu Bersch bewust / das er bald hernacher an allen seinen vieren (wie man sagt) lam worden / auch zum theil des gesichts beraubt / vnd letztlich als ein ellender Krippel verdorben vnd gestorben. Diser Israel lebt noch heutigs tags / vnd ist alle tag in Straßburg zufinden / bezeug ich Diebolt Eßlinger alter Vogt zu Bersch / der solches Miracul zum offtermal oon [sic] ime Mundlich vnd nach der lenge geho^rt hab.'

² Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 'Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe', in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-16, (p. 14): 'Space must be understood in more than simply visual or physical dimensions. It is necessary to think in terms of the soundscape of sacred space if we are to comprehend fully the nature of religious experience in this period.'

Tennenbach emphasised the importance of the speaking window for the Günterstal nuns.³ Just five years later, however, Johann Eberlin von Günzburg rejected this in writing that ‘all windows through which one currently speaks to the nuns should be torn out so that they can be seen and heard if relatives or respectable, good friends come, or if one wishes to win a respectable wife there.’⁴ Catholic reformers saw the speaking parlour as a place to preserve a defining characteristic of a nun’s identity – her chastity – but evangelical reformers now envisioned it as a place for the nun to enter the marriage market.

Eberlin directed his criticism of early sixteenth century sounds towards general practice, such as the ringing of bells, but also to sounds specific to convents, such as the prayers the nuns said, the hymns they sang and the readings they heard. He was scrutinising a carefully-choreographed and regulated acoustic environment, in which convent sounds defined the identities of its inhabitants and its relations with the outside world. This chapter contrasts such criticism with the ideals and realities which came before it, as well as its effects. Eberlin’s criticism only went so far, however, and there was more to sound in this period than the devotional. Sound conveyed a lot of information, especially sounds to do with summoning people or commemorating them, and this always involved hierarchies. As such, it became particularly important in this period to determine who had the power to ring bells or decide what the nuns heard at table. As with sight, there was therefore a social, as well as devotional, aspect to the acoustic environment of a convent, and this was heightened by the fact that sounds could travel through the air.

Recent work on sound aims to move beyond a simple ‘inventory of sounds’ (‘Inventarisierung des Verklungenen’) to analyse sounds as a social and cultural phenomenon.⁵ The historian’s task is not to reconstruct the lost soundscape of the past (‘wie es eigentlich geklungen’ in Missfelder’s words) but rather to interpret the levels of meaning which past societies and their historical persons ascribed to sound.⁶ The difficulties of reconstructing the sounds of the past became clear to me when attending services at the still-active Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal, near Baden-Baden. There were numerous sounds which could not be captured in liturgical

³ Karlsruhe, GLA 23/69 (22 September 1516), refers to ‘locutorii fenestram’.

⁴ Geoffrey Dipple (ed. & tr.), *The Fifteen Confederates: Johann Eberlin von Gunzburg*, (Eugene, Or.: Pickwick Publications, 2014), p. 49; Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *15 Bundsgeossen* (Berlin: Berliner Ausgabe, 2013), p. 21: ‘Alle red fenster soll man vffrissen, das man sie sähen vnd hören mög, so nach verwandten oder erber güt fründ kömmen, oder so ainer will im do vmb ain erlich eewyb werben’.

⁵ Jan-Friedrich Missfelder, ‘Perspektiven einer Klanggeschichte der Neuzeit’, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* 38/1 (2012): 21-47 (pp. 34-5; 39).

⁶ *Ibid.*

books – from the coughing of a nun to the opening of the church door by a lay-worker midway through the service. Sitting in the nave of the church below the nuns’ gallery, it was possible to sense the different ages of the nuns from the power of their voices. As Linda Koldau notes: ‘Ein zusammenhängendes Bild der Musizierpraxis in Frauenklöstern zu konstruieren, sei es in einem bestimmten Orden oder nur in einem einzelnen Kloster, erweist sich jedoch als schwierig.’⁷

Eberlin was a Franciscan monk who had spent much of the 1490s and 1500s in Freiburg and was particularly interested in the role of nuns and convents.⁸ Although not directly linked to Günterstal, his concerns reflected the wider changes in practice and ritual which were taking place within the German south west. His writings abound with references to sound, in particular convent sounds. Above all, Eberlin was sceptical of the power of sounds to have an effect in this world or the next. He saw this as particularly relevant for sounds which the speaker or listener supposedly did not understand, as when nuns chanted hymns and heard readings in Latin.⁹ He saw the value of such sounds as redundant, meaningless and powerless.

Bells and bell ringing formed a key part of his criticism of the world and objects around him; indeed for Eberlin, as he put it in his 1525 work *Against the Profaners of God’s Creatures* (*Wider die schender der Creaturen gottes*), there was ‘no greater idol, after the Antichrist, than bells, no greater idolatry than bell ringing.’¹⁰ Eberlin could not make sense of a world where bishops were unwilling to baptise a child yet baptised a bell (‘woe to you profaners of scripture, you corrupter of souls, you enemies of God’ as he put it).¹¹ Bells in this period had names – the bell in the Catholic church of Waldkirch near Tennenbach, for example, carried the inscription

⁷ Linda Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), p. 588.

⁸ On Eberlin see Geoffrey Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation. Johann Eberlin von Günzburg and the Campaign against the Friars*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996); Christian Peters, *Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, ca. 1465-1533: franziskanischer Reformator, Humanist und konservativer Reformator* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994).

⁹ As will be discussed, this formed one strand in his criticism of the convent way of life: Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *15 Bundsgenossen* (Berlin: Berliner Ausgabe, 2013), p. 20.

¹⁰ ‘Wider die schender der Creaturen gottes, durch Weyhen, oder segnen, des Saltzs, Wasser, Palmen, kraut, wachß, fewr, ayer, Fladen etc.: nit züuerachtung der Creatur, allain meldung der gotslesterlichen betruglichn falsch glaubigen yrsalen’ in Ludwig Enders (ed.), *Johann Eberlin von Günzburg. Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 2, Flugschriften aus der Reformationszeit XV (Halle a. S.: Niemeyer, 1900), 1-19 (p. 9): ‘Kain gro’sserer abgott, nach dem Endchrist, ist dann die glocken, kain gro’sser abgo’tterey dann glocken gebrauch’. This builds on the developments in the sphere of acoustic history since 1994 when Alain Corbin wrote that ‘many will be astonished at the idea of treating bell ringing as a subject of historical investigation’: Alain Corbin, *Village Bells. Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, tr. Martin Thom (London: Papermac, 1999).

¹¹ ‘Wider die schender der Creaturen gottes’, p. 9: ‘Wee euch schrifftschender, euch seelen verderber, euch gottes feyndt’.

‘I am called St Anna...Master Jerg in Strasbourg founded me in 1517’ and as such took on an identity of its own.¹² For Eberlin the devil was responsible for such corruption. Bells, he claimed, were merely used to terrify simple people; storm bells for instance encouraging people to prayer, when they were powerless to control the weather.¹³ Eberlin lamented those ‘who turn away from God’s anger and have pursued the devil with bells.’ With wonderful and astute irony, Eberlin reversed causation: ‘I truly believe that the devil awakens and blows off a storm, when people ring bells.’¹⁴ Once again this returned to the question of appearance and reality: the alleged rite seemed to work because the devil created a problem and then solved it, supposedly by means of a ritual which the devil himself had devised. Bell-ringing was powerless as a rite and in fact echoed the delusional power of the devil.¹⁵

More specifically to convents, Eberlin dismissed the value of prayers which nuns said to release souls from purgatory, a primary function of a convent within society. In highly ironic terms, Eberlin once again rejected established practice, as he related a story of a nun who had said to him: “‘If I knew my parents were in hell and I could release them by praying an *Ave Maria*, I would pray instead that they remain there because they brought me into these miserable circumstances. If they were unable to find a nobleman to marry me, they could have found a peasant.’”¹⁶ Similarly figures such as Luther adopted a sceptical tone and questioned the efficacy of such prayers, arguing that ‘in the present no one speaks evil of this Mother and her Fruit as much as those who bless her with many rosaries and constantly mouth the Hail Mary. These, more than any others, speak evil against Christ’s word and faith in the worst way.’¹⁷

¹² Sigrid Thurm, *Deutscher Glockenatlas*, vol. 4: Baden (Munich; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1995), p. 294: ‘O s anna heis ich in vnser lieben frawen vnd sant margreten er lit man mich das vngewitder verdreib ich meister jerg zvo strasbvrg gos mich im m ccccc xvii ior.’

¹³ ‘Wider die schender der Creaturen gottes’, p. 9: ‘Wann ain vngewitter ist am himel, sollen sich die Christen fo’rchten vor gottes zorn, vnd für sein angesicht fallen in demüt vnnd andechtigem gebet, das ist nutz vnnd gütt für vngewitter, sagen sy, darumb leütte man zü dem weter die glockenn, das die lewt betten sollen... Aber nit durch ewer glocken, die so wenig nütz seind das wetter abzüwendenn, das auch etwan thürnn vnnd glocken vom hagel oder stral verderbt werden.’

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: ‘Wee we euch, wo’llen ir gotes zorn abwenden, teüffel veriagen mit glocken gethün? Ich glaub wol, der teuffel erwecke etwan ain vngewitter vnnd lasse dauon ab, so man glocken leüt.’

¹⁵ Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 198-9.

¹⁶ Dipple, *The Fifteen Confederates*, p. 44; Eberlin, *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 17: ‘Ich sag euch ein geschähen ding, ains mols sagt mir ein kloster fraw. Wüßt ich meine elter in der helle, vnd möcht sy mit eim Aue maria härauß bätten, ich wolt sy me hinein bätten, das sie mich in diß ellend wäsen gebracht haben, hetten sy mir kein edelman mögen geben zü eelichem gemahel, so hätten sy mir doch ein pawren geben.’

¹⁷ *LW* 40 (1958), p. 40; *WA* 10, part 2 (1925), p. 409: ‘Darauß denn folget, das itzt niemandt diße mutter und yhre frucht so fast vermaledeyet als die mit viel roßenkrentzen sie benedeyen und das Aue Maria ymer ym maul haben. Denn die sinds am meysten, die Christus wort und glawben am hoechsten vermaledeyen.’

Finally, Eberlin established a link between deception and comprehension. Much of his criticism of the convent soundscape centred on the fact that nuns in particular were unable to understand what they said or heard. Eberlin claimed that ‘monks, priests, and nuns’ had deceived the lay folk: ‘[they] have led us to believe that nothing is more pleasing to God than their birdsongs which they call the seven canonical hours.’¹⁸ Yet, for Eberlin, such prayers were unnecessary and powerless, principally because they could not be understood:

For few monks and priests understand what they sing and read, and those who understand are unable to grasp the meaning and reflect because they rush through it; for where there is no time for reflection, how could singing be of use? The nuns and lay people who listen to them understand absolutely nothing of what is said. One could rather place thrushes, nightingales, and finches in the church; if they earn nothing by their singing, they would not be under any obligation, and then they would not sin.¹⁹

Eberlin’s criticism was fundamentally practical, questioning the value of a life in which so much of what a nun heard could not be grasped:

Your child also needs the trustworthy advice of experienced people. In the convent this is denied her, because the nuns do not understand Latin, and yet every day, at meals and in the choir for ten hours, they have to occupy themselves with Latin, whether for singing, reading or praying. Therefore, this time is both useless and arduous for them. And do not say to me: “If they do not understand it, then God and the angels do.” I say to you: “Your comments are nothing but water and air, since God does not approve such lifelong complete misunderstanding.” Perhaps you have a point when one reads or has read, out of devotion for and glory of God’s word, an obscure text of Scripture which is not understood, containing higher truths than are evident in the literal sense of the words. But God finds little – I would even say no – pleasure in a complete lack of understanding of the language. And even if they already understand the Latin that has been in use for many years, still there is insufficient wisdom written in such “kitchen-Latin” for your child to find sufficient instruction about the perfect service to God for which she entered the convent.²⁰

¹⁸ *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 24: ‘Sähen liben fründ, vnser münch, pfaffen vnd nunnen haben vnß verwysen das wir meinen, nicht sy got angenemers dann ire vogel gsang, das sie nennen sibem tag zeit.’

¹⁹ *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 28: ‘Dann wenig münch vnd pfaffen verstond was sie singen vnd läsen, vnd die es verstond mögen es nit vor behendigkeit fassen vnd bedencken, dann do kein stilhaltens ist, was möchte dann solichs gsang nütz sin. Die nunnen vnd die zû hörenden leyen verstond gar nicht darvon. Als mär stell trostlen, nachtgallen vnd fincken in die kirchen, verdienen sie nicht mit irem gesang, so verschulden sie sich ouch nit mit, dann sie mögen nit sünden, so doch solich stiftt vnd kloster kelber vülen lasteren vnderworffen sind, vnd offentlich das gebot gots von müsamer nützer arbeit für narung vbertretten.’

²⁰ *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 20: ‘Auch bedörfft dein kind trüwes radts erfarnier leüt. Im kloster ist im das verschlagen, dann latin verstond sie nicht, vnd söllen doch alle tag zû tysch vnd chor zehen studn mit latin umb gon, es sy mit singen, lösen vnd bätten, deßhalb ist ynen die selbe zyt vnütz vnd schwere. Vnd sag mir nit, ja verstond sy es nit, so verstdts aber got vnd die engel. Ich sage dir, dein red ist wasser vnnd lufft, dann sollichen gantzen vnuerstand ir gantz läben lang approbiert got nit. Wo etwan ein verborgner spruch der höhers vff im tretgt dann die wort anzaigen, nit verstanden wirt, vnd man doch vß andacht vnd vß eer zum wort gottes das selbig lißt oder höret läsen, do hat din rede stat. Aber in gantzem vnuerstand der sprach hat got klainen, ich sagte schier kainen

Reformers commonly objected to the language and way in which the religious orders sang their prayers, claiming that even those singing did not always know what they were saying. The Strasbourg reformer, Katharina Schütz Zell, who married Freiburg university's former rector Matthäus Zell, contrasted old and new devotional lives and argued that the domestic duties of a laywoman, such as cooking, washing and rocking a baby to sleep whilst singing a lullaby (done in faith), were far more pleasing to God than singing the canonical hours, which nuns did not necessarily understand, or playing the organ.²¹

Continuing in a practical vein, Eberlin also questioned the sheer quantity of the prayers and singing required of a nun. In his view 'singing and the canonical hours should be short and reasonable in the churches and in conformity with the statutes.'²² Referring to Jerome admonishing St Paula for her excessive prayers day and night, he noted further that 'whoever causes the nuns to sing excessively in the church has already been cursed by St Jerome.'²³

For Eberlin, the sounds of the convent had become linked to misunderstanding. This was obviously the case with his practical concerns about Latin and German but it extended to other acoustic signs. Bells also functioned within a specific syntax, as the particular bell, the time of day, the number of bells and the duration of the tolling required the listener, whether a nun or someone outside the convent walls, to respond.²⁴ Through all these sounds, and aided by the power of the devil, nuns were deceiving themselves and others.

In his pamphlets, Eberlin wrote in black-and-white terms to achieve maximum effect, as he adopted broad brush strokes to criticise various aspects of the convent soundscape. Yet, such views stood in opposition to both the ideals of convent life on the eve of the Reformation and

gefallen, vnd ob sy schon latin verstünden, das doch vyl jar im brauch ist gesin, so sind doch vngnügssame leren in sollichem kuchin latin beschriben worden, dar auß nit gnügssame vnderwisung funden wirt zû vollkommenem christlichen gots dienst, von deß wegen dann dein kind im kloster ist.'

²¹ Elise Anne McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell. The Writings: A Critical Edition*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 69, vol. 2 (Leiden; Boston; Cologne: Brill 1999), pp. 62-3: 'So sye trewlich (im glauben) haußhalten: gehorsamen: kochen: schüsseln weschen: kinder wischen unnd warten: unnd der gleichen werck: so zum menschlichen leben dienen: und sich inn den selben wercken mögen zu Gott keren: auch mit der stymm des gsangs. Das sye darinnen vil baß Gott gefallen: dann keyn Pfaff: Münch: oder Closterfraw inn jrem unverständigen Chorgsang: wie man auch etwan thorechte andacht gehebt hat: des unnützen kindelwagens auff der orgel: Ei arme muoter so gern schlieff: unnd aber zu mitternacht muoß das weyent kindel wagen: jm also ein Lied von götlichen dingen singt: Das heysset und ist das recht kindel wagen (so es geschicht im glauben) das gfellet Gott.'

²² Dipple, *Fifteen Confederates*, p. 50; *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 22: 'Das gsang vnd tagzyt in der kirchen soll kurtz vnd leicht sein vnd ir statuten trüglich.'

²³ Dipple, *Fifteen Confederates*, p. 51; *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 23: 'Der die nunnen anricht vyl zû singen in der kirchen, wirt von sant Hieronymo gescholten.'

²⁴ Corine Schleif & Volker Schier, *Katerina's windows: donation and devotion, art and music, as heard and seen through the writings of a Birgittine nun* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), pp. 438-9.

the realities of it. His views on bells, for instance, contrasted directly with a panel painting by Martin Schaffner (1478-1548) of Saint Anthony, the founding father of monasticism, who used a hand bell to ward off demons, devils and animals attacking him from all sides.²⁵ Power in this depiction lay with the monk and not with the devils, in contrast to what Eberlin had believed.

Eberlin's criticism of bells was an attack on the social function of places such as convents as he questioned the power of the bells over lay folk. Even more so than a parish church, convent bells acted as an important connection between the convent and the outside world as the sounds travelled across the walls. The bells in the belfry signified the convent's power as its peels provided the villagers of Günterstal with specific instructions as they had to respond to its calls. When the storm bell rang, for instance, those serfs living near the convent were required to come immediately and help as best they could.²⁶ An ordinance from 1510 records that no one in the village was to offer food or drink after the convent bells had struck nine in the evening, nor give out wine from their house, unless to someone in labour or a sick person.²⁷ Finally, when the bells rang to mark a death in the convent the villagers were to arrive immediately and bury the dead: those who did not do this were fined three shillings pence, whilst those who did help were given food or a payment if burying a nun.²⁸ Such a relationship was not completely one-sided. The nuns recorded that 'whenever someone in the village dies, as soon as they are told, we peal with both bells longer than the length of a *Miserere* and when the grave is ready, the sisters go into the church and sing *Subvenite*, and then *Kyrie Eleison*, *Pater Noster* and *Et*

²⁵ 'Temptation of St Anthony by Demons', 1517, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle A 685; Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, p. 439.

²⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA 66/3205, fol. 471^r: 'Item eß ist ze wissen daß alle die hinder dem gotzhuß sitzen vnd dem gotzhus geschworen hand wenn man in dem gotzhus sturm lút so seind sy dem gotzhus zú louffen mit iren geweren by iren eiden so sy dem gotzhus geschworen hand vnd helffen den selben schaden wenden alß ferr sy mögen dor vmb man sturm gelut het.'

²⁷ Karlsruhe, GLA 66/3205, fol. 471^v: 'Item er sol ouch nieman weder essen noch trincken geben noch dem vnd die glock ix geschlagen het an dem oben'; 'Item er sol ouch keinen win vß sinem huß geben noch den nunen eß werden einer kintbetterin oder einem siechen menschen.'

²⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA 66/3205, fol. 471^r: 'Item sy seind ouch wen man einem doten lút in dem gotzhus so seind si von stunden an kumen vnd den doten begraben vnd weller dz nit tüt der verfelt iii ß d vnd wenn der fröwen eini gesturbt so git man innen zeessen oder ein pfründ her aber wen ein die ußstirb [The meaning is uncertain but may imply a last member of the family dying] So git man inen i grab ß dz tünd die erben vnd gitt inen i fal ß Man git aber weder zeessen no[ch] ze trinken diß ist gerechtfertiget in dem ding gericht vf mei[ger] tag noch Concepcioniß m^e vnd hand sich bekennt dz sis schuldig gen ze tünd mxv^c x jor vnd ist der bruch an sinß junck [the manuscript is cut off here].' This decision had recently been confirmed by the manorial court.

*ne nos.*²⁹ But in general the sounds were a signal and helped to define the relation of the convent with the wider community and the lay people under its care.³⁰

Such a relationship was unusual insofar as the nuns had no religious responsibility for the villagers living within earshot of the convent.³¹ Unlike other Cistercian houses, the convent church did not serve the parish, as the villagers were required to use a chapel dedicated to Saint Matthew which lay outside of the village.³² Whilst the bells' significance therefore lay primarily in its social function, they could also have a religious role to play. On Whit Sunday, for example, the Sacrament was taken from the convent church around the village, as an object normally not seen came into view for the villagers. The convent's grain cellarer ('Kornmeisterin') was given instructions that 'two of our serving lads should toll with both bells for as long and as far that they see the Sacrament being transported and then stop. When they see the Sacrament again they should toll again until they come inside.'³³ In return, the servants received soup as well as four eggs, whilst millers who were called to go up 'into the belfry' were given white bread and a portion of wine as well.³⁴ The sacrament made sacred the space of the village, reinforced by the ringing of the bells, as the visual and the aural were merged. In turn, a hierarchy emerged within the belfry, marked by taste, as different food was given to those ringing the bells.

Such hierarchies extended to the sounds of the convent as well. Outwardly, the different instructions written by the nuns of the way in which to ring – 'three peals', 'one long peal', 'longer than the length of a Miserere' – were linked with a hierarchy of sound. When Sigismund, Archduke of Further Austria died in 1496, announced to the convent by Abbess

²⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fol. 26^v: 'Item wen ieman im dorf stirbt so bald man es hin seit so lút man mit beden glocken lenger den eins miserere lang vnd wen dz grab bereit wurt so gond die frowen in die kilchen vnd singt man subuenite dornoch kirieleison pater noster et ne nos.'

³⁰ Niall Atkinson, 'The Republic of Sound: Listening to Florence at the Threshold of the Renaissance', *I Tatti Studies in the Renaissance* 16/1 (2013): 57-84 (p. 69); David Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns', *Urban History* 30/1 (2003): 5-25 (p. 6). Both consider how the regular rhythm of bells helped to construct and shape space, both temporally and spatially, and to define communities. Kate J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 129-31 has noted that the convent belfry was a signifier of its wealth, importance and power.

³¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 66/3123, dating from 1474, lists thirteen households in Günterstal who had to pay dues to the convent. By the time of the Peasants' War fifteen houses were listed which did not belong to Günterstal: Adolf Poinsignon, 'Brandschatzung in Breisgau nach dem Bauernkriege von 1525', *ZGO* 37 (1984): 78-98 (p. 96).

³² Karlsruhe, GLA 23/2 (4 October 1490) refers to the 'cappel by Guntterstal', i.e. it lay outside the village, on the present day Riedbergstrasse.

³³ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fol. 37^r: 'si sol öch ii von vnseren knechten heissen lúten mit beden glockken also lang vnd ferr si dz sacrament sehen gon vnd denn vf ho'ren vntz si es wider sehen vnd denn luten vntz sy her hein kumen'.

³⁴ *Ibid.*: 'sind es miller so sol man inen wisbrot dor zú geben vnd i sechsling wins ob si vf dz gloghus gangen.'

Agnes von Tüßlingen, the nuns tolled ‘a *long* peal with both bells’ before they sounded for Mass. By contrast his wife, Eleanor of Scotland, the daughter of James I of Scotland and Joan Beaufort, received simply ‘a peal with both bells’ on her death in childbirth in November 1480.³⁵ These sounds were very much political, as the convent positioned itself as part of a wider commemorative network marked by sonic message and making a clear statement about the ultimate control of the Habsburg rules over the house.³⁶

Inwardly, the words of the nuns helped to reflect hierarchies within the convent. Whilst Eberlin argued that the nun should pray an *Ave Maria* to send their parents to purgatory, the Günterstal nuns were praying literally thousands to help their fellow sisters avoid it. This reflected the internal structures of the convent. When Sister Sophia von Keppenbach passed away in October 1482, the nuns commemorated her death through a practice known as the ‘Great Prayer’ (‘Groß Gebet’) in which the convent would pray 100,000 *Ave Marias*.³⁷ The prayers were split across the community: the twenty-nine professed sisters at the time were each required to pray 3,650, whilst the three lay sisters only 100 each.³⁸ In 1485, a plague ripped through the convent and killed eleven sisters and two children in one year such that ‘[we] remained so few that we could not perform the Great Prayer.’³⁹ But, in 1516, when Barbara von Äschbach died, ‘the whole convent’ agreed to reinvigorate the practice, prompted by Abbess Agnes von Tüsslingen who had ‘great pain and suffering in her soul’ that it was no longer performed under her watch.⁴⁰ In that year the twenty-two professed sisters were each required to pray 4,000 *Ave Marias* (an increase of 350 from 1482). Certain sisters were required to pray fewer: Veronica von Summeröw 600, the convent’s scribe, the Bolschwiler sister 200 (‘on account of her office’) and the writer of the entry in the book, also just 200. They considered their requirements ‘too

³⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 3^v: ‘ee man mesß luti do lut man ein lang zeichen mit beden glocken vnd lut dor vff mesß’; 1^v: ‘do man mesß verlut die ii zeichen do lut man ein zeichen mit beden glocken.’

³⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol 1^v, notes that commemorations took place in Freiburg and in all the monasteries: ‘begieng man ir [Eleanor of Scotland] ir luffell gar erlich ze friburg im munster vnd in allen clöstern’.

³⁷ The term was widespread and was also used in political contexts: Peter Ochsenbein, *Das Große Gebet der Eidgenossen. Überlieferung, Text, Form und Gehalt* (Bern: Francke, 1989).

³⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 3^v: ‘Dz groß gebett ist hundert tusent aue maria. Item anno domini m cccc lxxxii obiit Sophia von Käppenbach do hieß man yedi fröwen betten iii m vnd vii hundert aue mara [sic] vnd die leyg schwestren yeglich c betten deren woren iii vnd der gewilten fröwen xxix.’

³⁹ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 6^r: ‘Anno domini m cccc lxxxv wz ein grosser sterbeit do sturbent hinn im closter xi gewileter fröwen vnd ii kind von s. Margreten tag vntz S. Michels tag vnd bliben so wenig dz wir nit mochten dz groß gbet [sic] tûn.’

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: ‘[V]nd aber im xv^e xvi yor do wurden wir der gantz couent mit einander ei[n]s dz wirß nun hinfirgern [sic ?] einander wölten tûn vnd wurden des ei[n]s in der von äschbach stubli vnd wz sÿ die erst die do starb Item diß beschach durch anbringen der Erwirdigen fröwen äpttissin Agnesen von Tüßlingen wan sÿ hat grossi straffung vnd pin in ir sel dz es vnder ir wz ab gangen.’

little', however, and prayed 'more than they had been commanded.'⁴¹ In October 1518, when Sister Gertrude died, the abbess divided up the prayers 'with the help of the confessor, Hans, the former bursar'⁴² Yet, in general, the passages are striking for the way in which it is the nuns themselves who shaped proceedings, emphasised by the nuns saying more prayers than required.

The practice of the 'Great Prayer' has been interpreted as a positive aspect of observant female spirituality in the German south west on the eve of the Reformation, practiced in particular in Dominican houses.⁴³ Evidence from other houses, such as the Dominican convent of St Nicholas in Undis in Strasbourg, where the nuns said 90,000 *Ave Marias* on a death of a sister, stresses that each prayer provided a stitch for a cloak of Mary in heaven, which would eventually cover the whole of Christendom.⁴⁴ This text, *The Spiritual (Golden) Cloak of Our Dear Lady (Der geistlich (guldin) mantel vnser lieben frowen)*, was widely transmitted in the region, including in the Clarissan convent in Freiburg⁴⁵ and the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal, in which each ell of cloth for Mary's cloak required the nuns to pray 15,000 Hail Mary's.⁴⁶ It had parallels with groups such as the Ursula fraternity ('Ursulabruderschaft') from Strasbourg in which repetitive prayers were said to help build Ursula's ship to take her and her martyrs to paradise. In Freiburg the Dominican houses of St Agnes and the Penitents, the Poor Clares and the Carthusians were all part of this fraternity, as well as the Cistercian nuns of Lichtenthal.⁴⁷ Günterstal was not a member of that fraternity but was part of the *Rosenkranz-*

⁴¹ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 6^v: 'Do han ich dz groß gebett vß geben yeder fröwen mmm vnd woren der frowen xxii vnd I schwester der gab ich m vnd gab den ii blinden viten öch mmm won er in vnser brüderschaft wz vnd gab der von summeröw numen vi c vnd mir cc der von bolschwiler ouch cc von des amptz wegen sy meinten es zelützel vnd bettetten me denn man sy geheissen hat.' It is not clear who the 'ii blinden viten' exactly were but they were part of a prayer fraternity. There is a reference in the *Gedenkregister* (Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/216) from the convent of the Poor Clares of Freiburg to a list of donations to the convent between 1552 and 1625. Fol. 60^r notes: 'Brüder Veyt genandt der blind gab vnß vünffzehen schilling.'

⁴² GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 7^r: 'Item wir teilten dz groß gbet mit des bichters hilf her hans alter bursierer'

⁴³ Francis Rapp, 'Zur Spiritualität in elsässischen Frauenklöstern am Ende des Mittelalters', in Peter Dinzelsbacher and Dieter R. Bauer (eds), *Frauenmystik im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern: Schwaben, 1985), 347-65; Felix Heinzer, "'Dis liset man, so ein swester hinzucht". Sondergut in der Sterbeliturgie der elsässischen Dominikanerinnenklöster', *Archives de l'Eglise d'Alsace* 44 (1985): 337-42.

⁴⁴ Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. germ. oct. 28, fol. 129^r, which dates from around 1470; Eugène Honée, 'Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: A Historical Perspective', in Henk van Os (ed.), *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500*, tr. Michael Hoyle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 157-74 (pp. 171-2).

⁴⁵ Cod. Sang. 591, pp. 265-89; on its transmission see Hardo Hilg, 'Mantel Unser Lieben Frau', *²VL*, vol. 5 (1985), 1221-25 (cols. 1222-23).

⁴⁶ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 87, fols. 215^r-220^v (fol. 215^r): 'Diser mantel sol sîn geordnet von x elen deß kostberlichen guldin tûches das man gehalten mag vnd je die ele sol kosten xv tusent aue maria.'

⁴⁷ André Schnyder, *Die Ursulabruderschaften des Spätmittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der deutschsprachigen religiösen Literatur des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Sprache und Dichtung 34 (Bern; Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1986), pp. 233-5. The Freiburg Dominican nuns of St Agnes helped contribute the following to building

Bruderschaft, founded in Freiburg's Dominican monastery, and which included the Cistercian nuns of Wonnental and monks of Tennenbach, the Dominican nuns of Riegel in the *Kaiserstuhl* west of Freiburg and St Katherine's in Freiburg and the Clarissan nuns of Freiburg, in addition to individual entries of monks and nuns from the Charterhouse and Adelhausen.⁴⁸

The nuns were taking part in a sort of visual spirituality, which did not need or necessarily produce 'real' images, but helped rather to form images in the mind.⁴⁹ Jeffrey Hamburger has argued that a greater emphasis needs to be placed on the function and reception of images, rather than on their aesthetics and production.⁵⁰ However, in this instance nuns were taking part in a productive process of prayer, which, in contrast to the mystical spirituality of the earlier thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was centred on the community and not on the individual and in which repetition was at the heart of the devotional exercise.

In general, the evidence from Günterstal paints a slightly different picture about this sort of communal devotion, based on the repetition of large quantities of prayers. First, it was not a reformed house, which underlines that the Observance movement was less of a factor in the popularity of the practice of paraliturgical prayers than has been assumed. Secondly, the danger of relying solely on the nuns' perspective is to risk a one-sided view. Whilst scholarship has seen the practice as evidence of a lively spirituality, evangelical reformers instead have focussed on the burdens which it entailed and doubts about its efficacy.⁵¹ Luther, for example, argued in 1522 that even if the monk 'brought with him to Christ a whole cloakful of rosaries [referring to the practice of saying Hail Mary's to make a cloak for Mary], it would not save him.'⁵² This was a highly-repetitive act which must have taken up a great deal of the nun's time alongside the regular canonical hours. It is true that some of the Günterstal nuns were keen to say more prayers, but it is equally significant that they only had to pray 200 in the first place, far fewer than the 4,000 which the other choir sisters had to pray. It is also hard to ascertain

the ship (p. 234): '20 Masses, many thousand Our Fathers and Hail Marys, 1 vigil, 9,800 'Gloria Patri', 920 'Te deum laudamus', many psalters and in additions 90,600 Hail Marys' ('xx messen, vil tusedt Pater noster vnnnd Aue Maria, 1 vigilien, ix tusedt acht hundert "Gloria patri", ix hundert vnd xx "Te deum laudamus", vil psalter & vnd dar zû xc tusedt vnd vi hundert Aue Maria').

⁴⁸ Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 10, fols. 44^rv lists twenty-four professed sisters and three lay sisters from Günterstal under the care of Abbess Agnes von Tüßlingen.

⁴⁹ Honée, 'Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer', p. 172.

⁵⁰ Jeffrey Hamburger, 'Introduction. Text Versus Images: Female Spirituality from an Art Historian's Perspective', in Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, 13-34 (p. 14).

⁵¹ Luther, for example, saved up all the week's hours until Saturday and would not eat or sleep until they were completed: Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (London: Penguin, 2016), p. 57.

⁵² *LW* 51 (1959), p. 117; *GA* 10, part 3 (1905), p. 351: 'Thut er das, so verlauckent er Cristum, dan er hilfft seinem nechsten nit dardurch, und ob er gleich ganzze maentel mit im zu Cristo brecht, die voller Rosenkrenz stecken, so hilfft in doch alles nichts.'

what the practice actually involved: did the nuns pray in private or together, how many prayers did they say in one sitting and at what time did they set aside their commemorations?

The nuns repeated the *Ave Maria* prayer in Latin and Eberlin's last pillar of criticism centred on the issue of comprehension. The nuns doubtless understood the Hail Mary but were less common and repetitive prayers effective if they could not be understood? The late medieval monastic reform movement anticipated many of the concerns of evangelical reformers but reformers rarely took the issue of language as a theme. In general, they did not aim to raise the standards of Latin.⁵³ Geiler von Keysersberg, for example, asked, like Eberlin, 'how is it that people, who say their prayers in Latin, and nuns are particularly guilty of this, and yet do not understand Latin?' Geiler was, however, satisfied, in contrast to Eberlin, that 'however much he does not understand the words, God knows well what the words mean....He alone sees into our hearts.'⁵⁴

How much Latin nuns understood— whether listening to it at table or saying it in their prayers — has become a key pillar of research, centred on the apparent dichotomy between the high standards of Latin learning in northern Germany and a greater use of the vernacular within the south.⁵⁵ Evidence from the Benedictine convent of Ebstorf, for example, on the Lüneburg Heath in northern Germany, points to an active school, in which the nuns were expected to recite Latin.⁵⁶ By contrast, Sister Regula († 1478), a nun in the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal, who translated a number of Latin texts into German for her fellow sisters reflected the increasing importance of the vernacular within Southern Germany. In her collection of table

⁵³ Simone Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen um 1500: Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Katharina St. Gallen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), p. 68.

⁵⁴ 'Der berg des schowenden lebens' (1488) in Gerhard Bauer (ed.), *Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg. Sämtliche Werke, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1991), 7-135 (p. 117): 'Nun sprichst du / wie ist es denn umb die menschen / dir ir gebett sprechendt in latein / als besunder die Klosterfrawen schuldig seind zetündt / und verstond doch das latein nit... wie wol er selber der wort nit verstat / got der waysst wol was die wortt bedeüttend... er sicht allain das hertz an.' On everyday practice see Peter Ochsenbein, 'Latein und Deutsch. Alltag oberrheinischer Dominikanerinnenklöster des Spätmittelalters', in Nikolaus Henkel & Nigel F. Palmer, eds, *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter 1100-1500: Regensburger Colloquium 1988* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 1-18.

⁵⁵ Eva Schlotheuber, 'Intellectual Horizons: Letters from a Northern German Convent', in Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann and Anne Simon, eds, *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 44 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 343-72; Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung. Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter. Mit einer Edition des 'Konventstagebuchs' einer Zisterzienserin von Heilig-Kreuz bei Braunschweig (1484-1507)*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, neue Reihe 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); Marie-Luise Ehrenscheidtner, *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Contubernium: Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte 60 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004).

⁵⁶ Helmar Härtel, 'Die Klosterbibliothek Ebstorf. Reform und Schulwirklichkeit am Ausgang des Mittelalters', in Martin Kintzinger, Sönke Lorenz and Michael Walter, eds, *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Colmar: Böhlau, 1996), 245-58 (pp. 248-54).

readings for the nuns, including a German translation and adaptation of Michael de Massa's *Life of Christ (Vita Christi)* from the early 1450s, she wrote that 'this is an exceptionally good book full of love, more essential than all other German books. If there is anything much lacking in it that should be corrected with the help of God by the truth of Latin. These are not elaborate, adorned words, which fill the ears, but easy and simple, so that they lead to purer devotion and show the interior of the heart.'⁵⁷

What sort of words filled the nuns of Günterstal's ears and what of them did they understand? Could the nuns understand for example, the voluminous collection of almost one hundred Latin sermons for Sundays and feast days of the church year for the period from the first Sunday of Advent to Ascension Day, dating from the second third of the fifteenth century and made up of more than a thousand pages?⁵⁸ The evidence from the convent is patchy – Schlotheuber notes that 'der erhaltene Bücherbestand läßt keinen sicheren Schluß bezüglich der Sprachkompetenzen der Nonnen zu'⁵⁹ – but we can get some sense of the situation. The library catalogue recorded in the convent notebook notes the presence of 'I nuwen Donat', referring to the fourth-century Aelius Donatus' *Ars grammatica*, a teaching book designed to provide introductory instruction in the Latin language and the most widely transmitted grammar book in the later Middle Ages.⁶⁰ The convent also owned 'ein abcdarius', used to help children at an early stage of reading, in which well known prayers were used to assist the reader – A for Ave Maria, C for the Credo, P for Pater Noster and so on. Works such as Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (loaned out in 1457 to the monks of Tennenbach), Peter Comestor's *Scholastic History (Historia Scholastica)* and Peter Lombard's *Sentences (Libri Quattuor Sententiarum)* were all

⁵⁷ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 70, Vorderspiegel: 'Diß ist ein über gut mynnicklich büch, fürderlich uber alle tütsche bücher. Ist icht brestens darynne, daz sol mit gottes hilffe nach lateinischer warheit corrigieret werden. Hie sint nie kluge geczierte wort, die die oren füllen, sunder slecht und einfaltig, also sie zu luterer andacht und Innikeit des hertzens wisent.' On Regula and her role in the reform of the convent see Astrid Breith, *Textaneignung. Das Frauenlegendar der Lichtenthaler Schreibmeisterin Schwester Regula*, Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur Frühen Neuzeit 17 (Münster; New York: Waxmann, 2010); Konrad Kunze, 'Alemannische Legendare (I)', *Alemannisches Jahrbuch* 2 (1971): 20-45 (pp. 29-38); Sr. Maria Pia Schindele, 'Der Beitrag der Lectio Divina zur monastischen Erneuerung. Zum 500. Todestag einer Lichtenthaler Schreib- und Lesemeisterin am 20. Mai 1978', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 85 (1978): 13-16.

⁵⁸ Cod. Sang. 1156 which includes sermons by St Ivo, Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Pope Gregory the Great, the Venerable Bede, Heimo of Auxerre or John Chrysostom. The collection begins with 'Dicite pusillanimeß confortamini', a sermon for Advent by Gaufridius Babion and which could correspond to the entry 'Item ii buecher Dicite pusillanimes' in the library catalogue from 1457: Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 38^v. On the reception of Gaufridius in Germany see Nigel F. Palmer, 'Die Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten'. Untersuchung und Edition', in Konrad Kunze, Johannes Mayer, Kurt Ruh and Bernhard Schnell, eds, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters: Kurt Ruh zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), 210-44 (pp. 221-2).

⁵⁹ Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt*, n. 20, p. 272.

⁶⁰ Christine Stöllinger, 'Donat', in *VL²*, vol. 2 (1980), 193-4.

popular teaching texts and owned by the nuns.⁶¹ The catalogue also notes the presence of ‘I vocabel’ which, significantly, is found in the abbess’s house.⁶² Schlotheuber has stressed that the educational level of a convent could, in principle, be not much higher than that of the *magistra* and that the ability to read or understand Latin could decline, if not disappear, from generation to generation.⁶³ In 1490 abbess Agnes von Tüßlingen received a copy of Alan of Lille’s *Distinctiones dictionum theologialium*, copied by Brother Johannes Strentzlin, which indicates that her Latin knowledge was high enough to have manuscripts in that language sent to her. Similarly Günterstal ownership marks in a 1489 printed edition of Johannes Marchesinus’s *Mammotrectus super Bibliam*, a guide to understanding the text of the bible, point in this direction.⁶⁴ Entries in the notebook reveal that the nuns heard biblical readings in Latin and, as a surviving letter from 1512 indicates, were able to translate from Latin into German.⁶⁵

In general, whilst levels were not on a par with the situation in northern Germany, the nuns seem to have had sufficient knowledge to speak and sing the prayers which made up their daily routine. The notebook is replete with references to such prayers and the nuns continued to acquire new liturgical books over the course of the fifteenth century.⁶⁶ As Burkhard Hasebrink has stressed, educational levels of nuns should not be judged in relation to universities but

⁶¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 39^r refers to ‘iii buecher sententias Petri’, 39^v to ‘de istoria scolastica’ and 40^f to ‘liber Gaii Julii Cesaris belli gallici de narratione temporum.’

⁶² The presence of these books was not unusual in convents. Lichtenthal owned two vocabularies: Karlsruhe, BLB, Codices L72 and L73, dating from 1417-20 and 1456 respectively. Two prayer books from the Cistercian convent of Kirchheim am Ries contain vocabularies (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Codices III.2.8⁰ II, fols. 94^v-111^f and III.3.8⁰ 3, fols. 2^r-11^f) and a collection of hymns and readings containing a Latin grammar (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.3.4⁰ 42, fols. 242^v-290^v): Arnold Schromm, *Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Zisterzienserinnenklosters Kirchheim am Ries. Buchpflege und Geistiges Leben in einem schwäbischen Frauenstift*, Studia Augustana, Augsburger Forschungen zur europäischen Kulturgeschichte 9 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 245, 278, 280.

⁶³ Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt*, p. 268.

⁶⁴ Karlsruhe, BLB, Df 270, Johannes Marchesinus, *Mammotrectus super Bibliam* (Strasbourg: Martin Flach, 1487), contains a reference to Günterstal from the secularisation period in the early nineteenth century.

⁶⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247 fols. 25^{rv} notes that they are read ‘on St Thomas’s day the Gospel *Exiit edictum a cesare augusto*’ and on the day after St Thomas’s day ‘pastores loquebantur’ (‘an sant thomas tag dz ewangelium exiit edictum a cesare augusto Item mordes noch sant thomas tag dz ewangelium pastores loquebantur’); fol. 5^r notes that the scribe has found an old letter written in Latin and given to the convent by Jakob von Meringen which includes instructions on what to pay their confessors and chaplains which she translates: ‘ich han funden in ein alt briefly gab her jakob von meringen her fir wz latini aber erlichtet wz worden wz man ein bichter vnd ein capplan solt gen wenn ein fröw inn stirpit.’ She only translates the payments listed and not the entire letter.

⁶⁶ The library catalogue refers, for example, to ‘IIII nuwi gesangbuechly’; ‘i nuwen genottenten ymser’; ‘i gross nuw gradal’.

rather on their own terms, in particular the liturgical elements which played such an important part in their daily lives.⁶⁷

Yet, for all of this, entries in the library catalogue such as ‘one book, in which there is Latin’ (‘I bûch, doran stot latnyg [sic]’) indicates a less certain picture about the ability levels of the community as a whole.⁶⁸ Indeed, in the early sixteenth century, the nuns were given a German adaptation of the *Liber Ordinarius*, containing instructions for the liturgical ordering of the year, from another convent, with the explicit intention to avoid ‘ignorance’ in liturgical matters.⁶⁹ The text retains the masculine forms throughout (abbot instead of abbess and so on) but was intended for nuns.⁷⁰ In the section on the two antiphons *Nolite* and *O sapientia* the text notes:

It should be observed that the cantor should ensure that the Prophet Isaiah be read through Advent, the first half at Matins, the second half at table. It should be finished before Christmas Eve. If that does not happen, the cantor should absolve himself with a prostration in the chapter house since it customary every year in the monasteries of our order that the Old and New Testament is read out loud in its entirety. But that is to be understood for monasteries of monks where they read the whole thing in Latin at table, but with us and with you that is not possible.⁷¹

This demonstrates that at table, at least, the nuns heard readings in German, that the majority of the community did not have sufficient levels of Latin to listen to it and that this manuscript was written by a nun involved in a network of exchange.⁷²

⁶⁷ Burkhard Hasebrink, ‘Tischlesung und Bildungskultur in Nürnberger Katharinenkloster. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Rekonstruktion’, in Martin Kintzinger, Sönke Lorenz and Michael Walter, eds, *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 42 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 187-216 (p. 188): ‘Die Bildungsprozesse in den Frauenklöstern vollziehen sich zum Teil in eigentümlicher liturgischer Prägung.’

⁶⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 39^v.

⁶⁹ Cod. Sang. 1343, p. 27: ‘Dar vmb zu vermeyden sümniß vnd entschuldigung von der vnwißenheit / auch auff das dester mynder sümnis geschehe in dem go^tttlichen dinst...’

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: ‘It has been translated into German simply from the Latin. The number of collects for the Mass has been reduced to avoid it being too long and also because they are not necessary as only the priests need to know them’ (‘So ist diß zu teüsch gemacht schlecht nach dem latein / Doch zu vermeüden verdrüß vß der lenge so ist die zale der Collecten vnderwegen gelaßen die man nympf zu der meß dan es auch nit nott ist es geho^rtt den priestern zu zu wißen.’)

⁷¹ Cod. Sang. 1343, pp. 38-9: ‘Es ist zu betrachtten das der senger soll vorsehen das der prophet ysaias soll durch den aduent gelesßen werden / Das halbe teil zu der metten / Das ander teile zu tüsch / also das er gantz auß gelesßen sie vor dem obent der geburt des herren / ob das nit geschicht / so soll der senger dar vmb die venie heischen in dem Capittel / wan es ist gewonheit alle yar das in dem apptien vnßers ordens württ gantz auß gelaßen das alt vnd das Nuwe testament / Doch das ist zu versto^en / von den Conuenten der münch do man den gantzen ymbs latin zu tüsch lißt / aber bie vns vnd euch ist nit möglich.’

⁷² On readings in a Cistercian context see Nigel F. Palmer, *Zisterzienser und ihre Bücher. Die mittelalterliche Bibliotheksgeschichte von Kloster Eberbach im Rheingau unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der in Oxford und London aufbewahrten Handschriften* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998), pp. 153-70.

This paralleled the situation in Lichtenthal where the nuns also heard table readings in the vernacular. Sister Regula was an active translator: her collection of women's lives, *On Holy Maids and Women (Von den heiligen Mägden und Frauen)*⁷³, the *Lives of the Fathers (Vitas Patrum)*⁷⁴ and the *Alsatian Golden Legend*⁷⁵ all formed part of a comprehensive programme of literature for the nuns to hear. The manuscripts contain cross-references to each other and were planned as a whole. At the end of the life of Saint Christina in the 'Book of Holy Maidservants and Women', for example, Regula noted that she had left out the lives of Eufemia, Justina and Eugenia, 'because they are bound into the book of the Life of Christ...when the nun doing the table readings comes to the end of Christina's life she should take that book'.⁷⁶

No such comprehensive programme exists from Günterstal but three volumes of a lectionary for August through to October, dating from the second third of the fifteenth century, can help give an insight into what the nuns would have heard.⁷⁷ This collection challenges the thesis that the monastic reform movement was the main driver behind vernacular literature in the period and underlines that unreformed houses also played a key role in the transmission of popular convent literature in the period.⁷⁸ One of the striking things about the collection is the number of Latin and German versions of the same text: chapters from the Rule of Benedict interspersed

⁷³ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 69, dating from around 1460.

⁷⁴ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 74, dating from around 1461, with additions around 1481-4.

⁷⁵ Strasbourg, BUNS, Ms. 2542.

⁷⁶ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 69, fol. 30^{vb}: 'Hie soltent geschriben drier jungfrowen legenda. mit namen sanct Eufemia. Sanct Justina vnd Sanct Eugenia. So sint sie gebunden in dz büch vnsers herren leben nach den iiii Ewangeliën hervmb wan die dischleserin. an deß end kömet. sol sie dz selb büch heischen. Es sy dann aller nehst vor disem gelesen etc.'

⁷⁷ Cod. Sang. 1140, 1141 and 1142. There were probably six more volumes now lost which completed the collection. It may be that the references in the book catalogue – 'Item II lectenbuecher von den helgen', 'Item II lectenbuecher von den istorien', 'Item i nuw leccionbüch von den istorien', 'Item i leccionbüch von den heiligen' – refer to these volumes.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Late Medieval German Manuscript Culture and Vernacular Hagiography', in Paul Bertrand, Xavier Herman, Étienne Renard and Michel Trigalet, eds, *"Scribere sanctorum gesta". Recueil d'études d'hagiographie médiévale. offert à Guy Philippart*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 343-355 (p. 350): 'The major factor in the broad circulation of legendaries – and in fact, vernacular religious literature as a whole – is the exchange of literature within the networks established by reformed convents in the fifteenth century.'

with extracts from a martyrology⁷⁹; pericopes from the Epistles and Gospels;⁸⁰ and the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, all in both German and Latin.⁸¹ The Dominican Reformer, Bartholomäus Texery, in his ‘Ordinacio’ of 1429 for St Katharine’s in Nuremberg noted, for example, that ‘every time you are eating or drinking a collation in the refectory I want you to read German at table in the morning and in the evening to hear a part in Latin and a part in German.’⁸² Could this explain the presence of the mixed-language texts in the Günterstal manuscripts? Alongside these dual Latin-German texts, the collection also included Latin sermons⁸³ as well as a number of German texts: the *Alsatian Golden Legend* readings for September⁸⁴, Marquard von Lindau’s commentary on the Ten Commandments (*Dekalogerklärung*)⁸⁵, Berthold’s *Little Clock of the Life and Sufferings of Christ* (*Zeitglöcklein*

⁷⁹ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 19-129 transmits chapters 35 to 61 of the *Rule*; Cod. Sang. 1141, pp. 1-94 transmits chapters 27 to 33. On the *Rule* in German: Franz Simmler, ‘Zur deutschsprachigen handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Regula Benedicti’, *Regulae Benedicti Studia. Annuarium Internationale* 16 (1987): 137-204; John E. Crean, *The Altenburg Rule of St. Benedict, a 1505 High German Version Adapted for Nuns*, *Regulae Benedicti Studia; Supplementa* 9 (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag Erzabtei, 1992); András Vizkelety, ‘Eine deutsche Benediktinerregel für ein Zisterzienserinnenstift in Mähren’, in Anton Schwob & Karin Kranich-Hofbauer, eds, *Zisterziensisches Schreiben im Mittelalter – Das Skriptorium der Reiner Mönche. Beiträge der internationalen Tagung im Zisterzienserstift Rein, Mai 2003*, *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik A* 71 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 293-304.

⁸⁰ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 207-59, readings from the Old Testament in Latin for September followed by the same readings in German, pp. 349-411; Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 222-297 (*Epistole de communi Sanctorum* in Latin) followed by the same in German (pp. 298-469). On German pericopes see Nigel F. Palmer, ‘Das ‘Einsiedeln-Zürcher Lektionar’. Untersuchungen zur spätmittelalterlichen Bibelübersetzung im südwestdeutschen Raum’ in Ralf Palte & Andrea Rapp, eds, *Metamorphosen der Bibel. Beiträge zur Tagung ‘Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel im deutschsprachigen Mittelalter’ vom 4. bis 6. September 2000 in der Bibliothek des bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier*, *Vestigia Bibliae* 24/5 (Bern: Peter Lange, 2004), 123-54; Carsten Kottmann, *Das buch der ewangelii und epistel. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und Gebrauchsfunktion südwestdeutscher Perikopenhandschriften*, *Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: Waxmann, 2009), pp. 435-8.

⁸¹ Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 659-95 (Latin) and 695-761 (German). See Werner J. Hoffmann, ‘The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German Literature of the Middle Ages’, in Zbigniew Izydorczyk (ed.), *The Medieval Gospels of Nicodemus. Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 159 (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), 287-336; Albert Schelb, ‘Evangelium Nicodemi’, in *VL²*, vol. 2 (1980), 659-63.

⁸² As quoted in Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung der Domikanerinnen*, p. 181: ‘so wil ich, daz ir all zeit in dem refenter, wenn man da ysset oder collacion trinckt, ze tisch lest des morgens teütsch und ze abent einen teil latein und den andern ze teütsch.’ As Willing notes, however, the two catalogues for table readings from St Katherine’s in Nuremberg only contain German texts: Antje Willing, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters St. Katharina zu Nürnberg. Synoptische Darstellung der Bücherverzeichnisse*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), p. xli.

⁸³ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 261-347, sermons of Augustine, Jerome and others; Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 57-213, sermons of Bede and Gregory.

⁸⁴ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 469-550. On their transmission see Ulla Williams and Werner Williams-Krapp, eds, *Die ‘Elsässische Legenda Aurea’*, *Texte und Textgeschichte* 3, 10, 21, 3 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1980-90); Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte*, *Texte und Textgeschichte* 20 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986).

⁸⁵ Cod. 1140, pp. 551-717. Nigel F. Palmer, ‘Latein, Volkssprache, Mischsprache: Zum Sprachproblem bei Marquard von Lindau, mit einem Handschriftenverzeichnis der ‘Dekalogerklärung’ und des ‘Auszugs der Kinder Israel’ in James Hogg (ed.), *Spätmittelalterliche Geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 106/1, vol. 1 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983), 70-110; Stephan Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany. The Passion, the Eucharist, the*

des Lebens und Leidens Christi)⁸⁶ and Heinrich Seuse's *Little Book of Wisdom (Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit)*⁸⁷. The presence of the last two works is particularly striking as it is as though a small library for private readings had been inserted into a lectionary for convent reading. Both texts had, however, an aural character to them. Berthold's text is divided into twenty-four meditations on Christ's passion, with each chapter marked by the ringing of a bell, and in which words such as 'o', 'ach' und 'we' lend the text a spoken character. The figure of Eternal Wisdom, in turn, in Seuse's text, responds to the Servant to 'hearken, my daughter, and see; incline thine ear.'⁸⁸

Eberlin's assertion, then, needs some revision. Vernacular works were becoming increasingly important and convents were one place in which vernacular Bible translations, for example, were widely transmitted well before the onset of the Reformation.⁸⁹ Examples such as Sister Regula's collection or the Günterstal lectionaries point furthermore to the way in which convents could adapt reading programmes for their own needs. These were collections which reflected the particular linguistic profiles of individual convents and in which Latin did not necessarily dominate. Eberlin painted an oppressive picture of the convent of nuns sitting in silence listening to a language they did not understand. Such a view also ignores, however, the creativity which could be found in a convent on the eve of the Reformation. Manuscripts such as the *Donaueschinger Liederhandschrift*, dating from 1485 and now thought like to have been produced in Freiburg and owned by a nun from Münsterlingen near Constance, contains over forty vernacular hymns and various melodies from the *Meistergesang* tradition, challenging the view that nuns' singing was solely centred on the liturgy in Latin.⁹⁰

Virgin Mary, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 243-334.

⁸⁶ Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 13-45. Sabine Griese, 'Das Andachtsbuch als symbolische Form. Bertholds Zeitglöcklein und verwandte Texte als Laien-Gebetbücher und -Bilder', in Rudolf Suntrup, Jan Veenstra and Anne Bollmann, eds, *The Mediation of Symbol in Late Medieval and Early Modern Times / Medien der Symbolik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Medieval to Early Modern Culture / Kultureller Wandel vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit 5 (Frankfurt a. M; New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 3-35. Griese notes that Dominicans, Franciscans, Carthusians and Benedictines read this work: Cistercians can now be added to that list.

⁸⁷ Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 490-624. Georg Hofmann, 'Seuses Werke in deutschsprachigen Handschriften des späten Mittelalters', *Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter* 45 (1969): 113-208.

⁸⁸ Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 517-8: 'Nu ho'r min tohter vnd sihe. Neig zû mir dine oren'; Karl Bihlmeyer (ed.), *Heinrich Seuse. Deutsche Schriften* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1907), p. 223.

⁸⁹ See Karlsruhe, BLB, De 11, 2, a German bible: *Biblia* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1485), which contains the entry 'Ins gottshauß Gündersdal geherig'. Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247 fol. 10^v notes that in 148 [sic] the nuns spent two pounds on Bibles: 'Item 2 lb vmb mini zwei bücher die bibli'. When Petronelle and Anastasia von Reischach left the convent in the early 1520s for Wonnental they took with them 'one Latin Bible, one German' ('ein lattinisch bibli ein dutsche'): StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 124/3 (22 October 1520), fol. 1^v.

⁹⁰ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Donaueschingen 120, pp. 205-321: it contains 39 lyrics with 21 melodies, centred in particular on Mary. Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, pp. 732-8. See, most recently, Nicole Eichenberger &

The content of these sorts of collections point to a balance between regulation and imitation, as they contributed to a wider desire to regulate and order convent life to form a uniform, secure basis of a spiritually well-ordered society. The opening words of the *Rule of Benedict* – ‘my child, you should hear the rule of the Master and should incline the ears of your heart’⁹¹ – underscores the emphasis on regulation and the acoustic element behind it. This was reflected in turn by the nuns hearing texts such as Marquard von Lindau on the Ten Commandments or the contents of the visitation report from 1516, which they were required to hear four times a year at chapter meetings. It demonstrates what Berndt Hamm has termed a process of ‘normative Zentrierung’, whereby focus was directed solely to what was useful and necessary to the individual, leaving behind abstract speculations. The monastic reform movements of the fifteenth century have been understood as an important driver behind this process but the Günterstal collection underlines that such processes could run parallel in houses which had not undergone such reforms.⁹²

Imitation formed the other central strand of the readings, as the lives of saints, martyrs, Mary and Christ became normative figures for the nuns to follow. On the twelfth Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost, for example, the nuns heard readings in German about Jesus healing a deaf and mute man (Mark 7:31-7): ‘[he] said to him *Ephphatha* (which means ‘Be opened!’). At this, the man’s ears were opened.’⁹³ This was evident once again in the content of the Günterstal lectionaries but was made explicit in Sister Regula’s collection of *Lives of Holy Maids and Women*.⁹⁴ In the prologue to the collection, an exegesis of Song of Songs 2:12-13 (‘Flowers appear on the earth; the time for pruning has come, the cooing of doves is heard in

Christoph Mackert, ‘Überarbeitung und Online-Publikation der Erschließungsergebnisse aus dem DFG-Projekt zur Neukatalogisierung der ehemals Donaueschinger Handschriften in der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, unter Mitarbeit von Ute Obhof sowie unter Einbeziehung von Vorarbeiten von Wolfgang Runschke und Sabine Lütkemeyer’, [http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/?INFO_projectinfo/donaueschingen#5] (8 February 2017).

⁹¹ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Günthersthal 15, fol. 1^r: ‘Min kind du solt hören die gebot deß meisters vnd solt geneigen daß or dinß hertz.’ This manuscript dates from 1526.

⁹² Berndt Hamm, ‘Normative Centering in the 15th and 16th Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology’, in Berndt Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays*, ed. Robert James Bast (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1-49; Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life*, p. 32.

⁹³ Cod. Sang. 1141, p. 363: ‘vnd sprach zû im. effeta. dz ist wirde vf vf geton sine oren.’ A marginal note written by a later hand comments: ‘Ist nit aso geborn sunder versessen mit den bösen der kan den menschen machen reden all sprechen vnd ouch schwi[gen].’

⁹⁴ Sabine Griese, ‘Regularien’. Wahrnehmungslenkung im sogenannten Leben Jesu der Schwester Regula’, in Carla Dauven van Knippenberg, Cornelia Herberich and Christian Kiening, eds, *Medialität des Heils im späten Mittelalter*, Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 10 (Zurich: Chronos, 2009), 297-315.

our land. The fig tree forms its early fruit; the blossoming vines spread their fragrance⁹⁵), Regula presents a sensory garden, with its auditory, visual, olfactory and tasty delights. Yet, in order to reach such a garden, it was necessary to regulate certain aspects of one's life. 'The time for pruning' consisted, in part, for example of 'leaving behind the five senses. Above all the eyes and the ears, since they allow death to enter through our windows.'⁹⁶ For Regula, the ears could lead to vanity ('vvpikeit') and she draws on the example of Dinah, Jacob's daughter, who left her father's house, was captured and lost her virginity.⁹⁷ The epilogue of the collection also drew on the importance of sensory control. The maid was, for example, to avoid men, whose voices were more dangerous and seductive than their faces: 'Man's face is dangerous for the maid...But listening to man's words is even more dangerous than seeing his face...A maid should hold on to this wisdom. When she likes hearing man's sweet words, she loses the brightness of her virginity....Therefore she should stop up her ears like the snake does.'⁹⁸ She was encouraged to close off her senses: 'She should close her eyes, ears, tongue and the other senses as our Lord says. My sister is a closed garden and a sealed fountain is my bride.'⁹⁹ The model of sensory control for the nuns to follow was Mary, 'whose eyes were closed before all vanity...her ears were directed solely towards God...She loved to hear the words of the Holy Spirit.'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenhal 69, fol. 1^{ra}: 'Die blümen sint erschinen in vnßerm lande. Die zit des snydens ist komen. Der türtel tuben stymme ist gehöret in vnßerm lande. Der fygebo'me hat sine grossen [Früchte] gegeben. Die blügenden wingarten hant geben jren gesmack'.

⁹⁶ Fol. 4^{vb}: 'Dz ist der vnff synne verlassenheit. Aller meist der augen vnd der oren. wan die bringent vns den dot zu vnßern venstern in'.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*: 'So sie bringent die vppikeit. Da von in Genesy stat geschriben dz Dyna Jacobs dochter als sie horte sagen dz des landes frowen fürent da vorhin. da ging sie vs ires vatter hüß vnd wart gefangen. vnd verlor den magtume'.

⁹⁸ Fols. 219^{va-vb}: 'Der megde ist auch schedlich des manns angesicht...Doch ist der megde mer schedlich. des mannes worte hören. dan sin gesichte... Dise wißheit sol ein maget han. wan höret sie gerne der manne süße wort. so verlüret sie des magtums liechten stein. Nu wehßet ir kein ander wider. etc. Davon sol sie voran die oren verstopfen als der slange dut'.

⁹⁹ Fol. 220^{ra}: 'Davon sol sie wol beslossen sin an augen an oren. an der zungen und an den andern synnen. als unser Herr sprichet. Min swester ist ein beslossen garte. und ein versigelter brunne ist myn gesponß'.

¹⁰⁰ Fols. 220^{rb}-220^{va}: 'Ire augen warent vor ytelkeit beslossen...Ir oren warent gegen gotte alleyn uffgetan...Des heiligen geistes wort horte sie gerne'.



Fig. 8: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Donaueschingen 120, p. 291, dating from 1485. Here Mary is shown in a garden, before a hymn praising her attributes. Reproduced by permission of the library.

The collection included the life of the virgin and martyr Saint Agatha as a model for the nuns to imitate.¹⁰¹ But, for a reformer like Eberlin, for whom the convent was less a garden of paradise but more a prison, Agatha's life was far easier to endure than time in the convent:

She will be imprisoned, unheeded, without comfort, not for a day or year, but without any hope for her entire life. Oh, hard mother, how can you have this on your conscience? It would be easier for your child to be martyred like St Agatha than to suffer such a long ordeal. You say: "Aha, God gives grace to those who call on Him." But I answer: "Purity and martyrdom are not given to all who desire him, but only to those it pleases God to give them – this the Gospel teaches us."¹⁰²

Sounds echoed the social function of the convent and the religious profiles of its inhabitants. For Eberlin these sounds were a burden which contributed to the powerlessness of the nun, imprisoned behind closed walls; for pre-Reformation nuns like Sister Regula they were empowering, a crucial reflection of their spiritual status as inhabitants of the open gardens of paradise. For Eberlin the nuns were incapable of understanding the majority of what they heard during the day; in convents nuns developed and adapted specific programmes for table readings and had access to vernacular hymns. For Eberlin sounds such as the convent bells were

¹⁰¹ Fols. 63^{vb}-67^{vb}.

¹⁰² Dipple, *Fifteen Confederates*, p. 45; *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 18: 'Es soll gefangen sein, vngeacht sein, vngetröst sein, nit ain tag, nit ein jar, sunder on alle hoffnung, all sin läbtag, wie kanstu herte müter solichs an deim härtzen haben, deim kind were lichter sant Agatha marter, dann so ein langes questen. Du sprichst, eya got gibt gnad so sie in anrufft, ich sag rainigkeit vnd martyr wirt nit jederman verlyhen, der auch es begeret, sunder allein denen es got gönnet, das ewangely leret vnß solichs'.

deceptive; for convents they were one element in affirming their social and political status and their place in the world.

These were not simply debates confined to pamphlets but had a very real impact on convents and the lives of the nuns. Following its destruction in the Peasants' War, services in Wonnental ground to a halt, any form of 'spiritual discipline or respectability' was thrown out of the window and attempts were made to transfer the nuns temporarily elsewhere.¹⁰³ Whilst the Günterstal nuns could return to their convent following the Peasants' War, by the later 1530s services had also ground to a halt because of infighting in the convent and the nuns were encouraged to serve God 'in spiritual discipline' ('inn geistlicher...zucht').¹⁰⁴

More generally, bells became a rallying point for peasants during the outbreak of the mid-1520s, as whoever controlled the bells had the power to sound the alarm and call assemblies.¹⁰⁵ There is no direct evidence that the peasants targeted the Günterstal belfry when it was looted in 1525. But in places such as Maria Mai 'the bells in the tower – as high as they hung – also were not safe. They threw them down, carried them away.'¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile during the Reformation in St Gall in 1528, reformers removed the clappers from the bells from convents such as the Dominican house of St Katharine's 'on account of its superfluous noise'.¹⁰⁷ Philip Hahn has argued that Lutherans developed a great variety of approaches towards the use of bells in a sacred context and that pre-Reformation traditions, that came were criticised by reformers such as Eberlin, could be continued.¹⁰⁸ Yet for communities such as St Katharine's in St Gall the bells were quite literally stopped. These actions attacked the identity of these institutions, social and religious, as power structures were inversed. That was also evident beyond the Peasants' War. In the mid-1550s, for example, evangelical domestic servants

¹⁰³ StaFr, C1 30 A4 (25 November 1529), fol. 1^r: 'diweil sich die frawen inn demselbigen nit ferner enthalten vnd got dem almechtigen der enden dienen mögen. die zu enthaltung götlichs diensts. gaistlicher zucht vnd erbarkeit. inn andere gotzhauser. biz das obgemelt gotzhaus mit der zeit widerümb erbaüwet werden mag. zu verordnen.'

¹⁰⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/114 (1 October 1540).

¹⁰⁵ Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, pp. 439-40.

¹⁰⁶ Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, p. 413.

¹⁰⁷ Katharina Vogler, 'Das Dominikanerinnen-Kloster St. Katharina in St. Gallen zur Zeit der Reformation', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte / Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique suisse* 28 (1934): 1-20 (p. 16): '[H]and mine herren al taflen und bilder zu S. Katrina umgeworfen und zerbrochen, desglichen den halm uß der glogen tun von wegen ires überflüßigen lüten'. Such destruction contrasts directly with the description by the nuns of hanging the bells in 1503, Wil, Klosterarchiv St. Katharina, ohne Sign, fol. 93^v: 'Item we hung a little bell in our dormitory so that one can sound the Mass for as long as a Pater Noster' ('Item wir hand ain glögli vf vnserm tor mitor gehanckt da mit man von der metti ain zaichen lut ains pr nr lang'). A new belfry had been built in 1480 (fol. 16^r).

¹⁰⁸ Philip Hahn, 'The Reformation of the Soundscape: Bell-ringing in Early Modern Lutheran Germany', *German History* 33/4 (2015): 525-45.

entered the monastery church of Tennenbach, a Catholic enclave in the Margrave of Baden's evangelical territory. One of the servants threw dirty water into the choir and noted provocatively that holy water would also have been suitable. Someone then began playing the bagpipes – a sound not normally associated with a monastery – and people began to dance on the altar so that Mass was halted.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, in 1577 when Archduke Ferdinand II sent a Franciscan preacher to the town who wanted to sing religious hymns, the authorities banned him from doing so, fearing that this was a sign of evangelical sympathies.¹¹⁰

As early as 1525 Freiburg's town council recognised the importance of controlling the soundscape of the town in an attempt to ward off the fledgling evangelical movement and published a daily routine for the town's churches, prescribing the prayers and readings to be sung and spoken.¹¹¹ Yet in Günterstal and the town's other convents the production and reception of liturgical books, which flourished over the course of the fifteenth century, dried up. At least three antiphonaries and five processions were produced or came to Adelhausen in the fifteenth century but this came to an end completely in the sixteenth century and by the 1560s there were just three nuns living in the convent.¹¹² Likewise in Günterstal liturgical manuscript production or donations came to a halt. The reduction in numbers in convents such as Günterstal must have also powerfully affected the acoustic environment of the convent because there were insufficient nuns to perform their liturgical duties correctly, which their visitors lamented.¹¹³ From twenty-nine sisters in 1482 to just eight ninety years later, the sound and volume of the prayers must have been very different. Yet, for all of this, convents could continue to be sites of creativity. A fire in the convent belfry in 1547 did not stop the Freiburg musical humanist Heinrich Glarean regularly visiting three Clarissan nuns in Freiburg in the 1550s to teach them multipart singing in three voices, an indication of the high regard and prominent position this convent held in the town.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Dieter Speck, 'Tennenbach als landsässiges Kloster zwischen Krisen und Konfession (1368-1632)', in Werner Rösener, Heinz Krieg and Hans-Jürgen Günther, eds, *850 Jahre Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach: Aspekte seiner Geschichte von der Gründung (1161) bis zur Säkularisation (1806)* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2014), 223-44 (p. 239).

¹¹⁰ Horst Buszello, Dieter Mertens and Tom Scott, "'Lutherey, Ketzerey, Uffrur.'" Die Stadt zwischen Reformation, Bauernkrieg und katholischer Reform', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1996), 13-68 (p. 57).

¹¹¹ StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 1 Allgemeines 54, fols. 1^{rv}.

¹¹² The Stadtarchiv in Freiburg houses an important collection of liturgical manuscripts from the convent including the antiphonaries (B1 Handschriften 123, 124, 137) and processions (B1 Handschriften 118, 119, 120, 127, 129).

¹¹³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/70 (11 October 1573), fol. 1^v hoped to increase numbers up to fourteen from the present eight so that the nuns could perform Matins and the other offices, the Mass and the Vigil for the Dead daily.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Ludolph Wohleb, 'Beiträge zur Baugeschichte des Klosters St. Klara in der Predigervorstadt in Freiburg', *Schau-ins-Land* 72 (1954): 49-56 (p. 52): 'Der edel und hochgelehrt Herr Heinricus Clareanus, ein

Creativity in musical and artistic matters was therefore not an exclusive domain of the post-Tridentine convent landscape.¹¹⁵ But in general the period was marked by a desire to regulate more strictly the soundscape of the convent and to return to the core tenets of the nun's liturgical life. In Günterstal visitations urged a tightening of the rules as the bells were to ring for Matins as early as two in the morning on the most important feast days; the nuns were to bow their head whenever they heard the names of Jesus or Mary; and they were to sing 'O saving host' ('O salutaris hostia') whenever the host was raised during Mass. On a daily basis the nuns had to sing the canonical hours, the Mass, the vigil for the dead, the *Salve Regina* and, in the chapter house, anniversaries of the dead and the versicle 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints' ('Preciosa mors sanctorum in conspectu domini').¹¹⁶

The canonical hours, prayers for the dead and the chapter meeting marked a distinct convent soundscape, which acted as markers of the convent's function for the world but also its separation from it. When Jodocus Lorichius provided the nuns with a German translation of the *Ecclesiastica Officia*, the statutes of the Cistercian Order, in 1583 he felt it necessary to include a justification 'on the usefulness of external ceremonies' in a prologue.¹¹⁷ For Lorichius these ceremonies were a reminder that Christ's life was mirrored in the liturgical year of the Church and were a sign, 'in soul and body', of a Christian's 'due thankfulness' and 'service which he was commanded to perform.'¹¹⁸ As he emphasised in a separate work on the canonical hours, *De Horis Canonicis*, this was necessary more than ever because of the spread of 'heresy in today's Christian world.'¹¹⁹ The emphasis on control and regulation of the convent soundscape was also seen in Freiburg's other convents. A late sixteenth century manuscript from the Dominican convent of St Katherine's contains, alongside instructions for performing services over the course of the year and table readings for New Year's Day, the articles on convents from the 1567 Synod of Constance, overseen by Bishop Marx Sittich, including the

bekannter Poet derzeit allhier zu Freiburg, ein gottseliger, frommer herr, hat 1556 mit Erlaubnis unserer geistlichen Obrigkeit in unserm Gottshaus die jungen Schwestern den Figuralgesang anfangen lehren auf drei Stimmen. Er hat ihnen die Gesänge alle selbst komponiert und geschrieben, wie auch etliche musica-Büchlein drucken lassen'; Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur*, p. 589; Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote, 'Heinrich Glarean's World', in Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote, eds, *Heinrich Glarean's Books. The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-37.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Colleen Baade, 'Music and Misgiving: Attitudes Towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain', in Cordula van Wyhe (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe. An Interdisciplinary View* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 81-95.

¹¹⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/70, fols. 1^v-3^r.

¹¹⁷ Cod. Sang. 1345, fols. 2^r-3^v: 'Von nutzbarkeit der äusserlichen Caeremonien.'

¹¹⁸ Fol. 3^v: 'baide mit seel vnd leyb, schuldige danckbarkeit vnd bevolene dienst zu verweysen.'

¹¹⁹ *De horis canonicis: seu penso precu, quod ministri dei, et ecclesiae; pro se, et populo accurabunt* (Freiburg i. Br.: Stephan Graf, 1579), sig. A2^r: 'Inter complures alias causas, grassantium hodie in orbe Christiano haeresum...'

prescriptions of Trent on enclosure.¹²⁰ The acoustic dimensions of enclosure were an essential part of the desire for separation, a sign of the nun's exclusivity and the special access she was granted to the divine.

In 1523, the Cistercian nun and later abbess of Lichtenthal, Anna von Mörsberg, received a copy of a Book of Hours (fig. 9).¹²¹ Opening with the *Ave Maria*, a bird rests on the coat of arms of her family at the bottom of the page. For Anna this book reflected the singing of birds, as she devoted herself to a life in an enclosed garden. Yet for Eberlin these sorts of prayers were also birdsong but interpreted differently: pleasant to hear but incomprehensible and burdensome for those required to sing.

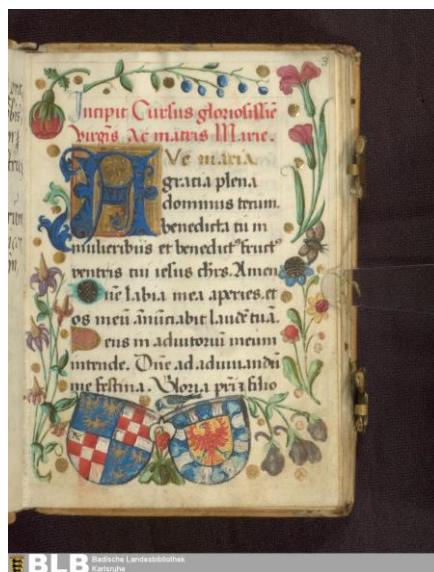


Fig. 9: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 45, fol. 3r. Reproduced by permission of the library.

¹²⁰ StaFr, B1 Handschriften 153, pp. 28-59. Marx Sittich, *Constitutiones et Decreta Synodalia Civitatis et Diocesis Constantiensis etc.* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1569), fols. 206^v-212^v.

¹²¹ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 45.

IV: Nose



Fig. 10: Albrecht Dürer, 'The Men's Bath', 1496/7, 39.2 x 28.3 cm.¹ Available in the public domain.

It may seem surprising that a chapter of a thesis centred on the nun's body should begin with an image of naked men bathing. Albrecht Dürer's *The Men's Bath* depicts an open air bath, presumably the one on Schütt Island in Nuremberg, while they drink, listen to music and talk amongst themselves. Produced after his trip to Italy in 1495-6, various interpretations have been suggested: a depiction of the four temperaments; a satire on Humanist circles in Nuremberg (the older beer-drinking figure on the right could represent Willibald Pirckheimer); a commentary on syphilis, which arrived in Nuremberg in 1496 and which resulted in syphilitic people being banned from the baths; or simply a depiction of a group of men enjoying each other's company.²

¹ Willi Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (London: W. & G. Foyle, 1927), nr. 101.

² For recent interpretations see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Dürer* (London; New York: Phaidon, 2012), pp. 84-5; Peggy Grosse, 'The Nude', in *Daniel Hess and Thomas Eser, eds, The Early Dürer* (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums; London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2012), pp. 373-5; Heiner Borggreffe, 'Anatomie, Erotik, Dissimulation. Nackte Körper von Dürer, Baldung Grien und den Kleinmeistern', in Andreas Tacke and Stefan Heinz, eds, *Menschenbilder. Beiträge zur altdeutschen Kunst* (Fulda: Michael Imhof, 2011), pp. 33-55.



Fig. 11: Albrecht Dürer, 'Woman's Bath', c. 1496, 23.1 x 22.6 cm.³ Available in the public domain.

Dating from the same period, and surviving only as a drawing, Dürer's *Women's Bath* displays parallel with the men's scene, not only in the same subject matter, but in the identical number of bathers, the overall composition, and the presence of an older figure on the right hand side. Differences remain, though: the scene takes place inside a bathhouse; interest seems to be more in the cleaning process than social activity (one woman, for instance, washes her back) and the children and the peeping-tom figure in the top left hand corner lend the drawing voyeuristic overtones. Although objects with the senses are not included, it is a sensual, erotic image.⁴ It was a subject which would continue into the sixteenth century, as Hans Sebald Beham's (1500-1550) engraving *Drei Frauen in der Badestube* (1548) makes clear.⁵

³ Friedrich Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1936), nr. 152.

⁴ Grosse, 'The Nude', p. 374 refers to '[its] sensual aspect' and Borggreffe, 'Anatomie, Erotik, Dissimulation', p. 39 to 'die sensuelle Wirkung des Körpers'.

⁵ Borggreffe, 'Anatomie, Erotik, Dissimulation', p. 43; Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze. Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), figs. 36 and 37, pp. 144-5. Roper notes how a later version of Beham's image from 1626 was confiscated as pornographic and became part of the collection of court exhibits in Augsburg.

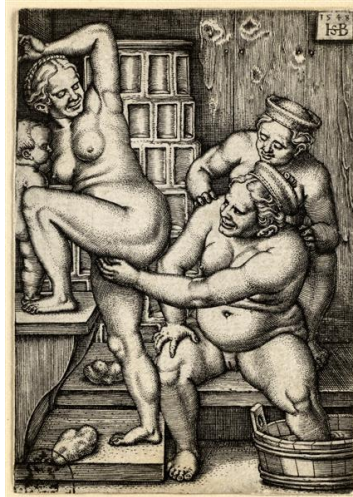


Fig. 12: Hans Sebald Beham, 'Drei Frauen in der Badestube', Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, A 3201, 8.2 x 5.8 cm, Photo: Herbert Boswank.⁶ Reproduced by permission of the gallery.

The links between the sensory, sensual and bathing were also evident within written sources of the era, most famously in the description of the baths in Baden in the Aargau by the Italian humanist, Poggio Bracciolini, in a letter to his friend Niccolo Niccoli in 1419 on his return from the Council of Constance.⁷ His account has been regarded as inaccurate and seen as highly stylised within the context and culture of humanist letter writing.⁸ Regardless of this, Poggio seeks, like Dürer, to evoke the sensory and sensual world of bathing: he refers to more exclusive private houses where men and women were separated by a sort of lattice which contained low windows, allowing the bathers to drink together, see each other and even touch each other.⁹ The bathers would be served floating meals, there was singing, dancing and the playing of instruments and it was customary for men to throw down different coloured flowers from the balconies with which the women bathers would decorate their heads.¹⁰ Poggio notes that among

⁶ Gustav Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham. Ein kritisches Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche, Radirungen und Holzschnitte*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 33 (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1901), pp. 413-4.

⁷ Helene Harth (ed.), *Poggio Bracciolini: Lettere. Lettere a Niccolò Niccoli*, vol. 1 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1984), pp. 128-35; Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters. The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York; London: Columbia University Press, 1974), pp. 24-31; Helmut Busch, 'Reisen zum Gesundenwerden: Badereisen', in Xenja von Ertzdorff & Dieter Neukirch, eds, *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 3.-8. Juni 1991 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, Chloë: Beihefte zum Daphnis 13 (Amsterdam; Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, 1992), 487-92.

⁸ Birgit Studt, 'Die Badenfahrt. Ein neues Muster der Badepraxis und Badegeselligkeit im deutschen Mittelalter', in Michael Matheus (ed.), *Badeorte und Bäderreisen in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Mainzer Vorträge 5 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 33-52 (pp. 43-4).

⁹ Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini*, p. 130: 'At vero balnea, que sunt in domibus privatorum, perpolitata sunt et ipsa viris feminisque communia. Tabulata quedam eos secernunt et in eis fenestrelle perplures demisse, quibus et una potare, simul colloqui et utrinque videre atque attractare queant, ut eorum est frequens consuetudo'.

¹⁰ Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini*, pp. 131-2: 'In ipsis aquis sepius de simbolis edunt composita mensa desuper aquam natante, quibus viros assistere consueverunt'; '[Q]uotidie ter aut quater balnea intrant, maiorem in his diei partem

the bathers he sees abbots, monks, friars, priests and, significantly for our topic, ‘virgines vestales’, i.e. nuns.¹¹ Likewise, German satirical tales of nuns behaving inappropriately in the bathhouse survive from the late fifteenth century, with a nun declaring that she wants to be rubbed all over.¹²

Poggio, Beham and Schmieher suggested there was only one reason to go on such trips: to enjoy the pleasures of the bath. Yet some scholars have cautioned against seeing bathhouses as places of sexual and moral decay. Eberhard Fritz has argued we need to reject the close association between bathhouse and brothel, although Simone Laqua O’Donnell has shown in the case of early modern Münster how its bathhouse could function as ‘bath, hostel, bar, and a brothel – a place that housed the licit and the illicit in dangerously close proximity.’¹³ In July 1586, for example, Brother Johann Scherer of the Wilhelmite priory of Oberried was dismissed on account of a catalogue of abuses which included going on a trip to the ‘kybbad’, a bathhouse in the Kappel valley in Freiburg, with a woman.¹⁴

Within Freiburg, the bath attendants were respected members of the community and belonged to the artist’s guild (‘Malerzunft’) and ironically gave regular donations to the Wilhelmite monks of Oberried (a place which the Günterstal nuns inhabited for a few years in the early fourteenth century). The fact that the statutes for the guild made clear that dishonourable acts would result in punishment indicates, however, that such an association was never far away.¹⁵

agentes, partim cantando, patrim choreas exercendo’; ‘Proiciuntur preterea et sarta variis distincta floribus, quibus capita exornant dum abluuntur’.

¹¹ Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini*, p. 133: ‘Hic quoque virgines vestales, vel ut verius loquar, florales, hic abbates, monachi, fratres, sacerdotes maiori licentia quam ceteri vivunt et simul quandoque cum mulieribus lavantes et sertis quoque comas ornantes omni religione abiecta’.

¹² Peter Schmieher, ‘Die Nonne im Bade’, in Hanns Fischer (ed.), *Die deutsche Märendichtung des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchung zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 12 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1966), 93-8. The nun declares (p. 94) that ‘ich wil nit lenger sein, / ich wil auch in das pad gan, / ob ich müg ein reiber han, / wann ich mag nit lenger beleiben, / ich wil mich frischlich lassen reiben’. On the bathhouse as a place of satire, see Sebastian Coxon, ‘Keller, Schlafkammer, Badewanne: Innenräume und komische Räumlichkeit bei Heinrich Kaufringen’, in Burkhard Hasebrink et al, eds, *Innenräume in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters. XIX. Anglo-German Colloquium* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), 179-96.

¹³ Eberhard Fritz, ‘Badstuben im Konstitutionsprozess der ländlichen Gemeinde in Südwestdeutschland an der Wende zur Frühen Neuzeit’, *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 65 (2006), 11-35 (pp. 17, 20); Simone Laqua-O’Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 117.

¹⁴ Moriz Gmelin, ‘Das Visitationsprotokollen der Diözese Konstanz von 1571-1586. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Klerus’, *ZGO* 25 (1873): 129-204 (p. 201): ‘sonder auch in dem kybbad mit einer weibspersons ehr ergerlichen (wie dann allenthalben ruochtbar) gehalten.’

¹⁵ Ernst Theodor Nauck, *Aus der Geschichte der Freiburger Wundärzte und verwandter Berufe*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 8 (Freiburg i. Br.: Wagersche Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 86, taken from the June 1477 ‘Zunftordnung der Bader’: ‘Item der meister ir frowen noch gesind söllent keinerley kupplery, büben noch hüren werk in iren huwsern irem gesind noch fremden

Moreover, it is important to recognise a distinction between the bathhouse within the town and spa complexes like Baden, based around natural waters. Evidence suggests that nuns and monks would visit spas and natural baths, not town bathhouses.

This chapter aims to understand one aspect of convent life in this period through the example of nuns going to the baths, a practice which is recorded from Günterstal. Whilst the writings of Poggio and Schmieher and the drawings of Dürer and Beham emphasised the sexual connotations of bathing, in reality there were a whole host of other reasons why nuns travelled to the baths in the period: practical, medicinal and social. Moreover, in its links with purity and cleanliness, bathing could take on spiritual overtones. This had obvious parallels with baptism, as devotional texts and practices about bathing drew on the links between water, cleanliness and the washing away of sin. Nevertheless, unlike baptism, whilst water was obviously crucial for the baths, it was not the only element, as activities such as blood-letting also took place within bathing complexes. Baptism did not have such an obvious connection with medicine as bathing did. Moreover, baptism was rarely mentioned in convent texts and records, in part because it was the one event for nuns in their life cycle and religious journey which happened outside the convent walls.¹⁶

Trips to the baths were a fundamental part of convent life in the period and region. In an extensive study Pius Kaufmann has uncovered numerous cases of such trips by monasteries and convents.¹⁷ This study does not, however, link such practices with the religious and spiritual side of convent identity in this period. As with other signs of this identity, it also came under attack and pressure in the post-Reformation world, as convent bathhouses were attacked by peasants, the bathhouse became a place of confessional propaganda and Counter-Reformation reformers sought to strike a balance between the practical needs of the nun and the emphasis on enclosure. Baptism has long been recognised as one of the central dividing lines of the Reformation, as figures such as Michael Sattler, prior of the Benedictine monastery of St Peter im Schwarzwald, with whom Günterstal had close connections, joined the Anabaptist cause.¹⁸ Yet a focus on bathing offers a different, but no less meaningful

vertragen. Wer das zuliess oder tät, der bessert dem handwerk fünff schilling, so oft das geschiecht'; Knefelkamp, *Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen*, p. 128: 'Die Bader gehörten in Freiburg nicht zu den 'unehrlichen Leuten''.

¹⁶ Alexandra Bamji, 'The Catholic Life-Cycle', in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 183-201.

¹⁷ Pius Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad. Die Entwicklung der Badefahrten und der 'Naturbäder' im Gebiet der Schweiz und im angrenzenden südwestdeutschen Raum (1300-1610)* (Zurich: Chronos, 2009), pp. 189-202.

¹⁸ C. Arnold Snyder, *The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler*, Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History 26 (Scottsdale, PA; Kitchener, Ontario: Herald Press, 1984).

perspective, and one which was more closely tied with the convent experience. If convents were to be a reflection of purity within a society, nuns had to be physically and spiritually clean.

Trips to the baths, whether by individual sisters or the community as a whole, were an important part of convent life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The key evidence for this practice in Günterstal can be found in the notebook which includes the following brief passage:

In the year of our Lord 1497 our lady [the abbess] went to the baths. The convent presented her with a small box with spent grains. Also our lady gave to [Veronica von] Mülheim [a future abbess] four hens, two to each sister, for the convent there were five as well. Then our lady gave to our priests half a salmon worth twenty shillings. Also our lady presented the confessor half a guilder for the convent to go to the baths.¹⁹

More information is not, however, given and it remains unclear whether this was a regular practice, whether the abbess and the rest of the convent went on separate trips and why Veronica von Mülheim received particular gifts. The exchange of gifts points to the fact that the practice of going to the baths seems to have been institutionalised, reinforced by the recording of details in the notebook. The same source also notes how the nuns were involved in the production of bathing shirts for male bathers, without giving further information on this practice.²⁰

By and large convents and monasteries seem to have had their own bathhouses: in 1510, for example, a bathhouse was built in the Benedictine monastery of Blaubeuren, west of Ulm, complete with the ‘Schwitzofen’ (similar to a sauna) and changing room for the monks, whilst a fifteenth century bathhouse survives in the Cistercian nunnery of Anrode, near Mühlhausen.²¹

¹⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 35^r: ‘Anno domini 1497 do badet vnser frow deren schankt der cofent ein ledli mit tresit. Item der von mulhin schankt vnser frow iiii hu^ern [sic] ieder swester ii fur den couent wrend v do by. Item vnseren herren schankt vnser frow i halben salmen fur xx ß. Item dem bichter schankt vnser frow ̄ guldin fur den couent in dz bad.’ It is unclear to which baths the abbess, at this point Agnes von Tüßlingen, and the nuns travelled to: there were a number of baths in region, such as Baden-Baden, Badenweiler or Baden in the Aargau. Ulrich Goebel, Anja Lobenstein-Reichmann and Oskar Reichmann, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 5, part 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), col. 1354 notes that ‘treset’ are the ‘Treber; was von Ausgetrocknetem übrig bleibt; Rückstand des gekelterten Weins.’

²⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 9^v: ‘Item zû einß manß bad hemd xvi elu tûch dz elu breit ist iiii ellu lang dz werden v tûcher x elu wit’. Poggio noted how the men wore leather aprons and the women linen shirts, which did not cover their whole bodies: ‘Masculi campestribus tantummodo utunatur, femine vero linteis induuntur vestibus crurum tenus, ab altero latere scissis ita, ut neque collum neque pectus nec brachia aut lacertos tegant’: Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini*, p. 131.

²¹ Susanne Arnold, ‘Badhäuser in Südwestdeutschland’, in Rurialia & Jan Klápště, eds, *Water Management in Medieval Rural Economy / Les usages de l’eau en milieu rural au Moyen Âge* (Prague: Institute of Archaeology, 2005), 174-82 (pp. 176-7). Arnold notes how the ninth century monastery plan from St Gall includes baths for the monks, students, sick and servants of the monastery. The Blaubeuren bathhouse is one of twelve which has been excavated in Baden-Württemberg. Ulrich Knefelkamp, *Das Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Freiburg*

An inventory from the Cistercian convent of Wöltingerode from 1572 details the pans, ovens and sinks which a convent bath contained,²² whilst places such as the wealthy Dominican convent of Klingental in Basle had the luxury of two bathhouses – in addition to the nuns being allowed to swim in the Rhine in the summer!²³

Alongside the record from Günterstal, numerous references survive of nuns leaving the convent's walls and going on trips to the baths, such as the Cistercian nuns of Feldbach and Tänikon in Switzerland.²⁴ In 1467, for example, Abbess Elisabeth Kröhl of the Cistercian convent of Heggbach ostensibly went on a trip to the baths, but in reality wanted to inspect the living conditions of other Cistercian houses in the Upper Swabian region, as she attempted to introduce stricter enclosure into the convent.²⁵ In the early sixteenth century, the Dominican nuns of Töb sought papal bulls to allow them to travel to the baths in Baden in the Aargau and to wear secular clothes. They also invited local women from the region to their own baths, which the Zurich council attempted to regulate in 1523.²⁶

There were any number of reasons for travelling to the baths for the nuns. Rules and statutes governing their lives allowed them to leave the convent for the baths because of ill health. The *Rule of Benedict* noted that 'the use of baths be afforded the sick, as often as may be expedient; but to the healthy, and especially to the young, let them be granted more rarely.'²⁷ The sixteenth

im Breisgau im Mittelalter, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 17 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1981), p. 126 notes that 'die reichen Geschlechter besaßen meist eigene Badestuben, ebenso wie die Spitäler und die Klöster',

²² Jessica Kreutz, *Die Buchbestände von Wöltingerode: ein Zisterzienserinnenkloster im Kontext der spätmittelalterlichen Reformbewegungen*, Wolfenbüttler Mittelalter-Studien 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), p. 228: 'ein esern Offen – drei grosse Kessell – zwei kleine kupferne Pfan – zwanzig messings Bade Becken klein und gros – vier Gropen – funf Hand Kessell – funf Wasch Budden – drei Standen mit Aschen – ein Wasch Budde.'

²³ Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 44 which also includes bathing references from the Benedictine convent of Ebstorf and Anna von Buchwald's convent chronicle from Preetz. The chronicle of the Freiburg Dominican nun of St Agnes, Prioress Apollonia Cabelisin, from 1630 to 1658, refers to 'das bad und schropffstüble', transcribed in Bock, *Der Inventar- und Ausstattungsbestand des säkularisierten Dominikanerinnen-Neuklosters Adelhausen*, p. 11.

²⁴ Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad*, pp. 100, 191, who draws on surviving accounts from Tänikon, whose nuns in 1550/1 paid out eleven shillings for a trip to the baths. In turn the Feldbach abbess Afra Schmid (1549-82) emphasised the need to the convent steward for the nuns to go to the baths for medicinal reasons.

²⁵ Immo Eberl, 'Stiftisches Leben in Klöstern. Zur Regeltreue im klösterlichen Alltag des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit', in Irene Crusius (ed.), *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 167; Studien zur Germania Sacra 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 275-315 (pp. 290-1).

²⁶ Gerald Dörner, *Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben in Zürich von der Brunschen Revolution (1336) bis zur Reformation (1523)* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996), p. 116; Busch, 'Reisen zum Gesundwerden', p. 493, who also refers to the Abbess of the Benedictine convent of Frauenmünster in 1415 travelling to the baths.

²⁷ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Güntersthal 15, 59^r-59^v: 'Der nutz der bad sol den siechen bracht werden auß dick auß sin bedurffen. Aber den gesunden vnd aller meyst den yungen sol es trucklich vrlichen werden.' The Günterstal nuns owned this translation from 1526.

century witnessed a growth in books dedicated to the science and medicine of balneology. In Freiburg, for example, one of the first books to be printed in 1532 by Johann Wörlin, Freiburg's first printer, included a section on the benefits of bathing.²⁸ The work advised its readers that 'the body of man also needs cleaning from bad dampness which gathers between the skins and this cleaning can be achieved through bathing,'²⁹ before providing advice, from waiting for one's food to digest and doing exercise to work up a sweat before bathing,³⁰ to what sort of water one should use.³¹

As with other markers of convent life, attempts to regulate trips to the baths were caught between the desire to enforce an enclosed life and the realities of life in the convent. A number of statutes of the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order, which applied to the nuns of Günterstal, referred to sisters 'shamefully' visiting baths, but by the fifteenth century nuns were permitted to travel once a month, alongside the presence of convent office-holders.³² In Masevaux (Masmünster), reformers attempted to introduce a clause in the statutes of the canonical foundation, which demanded that doctors could only recommend bathing treatment for sick nuns with the approval of the abbess, Anastasia von Reischach, a former nun of Günterstal. The nuns were successful in objecting to the proposal.³³ Indeed, the abbot of Cîteaux, Edmund de la Croix, continued to allow nuns to visit the baths once a month in his

²⁸ *Wie sich ein yegklich mensch halten sol durch das gantz jar, mit essen, trincken, schlaffen, wachen unnd baden* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johann Wörlin, 1523), repr. Julius Arndt, (ed.), 2 vols (Stuttgart: Steingrüben, 1965). Most of Freiburg's baths were situated around the stream flowing through the tanning district: the female and male 'Rotes Bad' in front of the Ledergerbertor, the 'Schwabsbad' by the 'Schwabentor', the 'Spitalbad' (hospital bath) in the Fischerau, the 'Cyligen-Bad' and 'Paradiesbad' near the university and 'Ederlins Badstube' next to the Penitents of St Katherine's: Kniefelkamp, *Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen*, p. 127. In November 1305 Ludwig Ederlin actually granted rights to this bath to Tennenbach, Günterstal and the Franciscan monks. After being traded back and forth, by the fifteenth century it was owned by the Dominican monks of the town.

²⁹ Sig. Ei^v: 'Der leyb des menschen bedarff auch reinigung von bo^eser feüchtigkeit die sich samelt zwüschen haut vnd fleisch / vnnd die reinigung sol sein mit baden'.

³⁰ Sig. Eii^r: 'Rechte zeyt des badens ist / so die speyß in dem magen verzert vnd verdeüwet ist', sig. Ei^v; 'Ee man in das bad geet / so sol man sich daruor exercieren vnd yeben mit bewegen vnd arbeiten / als mit hin vnd her geen / oder sunst wie man wil das der leyb vor aller erküct vnd erwermet werd...'

³¹ Sig. Eiii^r: 'Wie man sich in den bad mit kaltem vnd warmen wasser halten sol'.

³² Joseph M. Canivez & A. Trilhe (ed.), *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol. 3 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1935), 1371, No. 2, p. 552: '...et dictae moniales, honestatis laxatis habenis et monachali modestia sexusque verecundia imprudenter abiectis, extra sua monasteria nonnunquam per habitacula saecularium et religiosarum personarum discurrere ac balnea naturalia impudenter visitare...'; Canivez & Trilhe, *Statuta capitulorum generalium*, vol. 4 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1936), 1439, No. 96, pp. 486-7: 'Item, do cetero balneorum usus nusquam ultra semel in mense, nisi in evidenti necessitate, quibusdam personis Ordinis concedatur, sed si contingat propter necessitatem et infirmitatem ipsum concedi...' The issue of baths was also raised in 1318, 1422 and 1437.

³³ Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad*, p. 191.

reform statues of 1595.³⁴ Even in this post-Tridentine world, enclosure had its limits, as the medical needs of the nuns outweighed the desire for stricter claustration.

As Dürer's *Men's Bath* suggests, there were also social elements involved in bathing, with a degree of exclusivity attached to where one bathed. *Herzogin* Eleanor of Scotland, for example, for whom the Günterstal nuns prayed on her death in 1480, received a gift of nine guilders from the town council when she arrived to take waters in Baden in the Aargau in 1474, in a similar manner to the way the Günterstal nuns exchanged gifts with each other and those in authority over them.³⁵ Pius Kaufmann has shown these sort of gifts were widespread in the region and included food items such as fish and wine.³⁶

The baths also served as a place of communication, as when the Strasbourg theologians, Geiler von Kaysersberg and Peter Schott, for example, were able to exchange gifts and letters with each other when they visited separate baths in the 1480s.³⁷ Hans von Waltheim, a pilgrim from Halle travelling to St Maximin in the South of France in 1474, returned via Baden in Switzerland. There he met Hans von Emß, a noble knight from Freiburg and former adviser to Albert VI, Archduke of Austria, Hans's wife, and the wife of a nobleman of Freiburg, 'die von Falgkensteyn'.³⁸ The Falkenstein family had a long connection to the convent of Günterstal and at this time Mechthild, a future abbess, was a sister in the convent and her brother Hans Jacob, quondam mayor of Freiburg, was acting as the convent's guardian (*Kastvogt*).³⁹ The two Hans's were able to discuss politics, not least on account of the high number of noblemen present on the city's council.⁴⁰

³⁴ Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad*, pp. 99-100.

³⁵ Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad*, p. 213.

³⁶ Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad*, pp. 211-7.

³⁷ Studt, 'Die Badenfahrt', p. 46.

³⁸ Freidrich E. Welti (ed.), *Die Pilgerfahrt des Hans von Waltheim im Jahre 1474* (Bern: Stämpfli & Cie, 1925), p. 84; on Hans von Waltheim's account see Studt, 'Die Badenfahrt', p. 44.

³⁹ Kindler von Knobloch & Badische Historische Kommission, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: 1898), pp. 325-6. Anne and Cilie entered the convent in 1319, Margaretha in 1319, and Katharina later in the fourteenth century. Eight members of the family are mentioned in the convent's necrology.

⁴⁰ Welti, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Hans von Waltheim*, p. 84: '[W]an czu Fryborg ym Brißkouwe gar vile addils wonet, vnd wan man den rad so selbist küsit, so müß man gerade die helffte vom adil kiesen vnd die andern helffte gemeyne burgere'. Hans also refers to 'grauen, hern, rittere vnd knecht, vnd vile eddil luthe uß Swobin' in the baths. In June 1484, Hans von Ems granted bath worker, Hans Meiger von Buch, hereditary land tenure for the bathhouse and its associated land in the village of Ebringen, near Günterstal: GLA, Karlsruhe, 21/1658, (23 June 1484). This involved a Zins for Hans of 'funff schilling pfennig vnd zwey hu^enr den güten luten zû friburg vnd zwen pfennig gelts der kilchen zû Ebringen.' The Günterstal nuns owned around thirty-four *Jauchert* of land in the village of Ebringen: Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, p. 240. The village would stay Catholic in the Reformation, whilst neighbouring Wolfenweiler became evangelical.

Pius Kaufmann has argued that on a social level bathing helped foster a sense of community within the convent itself. Trips to the baths reinforced the high-status lifestyle of the nuns, as the sisters travelled together.⁴¹ This seems to have been the case within Günterstal as the nuns travelled to take the waters as a group and it is reinforced by the fact that the trip was recorded in the notebook, an institutional work of the convent, and was an investment in money, as the nuns exchanged gifts in kind and in cash. The trip to the baths sat alongside descriptions of prayer, liturgy and a catalogue of the convent's manuscripts and recipes, sewing patterns and account lists: occasional trips to the baths formed a part of the social life of the convent.

Beyond the social and the medicinal, these trips could also take on spiritual overtones. Bathing was linked with sin and confession, with spiritual as well as physical cleanliness. The Günterstal nuns had access, for example, to a printed copy of the *Gesta Romanorum*, a series of secular tales which were each given a religious interpretation.⁴² One story concerned a knight who lived in a castle where two storks had made their nest. Each day they bathed in a spring below the castle. But while the male stork was out looking for food for their children, the female stork got together ('vogelte sich') with another stork and then flew to the water source so that her husband would not smell the fact that she had been with another stork ('das der storck des geschmacks nitt empfunde'). Noticing what the female stork was up to, the knight decided to block up the water source so that she could no longer bathe. When she returned to the nest her husband knew she had betrayed their marriage because of her smell. He returned to the nest with other storks and the knight witnessed how the group attacked the female stork and killed her.⁴³ In the religious interpretation, the two storks represented Christ and the soul. The female stork committing adultery represented the soul committing a mortal sin with the devil. As such she had to fly to the water source of repentance, confession and penitence because these three

⁴¹ Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad*, pp. 200-1.

⁴² Brigitte Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum. Untersuchungen zu Konzeption und Überlieferung*, vol. 1, Fortuna Vitrea 3 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992), pp. 107-26 for the German transmission; 158-71 on the relationship between the story and interpretation and 172-98 for the theological concept underpinning the whole work; Udo Gerdes, 'Gesta Romanorum', *VL²*, vol. 3 (1981), cols. 25-34.

⁴³ *Das büch Gesta Romanorum / der ro^emer von den geschichten oder geschehen dingen gaistlichen vnd weltlichen* (Augsburg: 1488), fol. 10^v: 'Do geschach das dz sÿ außzugen zwaÿ sto^erglin vnd der alt ere flog vmb da er speiÿ mochte vinden den kinden vnnnd auch die sÿe. Vnd die weÿl der storck auß was da vogelte sich dÿe sterckin mit einem anderen storcken / vnd ee das ir man kam so floge sÿ ab zÿ dem prunnen vnd badet sich das der storck des geschmacks nitt empfunde. Do der ritter das vernam den wunderet des nun gesahe das ainest. Do die sterckin des storcken het geuogelt mit ainem andern storcken / da tet der ritter den prunnen zÿ das sich die sterckin nicht mo^echte baden. Do die sterckin den prunnen beschlossen fande da flog sÿ wider czÿ dem neÿte. Nun kam geflogen der ere vnd ein pfande wol des geschmackes an ir das sÿ ir ere geprochen hete / da flog der ere furder von dem neÿte vnd kam hinwider mit vil anderen storkcen die er zesamen hete pracht / do sahe der ritter das der storg die sterckin mit dem schnabel erstach vnd sÿ darnach assen'.

belong together to those who wanted to cleanse themselves. The knight who shut off the water supply represented the devil, who was there to make humans err in their ways.⁴⁴

A parallel story appears in the same collection of a lioness who falls in love with a leopard and bathes herself to hide the evidence from the lion. The emperor, like the knight, notices this and shuts off the source. He represented God the Father, whilst the lion represented Christ, the lioness the soul and the leopard the devil. The story warned that ‘if you depart from the world without repentance, confession and penitence then you will not meet the lion, who is Christ Jesus our Lord.’⁴⁵ Both stories fit with the central motif of the collection as a whole: the loss of purity through sin and winning it back again through confession. Christ acted as a heavenly doctor who can cure mankind of the sickness of sin, whose soul was threatened by the three enemies of the devil, the world and the body.⁴⁶

The Günterstal nuns could read such stories within the convent walls, but they could also leave those walls behind to travel to the secular world of the baths. Yet, in convents where enclosure was more strictly enforced, primarily those which underwent reform over the course of the fifteenth century, the nuns did not travel to the baths on foot, but in their minds. Nuns owned texts which allowed them to create an imagined sensory bathhouse, without physically experiencing it. The reformed Brigittine nuns of Altomünster, for example, could travel to their ‘Spiritual Bathhouse’ where the physical walls were replaced by the walls of the four Evangelists.⁴⁷ To build the pool of the baths the nuns had to pray Psalm 130, *De profundis* (Out of the depths I have cried to you O Lord) 500 times, helping as well those in purgatory ‘because they also desire cleansing and to have a share in Christ’s suffering.’⁴⁸ The smoke in the oven required ‘penitence and suffering for the sake of one’s own sins’.⁴⁹ Thomas Murner’s

⁴⁴ Fols. 10^v-11^r: ‘Vnd ir lieben kind die zwen storgen der ere vnnnd die sÿe bezaichnend vns Cristum vnd die sele / wann die sele ist cristi praut / vnd wie oft sÿ ein totsünd tût so wirt si ein freindin des tewfels / so sol sÿ dann fliegen zû dem prunnen der reü vnd beicht vnd büß / wann die drew geho^orent zesamen wer sich recht rainigen wil / vnnnd mit den dreÿen mag ein mensche gereÿniget werden. Aber der riter der den prunnen czû schloß der bezaichnet den teüfel der sta^tiges arbeit wie er den menschen irre an gûten wercken vnd willen / vnd besonderlichen an der beicht die ein rainerin ist des prunnen. vnd dauon ist vnser herr / Jesus cristus der preütigam der sele / vindet er dich an deÿnen letsten zeiten deiner tag...so wiß on zweifel dz er ein gericht gegen dir nÿmmet / vnd vrtailet dich czû dem ewigen tode’.

⁴⁵ Fol. 32^r: ‘scheidest du aber von der welt on rew / beÿchte vnd büß so magstu nicht entgeen dem leoen / das ist cristo Jhesus vnserm herren’.

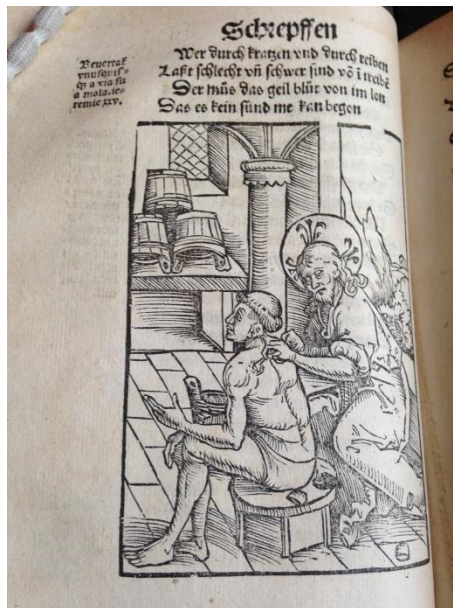
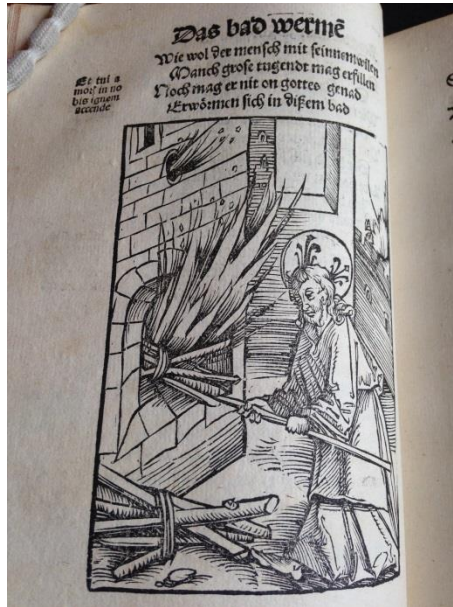
⁴⁶ Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 164-8.

⁴⁷ André Schnyder, ‘Die geistliche Padstube’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 113 (1984), pp. 147-50. The text dates from some period between 1497 and 1510.

⁴⁸ Schnyder, ‘Die geistliche Padstube’, p. 147: ‘den sy dann auch begern reinigung vnd mit teilung des leidens Christi’.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*: ‘rew vnd leid vmb aigen sünd’.

Badenfahrt (1512) used a similar framework, emphasising ideas of cleanliness and the links between body and soul.⁵⁰ Murner's text brought the imagined sensory world alive through its illustrations, evoking smell by Christ the bath-attendant stoking the flames and producing the smoke to fill the bathhouse, and touch by Christ washing a man's back.



Figs. 13-4: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce M 690: Thomas Murner, *Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1509), sigs. Biv^v & Eiv^v. Reproduced by permission of the library.

⁵⁰ Thomas Murner, *Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt etc.*, in Victor Michels (ed.), *Thomas Murners Deutsche Schriften*, vol. 1, part 2 (Berlin; Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1927), pp. 1-152. It opens with the poem (p. 2): 'Wer sich in disem bade reit / Vnd, wie ich schrib, mit got vereint, / Der west in einem bad zu^omol / Lib, vnd seel, als er dan sol.'

These imagined spiritual worlds stand in contrast to Dürer's scenes of sensory and sensual bathing. Yet, they play at the same time on these very themes, as an imagined sensory world was created within the reader's mind, drawing, presumably, on actual experiences of a trip to the baths. Likewise, there was a sensual aspect to the images of Christ as the bath-attendant as he physically touched and cared for the bather, a visual manifestation of the stories of the *Gesta Romanorum* of Christ as spiritual doctor. Physical and spiritual health were closely entwined.

The Reformation rejected such practices as peasants directed their ire against convent bathhouses. In 1525, the Brigittine nuns of Maihingen, near Augsburg, returned to their convent following the attack on it during the Peasants' War. Amongst the destruction, the nuns discovered that the peasants had 'dug out our cauldron in the bathhouse, and later, when we wanted to put the kettle on, in order to bathe, we found the head of one crucifix in the back of the bath stove. They had cut off the head of the image of our Lord.'⁵¹ The choice of the bathhouse was significant locally, as it had only recently been built by the nuns, resulting in a loss of business for the bathhouse in the village and a break between the convent and the outside world. By placing the statue in the oven, Christ was no longer stoking the flames as a bath attendant but rather being burned alive himself. This was not the smoke of penitence but rather the fires of destruction. This was not seen as an imagined sensory world or even the physical reality of a trip to the baths but as an opportunity to overturn power structures and religious symbolism.

Studies on baths tend to emphasise the sixteenth century as a period of decline, as the coming of syphilis and increased prices of wood (brought on by population increases and urbanisation) led to the closure of bathhouses.⁵² Much wider changes were, however, being alluded to in trips to the baths, as the bathhouse became a place where religious difference could be exposed. In the bathhouse of the Glotteral, in a valley just north of Günsterstal, a mid-sixteenth century bathing ordinance had to encourage friendly relations between the Catholics of the Glotteral and the evangelicals of Hachberg, who had to share the same bathhouse: 'Item no one should insult another person because of their religion in words or deeds, but rather live together in

⁵¹ Corine Schleif & Volker Schier, *Katerina's Windows. Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, as Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun* (Pennsylvania, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), p. 413.

⁵² Arnold, 'Badehäuser in Südwestdeutschland', p. 25. The series of arguments which Günsterstal had with Adelhausen and the city Council centred, in part, on forestry rights.

friendship and peace as is appropriate to Christian order.’⁵³ Moreover, songs against the Catholic religion were not permitted.⁵⁴

The bathhouse developed new, anti-confessional traits during the sixteenth century. The satire *The Bathhouse of the Pope and his Priests* (*Badstube des Bapsts unnd der Pfaffen*) used the model of the bathhouse to provide a critique of the Catholic Church. The poem ends with monks and nuns lamenting their plight, for the Lutherans now mock them (‘Damit thûn sy vns yetz mit schmerzen / Zwagen vnd vnsauber schertzen’) and they do not know where they should turn (‘O wee wa sollen wir hinfliehen’).⁵⁵ The whole text plays with the language of purity and cleanliness. In the bathhouse, the Pope is the bath-attendant and responsible for blood-letting, described as the ‘great murderer of souls / He pulls out our blood’, which is contrasted with the ‘good, pure, clean, clear blood / That is evangelical teaching which is healthy and good.’⁵⁶ Payment for the baths (‘Schergellt’) was compared to the practice of indulgences, but ‘because of a man named Martin Luther’ (‘Durch ain mann Martin Luther gnant’) the Pope’s bathhouse had fallen into ruin (‘Dann sein Badhauß in abfall kommen...’). It still survived thanks to the support of figures such as the back-scratcher (‘Schrepffer’), Henry V, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the last Catholic of the Welf princes; the barber (‘Scherer’), the Bishop of Augsburg; the soap maker (‘Laugengiesser’), the Bishop of Trent and the bath-assistant (‘Badknecht’), the Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Weingarten, near Ravensburg.

The ‘Spiritual Bathhouse’ used the practices of the bathhouse as a devotional exercise, as Christ took on menial roles and gave them religious meaning. Yet, in the post-Reformation satire leading Catholic figures took on the same roles, not with the intention to increase devotion but rather to make the reader laugh. The bathhouse had become a place of religious, political and social satire, used in the service of confessional polemic. It formed part of a wider tradition in which Luther, in *Against the Roman Papacy an Institution of the Devil* (1545), had argued that ‘the whole papal rifferaff’ should travel to the ‘wonderful spa’ south of Rome, the *Mare Tyrrhenum*. There they could heal ‘the infections, damages, and weakness of papal holiness’ through bathing – and in case they were scared of drowning could use ‘the rock upon which

⁵³ Josef Bader, ‘Bad-Ordnung in dem Glotterthal’, *ZGO* 21 (1868): 248-51 (p. 248): ‘Item es soll auch in disem Bad kainer den andern der Religion halber anreden, weder in wortten noch in wercken verachten, sonder freuntlich mit einandern leben, fridsam sein vnd pleiben, als sich christlicher ordnung Badgenossen gezimbt.’

⁵⁴ Bader, ‘Bad-Ordnung’, p. 249: ‘Item es soll kein Gesang wider die Catholische Religion gestattet, auch sunsten nichts Schandtliches gesungen werden.’

⁵⁵ *Des Bapsts und der pfaffen badstube* (Strasbourg: Jakob Frölich, 1546), sig. Ci^r.

⁵⁶ Sig. Aii^v: ‘Wie is er so grosser Seelmorder gsein / Er solt vns hon zogen auß das blût...Gût rain pur lauter blût / Das ist Euangelisch leer gsund vnd gût’.

they and their church are built' for support, in addition to 'Extravagantes, bulls, indulgences' to hang around their necks.⁵⁷

Despite all such criticism, the spiritual bathhouse tradition still persisted in the Counter-Reformation. A prayerbook from a South West German Benedictine convent from 1583 compares one's sweat in the steam bath to the 'bloody sweat' ('bluetigen schwaiß') of Christ on the Mount of Olives.⁵⁸ The nun had to wash her soul with the 'soap which you have previously lathered by praying five Our Fathers for his five wounds, pray to him that he forgives us for the sins we have committed with our five senses.'⁵⁹ She was to combat the sins she had committed in the real world by cleaning herself with the prayers in her imaginary sensory bathhouse. This was, however, very much an isolated example which did not lead to any wider revival of the tradition. The authors were taking pre-Reformation material and applying it to a post-Reformation world without any consideration of what had changed. This was a different spiritual landscape, in which this sort of devotional practice had been devalued.

This text, along with Dürer's drawing and Poggio's description, made clear a link between bathing and the senses. Whilst all five senses were evoked, thematically a particularly close association existed with smell. As reflected in trips to the baths, smell also had sexual, medical, social and spiritual implications in the period. The links between the baths and sensuality paralleled the view of olfaction as 'the sense of lust, desire and impulsiveness.'⁶⁰ As Valentin Groebner has shown, the nose, which pointed down, was closely tied up with notions of sexual honour. Alongside his print of the bathhouse, Beham also produced a woodcut (1534) for Hans Sach's *Der Nasentanz zum Gimpelsbrunn* in which a group of peasants compete to see who has the largest nose, 'gleefully covering the entire catalogue of sexual and scatological nasal

⁵⁷ LW 41 (1966), pp. 356-7; WA 54 (1928), p. 283: 'Die lesterlichen Buben alle sampt, Bapst, Cardinal, und alles Bepstlich Gesind, zu samem koppeln und guerten, nicht weiter, denn drey meile wegs von Rom, gen Ostia fueren (Denn ungeguertet und ungefuert wuerden sie nicht gehen, dahin sie nicht wolten), daselbst ist ein Wesserlin, das heisst Latinisch Mare tyrrhenum, ein koestlich Heilbad wider alle seuche, schaden, gebrechen Bepstlicher heiligkeit, aller Cardinel und seines gantzen Stuels, daselbs wolt ich sie seuberlich einsetzen und baden... Zu letzt solten sie auch die weide mit sich haben zum labetrunck und lusttrunck im bade, alle Decret, Decretal, Sexti, Clementin, Extravagant, Bullen, Ablas, Butter-, Kese-, Milchs- brieve an den hals gehenckt, damit sie allenthalben sicher weren.'

⁵⁸ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 103, fol. 15^v. For a description see Felix Heinzer & Gerhard Stamm, *Handschriften von Lichtenthal*, Die Handschriften der badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe XI (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 250-2. See Hiram Kümper, "'Seelenbad' und 'Geistliche Wirtschaft': Noch Einmal zur Allegorie der Badstube in spätmittelalterlichen Andachtsübungen', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 139/1 (2010): 87-99.

⁵⁹ Fol. 16^v: '...lauge die du vorgemacht hast dafür bett fünff pater noster in die fünff wunden, bit in das er inen verzeüche was sy mit iren fünff sÿnnen gesündiget hond'.

⁶⁰ Alain Corbin, *The foul and the fragrant: odor and the French social imagination* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1986), p. 6.

metaphor.⁶¹ The nose was associated with both social honour and with religious meaning, as when the Poor Clare nuns of the Bicken cloister in Villingen heard sermons from Johannes Pauli on the unblemished nose of Adam.⁶² His sexual purity before the Fall was held up as a model for the nuns to follow. Yet for Luther, writing in the *Estate of Marriage* of 1522, the vow of chastity was an impediment to marriage: ‘if you would like to take a wise vow, then vow not to bite off your own nose; you can keep that vow.’⁶³ As his quip shows, the sexual allusion to the nose as a penis could be used in a humorous way.

Medically, there was a parallel upsurge in interest in balneology as well as the air which one breathed. The Villingen physician Georg Pictorius published cosmetic advice for women on the suppression of unpleasant smells, as well as a tract on bathing.⁶⁴ Ludwig V, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1478-1544), warned in his twelve-volume ‘Buch der Medizin’ that the air was the key to health, so ‘it should not be mixed with artificial smoke or fog because mixed air causes great damage to man. Therefore you should keep away from this bad air as much as possible’. Ludwig recommended drinking good wine in moderation, adding spices to one’s food and blowing one’s nose regularly in order to combat this bad air, especially in times of pestilence. Above all one should avoid bad odours and bad smoke ‘because it corrupts and poisons one’s whole nature and harms you.’⁶⁵

⁶¹ Valentin Groebner and Pamela Selwyn (tr.), ‘Losing Face, Saving Face: Noses and Honour in the Late Medieval Town’, *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995), p. 5.

⁶² Robert G. Warnock (ed.), *Die Predigten Johannes Paulis* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1970), p. 87. In 1494 Pauli preached to the nuns: ‘Fier ding horent darzü, daz ain mensch recht hüpsch sig...Daz fierd daz er kainen gebresten hab, also daz er nit hofret noch kropfet sig, nit ain letz og hab, nit schilche oder ain krume nasen etc.’

⁶³ LW 45, part 2 (1965), p. 27; WA 10, part 2 (1925), p. 284: ‘Hie radt ich: wenn du weyßlich geloben wilt, ßo gelobe, die naßen dyr selb nicht ab beyssen, das kanstu halten.’

⁶⁴ Georg Pictorius, *Gynaikonitis oder: frauwenzimmer sampt einem kurzem angehenckten tractat, wie in zufelligen kranckheiten den jungen kindern, zu helffen seye* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Schmidt, 1569); *Baderbuchlin. Gantz kurtzer bericht von aller hand einfachten und 38. componierten mineralischen Teütsches lands wild baedern wie man im baden unnd darvor ordnung halten solle welchen baden gut und welchen boeß von der baeder diet unnd wie man allen zufaalen begegnen soll. Mit angehenckter beschreybung was nutz schrepffen bringe* (Mulhouse: Peter Schmidt, 1560).

⁶⁵ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 270, fol. 203^v: ‘Das er [der lufft] die gesuntheit behalt. Der lufft dorin du wandelst soll nit vermischt sein mit chünsten rauch oder nebell. Dan der vermischt lufft dem menschen gar ser schatt. Dorumb sollt du dich vor bösem lufft hüeten als ferr du kanst vnd magst. Du solt dich auch alzeit haltenn mit essen vnd drincken als vor stett. Von dem bösem lufft der meister Avicenna spricht: Wan es viel vnd lang gereget hede, daun werde der lufft vermischt. So soltu guten wein messicklich drincken. Das temperiert den lufft... Zu der zeit wan der lufft vermischt ist vnd vergifft, so ist gut das man in der speis nütz essig. Auch in dise nasen löchen streich vnd oft doran riech. Das verzert den bösen lufft. Es ist auch besunder gut zu der zeit der Pestilentz vnd in den bösen lufften... Auch soltu dich mit fleis hueten vor gestanck vnd bösem rauch. Dan es corrupiert vnd vergifftigt die ganz natur. Vnd ist dir schade.’

Between 1349 and 1634 there were thirty-seven plague years in Freiburg, alongside numerous other cases of typhus, syphilis, the pox and the ‘English Sweat’ (1529/30).⁶⁶ Such practical concerns had been worked into the liturgical instructions of the nuns on how to proceed in case of a plague.⁶⁷ In 1485, this became a reality as over a dozen nuns in Günterstal died in one year of plague. Following the death of the Bolsenheim sister, ‘there was such a great smell [‘geschmack’] that we had to read the psalter in front of the door [of the sickroom].’⁶⁸ Smell here had a direct effect on the practice of liturgy and prayer within the convent, as they were unable to practice their usual customs. Indeed, in 1519 fifteen sisters died in the Clarissan convent in Freiburg and the city council requested the Günterstal nuns, and Carthusians, both of whom lay outside the town walls, to offer intercessory prayers for the town.⁶⁹ On an everyday basis in the Cistercian convent of Mariawald, meanwhile, the nuns saw the stained glass of a woman covering her face because of the smell of the risen Lazarus was so bad.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Anton Klump, *Eyn kurtz Regiment und consilium für die erschrockenlichen schnellenn kranckheyt der Englisch schweiß genant* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johannes Faber aus Emmich, 1529); Eduard Seidler, “‘Die Lüt zu artzeneien’”. *Gesundheitswesen in Freiburg*, in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau. Vom Bauernkrieg bis zum Ende der Habsburgischen Herrschaft*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1994), pp. 341-4.

⁶⁷ Cod. Sang. 1343, p. 203 notes that ‘if it is so that many a dead body smells so badly that it cannot be carried or it is a time of pestilence, then the convent should leave the infirmary, the body be carried to the grave, and the abbot and the convent with the cross, acolytes, incense and water should continue their singing in the choir’ (‘Item ist es das etlicher dott also starck schmact das er nit mag vertragen werden oder zu der zütt der Pestilentz ist so württ mit dißer wiß vmb in volbracht der conuent vß gende von dem siechhuß sint die den lip tragen sich koeren zu dem grab aber der appt vnd der Conuent mit einander mit dem Crütz Liecht Wirauch wie wasser yren gesang eruolgen ingende in den chor’).

⁶⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 22^v: ‘es wz also ein großer geschmak dz wir den psalter vor dem tor loßend’.

⁶⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/217, fol. 6^v: ‘Im Jar als man zalt 1519 ward ain grosser sterbent alhie in der stat Freyburg, nach dem als dißen sterbent vff ein Jor hernach ein vnd genommen, do fieng es beÿ vnß an, vnd starben in 4 monat funffzehen schwestern’; Stadtarchiv Freiburg i. Br., B5 XI Missiven 10, fol. 211^r, ‘An die carthus ob fryburg der glichen an die von gunterstal’: ‘Wirdigen Ersamen lieben herrn vnd vettern wir haben got dem allmechtigen zu lobe vnd einsamen sindigen menschen zû besserung vnd trost, ein gemeinen crutzgang mit dem hochwirdigen sacrament vff zinstag nechst alle ir volbringen angesehen, ob es nit wider den willen gots vnd vnser vol heil gebotten sig, das dann die selen der plag vnnd der gepet der pestilentz von vnss gemeinten vnd abgewendt werd.’

⁷⁰ This is based on John 11:39-40: ‘Take away the stone’, he said, ‘But, Lord’, said Martha, the sister of the dead man [Lazarus], ‘by this time there is a bad odour, for he has been there for four days.’ Then Jesus said, ‘Did I not tell you that if you believe, you will see the glory of God.’ See also Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Günt. 4, fol. 94^r, from the Office of the Dead: ‘Thou which didst raise Lazarus stinking from the grave: Thou O Lord give them rest, and place of pardon’ (‘Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum, Tu eis, Domine, dona requiem, et locum indulgentia’). Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 29, the *Distinctiones* of Alan of Lille likewise refers to Lazarus for the reference on ‘stink’ (‘fetere’) (fol. 53^r).



Fig. 15: *The Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1525, Panel, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, C.292-1928, 71.1 x 68.7cm.⁷¹ Reproduced by permission of the museum.

As with the religious message behind the baths, a close association existed between smell, sin and salvation. The smell on this earth represented man's fallen state and it was only through penitence and Christ's mercy that salvation could be achieved. The chapter on Christ's nativity in Berthold's *Little Bell Clock* (*Zeitglöcklein*), owned by the Günterstal nuns ends, for example, with a prayer to God to 'have mercy on my stinking death'. The supplicant prays that 'I will be reborn through true penitence in the stall of your holy church' and 'become a companion of your cattle and your donkey'.⁷² A further prayer in the work asks Christ through 'the great wonder of your almighty mercy that you might make out of me a true penitent and out of this stinking corpse a child of eternal life.'⁷³ This contrasted directly with post-Reformation language which attacked the foul stench of monasticism. In his commentary on Genesis 30, Luther argued that, in desiring children, Rachel and Leah were not lustful women but rather 'chaste and honourable'. In Luther's eyes, 'they give evidence that God presides over, governs, and protects the domestic kind of life, in comparison with which your celibacy, your monastic and contemplative life, stinks before God, yes, even in your own conscience.'⁷⁴ Likewise, in his 1539 treatise *On the Councils and the Church*, when discussing the concept of a monk

⁷¹ [<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O113289/raising-of-lazarus-the-panel-master-of-st/>] (3 October 2016).

⁷² Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 14: 'Ich bit dich herr barmhertziger got erbarm dich vber mich stinckenden todten durch sin gestorben on vernunft vnd on verstantniß lang gelept alß dz roß vnd dz mal daß ich durch woren ruwen in dem stal diner helgen kilchen wider geborn vnd ein gesell werd dinß rindß vnd dinß eselß also dz ich die burdinen heilsam büß wirdeklich trage...'

⁷³ Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 20: '[D]z groß wunder diner almechtigen gnod dz du vß mir sunder ein woren büser vß dem stinckenden todten ein kint deß ewigen lebenß machest.'

⁷⁴ *LW* 5 (1967), pp. 348-9; *WA* 43 (1912), p. 669: 'Ideo exempla earum sunt utilissima et maxime necessaria Ecclesiis: quia testantur Deum adesse, gubernare, tueri genus vitae oeconomicum, prae quo tuus coelibatus, tua vita monastica et contemplativa foetet coram Deo: quin etiam in conscientia tua.'

becoming dead to the world, Luther wrote that ‘St Anthony and his monks have cast a stench on this order of God with his new and self-appointed holiness, simple layman that he was.’⁷⁵

Nuns adopted various strategies to ward off the odours of the convent and to aid their devotion. In Günterstal the nuns took brushes (‘wadel’) tied onto sticks of various sizes (‘two and a half ells long’ or ‘a small one...one ell long or more’) which were filled with juniper and hyssop to help reconsecrate a set of altars which had been flooded in 1486, whilst also recording expenditure on incense.⁷⁶ Texts such as Marquard von Lindau’s *Buch der Zehn Gebote* described a High Priest gathering together the most precious herbs, burning them and producing ‘a sweet smell’ and a cloud of smoke in which God appeared. The herbs represented virtues, the fire love and the cloud of smoke darkness, in which God could still appear.⁷⁷ Similarly, the Günterstal abbess travelled to the baths with a box full of powdered spices with sugar and, as will be shown in the chapter *Hands*, the convent abounded with exotic spices, including galangal (blue ginger), considered ‘good for the head and [which] wards off the stink from your mouth.’⁷⁸ Pomanders in particular made the connection between the medical and the spiritual clear. The *Bisamapfel* – musk apple – was shaped like an apple or pomegranate and could be filled with various aromatic herbs like marjoram or rose petals or ground spices such as musk, ambergris, cinnamon, cloves or even saffron.⁷⁹ The Brigittine nun Katerina Lemmel sent one to her cousin, Katherina Christoph Fürer in Nuremberg, in January 1518 as ‘a modest monastic gift’ at New Year. Katerina explained that it was filled ‘with aromatic seeds’ which grew around the convent and which were ‘supposed to be good for warding off the bad vapours’. Moreover, the pomander has inscribed ‘the tau sign and many devotional words,

⁷⁵ LW 41 (1966), pp. 39-40; WA 50 (1914), p. 536: ‘Wie viel mehr solte S. Antonius mit seinen Muenchen nicht solche ordnung Gottes mit seiner neuen und eigen heiligkeit bestenckert haben, weil er ein schlechter Leie gantz ungelert in keinem Predigamt oder Kirchenamt war?’

⁷⁶ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 2^v: ‘Item i wadel mit seueböm [juniper] vnd ysopen diß sol man wöl binden an ein stocken dz sy iñ eln lang aber ein klenen wadel öch mit mit [sic] seueböm vnd ysopen der stock einer eln lang ald me... Item v d vmb wissen wiro^{ch}.’

⁷⁷ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 551-2. ‘[U]nd denn mach er [der obrest priester] sin samnung von den aller besten vnd edelsten krutern vnd enzunt si denn vnd dann wart ein su^sser roch als ein nebel vnd in dem nebel kam denn got... do mit bestrichet die samnung der krüter sint anders nit denn vorgeu^ebt tugent mit den würt ein anzündung geborn in dem brant der minn vnd würt ein nebel einer vinsternús kumet den got vnd o^eget sich...’

⁷⁸ Memmingen, Stadtbibliothek, 2.40.quart, fol. 17^v: ‘Der galgang fru isset der ist güt zü dem haubt und vertribt dez mündes gestanck’; Karlsruhe, GLA 65/246, fol. 46^r: in 1506 the nuns bought ginger, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, white turmeric, mint and galangal for four pounds, five shillings and seven pence.

⁷⁹ Schier & Schleif, *Katerina’s Windows*, pp. 241-4; Karin Tebbe, ‘Bisamapfel’, in *Spiegel der Seligkeit. Privates Bild und Frömmigkeit im Spätmittelalter*, ed. by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2000), pp. 286-7.

which one should have on one's person at the time of death', which Katerina saw as particularly useful as she suspected the plague would return soon.⁸⁰

In *Against the Profaners of God's Creatures*, the same text which criticised bell-ringing, Eberlin von Günzburg wrote that brushes, incense and pomanders were part of rituals which 'helped souls in no way whatsoever.'⁸¹ For Eberlin, 'the only thing which consecrates is faith in Christ, nothing is consecrated except for a faithful man, everything which he needs is consecrated by God. All other consecrations are ghosts, better served towards temptation than to salvation, more magic than a blessing.'⁸² Early evangelical reformers challenged traditional relationships between the Christian's body, the world and the divine as his criticism returned to the fundamental issue of appearance, raising doubts about whether rituals or objects really could lead to salvation or were instead an act of deception.⁸³ Yet, the extent to which such criticism was sustained and actually took root was a very different matter. In the accounts of the Poor Clares of Freiburg, for example, the nuns spent money on 'roses and herbs for burning' in both 1523 and in 1541.⁸⁴

Of all the senses, the olfactory was by its nature the hardest to control and this helps to explain why it did not become a more significant issue in the period. But the language of smell did, however, become an important weapon by evangelical reformers in their attacks on the alleged purity of monasticism. Whilst satires about nuns presented trips to the baths in terms of sexual immorality, the language of bathing in convent literature and in convent practices such as the 'Spiritual Bathhouse' by contrast sought to emphasise its links with purity and cleanliness. Yet, the reality was that the nuns primarily went on such trips for legitimate medical reasons or as a means of staying connected to the world, a sign of their exclusive status and background.

⁸⁰ 'So schick ich der Sigmund Furerin und dir ieder ein pissemepfelein mit eim pissen, als er hie zu land wechst, des schmeckenden somens; der geschmack soll gut sein fur die posen luft und daran in ein federkill das zeichen tau und fill andechtiger wort, die eins im sterben bey im tragen soll.' I am grateful to Volker Schier, Corine Schleif and Anne Simon for allowing me to quote this unpublished passage.

⁸¹ Jacob M. Baum, 'From Incense to Idolatry: The Reformation of Olfaction in Late Medieval German Ritual', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44/2 (2013): 323-44 (p. 342); 'Wider die schender der Creaturen gottes etc.' in Ludwig Enders (ed.), *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 2 (Halle a. S.: Niemeyer, 1990), 1-19 (p. 18): 'Geweyhet wasser, rouch xc. hillfft den seelen auch gar nichts.'

⁸² 'Wider die schender der Creaturen gottes', p. 19: 'Kain dinng weyhet dann der glaub inn Christum, nichts ist geweyhet dann ain glawbiger mennsch, vnnd alles, was er gebraucht, ist geweyhet von gott. Alle andere weyhung seind Laruen, mer dienendt zů verfu^crung dann zů hayl, mer ain zauberey dann ain segen.'

⁸³ Baum, 'From Incense to Idolatry', pp. 324-5. For a general overview see Edward Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (London: Longmans, 1909) and for the early Christian context Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation. Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2006).

⁸⁴ StaFr E1 BII b13 a1 (1523-42): 'Item vmb rosen vnd krut zü brennen i gl' (1523) and 'Item vmb rosen vnd krut zü brennen xviii ß' (1541).

That exclusivity was one reason the bathhouse could be a target in the Peasants' War as it opened up the nuns to attack. The bathhouse was a sign of the varieties, complexities and realities of convent life in the period.

V: Mouth

In his lectures on Genesis Martin Luther wrote that ‘nothing is more irksome and more senseless than a feast at which silence reigns; for discourses are the real condiments of foods if, as Paul says (Col. 4:6), they are seasoned with salt. For word is whetted by word; and not only is the belly fed with food, but the heart is also fed with doctrine. For godly conversations refresh the hearts, arouse faith, kindle love, and instruct in many ways. Away, therefore, with the silly and silent monks who suppose that worship and saintliness consist in silence.’¹ Such a view contrasted directly with long-held views of monasticism. The fifteenth century tract *On Holy Silence (Von dem Heiligen Swygenhaltten)*, for example, drew on James 1:26 (‘Those who consider themselves religious and yet do not keep a tight rein on their tongues deceive themselves, and their religion is worthless’) and quoted Nicholas de Lyra: ‘Whoever’s tongue is untamed and lets it run round without the bridle of caution, that tongue drinks poison so that he will die from it.’²

This chapter is about speech and food. In parallel with enclosure, silence was a distinctive aspect of the monastic existence which over the course of the sixteenth century became a particular concern for nuns, a sign of a nun’s exclusive spiritual status. Catholic reformers both before and after the Reformation increasingly emphasised its importance for nuns as part of the wider desire to create uniformity. Such an ideal would come face to face with the realities of everyday life in the convent, as nuns’ voices became untamed. Sensory control was not easily imposed.

In turn, everyday life extended to the food which the nuns ate. This was also subject to restrictions and stories of extreme fasting helped to define female spirituality. Yet, there was

¹ LW 3 (1961), p. 20; WA, 43, p. 18: ‘Nihil neque molestius, neque absurdius muto convivio est, sermones enim vera condimenta sunt ciborum, si, ut Paulus inquit, sint sale conditi. Verbum enim verbo acuitur, et non solum pascitur venter cibus, sed etiam animus doctrina. Pia enim colloquia refocillant animos, excitant fidem, accendunt caritatem, ac multis modis erudiunt. Valeant igitur insulsi et muti monachi, qui in silentio cultum et sanctitatem putant positam.’

² ‘Von dem heiligen swygenhaltten’ in Uwe Ruberg, *Beredtes Schweigen in lehrhafter und erzählender deutscher Literatur des Mittelalters. Mit kommentierter Erstedition spätmittelalterlicher Lehrtexte über das Schweigen* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1978), 255-92 (p. 257): ‘Welles menschen zunge vngezemet ist vnd sy lot louffen on zom der behütsamkeit, die zunge vergyfft trincket, daz er sin sterben müß.’ The tract was copied and read, for example, by the Poor Clares of Gnadental in Basel in 1487: Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 253, fols. 230^r-241^v. The text has been attributed to Heinrich Vigilis von Weissenburg. Erika Lauren Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 94 notes that ‘observing silence is associated with proper or excessive fasting, obedience to the prioress or other monastic officials, and diligent execution of the Divine Office.’

also the fact that food reflected the social status of the convent membership and how this changed. Debates which took place during the later Middle Ages and in particular during the Reformation on the nature of the Eucharist (what was it that a communicant was eating?) and on fasting (would eating a sausage on Friday really lead to damnation?) had less of an effect on the convent than the challenges it faced in falling numbers and a changing social profile. This chapter explores both issues before drawing them together and exploring them in relation to gender, enclosure and control.

In Johannes Pauli's collection *Comedy and Seriousness (Schimpf und Ernst)*, the Franciscan includes a story, also to be found in Erasmus of Rotterdam's colloquy *The Fish Diet (Ichthophagia)*, of how a nun kept her silence. A nun became pregnant and when the abbess noticed this she asked the nun how it was so. The nun replied 'Dear lady, here in the convent.' The abbess expressed shock that the nun did not scream for help. Yet, as the nun replied, it happened in a place and at a time when the nuns were supposed to keep silence. 'This was well answered', Pauli adds.³ Rather than break her silence, the nun suffered rape as she held fast to her commitment to follow the rules.

The Günterstal nuns had access to a different story included in the life of St Benedict transmitted in the *Alsatian Golden Legend (Elsässische Legenda Aurea)*, in a manuscript owned by the Günterstal nun and future abbess Maria Stör von Störenberg in 1567.⁴ In this instance the nuns were not following the rules but rather breaking them, with unusual consequences:

Not far from Benedict's monastery there were two nuns of noble birth who very often aggrieved the man appointed to oversee them. The superior lamented this fact and told Saint Benedict. Saint Benedict therefore told the nuns that they should silence their tongues, "otherwise I will place you under the ban." They did not improve as a result of this command. It happened that both nuns shortly died thereafter and were buried in

³ Johannes Bolte (ed.), *Johannes Pauli. Schimpf und Ernst*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Herbert Stubenrauch, 1924), p. 22: 'Einn Klosternunnen ward schwanger. Wie solchs die Äptissin vernam, stalt sie die Nunnen zû Red, wa solchs geschehen were. Sie antwortet: 'Gnedige Frau, hinnen im Kloster.' Die Äptissin sagt: 'An was Ort oder Stat? Kuntestu nit schreyen, das man dir zû Hilff kommen were?' Das Nuⁿlin sagt: 'Gnedige Frau, es geschahe an dem Ort und zû der Zeit, da mann Silentium (das ist Stillschweigen) sol halten.' Es war wol verantwort.' On the history of monastic silence in the early Middle Ages see Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism. The Cluniac Tradition c.900-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Pia Schindele, 'Das monastische Leben nach der Lehre des Hl. Bernhard von Clairvaux: VIII Das Schweigen', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 99 (1992): 77-92; Paul F. Gehl, 'Competens Silentium; Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West', *Viator* 18 (1987): 125-60.

⁴ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St. Peter pap. 27, front pastedown: 'Ich bin Maria Sterin monialis in ginterstal ordinis sancti bernhardi vnd hatt mich die cristiana marschelkin [a nun in Wonnental] min liebe mitschwester geschenkt im xlvii jor.'

the church. But when the Mass for the Dead was sung for them, and the deacon pronounced as was customary at the time to the people: “Let anyone who is not in communion go outside”. Thereupon the nuns got up out of their graves and went out of the church. When this was reported to Benedict, he gave her [the Superior] an offering with his own hand and said: “Go and make this offering for them on the altar and they will no longer be excommunicated.” From then on the nuns no longer went out of the church.⁵

The nuns continued to gossip, did not bow to authority and did not follow Benedict’s conditional command, which was fulfilled. The consequences of one’s actions in this life therefore continued to have a direct effect in the next life as the relationship between the community of the dead and the living was distorted. It was only thanks to the forgiving power of Benedict that they were no longer excluded. The story emphasised the importance of obedience and control and placed these within the much wider context of questions of salvation.

Both stories offered salutary lessons, in two extreme examples, of the need to control one’s tongue. They underline how silence, as with other instances of sensory control, was an issue directed primarily towards nuns. Texts such as *On Holy Silence* made explicit the connection between silence and women. The author offered three concrete reasons: a woman was at fault in Paradise, women had been made from the rib of a man and thus being subservient were naturally silent, liable to shame, obedient and meek.⁶ The Observance movement, in turn, saw silence as an integral part of its overall programme.⁷ Yet even in an unreformed Cistercian convent such as Günterstal the issue was an important point of concern. In September 1516,

⁵ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 27, fols. 75^{vb-va}: ‘Es worent zwo edel nunnen nit ver von sant Benedicten closter, die betrüptent vil dick den der in was gegeben zû eim verseher mit iren worten das klagt er sant Benedicten Do sprach sant Benedictus zû den nunnen sy solten Ir zungen gestillen anders Ich dîn ûch in den ban Dis gebotz bessretent sy sich nit Es bescha das die nunnen bei kûrtzlich sturbent vnd in die [sic] kirch wurdent begraben Do nun die sellmesß uber sy wart gesungen vnd der ewangelier noch der gwonheit der zit sprach zû dem volck wer in dem ban sy der gang vs der kilchen. Do stündent die zwo nunnen vff vs dem grab vnd giengent vs der kilchen. Do dis sant Benedicten wart geseit, Do gab er ein opfer vs siner hant vnd sprach gont hin vnd tragen dis oppfer vf dem altar fûr sy so werdent sy entbunden do von bescha das sÿ dar nach nit me vs der kilchen giengen.’

⁶ Ruberg, *Beredtes Schweigen*, pp. 276-7: ‘Aber warumb die frowen sollen swigen vnd vnderworffen sin, daz ist von iij sachen. Zûm ersten: es ist verschuldet worden jn dem paradiß von der ersten frowen, die wart betrogen zûm ersten vnd verleitet vnd nit der man...Zum ij sol die frowe dar umb swigen vnd vnderworffen syn, dann die frowe ist gemacht von dem rip des mans, vnd nit der man von der frowen. Zûm iij söllent die frowen dar vmb swigen, denn von natur sol die frouwe sin stil, schamhafftig, züchtig vnd senftmütig, vnd wenn sy anders düt, so düt sye wider ir natur.’

⁷ Heike Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten, Monastische Reformen des späten Mittelalters in den Vorstellungen von Klosterfrauen*, Religion in der Geschichte, Kirche, Kultur und Gesellschaft 14 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008), pp. 220-3. Around 1500 Geiler von Keysersberg sent the Dominican Penitent nuns in Strasbourg a text on control of the mouth (‘ein nutzliche vnderweisung eynem menschen der do wil leren synen mund in meisterschafft halten’), in which its attributes were stressed. Karlsruhe, BLB, Codex St Peter pap. 47, fol. 101^v: ‘Blessed is the tongue which can only speak of divine things. Blessed is the tongue which only moves to praise and thank God’ (‘Selig ist die zung / die nit anders / weder von gotlichen dingen reden kan / Selig ist die zung / die do nit anders weben ist / denn got loben vnd ym dancken’).

for example, the abbot of Tennenbach conducted a visitation, which stressed how goodness and virtue could be found through silence, but emphasised that the transgressions of sisters should be made public and disciplined in the Chapter meeting. The report goes on to state that communal meals were not a time for leisure and idle talk but rather that ‘the rules be read out and explained.’⁸ As the sixth chapter of the *Rule of Benedict*, ‘On the Spirit of Silence’, noted: ‘Let us do what the Prophet says: “I said: “I will guard my ways that I may not sin with my tongue. I have set a guard to my mouth. I was mute and was humbled, and kept silence even from good things [Ps. 38:2-3]”’.⁹ Benedict sought to curb evil speech so that punishment for sin could be avoided, as he discussed the issue in moral and pastoral terms. For Benedict, ‘speaking and teaching’ were reserved for the master, whereas ‘silence and listening’ were for the disciple.¹⁰ Silence was very much framed in terms of control.

Moreover, the importance of gender became particularly apparent for the nuns of Günterstal over the course of the Counter-Reformation, as texts such as *How to Lead a Good Life (Liber de modo bene vivendi)*, given to them by Professor Jodocus Lorichius, noted that ‘a chatty virgin is a fool, but a wise virgin does not need many words. Wisdom leads to talking less, talking a lot is idiocy.’¹¹ Responding to the challenge to the value of silence set by reformers such as Luther, Catholic reformers intensified its supposed value, as ‘whoever does not love isolation and silence will never become a perfect, spiritual Christian.’¹² Moreover, whilst music and sound formed an important confessional dividing line for the vast majority of the population¹³, it was the absence of sound which was a defining feature of the specific identity of convents.

The silence of the convent was, of course, not total but broken by the daily rhythm of prayers, readings, psalms and hymns. The aim of silence was to make these words resound more clearly, as nuns directed their voices exclusively heavenward. Evangelical reformers did not just attack silence in its own right, but also the fact that the nuns used their voices in this way. As Eberlin,

⁸ GLA, Karlsruhe, 23/69 (22 September 1516): ‘Silentium quoque cum seruat bene non sit mediocris inuia virtutem perfectis in solitis volumus custodiri locis et transredientes in Capitulo proclamari, disciplinari et pena porris...dari volumus non scurrilia, otiosaque uerba audientur sed capitulum, aliquod vsuum legatur et exponatur.’

⁹ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod, Güntherstal 15, fol. 20^v: ‘Ich sprach Jch wetti behüten min weg dz ich nit sundetty mit minr zunge Ich gesatz die hüt minen mund vnd bin erstummet vnd gedemütiget vnd geschweig von den gütten.’

¹⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London: Penguin, 2013), p. 92.

¹¹ Lorichius, *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, pp. 211-12: ‘Ein schwetzig Jungfraw ist ein Na^rrrin / ein weise Jungfraw aber braucht wenig wort. Weißheit macht / kurtze reden / vil reden ist ein Narrheit.’

¹² Lorichius, *Weltlicher eytelkait Verachtung*, pp. 351-2: ‘Hast nit lieb die ain^ode vnd stille / so wirst nimmer ain volkomner gaistlicher Christ.’

¹³ Alexander J. Fischer, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*, New Cultural History of Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

for example, argued: ‘I am amazed the simpletons do not realise that the canonical hours, as observed in the choir, do not function if just one person recited them; and if one speaks to another person the way they speak to God, he would be mocked.’¹⁴ The Reformation unleashed a whole host of different voices and opinions, but voices themselves formed a centrepiece of those debates.

By contrast, the nuns had positive models to imitate and follow in matters of controlling the tongue. Mary’s careful use of speech was held up as an ideal, and as part of her wider ability to control the senses. Marquard von Lindau’s work on the Ten Commandments (*Dekalogerklärung*),¹⁵ presented Mary as a model for imitation and identification. In the commentary on the Second Commandment, ‘Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image’, Marquard notes that Mary spoke only seven times in the Bible and that in each instance her words were marked by the fact that she was compelled to speak, that she avoided disagreement (‘ergerung’) and that she praised divine honour. For Marquard, Mary was someone who always spoke ‘humbly’ and ‘that she spoke gentle words and never said anything angry.’¹⁶ Indeed, her careful use of speech contributed to her attributes of childlike fear, deep humility and her worthiness. Mary was not commended for her total silence, but rather for her careful, appropriate and measured use of words.

Such a viewpoint contrasted, however, directly with moments in the convent and beyond, as in any community where members lived side by side, when tempers flared, when angry words were spoken and disagreement broke out. At the feast of the dedication in Ebringen in 1495, for example, a place where the Günterstal nuns owned land, a group of Freiburgers who had come to the village dance to celebrate the feast of the dedication accidentally angered a bee’s

¹⁴ Geoffrey Dipple (ed. & tr.), *The Fifteen Confederates: Johann Eberlin von Gunzburg*, (Eugene, Or.: Pickwick Publications, 2014), p. 59; Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *15 Bundsgeossen* (Berlin: Berliner Ausgabe, 2013), p. 28: ‘Mich nimpt wunder das solich thoren nit mercken, das sich die tagzyt, wie mans im chor macht, nit fügen so sy einer allein spricht, also wo einer vor einem menschen also redet als sie vor got reden, er wurd verspot’.

¹⁵ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 551-697; Stephan Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany. The Passion, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary*, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 245; Uta Störmer-Casya, *Gewissen und Buch. Über den Weg eines Begriffes in die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 14 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1998), p. 274.

¹⁶ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 552-553: ‘Der meister du solt wissen dz wir nit lesint in der geschrift dz vnser frow ie redet denn zû siben molen doch meinert dz anders nit den dz ir red lützel was wie doch dz si diker geredet hat denn zesiben molen... Das erst ob es noturftig wz ze redent Das ander wz ob kein ergrung do von komen moht Das drit ob go’tliche er do von gelobet wart vnd vand sù denn disi drú stuk So vieng sù an zeredent demu’teklich du solt och wissen dz all ir red dri wis an ir hat die erst wz dz sù sentfmu’tigú wort redet vnd zornig wort nie gesprach Das ander wz minrich geberd mit den wercken Das drit wz ein beschnitten wis der worten mit io vnd mit nein wan vberflüssig wort gesprach si nie... hier uf sprichet Sant Ieronimus Hanc irascentem nullus vidit Si sach nieman zornig Si hort nieman flûchen allú ir red wz so gar gnodrich dz man an iren worten moht got erkennen hi bi merkest du wol das sù vnnûtz red noch vnnûtzen schwûr nie getet.’

nest, resulting in a large fight breaking out between the villagers and those from the town, in which shots were fired and a person killed. The record notes that ‘those from Ebringen could not be silenced...and many unseemly words were spoken among them.’¹⁷ Within the convent community itself twenty-one people gathered in the ‘brüder hus’ of Günterstal in 1520, the place where the male members of the convent community had their residence, drawn by the fact that one of the brothers was offering wine. Two of those present were Hanß Inngelhart and Ludwig Hurster from Adelhausen, miller for the Günterstal nuns. A disagreement soon broke out, Hanß hit Ludwig, and the convent’s steward (*Kastvogt*), Rüdolf von Blumenegg, was forced to settle the dispute.¹⁸

Although the cause of the dispute was not made clear, in other instances religious matters came to a head. In July 1550, Michel Häbler from Espach got into an argument with four villagers from Grezhausen who lived under Günterstal’s jurisdiction. He claimed God’s martyrs were all murderers and harmful to peasants, which led to the four villagers attempting to correct him in his ways. In his confession Michel admitted that he had spoken the words without thinking them through properly – and also blamed the fact that he had drunk too much wine.¹⁹ Once again the convent’s steward was required to step in to ease tensions between the parties, which had been given a new edge in a religiously-charged environment. A self-confessed slip of the tongue had consequences.

Above all, disputes could also come about between the nuns themselves. In the later 1530s complaints began to appear against the convent’s abbess, Verena Tegelin von Wangen.²⁰ The

¹⁷ Johann Heinrich Schreiber (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Freiburg*, vol. 2 (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder’sche Kunst- und Buchhandlung, 1828), 602-619 (p. 602): ‘[S]ind viel junger gesellen von Fryburg, schumacherknecht, bu^ergerson vnd andere, hinus vff die kilwi gezogen, einer guten früntlichen meinung, on all arg, vnd haben sich in ein garten, da sie von alter her alweg vff denselben tag inkert hand, zusammen getan, sind zum tantz, demnach in die ürti gangen [went for a meal in an inn], vnd so es vff den abend worden, vnd sie nach bezalter ürti am vffrust des widerheimzugs gewesen sind, vnd jeder sin waffen gesucht, hat einer unter den jungen gesellen vs der statt sin büchs, vnter eim imenbank wellen nemen, vnd ist der imenbank vmgefallen on sin willen...dennocht mochten die von Ebringen nit gestillt werden, sondern schussen, schlugen, stachen vnd wurffen sie vff die vnsern, wundeten etwe menigen der vnsern schwerlich, vnd stachen ein zu tod, vnd triben viel vnzu^echtiger wort vnter andern, sie wellten denen von Fryburg den bierenzoll gen.’ *DWB*, vol. 24, col. 2563 notes that ‘ürte’ is a ‘mahl, mahlzeit; die im hause des ‘wirtes’ eingenommene mahlzeit’.

¹⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 66/3205, fol. 420^r: ‘Item im xv^c xx jor wz ein Brüder im Brüder hus der schanckt win vnd wurden zwein vneiß mit ein ander mit ainem hanß inngelhart vnd ludwig hurster vön adlenhusen der wz zü der zut vnßer meiger vnd wurden vneiß dz der engelhart den hurster schlüg den selben fräffel berechtget der kast vogt Rüdolf von Blümneckg.’

¹⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/15 (12 July 1550): ‘[V]nnd gesagt, das ouch gotts marter alle mördischer, pürern schende, vnnd die obgemelte vier personenn mich darumb mit recht, fürnemen vnnd berechtigen wollen....so ich inen brieff vnnd sigell gebe, das ich solliche wort vnbedächtlich vnnd inn einer wyn fuchte geredt habe...’

²⁰ On her family see Albert Krieger, *Topographisches Wörterbuch des Großherzogtums Baden*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: 1904), cols. 1354-5; on the dispute see Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv, 23/6 (1 October 1540), a report by the Abbot of Tennenbach.

Abbot of Tennenbach's attempts to defuse the situation – so that 'the ladies could with quiet conscience and greater devotion serve the Lord, and not bring the house of God before decline and ruin and make their relationships fall apart' – ended in failure.²¹ Eventually, Verena was forced to resign, and the convent elected its prioress, Maria von Roggenbach, to be her successor as abbess.²² The women swore obedience to Maria on the Gospel book. It soon became clear, however, that all were not happy and some nuns sought to ally themselves with Verena, the former abbess, who was still living in the convent. The abbot noted that this was a mistake, 'that we had held on to the Abbess after her resignation in the convent, where it was easy to hatch plots'.²³ The situation became so tense that 'the religious services had to be put on hold and the argument threatened to become greater than it had been before.'²⁴ Eventually, the Tennenbach abbot was forced to involve the Outer Austrian government who immediately opened up negotiations with Verena. She was to leave the convent, with the right to receive a permanent pension and dowry. But she also was required to pay a leaving tax ('Wegzuge'), to live with her brother in Freiburg and there 'to behave as was appropriate for a religious person.'²⁵ In 1544 she went on to be appointed as the administrator of the canonical foundation of Ottmarsheim where she was buried.²⁶

Clearly relations in the convent in the late 1530s had become tense, pushing the institution to near collapse as the model of silence was upset. Services in which the nuns were supposed to praise God with their voices were grinding to a halt, whilst plots and arguments dominated. Many nuns were simply leaving the convent to go elsewhere: it was surely no coincidence that Cordula von Krotzingen left Günterstal to become abbess of Andlau at precisely this time.²⁷ The fact that Cordula sought to instigate stricter reforms in Andlau hints that tensions had perhaps emerged within Günterstal between the status of the convent as a religious institution versus that of a home for noble women with social functions.

²¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/114 (1 October 1540): 'Die Frauen mit ruhigem Gemüthe und größerer Andacht dem Herrn dienen, das Gotteshaus vor Abnahme und Verderbniß und nicht auch ihre Verwandtschaften hinter einander bringen möchten.'

²² On Maria see Julius Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 3 (Heidelberg: 1919), p. 603.

²³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/114 (1 October 1540): '...daß man die abgedankte Abtissin im Kloster behielt, wo es ihr leicht war, Intrigen anzuzetteln.'

²⁴ *Ibid.*: '[D]er Gottesdienst eingestellt werden mußte und das Ärgerniß noch größer zu werden drohte, als das frühere gewesen.'

²⁵ *Ibid.*: '[S]ich selbst zu halten, wie es einer geistlichen Person gebüre.'

²⁶ Sabine Klapp, *Das Äbtissenamt in den unterelsässischen Frauenstiften vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Umkämpft, Verhandelt, Normiert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra, N.F. 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 235-6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Above all, the debates about silence and voices in this period were essentially questions of enclosure and the control of the sensory: ‘silence is a virtue of the senses’, as one contemporary text put it.²⁸ The many treatises on convent silence made this clear: nuns were ‘to keep silence through God both internally and externally, secretly and openly.’²⁹ The mouth was compared to a town gate, drawing on the language of opening and closing: ‘The man who has an open mouth, cannot keep his spirit inside and pours out words like a city which has no walls against its enemies.’³⁰ Similarly, in answer to the question of what deadens the conscience more than useless words: ‘Where the heart and the mouth are not closed with the cover of silence, then one’s conscience will be sullied.’³¹ Indeed, and as with the other senses, the devil was a real threat and could only be kept at bay through silence: ‘Where there is however no silence, one will soon be overcome by the devil, as the holy spirit says: “A man who cannot control his spirit from speaking is like a town which is open and without walls.”’³² Like enclosure, the danger came from the three-pronged attack of the devil, the world and the body.

Within Günterstal, for example, texts such as the *Imitation of Christ* made such a connection clear. In the chapter ‘On the love of solitude and silence’ (‘Von der liebe der einikeit vnd von schweigen’), the nuns could read how ‘the devout soul increases and improves through silence’.³³ The reader was ‘to close the doors of your senses so that you might hear your lord God speaking to you,’³⁴ for ‘my words are spirit and life and should not be judged with the human senses nor lead to vainglory. But they should be heard in silence and be received with true humility and great desire.’³⁵ To hear these ‘sweet words’ (‘su^esseste wort’) of Christ meant to cut oneself off from the world, to control one’s tongue and to enclose oneself: the ideal of

²⁸ ‘Von Swaygen Chumt vil Nutz’, in Ruberg, *Beredtes Schweigen*, 245-7 (p. 246): ‘Sweigen ist eyn tugent der synne.’

²⁹ ‘Brief über das monastische Schweigen’, in Ruberg, *Beredtes Schweigen*, 306-8 (p. 307): ‘Halten durch got ewer swigen innerlich vnd vsserlich, heimlich vnd offenlich.’

³⁰ ‘Von dem Heiligen Swygenhalten’, quoting Gregory the Great, in Ruberg, *Beredtes Scwheigen*, p. 263: ‘Recht als ein stat, die kein mure het vor jeren fygenden, also ist der mensch, der einen offenen munt het, vnd sinen geist nit kan enthaltten, er gieß in vs mit worten.’

³¹ ‘Von dem Heiligen Swygenhalten’, pp. 291-2: ‘Nün waz betrübet me die concientz denn vil vnutzer wort? Wo das hertz vnd der munt nit beslossen wurt mit dem deckel des swigens, do wurt die concientzie vervnreint.’

³² ‘War swigen’ from Pseudo-Albertus Magnus’s *Paradisus Animae*, in Ruberg, *Beredtes Schweigen*, 293-301 (p. 296): ‘Swa abir nit swigens ist, da wirt man schiere von dem tieuil vberwunden, wan der halige gaist spricht: “Ain man, der nicht getwungen mac sinen gaist von sprechinne, der ist gelich ainer stat, diu offen vnd ane mur ist.”’ The nuns of Lichtenthal owned a copy of this: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 79, fols. 68^r-70^r.

³³ *Die wahre Nachfolgung Christi* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1486), fol. 24^v: ‘die andechtige sel nimmet zû vnd bessert sich in schweigen.’

³⁴ Fol. 61^v: ‘[B]eschleuß die thür deiner sÿnnlicheÿt vmb das du mügest geho^eren was dein herr gott in dir red.’

³⁵ Fol. 63^r: ‘[M]ein wort seind geist vnd leben. vnd seind nit zescha^eczen mit menschlichen sÿnnen. noch czeÿehen zû üppigem wolgefallen. Aber in dem schweÿgen seind sÿ czeho^eren vnnd mit ganczer demu^tigkeÿt vnd mit grosser begird stantt sÿ zû empfangen.’

silence, sweetness and the senses being at one. In a world of different voices, silence spoke to the very identity of a nun.

The food which nuns ate also spoke to this identity. Food played a vital role in the spirituality of nuns which was directed towards the body – stories of extreme fasting, Eucharistic devotion and tasting God abounded, particularly from the fourteenth century.³⁶ Nuns recorded lives of their fellow sisters, such as Prioress Luggly von Snabelburg of the nearby Freiburg Dominican convent of Adelhausen. When she fell ill she began to pray and at this point ‘she felt in her mouth such a great sweetness that she said: ‘Not even honey can be as sweet as this’...From the sweetness all her limbs received a new power, and this power and sweetness protected her all the time that she was at prayer.’³⁷ Yet, as Marquard von Lindau’s treatise on the Eucharist (*Eucharistietraktat*) warned,³⁸ those who could claim to perceive palpable sensation in communion were misguided: ‘You should consider that the sacrament is rooted in faith. Thus God also ordained it that no one can either see or hear his presence in the sacrament, nor feel the pleasure of the sacrament in himself...Therefore you should know that those who wish to have tangible pleasure and sweetness in the sacrament are totally in the wrong.’³⁹ Marquard’s words formed part of an increasingly sceptical attitude towards these forms of visionary experiences, which focused not only on sight but on other senses as well.

The Günterstal nuns wrote about food in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but did so in a different way to what had come before. In the forms of recipes, descriptions of meals and account lists, the nuns were interested in the practical implications of running a convent: these were not the ‘sweet words’ of Christ, but how much honey was needed for gingerbread. Recipes survive for dishes ranging from venison for a starter (‘ein hirtzen kopff oder rech kopf zů einem

³⁶ Caroline Walker Bynum, ‘The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages’, in Caroline Walker Bynum (ed.), *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), pp. 185 (miracles of bread turned into flesh in the mouth of recipients), 186 (the ability only to eat the Eucharist) and 190 (on tasting God). For a collection of examples see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1987). By contrast, Heike Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten*, p. 222, notes that nuns rarely commented upon silence: ‘In den chronikalischen Quellen...ist das Schweigen innerhalb der Klausur selten und dann auch nur beiläufig erwähnt.’

³⁷ Josef König, ‘Die Chronik der Anna von Munzingen. Nach der ältesten Abschrift mit Einleitung und Beilagen’, *FDA* 13 (1880): 129-236 (p. 173): ‘Nie kein honig wabe so süsse nie wurde, so die süssikeit, wz da si denne enpfant, vnd von der süssikeit enpfingent denne alle ir gelide eine krafft, vnd werete denne die krafft vnd süssikeit alle die wile, so ir an irem gebette wz.’

³⁸ The Günterstal library catalogue refers to its incipit ‘audi vilia’: Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 39^r.

³⁹ As quoted and translated in Mossmann, *Marquard von Lindau*, p. 199: ‘Du solt gedenken, das dz sacrament in den gelouben ist gesenkt. Dar vmb hat ouch got geordnet, das man sin wise in dem sacrament weder gesechen noch geho^rrren mag, noch des sacramentes lust in im selb nit enpfindent... Dar vmb soltu wüssen, das die gar unrecht hand, die da wellent in dem sacrament beventlichen lust und su^ssikeit haben.’

voressen'⁴⁰), pig's head ('ein swinin kopf'⁴¹), an apple and egg tart ('ein gûten sùßen eiger kûchen'⁴²), apple pie ('mûnch'⁴³), sauerkraut ('ein gung gumpestli', 'ein roten gumbest'⁴⁴), and, as will be seen in the chapter *Hands*, gingerbread and fruit confection. The nuns recorded this information alongside a library catalogue, lists of prayers and other aspects of the religious and spiritual side of the convent. They understood the practical and religious aspects of everyday life in the convent less in terms of separate spheres but more as an integrated whole. The convent was a house of prayer, where nuns directed their voices heavenward, but also a community in which everyone needed feeding. The spiritual and the everyday were never far away from each other.

Taste was not just a practical concern but could rather embrace wider issues, not least issues of gender and social status. In 1489, for example, the abbots of the Cistercian houses of Tennenbach, Salem and Bebenhausen visited Günterstal and were welcomed ('hieß sy wilkom sin') and fed by the nuns, an event which was recorded in the convent notebook:

First we gave them three veal heads and three feet and that was not enough. So afterwards we gave them eight boiled chickens and veal in a yellow gravy and after this a little piglet and ten roasted chicken and other roasted things. After that boiled fish and an egg mousse for the roasted things and little cakes with sugar. And the starter was

⁴⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 14^r. See also 36^v: 'Item wen du ein hirtzy kopf oder ein rech kopf wil zû eim voressen machen so setz eß zû alß sus wil pret mit halb win vnd halb wasser vnd wen es schier gesotten ist so leg ein halb lot negili dorin oder ein nunsit dornoch der kopf groß ist so wirt die brügy gar wol geschmact vnd setz in inn der brügi vf den tisch so ist eß ein herren essen.'

⁴¹ Fol. 36^v: 'Item wen du ein swinin kopf von wilbret zum voressen wilt haben so setz in zû mit wasser vnd ewenig saltz vnd wenn er gesotten sy so trucknen in ab vf dem rost vnd besey in mit ymber. Item wiltu i swinin kopf von zamen swinen zum voressen haben so tû im als vor do obnen stot.'

⁴² Fol. 11^r: 'Iem dz xxvi so du wilt ein gûten sùßen eigerkûchen machen so nim sùß öpfel vnd hak die wol vnd grett sÿ wol vnd tûn dan ein schußlen vol hung dor in vnd loß in der ouch dor inn sieden vnd nim denn iiii eiger oder me vnd klopf sy wol vnd tûn die öpfel dor in vnd wurtzen vnd solt heißen anker han byden fvr in einer pfannen vnd schutt eß dann dor in vnd wenn er ein wil gebecht dz du getruw est dz er numi brech so ker in vmb vnd dor noch alli mol ker in vmb vnd snid in mit die wil er warm ist er bricht dir.'

⁴³ *Ibid*: 'Item dz xxvii so du wilt mûnch machen so tûn den öpfeln als do obnen [footnote 41] geschriben vnd loß sù kalt werden vnd tûn denn wurtzen vnd saffret dor in vnd snid peterli gröblecht ouch dor in vnd nim eiger vnd sid die hert vnd hack dz gel kleiner denn dz wiß vnd rier eß den in die öpfel wenn deß müßes bi ii schußlen vol ist so eß gegrett wirt so bedarfft du i schußlen mit hung doch nit vol vnd viiii eiger dor in vnd xiii zû den kutten vnd die soltu vast wol klopfen vnd ein klein pfennli vber dz fvr haben vnd den mit heiß anken recht wol netzen vnd wider dor vß tûn vnd de ein eß leffel vol eiger dor in schittun vnd behenglich zering vmb schwencken so eß den gebecht so ist eß ein much kut.'

⁴⁴ Fols. 12^v, 13^r, 36^r, 36^v: 'Item zû schleh gumpest brüg so nim halb hung vnd halb win dz hung velliger'; 'Item zû den rotten gumpest halb hung vnd halb essich.'

flavoured with spices and the mousse with pomace.⁴⁵ The [male] cook prepared everything.⁴⁶

The description of the meal ends, however, with the worried insertion of the nun: ‘and it was also quite a small meal for such men.’⁴⁷ Katherine Brun has emphasised the more humble origins of members of abbeys in south west Germany, emphasising that it was cathedral chapters which tended to be dominated by noble families.⁴⁸ In Salem, for example, from the onset of the sixteenth century, commoners, not nobles, tended to dominate the abbey’s leadership, many of them the abbey’s own former subjects. Johannes I Statenrat, who visited Günterstal, came from Uffholz in rural Alsace and was the abbey’s first peasant abbot.⁴⁹ The monastic ideal had become increasingly more attractive to burghers and peasants than to nobles, especially by the later Middle Ages. Bebenhausen was also, by the early fifteenth century, composed mostly of burghers and peasants and regularly elected non-noble abbots.⁵⁰ Whatever the social background of the three abbots, for the nuns of Günterstal these were men in a position of authority and they wanted to impress them.

By contrast, Günterstal retained its noble background over the course of the sixteenth century. Ulrike Denne has emphasised the ‘elite’ character of the convent from its foundation until the fourteenth century. The convent recruited primarily from the rural nobility, *ministeriales* (people raised from serfdom) and the urban patriciate and less from the guild families, in

⁴⁵ Ulrich Goebel, Anja Lobenstein-Reichmann and Oskar Reichmann, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 5, part 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), col. 1354 notes that ‘treset’ are the ‘Treber; was von Ausgetrocknetem übrig bleibt; Rückstand des gekelerten Weins’.

⁴⁶ GLA, 65/247, fols. 24^v-25^r: ‘Do kam der apt von salmanswiler har vnd der apt von bebenhusen vnd der apt von tenenbach vnd oßend hie ze imbiß in der couent stuben...vnd kûman sy do gelich in die stuben vnd hieß sy wilkom sin vnd wunschten iren dem nuwen herren [the recently appointed abbot of Tennenbach, Brother Michael Sitz] geluckt vnd ass man gelich man gab zû ersten iii kopff vnd iii kresß vnd wz dennet ze wenig tor noch acht gesotten hannen vnd kalpfleisch inn einer gelen brügy dor noch ein spin verly vnd x gebroten hünr vnd sus gebrotes vnd noch dem gesoten visch vnd ein eiger muß zû dem gebaches vnd kûchli mit zucker vnd dz voressen mit wurtzen vnd dz muß mit träset dz bereit der koch alles.’ Ulrich Goebel, Anja Lobenstein-Reichmann and Oskar Reichmann, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 5, part 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), col. 1354 notes that ‘treset’ are the ‘Treber; was von Ausgetrocknetem übrig bleibt; Rückstand des gekelerten Weins.’

⁴⁷ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 25^r: ‘vnd was ouch gar ein schmal mol fvr sollich herren’.

⁴⁸ Katherine Brun, ‘Ruling Class and Regime in an Ecclesiastical Territory: The Case of Salem’ in Thomas Brady and Christopher Ocker, eds, *Politics and Reformations: Communities, Polities, Nations, and Empires: Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 359-80, (p. 363).

⁴⁹ For a list of Salem’s abbots and their social background see Katherine Brun, *The Abbot and His Peasants. Territorial Formation in Salem from the Later Middle Ages to the Thirty Years War*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte 56 (Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2013), pp. 431-2.

⁵⁰ Brun, ‘Ruling Class and Regime in an Ecclesiastical Territory’, pp. 373-8.

contrast to the Dominican houses of the town.⁵¹ Whilst more elite families selected Günterstal and the Dominican convent of Adelhausen for their daughters, the fact that figures like Johannes Snewlin (†1347), a member of the influential Freiburg patrician family, chose Günterstal as his burial place, reflected the exclusivity of the convent.⁵² Nuns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would have seen memorials around the church to noble patrons, such as Graf Eberhard von Spitzenberg, the first secular person to be buried in the convent, and been surrounded by the coats of arms of influential Freiburg families, such as the Blumenegg family.⁵³ Many of the nuns in the period came from families with long associations with the convent, such as von Blumenegg and von Tüßlingen, families of the lower nobility, whose family names appeared thirty-one times respectively in the convent's necrology. The noble character of the convent continued into the sixteenth century, as families such as von Roggenbach, Röder von Diersburg and von Landeck provided family members for the institution.⁵⁴ Some Cistercian convents in the region, such as Baintd, followed a similar route to the monasteries of Salem and Bebenhausen by recruiting from nearby Ravensburg's citizens, but others, such as Rottenmünster and Wald paralleled the situation in Günterstal and retained their noble profile.⁵⁵

Food acted as an important mark of the social background of the nuns and the profile of the convent. This was most clearly illustrated by the feasts which the nun's family provided for the convent after entry: 'when a young girl enters the house, the same child should offer the ladies a meal.'⁵⁶ In the case of the Ettenheim sister in 1497, this consisted of veal in a spiced gravy, a yellow mousse with bread rolls and half a roasted chicken for each nun, with the caveat that if the chickens were big then each nun was to receive a quarter of the chicken boiled and a

⁵¹ Ulrike Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau. Ihre Einbindung in den Orden und in die städtische Kommunität*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 32 (Munich: Karl Alber, 1997), pp. 153-77.

⁵² Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg*, pp. 158-60.

⁵³ According to Count Froben Christoph of Zimmer's (1519-66) chronicle, it was known that the coats of arms of Beatrix's family which hung in the convent church would fall down a few days before to foretell the death of a member of the family. See *Zimmerische Chronik*, Carl August Barack (ed.), 4 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1881-2), vol. 3, pp. 49-50: 'So wissen wir, das zu Güntersdal, ist ein closter im Preisgew, so die edelleut von Plumneck sollen gestiftet haben, biss anhere ein gewiss zaichen gewest, da derselbigen edelleut einer mit todt sollt abgeen, so ist gewisslich, das bei wenig tagen davor ain ufgehenkt plumegkisch wappen in der kirchen ab der wandt gefallen.'

⁵⁴ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: 1905), pp. 427-31; vol. 3 (Heidelberg: 1919), pp. 575 and 596.

⁵⁵ Maren Kuhn-Rehful, 'Die soziale Zusammensetzung der Konvente in den oberschwäbischen Frauenzisterzern', *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 41 (1982): 7-31 (pp. 17-8). Kuhn-Rehful analyses the changing social profile of the six convents under the paternity of Salem: Heggbach, Heiligkreutztal, Rottenmünster, Wald, Gutenzell and Baintd.

⁵⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 32^v: 'Wen man ein kind anleit dz selb kind sol den frowen ein mol geben.'

quarter roasted. The meal ended with little cakes.⁵⁷ A surviving account list gives more detail on the foodstuffs that Ursula von Ow's family was required to pay for: three shillings and three half pennies on spices, two shillings on saffron, two and a half shillings on butter, two and a half shillings on bread rolls, one shilling on milk, five shillings on eggs, three shillings and four pence on crayfish, nine shillings on fish, fourteen shillings on veal, two shillings on piglets and fifteen shillings on thirty-three chickens, perhaps hinting at the number of people present at the gathering. This was just one expense among many as the family also had to pay the confessor and chaplain, and buy bowls, plates, a little ring and wax.⁵⁸

These sorts of meals had obvious parallels with secular marriages, in which the wedding feast played an integral part.⁵⁹ They were also by their nature different to the everyday fare which the nuns would have eaten. As part of their regular diet, the nuns seem to have eaten a flat cake ('Fladen') consisting of up to two hundred eggs, quark ('ziger'⁶⁰) and butter.⁶¹ In 1487, when there were seventeen sisters, they needed to cook only seven of these for 'the sisters, the domestic servants, the men and two prebendaries.'⁶² The chickens were supplied to the nuns through obligation: Hanß Meiger from Ebringen, for example, was required to give the convent two chickens every year on Saint Martin's Day between 1495 and 1509, whereas Steffen

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 'Zum ersten ein foressen dornoch kalpffleisch in einer gewirtzten brügi dornoch ein gel brit [?] muß mit mutschellen vnd tresit doruf dornoch gebrotes ieder frowen i stuk vnd i halb gebroten haⁿli [chickens] sind die hürn [sic] groß so git man ieder frowen i gesotten fiertel vnd ein gebroten fiertel dornoch küchli.'

⁵⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 33^r: 'Item von iedem kind sol man dem bichter geben v ß dem caplon iii ß Item iii ß iii helbling vmb wurtzen vnd tresit Item iï lot safferet fur ii ß Item ii moß ancken fur iï ß Item iï ß vmb mutschellen Item i ß vmb milch Item iiii ß letzi gelt Item iiii ß vmb schislen vnd c schindel teller vmb viii d Item i ß vmb dz vingerli Item vii d an dz vingerli Item ii ß ii d fur i lb wachs Item v ß vmb eyger Item iii ß d vmb krebs Item ix ß vmb fisch Item i kalb fur xiiii ß Item i spin ferli fur ii ß Item xxxiii hürn [sic] ko^uft fur xv ß minr iï d dis alles ward ko^uft dem vrseli von ow.' For a comparison see the profession of Agnes Brukerin in 1492 into the convent of St Klara auf dem Werth in Strasbourg, who provided food for 70 guests, 28 people within the enclosure and 42 outside. Agnes provided 200 wooden plates and sixteenth new spoons and borrowed three tables from the bishop, paying six pence to the bishop's servants to transport them to the convent. The guests were given beef, fish and poultry, cooked with saffron, sugar, cloves, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and a spice mixture called 'Süßwurtz': Klapp, 'Die "Äbtissenrechnungen" des Klosters St. Klara auf dem Werth', pp. 236-7.

⁵⁹ For a satirical take see Hans Sachs, *Die neün geschmeck in dem ehelichen stand* (Nuremberg: Georg Wachter, 1545), in which Sachs compares nine different tastes (sweet, bitter and so on) with different stages in the marriage (being engaged, the wife not doing the chores and so on).

⁶⁰ Baufeld, *Kleines frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 259: 'Feste Bestandteile der geronnen Milch, Quark, geronnene Milch, käseartige Masse, Käse.'

⁶¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 13^v. See also fol. 36^r: 'Item zû den fladen ii c eiger in uierdhalb lb ziger geho^ort ein halb lb ancken vnd eiß eigß groß in dem boden vnd xvi eiger in ziger vnd ii in dem boden.'

⁶² Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 13^v: 'do bruchten wir vii fladen den frowen vnd dem gesind vnd den herren vnd zwein pfrundnern.' The reference to servants points to the social status of the nuns.

Zymmerman from the same village was required to give eight.⁶³ The everyday food of the nuns therefore affirmed their status as landowners.

Paying for the entry ceremony provided, of course, only for the very first stage of the nun's life within the convent and she required the continuing support of family members, primarily parents but also siblings, uncles and aunts and grandparents. The *Rule of Benedict* made clear that a gift at entry was voluntary but by the eleventh century the expectation – if not requirement – was to bring some sort of payment. This was not a dowry in the sense of a fixed sum required of all entrants as ratified by the Council of Trent, but rather could vary in size and nature, such as houses, fields, vineyards, tithes, cash or rights to land.⁶⁴ By the beginning of the fourteenth century monetary payments were the norm, a situation reflected within Günterstal.⁶⁵ Whereas previously the nun had no right of disposal to her dowry, by the later Middle Ages the dowry was endowed as an appanage (*Leibgeding*), i.e. whilst the convent had nominal legal control of the goods, the 'administratio et gubernatio' lay in the hands of the nun in the course of her lifetime.⁶⁶ In the second half of the fifteenth century, for which a number of these documents survive, a yearly interest payment in the form of lifelong appanages of between three and six pound pence seems to have been the norm.⁶⁷ In January 1466, for example, the siblings, Konrad, Wilhelm and Margarethe Tegelin von Wangen provided annuities (*Gülten*) in Breisach to support their sisters Verena and Anna who were already nuns at Günterstal.⁶⁸ This amounted to a form of private income and support for the nuns, which ran counter to the ideal of not owning private property. It also helped to cement relationships between certain families and the convent. In 1479 the payments to Ursel and Beata von

⁶³ Karlsruhe, GLA 66/3205, fol. 21^r: 'Hanß Meiger git ii ß ii hunr vf martini vnd ii hu^ener ze eren verzinzt im lxxxv jor'; fol. 22^r: 'Gerechnet mit steffen zymmerman vf den xii tag im lxxxxvi jor er sol i lb viii hu^enr mit dem zinß.' On chickens running around the convent see Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, pp. 2-3. She estimates that a community of 100 nuns would need to garner at the very least 600 eggs every week.

⁶⁴ Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260. A Social, Economic and Legal Study* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), p. xvii and, on specific Cistercian practice and responses, pp. 211-2; Kuhn-Refus, 'Zisterzienserinnen in Deutschland', p. 135.

⁶⁵ Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, pp. 39-42.

⁶⁶ Helga Schuller, 'Dos – Praebenda – Peculium', in Herwig Ebner (ed.), *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 453-87 (pp. 453-4).

⁶⁷ Karlsruhe, GLA, 67/639, notes, for example, how Veronica von Blümneck received an annual payment of three pound pence from 1462 (fols. 24^v-26^v), Kungund zum Wiger four pound pence from 1465 (fols. 51^v-53^v), and Barbel Espach five pound pence from 1476 (fols. 181^v-184^r).

⁶⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 21/982 (20 January 1466). This is not included in Kim's appendix. Two years later Konrad von Kippenheim sold the convent the 'Gült' of twelve bushels (*Mutt*) of barley in Biengen for 36 florins on the condition that the proceeds could be used by Agnes von Staufenberg, a nun in Günterstal, and Konrad's niece. After her death the proceeds would go to her closest heir or, if still alive, Konrad: Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/11, 8 April 1468. Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, p. 216.

Blumenegg would only continue to be paid to the convent after their deaths if a member of the Blumenegg family remained in the convent.⁶⁹

Within Günterstal such payments came to be linked directly with food and with spirituality. Between 1504 and 1508, the convent's abbess, Veronica von Mülheim, received a treatise on convent entry from one Brother Johannes in which she was warned that 'when worldly nourishment ('zittliche narung') decreases then spiritual matters ('geistlichkeyt') also diminish because spiritual matters cannot survive without worldly support.'⁷⁰ The treatise emerged out of a debate between the monastic reformer Denis the Carthusian (1402-71) and his examiner at the university of Cologne, Bernhard of Rheyda, over whether convents should accept novices, even if they did not have the resources to support them, and whether this should be considered simony.⁷¹ Transmitted in both Latin and German, the treatise asked:

It is a question whether it is appropriate in convents to accept a woman as a novice above the number of people which the same convent can support without suffering loss. It is also a question whether if the person who is received cannot be given spiritual things whether one may ask for worldly things in return.⁷²

⁶⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 67/639, fols. 68^r-69^r.

⁷⁰ Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 24: 'vnd so di zittliche narung gereit abgon dz den die geistlickeyt ouch da mit abgienge den die geistlichkeyt nit lange geston mag on zitliche versorgung.' The colophon at the end of the text (p. 47), indicates it was written 'durch mich brüder Johansen' for 'der erwardigen frowen von mulhein.' He hopes that both scribe and read may come to eternal joy ('in ewiger fröwd') 'by feeding on his bread of heaven' ('mit sinen himelbrot spisen').

⁷¹ The danger of simony – the form of trade with spiritual objects – had its origins in the passage in the New Testament on the magician Simon Magus (Acts 8:17-24). On the background of the issue see Roman Deutinger, 'Simonisten rechtfertigen sich. Mittelalterliche Antworten auf den Vorwurf der Simonie', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 120/2 (2009): 145-59.

⁷² Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 1: 'Utrum in monasteriis feminarum liceat recipere ultra numerum personarum que de bonis monasterii sine penuria possunt sustenari et a persona recipienda oblati gratis spiritualibus pro eius sustentacione exigere temporalia'; p. 23: 'Es ist ein froge ob in den frowen clöstern zimlich ist zû nemen ein frowlich bild zû einem novitzen vber die zal der personen die das selbe closter on gebresten uff enthalten mag vnd das man von der person die empfangen sol werden so man ir vergebens die geistlichen ding git heischen moge zitlich ding'. The introduction is a translation of the second book of Denis's *Against Simony (Contra Simoniam): Doctoris ecstatici d. Dionysii Cartusiani opera omnia, cura et labore monachorum sacri Ordinis Cartu*, Vol. 39 (Monstrolii: 1896) pp. 308-27. See Dirk Wassermann, *Dionysius der Karthäuser: Einführung in Werk und Gedankenwelt*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 133 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1996), pp. 7-12, 228-236; Martin A. Schmidt, 'Dionysius der Kartäuser (D. Rickel, D. de Leeuwis u.ä.)', in *VL²*, Vol. 2 (1980), cols. 166-78, without reference to the German translation which the Günterstal nuns owned. Denis, the author of some 187 treatises, left behind a stream of writings on the need to restore the enclosed life of convents which in his eyes had collapsed. On Bernhard of Rheyda: Götz-Rüdiger Tewes, *Die Bursen der Kölner Artisten-Fakultät bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Studien der Geschichte der Universität zu Köln* 13 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993), pp. 28-9, 466-8; Maarten van Rhijn, 'Bernard van Reida', *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 35:2 (1946), pp. 81-4; Wassermann, *Dionysius der Karthäuser*, p. 9. Bernhard had supported his view on convent entry in the text 'Quaestio de receptione novitiae in monasterio praecavendum' but Denis's *Against Simony* was upheld by a decision of the University of Paris.

The work was based, in part, on *Periculoso*, the papal decree ratified in 1298 by Pope Boniface VIII, which stressed the importance of enclosure for nuns, and *Ne in vinea domini*, a papal constitution on simony, published in April 1369 by Pope Urban V.⁷³ Nor was the Günterstal text isolated: another text, dating from the early fifteenth century, ‘Carissima Soror Agnes’, also raised these concerns and made them even more explicit. Written by ‘a learned and living Dominican monk’, and sent ‘to a Cistercian nun’, it was far more far reaching in its aims than the text which the Günterstal nuns owned, addressing questions of private property, convent community, the eating of meat, obedience to the Rule, observing the Divine Office and the benefits of focussing on the Passion.⁷⁴ At the heart of both texts lay, however, the concern about convent entry.

Convents, the ‘Soror Carissima Agnes’ text argued, needed to support themselves so that nuns had no reason to roam outside. This open letter warned of the dangers of leaving the convent to go to doctors, family and friends, and to feasts, friends and shrines. This could even result in nuns becoming pregnant (‘and she who was once a virgin has now become a whore’).⁷⁵ The Günterstal text did not make these concerns so explicit but did see a direct link between support and the spiritual status of the convent. Inverting Isaiah 9:3 (‘Thou hast increased their joy and given them great gladness; they rejoice in thy presence as men rejoice at harvest, or as they are glad when they share out the spoil’), the Günterstal text warned that ‘you have increased the number of people but have not enlarged joy or devotion.’⁷⁶ For both texts the language of

⁷³ Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women. Periculoso and Its Commentators 1298-1545*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 5 (Washington, D.C., 1997): pp. 131-136 includes an edition and translation of the Papal Decree; June Mechem, ‘A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen’, in Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, eds, *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2005), 139-160, p. 142 for a discussion about its impact on a Cistercian convent.

⁷⁴ Falk Eisermann, ‘Soror Carissima Agnes. Zur Rezeption einer päpstlichen Simonie-Konstitution in spätmittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern. Mit Edition’, in Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlottheuber and Volker Honemann, eds, *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter : Ergebnisse eines Arbeitsgesprächs in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 24.-26. Febr. 1999* (Leiden, 2004), 119-67, (p. 167): ‘Dis büch daz ist ain büch, daz ain gelerter und gelebter múnch bredger ordens het gesendet ainer closterfrowen in sant Bernharcz orden und het daz mit andren gelerten und gelebten lesmaistern willen, ra^{tt} und hilfe getaⁿ.’

⁷⁵ Eisermann, ‘Soror Carissima Agnes’, p. 152: ‘Wenn si denn also versenhen werdend und ir gelt selb niessend und bruchend, wie si wend, so wellend si denn fürbas uss faren an die arczat und in die beder in dem mayen, in dem herbst ze iren fru^{enden}, zû gesellen und gespilen, zû den hailgen und in die wa^{ld}, in die closnan und ze gûten lûten, und also geschicht dis gar dik, daz etliche la^r uss fert und beswa^{rt} und tragend wider hain kompt. Und die vor ain junkfrow waz, die ist nun ain meretrix worden.’

⁷⁶ Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 32: ‘Du hast gemeret dz folck vnd hast aber nit gegroßwirdiget [sic] die frowde oder die andacht.’

nourishment ('ernerer') was key: 'we should not accept more sisters into convents than we can nourish and maintain from the goods of the convent.'⁷⁷

The Günterstal nuns received the text on simony alongside translations of the statutes of the Cistercian Order.⁷⁸ A manuscript dating from the early sixteenth century from the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal contains much of the same material, indicating a wider trend of the translation of such rules within the region.⁷⁹ The Lichtenthal manuscript significantly does not, however, transmit the treatise on simony, indicating an issue unique to Günterstal. Why did the Günterstal nuns therefore receive a text which was concerned about convents not supporting themselves? The treatise suggests that numbers should be limited to thirty or forty sisters to maintain the religious services.⁸⁰ Yet Günterstal did not exceed this number at the time: in 1482 there were twenty-nine professed sisters, and three lay sisters; and five years later there were only seventeen professed sisters, as eleven of them had died of the plague in the devastating year of 1485.⁸¹ By 1518 this number had recovered to twenty-two.⁸² These numbers do not suggest there was overcrowding. Yet this issue was of concern for the other convents in the city. At the same time as the Günterstal nuns received their treatise on entry and support, the reformed Dominican nuns of St. Agnes were writing to Emperor Maximilian and the city council lamenting their financial situation, 'that we unfortunately do not have enough food because of our poverty.'⁸³ The reasons behind this were made clear: 'the dues received of our convent have gone down annually by two hundred guilders but the number of people in the convent has increased since then.'⁸⁴ Indeed there were now thirty-eight nuns, in addition to

⁷⁷ Eiserman, 'Carissima Soror Agnes', pp. 148-9: 'Aber von dem enpfahen der swestren und der kinder in die closter, da sond ir wissen und gar eben merken, daz man in die frowen closter nit mer swestran in nemen noch enpfahen sol denn als vil von dez closters güt und nützen an grossen redlichen gebresten ernerer und enthalten mag.'

⁷⁸ Cod. Sang. 1344 contains a version of the *Libellus antiquarum definitionum* from 1289 in Latin (pp. 49-175) and in German (177-309) and the *Ecclesiastica Officia* in Latin (749-921) and in German (441-679), as well as German versions of the reform decrees of Benedict XII (364-95), a bull of Clemens VI (395-8), and general statutes of the Cistercian chapter from 1386 until 1463 (398-431).

⁷⁹ See Kloster Lichtenthal 46, which also contains German translations of the *Libellus antiquarum definitionum* (2^r-52^r), the *Libellus novellarum definitionum* (52^v-69^v), reform decrees of Benedict XII (69^v-80^v), a bull of Clemens VI (80^v-81^v) and general statutes of the Cistercian chapter (81^v-93^r).

⁸⁰ Cod. Sang. 1344, pp. 31-2: 'villicht wer es gnüg das die zal uff xxx oder uff xl gesetzet wurde in yechlichem closter den gotlichen dienst zû volbringen'.

⁸¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 3^v: 'Item anno domini m cccc lxxxii obiit Sophia von Käppenbach do hiess man yedi fro^wen betten iii m vnd vii^h hundert aue mara [sic] vnd die leyg schwestren yeglich c betten deren woren iii vnd der gewilten fro^wen xxix'; fol. 13^v: 'In dem jor do man zalt m cccc lxxxvii do woren vnser nit me den xvii fro^wen'.

⁸² Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 6^v: 'Anno domini m ccccc xvi jor...vnd woren der frowen xxiii.'

⁸³ Doerr, *Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen*, pp. 325-6: 'dz wir leider der armüt sind daz wir unsers liebe narung nit hand.'

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*: 'Die gülden unsers closters sich gemindert hand jerlich um zwey hundert gulden aber die personen des closters hand sich sithar gemeret.'

thirteen monks who lived on site, and many ‘had been accepted into our convents for God’s will without any help or support of temporal goods.’⁸⁵ The nuns resorted to having to eat just ‘jam and bread’ (‘muß und brot’). This case provided the town’s authorities with a clear example of the problem which the Günterstal treatise sought to avoid: a decline in spiritual standards caused by financial mismanagement. But there is no evidence that Günterstal was facing any such problems at the time, either in terms of overcrowding or resources.

Whatever its original intention, the text formed part of a wider programme of reform in the early sixteenth century in the convent and region: the reform decrees of Benedict XII from 1335 transmitted alongside the simony treatise used, for example, the word ‘reformation’ (‘reformacion’).⁸⁶ As part of its reform in 1483 and of the wider concern about the issue of simony, the Cistercian nunnery of Wöltingerode in northern Germany also received the treatise on simony in Latin which the Günterstal nuns owned.⁸⁷ In turn, Falk Eisermann has emphasised that the deciding factor in the transmission of the text ‘Soror Carissima Agnes’ was whether the convents were reformed: the Cistercians nuns of Kirchheim am Ries, the Dominican nuns of Zoffingen in Constance and the Augustinian canonesses of Inzigkofen all owned the work and were all reformed houses.⁸⁸

Yet, we need to question the extent to which the Günterstal treatise offered a ‘reforming’ programme. In many respects the text was deceptive. For it justified the continued use of such payments – used for ‘eating or drinking, mealtimes or clothes’⁸⁹ – because they were given

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*: ‘on alle hilf und stur des zitlichen gütz luter um gotz willen in unser closter sind in genomen worden.’

⁸⁶ Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 364: ‘Here begins the order and reformation of Pope Benedict XII, in which he reformed and restored once again several things in the Cistercian order which had collapsed’ (‘Hie vocht an die ordnung vnd reformacion Benedictii des babstes des zwo^olfften da mit er Citelser ordens wider reformiert ettlichs abgeton ettlichs dar zû gesetzt hatt’).

⁸⁷ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Codex Guelf. 599, fols. 136^r-152^v. In 1448 the nuns had sought advice from the Magdeburg cathedral canon Heinriche Toke about the danger of simony regarding convent entry and in 1483 the Bishop of Hildesheim provided the nuns with a number of texts on the issue as part of its reform. Jessica Kreutz, *Die Buchbestände von Wöltingerode: ein Zisterzienserinnenkloster im Kontext der spätmittelalterlichen Reformbewegungen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), p. 106 does not address this manuscript – or issue – in any detail as part of her discussion of reform; Heinrich Rüthing, ‘Die mittelalterliche Bibliothek des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Wöltingerode’, in Clemens Kasper & Klaus Schreiner, eds, *Zisterziensische Spiritualität: Theologische Grundlagen, funktionale Voraussetzungen und bildhafte Ausprägungen im Mittelalter*, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige. Ergänzungsband, 34 (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag 1994), 189-216 (pp. 201-3) discusses the manuscript and context in more detail.

⁸⁸ Eisermann, ‘Soror Carissima Agnes’, pp. 130-41. Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Cod. III.1.4^o 42, written in 1454/4 for the Cistercian nuns of Kirchheim am Ries; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgq 988, written in 1410 for a Cistercian convent but then sent on the Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift of Inzigkofen and Freiburg im Breisgau, Erzbischöfliches Archiv, Hs. 28 for the Dominican nuns of Zoffingen in Constance. The issue was particularly relevant in Inzigkofen. In 1500 the Inzigkofen nuns received a manuscript containing a German translation of Konrad Summenhart’s *Tractatulus pro monialibus ad vitandam simoniam in receptione noviciarum*: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Ms. 297, fols. 1^r-27^r.

⁸⁹ Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 27: ‘essen oder trincken molzit oder clemoter’.

freely. The nuns were provided with a set-piece conservation which they could use: ‘When a convent is so lacking in goods that it cannot support its people which the order desires then you may say: “We will gladly accept you into the convent, but we do not have enough to nourish you, unless you bring something with you.”’⁹⁰ The treatise claimed ‘that in all these things the surest thing is not to ask or demand.’⁹¹ But this *was* a demand which allowed the practice to continue without demur. When Rudolf von Blumenegg, for example, provided an appanage of three florins from the income of a hay tithe in a farm in Mundenhofen for his daughter to enter the convent in 1511, did he give this out of free will or did the convent demand it?⁹² Could Rudolf’s daughter have entered the convent without such a payment?

The onset of the Reformation – and the resulting collapse in convent numbers – then led to the opposite problem. Now it was no longer a question of too many nuns but too few, and of how best to increase numbers without changing the social status of the convent. Brun has, for example, argued that female houses which had longer and closer ties to the interests of the aristocratic families whose daughters they housed began to accept non-nobles in the sixteenth century. Half of the female Cistercian houses in the German south-west lost their noble character by the sixteenth century and even those that retained their aristocratic self-image began to accept burghers by this time.⁹³ By the 1570s the fall in numbers in Günterstal was blamed on the convent’s socially exclusive recruitment policy. During the visitation of 1573, Abbot Nikolaus I Boucherat of Cîteaux commented specifically on Günterstal’s entrance requirements – and significantly not for any other convent he visited. He noted that Ferdinand II, Archduke of Further Austria, and the Emperor’s son, ‘had prevented them accepting novices unless they were noble.’⁹⁴ Boucherat disagreed, however, recommending ‘that it should still accept non nobles for numbers to rise to twenty.’⁹⁵ Indeed, the abbess was encouraged to go on a recruiting trip ‘in the town of Freiburg and amongst nobles’ to try and seek admission of daughters into the order.⁹⁶ She should make ‘no choice or difference whether they were noble or otherwise’, since they faced the real danger that the convent ‘fall into ruin and the religious

⁹⁰ Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 34: ‘Wenn ein closter also kranck ist an güt das es die person nit geziehen mag die den orden begert so mag zû ir sprechen Wir geben dir gern den ingang ins closters wir hand aber nit do mit wir dich neren mögen du bringest den mit dir.’

⁹¹ Cod. Sang. 1344 p. 43: ‘In allen disen dingen ist das sichereste das man nit heische noch fordere.’

⁹² Karlsruhe, GLA 23/42, (13 February 1511).

⁹³ Brun, ‘Ruling Class and Regime in an Ecclesiastical Territory’, p. 368.

⁹⁴ Postina, ‘Geschichte der Cistercienserklöster’, p. 236: ‘prohibuerat, ne novitias reciperet, nisi essent nobiles.’

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*: ‘ut etiam ignobiles reciperet usque ad vicenarium numerum.’

⁹⁶ GLA, Karlsruhe, 23/70, fol. 4^r: ‘in der statt frayburg oder vbey dem adel’.

services be halted.’⁹⁷ When the abbess attempted to force through these changes, Ferdinand ‘wanted to prevent them from taking the veil’, and the abbess was threatened with excommunication, although this was never implemented.⁹⁸

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the convent had developed an ever closer relationship with its Habsburg rulers.⁹⁹ On 5 November 1582, for example, the (blood) sisters Cordula and Anastasia von Anpringen and Elisabeth von Könriz secured entry into the convent in return for a dowry of 200 florins, a significant sum.¹⁰⁰ The Anpringen family were patrons of the convent and in 1584 Cordula and Anastasia’s brother Michael was appointed steward. The family had tenure of land owned by the Habsburgs (the castle in Anpringen and goods in Kirchhofen), the Margraves of Baden, the Lords of Üsenberg, the bishopric of Basle and the Benedictine Abbey of St Trudpert.¹⁰¹ One of Michael’s predecessors in the role, Christoph von Landeck (died 1549), was a reeve in Ensisheim, the seat of government in the region for the Habsburgs – whilst Maria, a relative, was abbess.¹⁰² The convent was in a dilemma. On the one hand it wanted to remain loyal to its Habsburg rulers, and retain its social exclusivity and important ties to leading noble families. On the other, it faced increasing pressure following the Council of Trent from the Cistercian order, and the church more widely, to increase numbers, broaden its social base and impose a stricter religious life.

The issue of convent recruitment centred therefore on the balance between inclusivity and exclusivity. The question of who the convent was open to, and cut off from, was not just a question of enclosure but extended to convent recruitment as well. In his *15 Confederates* Eberlin attacked the notion of sensory control, questioning a nun’s mother: ‘until now your child has not been permitted to eat when she is hungry, to drink when she is thirsty, and to rest when she is tired.’¹⁰³ Yet within Günterstal, both before and after the onset of the Reformation,

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: ‘Sie soll auch hir ein kain wal oder vnderschid haben, sie sien vom adel oder sonst von Ehrlichen gschlechtern, dann ongefär durch mangel, das man die Edlen nit bekommen möcht, das Closter der personen halb, in abgang geriete, vnd der Gotzdienst auffgehept wurd.’

⁹⁸ Postina, ‘Geschichte der Cistercienserklöster’, p. 236: ‘volebat impedire, ut vestirentur’; Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/115.

⁹⁹ As discussed in the chapter on *Ears* and the convent commemorating the death of Archduke Sigismund and his wife, this was not new but was accentuated in the sixteenth century: ‘Das bei Freiburg gelegene Zisterzienserinnenkloster entwickelte sich im Laufe der Frühen Neuzeit zu einem adligen Frauenstift, das als Mitglied der Ritterschaft den breisgauischen Landständen angehörte’: Klapp, *Das Äbtissinnenamt*, p. 234.

¹⁰⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA 23/2 (5 November 1582). Cordula owned Karlsruhe, BLB, Dm 45, a printed Benedictine breviary from 1493.

¹⁰¹ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 13.

¹⁰² Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 427-31.

¹⁰³ Eberlin, *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 19 writes, for example: ‘Gedenck du herte müter, für hin muß din kind nit essen wann es hungert, muß nit trincken wann es dürft, muß nit rüwen wann es müd ist.’

the question of food was less about what a nun could eat and when she could open her mouth to eat it, but more about what that food represented in terms of the social profile of the institution. The debates about silence were also about exclusivity but this was more in line with the criticism of Eberlin, as the Reformation challenged the idea that a nun should have a special role to play and only open her mouth at certain points in the day and say or sing certain things. The everyday practices of speaking and eating had become critical issues in the ongoing debates over nuns' spiritual and social identities.

VI: Hands

In July 1508, the abbess and convent of Günterstal had intended to send a letter to the Outer Austria regency government in Ensisheim. But the convent's steward, Rudolf von Blumnegg, prevented them, arguing that it was too dangerous and that Ensisheim would lose trust in the convent.¹ In the unsent letter the Günterstal nuns sought to put pressure on the Ensisheim government to side with them in an ongoing dispute between the convent, the Dominican nuns of Adelhausen and Freiburg town council which had started in 1467² and which was reignited between 1492 and 1511.³ The disagreement centred on a piece of land known as the *Leime*, an uncultivated copse (*Gestrüpp*), which lay between Günterstal and Adelhausen. In 1492 it had been ruled that the *Leime* was the property of the town council but that it lay within Günterstal's jurisdiction (*Bann*) and, as such, the nuns could continue to allow their pigs to pasture on the land, alongside pigs from Freiburg. Things were, however, made more complicated as Adelhausen purchased the land from the town council in 1510. Then accusations of sabotage emerged. In that same year the Günterstal nuns had set dams in three places in the stream which ran through the disputed land (by the chapel dedicated to Saint Matthew, 'by horwer bruck', 'vff die muntzing'), to help irrigate the fields, the previous dams having been washed away in the great flood of 1480. The bursar (*Schaffner*) from Adelhausen complained that the dams were interfering with the water flow ('es sÿ jetzt anders vil wasser in dem bach vnd werden jetzt nit verwässern') and representatives of the two convents agreed to meet and inspect them. But that night the bursar smashed and broke the boundary markers ('vnsser strichen zerhownen vnd zerbrochen').⁴

¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 67/640, p. 53: 'Der kast wolt vnß disen brieff nit lon gon einßi schicken er meint er stend ze gevorlich sy wurdenß vf nemen wir getruwetten innen nit.'

² Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/8 (20 February 1467).

³ See the collection of documents in Karlsruhe, GLA 67/640, as well as GLA 23/8 (26 September, 1492), 23/8 (16 April 1507) and 23/7 (27 October 1511).

⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 67/640, p. 87: 'Item es ist zewissen das wir von altter har alwegen dry strichen han in dem bach gehebt vnder halb dem kloster einy by sant matissen vnd die ander by horwer bruck die drytt vff die muntzing [an area of land between Günterstal and Adelhausen] dor vss wier vnsser matten gewa^cschere^t han Item die selben strichen fu^rt vns die gross gus [the great flood in 1480] hin weg vnd andern grossen schaden an vnssers gotz hus vnd vff den matten vns beschacht do mit wier syt der gus kein strichen me in dem bach gesetzt han vntz vff samstag vor sant jergen im xv^v x jor han wier ein schrichen gesetzt by horwer bruck vnd so wier die schrichen gesetzt han so ist der schaffner von adlenhusen her vss zû komen... do vereingett sich vnsser kastvogt vnd der honecker der frowen von adlenhusen pfleger eins tags die strich besächen... noch vnsser hergotz tag in der nacht hett der schaffner adlenhusen vns vnsser strichen zehowen vnd zerbrochen vff dem vnssern vii d.' *DWB*, vol. 19, col. 1520, which notes that a 'strich' is a 'markierte trennungslinie, grenze.'

Two years after the argument had reached its head, at New Year in 1512, the nuns of Adelhausen received five and a half pounds of round-shaped gingerbread ('Lebkuchen') from the nuns of Günterstal, whilst the mayor of Freiburg received six pounds worth. Rudolf von Blumenegg, meanwhile, the steward who had acted on behalf of the convent as its legal representative, received gingerbread, *Latweg* (an 'electuary', a sort of fruit confectionary or paste, made of honey)⁵ and, significantly for this chapter title, a pair of gloves.⁶ The motive behind these gifts, especially to the nuns of Adelhausen, remains to be seen: what were the nuns hoping to gain by sending them gingerbread, especially within the context of suspicion which had developed between the two houses?⁷ Was it, as seems likely, a gesture of friendship in an attempt to heal wounds? And did the Adelhausen nuns reciprocate the gift?

The ambiguity surrounding the exchange of gifts is also well-illustrated by a letter Erasmus, a future resident of Freiburg, wrote to the Benedictine nuns in Cologne in February 1523: 'More than most estimable virgin sisters, devoted as you are to your profession, you have sent me titbits and sweetmeats to induce me to write something in praise of the greatest treasure you possess and make you proud of your chosen way of life', referring to the relics of the Maccabees, which were then housed in the convent. Erasmus continued:

You intend of course to make something out of it. You have a target: in exchange for presents which beguile the sense of taste, you hope to get something which will feed the mind. A virtuous ambition this, a holy appetite, a prudent and profitable kind of exchange full worthy of wise virgins, if only I were a man with the ability to reward you with a spiritual harvest of the corporeal seed that you have sown. Your predilection is admirable; your selection is at fault. You set your heart on the best; you do not set your hand on one capable of answering to your pious wishes. But let me not be thought merely ungrateful. I congratulate you, O saintly virgins, on this spirit that thirst for nothing save the glory of your bridegroom...⁸

⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 43^r refers to the *Latweg* containing honey, beans, pears or apples, pepper and spices: 'Im xv^c ix jor machten wir den Couent lattwergen iiii in ein lattwergen ii moß hung bloß Item iii moß bonen wenn du aber biren ald o^pffel hest so nimm den halben teil ald so fil du der biren nimpst so fil nimm der bonen minr. Item in ein latwergen tu^a ii lot pfeffer i lot wurtzen bloß.' Corine Schleif & Volker Schier, *Katerina's Windows. Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, as Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun* (Pennsylvania, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), p. 13 refer to *Latweg* as a potion, which contained treacle and mustard along with saffron and which was fried in an eggshell.

⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 16^v: 'Item dem kast vogt i leppküchen latwergen vnd i par hend schû gestick vff den tummen'.

⁷ There were personal connections between the houses. Günterstal's abbess, Agnes von Tüßlingen, for example, had a sister in the house, Elisabeth, who had died in 1480: Julis Kinder von Knobloch et al, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: 1898), p. 269.

⁸ Roger Mynors et al., eds, *The correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 1252-1355 (1522-1523)*, vol. 9 (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 41-2: 'Semel atque iterum tragematis ac dulciariis missis prouocat me vestra, virgines optima, vt aliquo scripto thesaurum vestrum, quem sane preciosissimum tenetis,

Erasmus's letter underlines the human element behind gift exchange, in this case between a humanist and a group of nuns.⁹ Yet it also makes clear a sensory aspect to gift-giving as it abounds with references to the sense of taste, as Erasmus played on the links with the physical objects of the 'titbits and sweetmeats' which he had sent, and the spiritual nourishment which he was supposed to supply in return for the nuns' 'holy appetite'. The letter is full of rhetorical tricks which the nuns could enjoy, not least the conventional expression of unworthiness, as the letter attested to their learned status. The letter acted as another type of gift, a marker of reciprocity in a learned relationship.

The sense of taste was also vital for the Günterstal nuns as they distributed gifts of gingerbread and *Latweg*. Yet other senses, not least touch, were also vital to the exchange and, above all, to the labour behind the gifts, as the nuns crafted objects such as gloves with their own hands. Gifts became a way for nuns to negotiate with the outside world and to make sense of their enclosed status. As Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson have recently argued, knowledge of people's possessions is an integral part of understanding their experience of daily life, the way they saw and judged themselves in relation to their peers and their interaction with the social, cultural and economic structures and processes which made up their daily lives.¹⁰ Nevertheless such interactions could change and this chapter considers how developments in gift-giving practices revealed wider trends about the social and religious status of the convent in society, as gifts became weapons in the defence against the unprecedented attack on convent values.

The most obvious change in gift-giving culture in the convent was the collapse in donations from the early 1520s. In return for gifts of land, nuns and monks had been traditionally required to provide perpetual commemoration for the donor (and often their families) in the religious

celebrem, et vobis vestrum propositum commendem. Nimirum lucrum facere vultis illud. Venamini vt pro xeniis quae delectant palatum, recipiatis ea quae pascant animum. Pia captatio est, sancta auiditas est, prudens et quaestuosa commutatio, planeque digna sapientibus virginibus: si modo is essem qui possem pro corporali semente spiritualement messem reponere. Non erratis in affectu, sed erratis in delectu. Quod optimum est diligitis, sed non eum diligitis qui possit sanctissimis votis vestris satisfacere. Nec tamen simpliciter ingratus videar, gratulor vobis, sanctissimae virgines, istum animum nihil aliud sitientem quam gloriam sponsi vestri...

⁹ Gadi Algazi, 'Introduction: Doing Things with Gifts', in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner & Bernhard Jussen, eds, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 9-27; Valentin Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the end of the Middle Ages*, tr. Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 9 argues that human actors can become sidelined in Mauss's 'purportedly homogenous gift mentality'; Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, tr. W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990).

¹⁰ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, 'Introduction', in Tara Hamling & Catherine Richardson, eds, *Everyday Objects. Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2010), 1-23 (p. 1).

prayers and liturgical services of the monastic house.¹¹ Over the course of the fifteenth century there was a significant decrease in such donations as just five records survive, compared to fifteen in the thirteenth and eighteen in the fourteenth centuries.¹² There were gradual changes, therefore, before the Reformation, but the wider attack on such donations by reformers led to an abrupt decline, even in a town which purportedly survived the Reformation: the last recorded donation directly to Günterstal came in August 1521 when the nuns were asked to pray for Hermann Berken and his family's souls at the Altar to the 10,000 Knights.¹³ As Natalie Zemon Davis has argued, the Reformation was in many respects a quarrel about gifts, questioning whether humans could reciprocate to God and put him under obligation. Reformers challenged the complex system of reciprocity which defined Catholicism, manifested by the continual exchange between the living and the dead through the medium of gift-exchange, as well as the sacrifice and gift of the Mass.¹⁴

An altar wing with a depiction of 'The Adoration of the Magi' was given to Günterstal at some point before 1488 and reflects the spirit of such donations.¹⁵ As was common in the later Middle Ages, the gifts in the hands of the Magi were presented ornately – gold in a box (shaped in this instance like a church), frankincense in a horn and myrrh in a jar or chalice. At the bottom of the picture are two smaller kneeling figures of Beatrice Brenner and Juliane von Kippenheim, nuns at Günterstal.¹⁶ As in other pictures, they are depicted in a praying position, with their

¹¹ Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 77-92; Otto Oexle, 'Die Gegenwart der Toten', in Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke, eds, *Death in the Middle Ages, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia. Series I, 9* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 19-77; Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, *The Languages of gift in the early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Hedwig Röckelein, 'Founders, Donors, and Saints: Patrons of Nuns' Convents', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (eds), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 207-24; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, first published 1989); Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The laudatio parentum in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

¹² Yu-Kyong Kim, *Die Grundherrschaft des Klosters Günterstal bei Freiburg im Breisgau. Eine Studie zur Agrargeschichte des Breisgaus im späten Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 45 (Freiburg im Breisgau; Munich: Karl Alber, 2002), pp. 219-28.

¹³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/4 (14 August 1521): 'vff den zehentusent ritter altar'; on this phenomenon Corine Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990).

¹⁴ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 167-73.

¹⁵ Hans Schadek & Jürgen Treffeisen, 'Klöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg. Frühgeschichte, Sozialstruktur, Bürgerpflichten', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1996), 421-67 (fig. 131, p. 434); Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 37^r refers to the fact a papal legate visited the convent's seven altars in 1490, including 'the altar of the Magi in the brother's choir' ('alter der helgen dry kung in der brüder kor').

¹⁶ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, vol. 1, pp. 159 and 287.

hands clasped together and looking towards the new born Christ Child. There are countless such representations on these so-called memorial pieces – including stained glass windows, murals and altars – in which individuals or groups kneel before a scene derived from the New Testament or a saint’s life. With their similar dress and posture, the patrons were presenting themselves as a member of a community.¹⁷ But this chapter aims to look at another side of gift-culture in the convent and not focus exclusively on the memorial element. For one of Juliane’s six brothers, Anton, who became a citizen of Freiburg in 1507 and joined the council in 1523, also received gingerbread, *Latweg* and gloves from the convent in 1512.¹⁸ To look at these sorts of objects opens up new angles on convent life, to think not just about hands of prayer, but those hands busy in the kitchen and the workshop, and which sought to extend their reach into the outside world.

In terms of sources, the nuns’ notebook includes five lists of New Year’s presents which the nuns distributed. A hand which appears at no other place in the notebook records a list of presents given out at New Year in 1512 to thirty-one groups or individuals. It begins ‘in the year of our Lord I gave out [the following] at New Year’, but we do not know who the first person singular person refers to.¹⁹ A different hand provides a separate list for the same year, 1512, and includes twenty-two names of individuals or groups.²⁰ There is some crossover between the two lists – chaplains, confessors and the convent’s steward at Günterstal’s house and barn in Freiburg, Hermann, appear on both lists, for instance – but the second list seems more personal, as first-person singular references such as ‘for my Othilg’ (‘miner Othilg’) indicate. In the first list only gingerbread, *Latweg* and gloves are distributed, whereas the second list is characterised by greater variety in what was given, including devotional objects (‘a little pearl Pater Noster’/‘i parillin pater nosterli’; ‘a fastened psalter’/‘i kralliner psalter’; ‘a small rosary’/‘i rosen krentzli’), clothes (‘an apron’/‘i schurtz’) and money (‘for my Margaret one *plapphart*’/‘miner margreten i plapphart’).²¹ A third list survives which was written by the prioress.²² Referring to what the abbess has to give out at New Year in the late

¹⁷ Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*, pp. 191-6; Truus van Bueren, ‘Care for the Here and Hereafter: A Multitude of Possibilities’, in Truus van Bueren and Andrea van Leerdam, eds, *Care for the Here and Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 13-34 (pp. 16-18).

¹⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 16^v.

¹⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 16^v-17^v: ‘Anno domni xv^c xii yor han ich vß gen zum güten yor.’

²⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 18^r which has the same incipit.

²¹ A *plapphart* or *blaphart* was a small coin widespread in the south west in the later Middle Ages. See *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*, vol. 2 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1932-5), col. 358.

²² Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 33^v contains the note ‘In year of our Lord 1495 on Saint Dominic’s Day I became prioress. Sister Espach gave me a trunk in which there were 13 books, big and small, five bound and eight in

1490s, the list contains details of gingerbread, *Latweg*, gloves and, significantly, money.²³ Gift exchange was operating alongside and in conjunction with buying and selling.²⁴ The recipients of this list were more local - millers, administrators, cellarers, carpenters, the town guards – and the objects here seem to have functioned as a form of regular, annual payment as no specific date is provided. Finally, the hand which wrote the second list in 1512 had also recorded two further lists in 1508. The first²⁵ includes eighteen names but the second²⁶ includes eighty-nine individuals or groups, divided into four groups. The fact that two lists appear for two years points arguably to the fact that there was a distinction between gifts from the whole convent community and those which were individual and personal in their nature. Such a distinction remains unclear, as even the more ‘personal’ lists have entries which refer to ‘our’.

In addition to these five lists, the notebook allows us to reconstruct in some detail the labour behind the gifts. In 1512 Jakob Häbler came to visit the nuns of Günterstal to teach them a new gingerbread recipe. In tax records which survive from 1508, this name is listed as a member of the shoemaker’s guild, but there is a Conrat Häbler included as a member of the baker’s guild.²⁷ When Jakob came to Günterstal in 1512 he gave the nuns detailed instructions which were recorded in the notebook. This included the details that a nun burnt her hand touching a pot of honey which was still warm, as well as the first batch of gingerbread going wrong as they closed the oven door when it should have been open.²⁸

It is possible to trace the gingerbread from source to recipient. The scribe who recorded Jakob’s visit, and who also recorded the two lists from 1508 and one of those from 1512 and who clearly had an administrative role within the convent, also noted down the ingredients which the convent bought, including for the gingerbread, at the fair (‘Jahrmarkt’) in 1506, 1508, 1510, 1511 and 1513.²⁹ This happened in Freiburg twice a year, beginning on the Tuesday before the first Sunday in Lent and on the Tuesday before St Martin’s Day in November, when the nuns

leather’ (‘Item anno domini im cccc lxxxxv vf dominici ward ich priory die von espach gab mir ein laden do woren inn xiii bücher klein vnd gros v in gebunden viii in leder gehefft’).

²³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 30^v-31^r: ‘Item the abbess should give the confessor at New Year...’ (‘Item die eptissin sol dem bichter gen zum güten ior...’).

²⁴ Davis, *The Gift*, p. 15.

²⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 41^v.

²⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 43^v-44^v.

²⁷ StaFr, E1 AII a 1 15, fols. 26^v (‘Conrat Häsler vi B’) and 33^r (‘Jacob Häbler i lb vi B’).

²⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fols. 47^v-48^r: ‘vnd ru^ert die wurzen in dz mel dornoch dz hung wz noch aber warm dz er eß kum geliden mocht’; ‘do syß gemachten heitzten sy den ofen als o^eb sy wölten wißbrot bachen vnd do sÿ die leppku^echen vff den brettern hin in brachten da taten sy den offen zÿ dz sotten sy nit gton han denn sy wurden besent.’

²⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fols. 41^r, 46^r.

would have presumably sourced the ingredients for the gingerbread. Both fairs would have lasted five or six days and the convent was able to buy spices there.³⁰ In 1511 the scribe bought ginger, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, galangal, white turmeric and mint and spent four pounds, five shillings and seven pence in total.³¹ But the Günterstal nun did not have enough money for all the spices and Aristoteles, the convent's *Schaffner*, was sent to pay the trader debts of one pound and eight shillings.³² At New Year 1512 Aristoteles was rewarded for his work – he received three shillings and one penny, a little decorative 'Pater Noster', rectangular-shaped gingerbread and a little box of *Latweg* from the convent, whilst his wife received one schilling penny and their child 'little gingerbread' ('leppküchli') and six pence.³³ The spices which the Günterstal nuns bought tallied with the purchases of other convents in the town who bought a similarly wide range of goods.³⁴ The Poor Clares nuns of the town even travelled to Strasbourg

³⁰ Frank Irsigler, 'Jahrmärkte und Messen im oberrheinischen Raum vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert', in Konrad Krimm & Rainer Brüning, eds, *Zwischen Habsburg und Burgund. Der Oberrhein als europäische Landschaft im 15. Jahrhundert*, Oberrheinische Studien 21 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2003), 229-54 (pp. 246-8); Berent Schweiniköper, 'Beobachtungen zum Lebensraum südwestdeutscher Städte im Mittelalter, insbesondere zum engeren und weiteren Einzugsbereich der Freiburger Jahrmärkte in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in Erich Maschke and Jürgen Sydow, eds, *Stadt und Umland. Protokoll der X. Arbeitstag des Arbeitskreises für südwestdeutsche Stadtgeschichtsforschung, Calw 12. –14. November 1971*, Veröffentlichung der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, 82. Band (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974), 29-53 (pp. 43-5); Heiko Haumann, 'Von Ordnungen und Unordnungen Lebensformen in der Stadt', in Haumann and Schadek, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg*, vol. 1, 501-23 (p. 515).

³¹ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fol. 46^r: 'Im xv^c xi yor han ich ko^uft vff den yormarckt Item iiii lb ymber yedes lb fir xiiii β d wirt iii lb vi β d Item iii lb pfäffer yedes lb fir vi β d wirt xvii β d Item vi lot nägili vmb iii β d dz lot vi d Item iii lot muschetnus vmb xv d Item iii lot muschet blüst dz lot fir xvi d wirt iiii β d Item v lot zymit dz lot fir viii d ist iii β iiii d Item ii lot galgang x d Item i lot zittwan vi d Item i lot kalamer fir ii d Suma iiii lb v β vii d.' Similarly varied lists of products also survive from the Cistercian convent of Quernheim from 1519 until 1526 and from the fifteenth century account books of the Cistercian monastery of Stift Rein, near Graz: Bernd-Wilhelm Linnemeier, 'Stift Quernheim: Untersuchungen zum Alltagsleben eines Frauenkonvents an der Schwelle zur Reformation', *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 144 (1994): 21-88 (pp. 47-8); Gerhard Jaritz, 'Die Reiner Rechnungsbücher (1399-1477) als Quelle zur klösterlichen Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters', in Heinrich Appelt (ed.), *Die Funktion der schriftlichen Quellen in der Sachkulturforschung*, Veröffentlichung des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976), 145-249 (pp. 200-4); Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, pp. 139-40 has references to ginger, short pepper, nutmeg, grains of paradise, galangal, cloves, mace, sugar and saffron; Paul Freedman, *Out of the East. Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 11, includes information on galangal, an aromatic root related to ginger, now only in the West through Thai cuisine, but which was used in medieval cooking.

³² Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 46^r: 'Im xv^c xi yor verfallen tu^at man im [dem clomli] schuldig i lb viii β i d het aristottiles im bezalt vnd vns verrechnet hervmb.'

³³ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fol. 18^r: 'Item dem schaffner aristottiles iii β d i parillin paterr nosterli i langen leppküchen i ledli lattwergen siner fro^uwen i β d irem kind i leppküchli vi d.'

³⁴ StaFr, E1 BII b13 a 1 (1523-42) contains the list of spices the Freiburg Clarissans bought in 1539: 'Item viii lb imber Item muscatnus iiii lb Item negelin i lb süß holtz iiii lb Item zymet i lb Item kalamus i lb Item galgen i fierling Item muscat blüst i fierling Item zyttwan i fierling Item kurtzen pfeffer iiii lb Item langen pfeffer i fierling Item kabebelin i fierling pariß kornili ii lot Item saffaren i lb cardemun iiii lot Item zucker xxx lb.'

to buy spices but switched to buying them in Freiburg from 1535 since they had less purchasing power following fluctuations in currency values.³⁵

The question of authenticity was a significant issue in Freiburg at the time. In 1495 a case was brought to the Freiburg town council that the town's spice merchants were falsifying their goods and four respected citizens were required to test them.³⁶ Eucharius Rößlin, the town's doctor at the time, and Johann der Silberkremer, for example, were accused of having added sandalwood to their saffron, whilst Hans Blydisser falsified the colours of his spices.³⁷ Johann defended himself, by claiming that he had bought his spices from many different lands and, as with other spice traders at the Frankfurt fair, had added cardamom and coriander to his spices and coloured his saffron with old olive oil. In turn, Eucharius claimed to have bought all his spices from Johann.³⁸ The case mattered because these were expensive goods which came from far-flung places and were considered exotic. Valued customers such as the nuns of the town needed to know that what they were buying was of the required standard. This was all the more important because the spices the nuns bought played a vital role in the convent's relations with the outside world.

The nuns used the distribution of gingerbread to cement social hierarchies. The description of Jakob's visit noted how he split the mixture into parts and had each part weighed: twelve of the gingerbread, described as fine ('kostlich') and each weighing seven pounds were coloured with saffron. The remaining ten, each weighing six pounds and uncoloured, were baked next. The nuns created a hierarchy of gingerbread based on their weight, colour, shape (rectangular

³⁵ *Ibid.* '1538/9': 'Item sid dem xxv jar hand wir nit me zü sträßburg in der meß lassen kouffen wie den der alt bruch ist gewesen...vß der vrsach dz wir nit me also vil geltz händ kumen zü wegen bringen dz wir zü strässburg bar bezalten.'

³⁶ Hans Schadek (ed.), *Ulrich Zasius 'Geschichtbuch' der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau. Eine Sammlung exemplarischer Einzelfälle zur städtischen Politik, Rechts- und Verwaltungspraxis im Spätmittelalter*, vol. 1: Text (Freiburg im Breisgau: Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau, 2012), pp. 49-54. This was not unusual in German towns: most saffron for northern European markets passed through Nuremberg where it underwent a quality control known as the *Saffranschau*: Schier & Schleif, *Katerina's Windows*, p. 16.

³⁷ Schadek, *'Geschichtbuch'*, p. 51: 'Eucharius saffra erkennen si nit für koffmans güt, sonder für falsch und mit eim zûsatz von sandel oder von anderen dingen, sige inen verporgen'; 'Johann deß Silberkemers saffra erkenn si nit für koffmans güt, sonnder für falsch unnd eim zûsatz von sandel oder anndern dingen, sige inen verporgen'; 'Item Hans Blydissers geverte wurtz ist nit gerecht, hat ein zûsatz in der farw und im gewurtz, doch was das sige, ist inen verporgen.' The inspectors were not able to identify if Hans Burger had tampered with his goods or not: 'Item des Burgers würtz gebend die schöwer weder für güt noch für böß, sonnder lassen si die pliben wie si ist, dann si sige so subtil gemacht, das si die nit erkennen können.'

³⁸ Schadek, *'Geschichtbuch'*, p. 52: 'Verantwort sich zum ersten der Johann uff meinung, das er menig lannd durchfaren unnd im sin wurtz nie verwissen, wie nun er glichförmig anndern krömeren zü Frannckfurt sin wurtzen mit abriskorn, coriander, deßglich den safra mit altem bomöl gefeurt unnd gemacht...Eucharius verantwort sich uff meinung, wie er solhen saffra von Johann, dem im schuldig wer, genomen, dann er selbs keinen hett, dertzit do Brißwergk hochtzit hielt...'

or circular) and the decoration of their packaging. The public nature of the gift reinforced group cohesion, social position and exclusion, as the gifts, like the sounds of the bells, expressed ranking in society within a variety of subtle ways.³⁹ One of the 1508 lists indicates that eighty-nine portions of gingerbread, in various shapes, sizes and colour, were handed out by the nuns.⁴⁰ Thirteen men received seven pounds of gingerbread which were in a box and were coloured with saffron. These were reserved for men in positions of spiritual authority over the nuns (the abbots of Tennenbach, St Peter im Schwarzwald and St Trudprecht, as well as the nuns' chaplains and confessors), as well as current and former secular officeholders such as the steward and doctor.⁴¹

The higher standing of these recipients was marked in two ways. First, their gingerbread was coloured with saffron, the most expensive of spices: in 1511, for example, half a pound cost one pound and four shillings.⁴² Whilst the nuns of Maria Mai near Maihingen bought saffron grown in Aquila in the Abruzzi which was then imported into Nuremberg, the centre of the saffron trade, the Günterstal nuns may well have bought saffron grown locally in Herdern.⁴³ The expense lay though in the need to plant the crocus in vast fields, given that it produced such a low yield.⁴⁴ The vibrant yellow colour and fragrant aroma made clear the object's status as something to be prized by the affluent, a symbol of material comfort and social prominence.⁴⁵

³⁹ Wim Blockmans, 'The Feeling of Being Oneself', in Wim Blockmans & Antheun Janse, eds, *Showing Status. Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 1-16 (p. 15). He asks (p. 12): "Why were some messages also – or even, specially – communicated by symbolic means? Does symbolism presuppose a higher degree of articulation? Is it for that reason especially suited to delivering the most subtle and sensitive messages?"

⁴⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 44^r.

⁴¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 44^r: 'Besteck la^eppküchen. Vnseren h von Ta^enibach Item dem apt von S. Peter Item dem apt von S. Ru^aprecht Item kilcherren Item dem kantzler Item vnserem kastvogt Item her dietrich Item dem doctor Item dem von falckenstein frig herr Item obrechter von kippenheim Antheng sin brüder Item von bolschwiler Item ein in dz hus den gesten.'

⁴² Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 46^v: 'Im xv^e xi yor ko^uft ich † lb saffret fir i lb iiiii ß d.' Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, includes a letter from August 1517, in which Katerina Lemmel of Maria Mai wrote to her Nuremberg cousin Hans Imhoff the Elder: 'Dear Cousin, I have directed your Fritz to give us one lb. of good saffron. I think it would be best to get it soon, since you think that the price will go up. Therefore give us one more pound, since it will hardly last us a year; two pounds would do, although it won't colour anything very yellow, because the pots are so large'. On saffron see Volker Schier, 'Probing the Mystery of the Use of Saffron in Medieval Nunneries', *Senses and Society* 5/1 (2010): 57-72.

⁴³ Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau: Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 40.

⁴⁴ Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, pp. 13-6.

⁴⁵ Freedman, *Out of the East*, p. 2. As Freedman (p. 10) notes that, although grown in Europe, 'it was nevertheless viewed as exotic and was breathtakingly expensive.'

Secondly, we know from the later list from 1512 that many of these recipients also received a pair of gloves: the abbot of Tennenbach, the chaplains and confessors, the steward, Hanß Valckenstein (the former steward) and Anthony of Kippenheim.⁴⁶ Such gifts were not unusual. A letter survives from the 1480s from the prioress of the Dominican convent of Eßlingen to Sister Martha Ebinger, a Poor Clare in Söflingen, near Ulm, in which she thanks Martha for sending her three pairs of gloves.⁴⁷ Indeed, gloves had a long tradition in gift exchange. In the Low Countries, around 1200, the benefactor would transfer his or her gift of land to a monastic house by placing an object, often a glove, on the altar where the relics of a saint, the true recipient of the present, were kept. So that participants and witnesses did not forget the gift, the objects used in the ceremonies were kept as mementos.⁴⁸ Bijsterveld has argued that the glove in this instance represented the parting between the possessor and his possession and more generally symbolised the hand of the person handing over the gift. Indeed, gloves represented property, power, rights and protection. Gloves were sent in Germany to *Lehns männer* whose protection one needed. Within a secular context gloves meant authority.⁴⁹ Likewise, in a religious context, gloves were worn by bishops and abbots. These were usually white to symbolise their purity and were presented to them ceremonially on taking up their office.⁵⁰ Gloves in Günterstal were always sent to a person in a higher position. Anthony's position is unknown but the other recipients all had authority – spiritual or legal – over the nuns. The glove therefore acted as a marker of this relationship. It symbolised their higher position in relation to the nuns, as well as the sense of contact between the nun and the world outside.

Returning to the 1508 list, ten men received uncoloured gingerbread weighing six pounds which reflected a tendency towards the giving of gifts to those in authority (the 'Bürgermeister', 'Schultheiß') and those with administrative tasks within the wider convent community ('gericht schriber', 'vnseren schaffner ze friburg').⁵¹ Fifteen people received round gingerbread, each weighing five and a half pounds.⁵² Some of these were given to nuns within

⁴⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 16^v.

⁴⁷ Georg Steinhausen, *Deutsche Privatbriefe des Mittelalters*, vol. 2 (Berlin: 1907), p. 49: 'Daran hänt ir mir geben 3 par hentschuch.'

⁴⁸ Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*, pp. 58-65.

⁴⁹ Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*, pp. 72-4; G. Jungbauer, 'Handschuh', in Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer and Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, eds, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 3 (Berlin; Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1930-1), cols. 1405-6; Berent Schwineköper, *Der Handschuh im Recht, Ämterwesen, Brauch und Volksglauben* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1981), pp. 113-6.

⁵⁰ Jungbauer, 'Handschuh', col. 1404; Schwineköper, *Der Handschuh*, pp. 27, 37.

⁵¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 44^r.

⁵² Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fol. 44^v.

the convent, such as the prioress and female wagoner. Gift giving was therefore as much an inward as an outward process. The nearby convents of St. Agnes and, as seen from the beginning of the chapter, Adelhausen, also received gingerbread of five and a half pounds.

The majority of recipients, thirty-three in total, received rectangular gingerbread each weighing three pounds.⁵³ Each sister in the convent received one of these. Novices received this ‘if they wanted’ (‘öb man wil’), whilst other men with administrative roles also received this size, such as the ‘lant schaffner’. Finally children received ‘kleini leppkühli’ – 8 of these were ‘children who I cannot know’ (‘kinden die ich nit kan wissen’).⁵⁴ In 1512, for example, ‘little Peter’ (‘peterli’), the son of the convent’s *Schaffner* in Freiburg, Hermann, received a little bag with six pence and gingerbread inside (‘i seckli vnd vi d trin i leppkuch’).⁵⁵

References abound to the distribution of gingerbread at this time of year from South West German convents.⁵⁶ Yet the surviving lists from Günterstal offer a particular insight into the way the nuns used gifts to cement ties with individuals and groups. The gifts do not seem to have created ties: all the names listed, from scribes to chaplains, would have been known to the nuns already. As Groebner notes in the case of Basle, ‘[gifts] did not create social ties or legal positions, but rather publicised them.’⁵⁷ Distribution of gloves and saffron-coated gingerbread not only reflected well on the recipients, but also on the convent itself. It made public the convent’s ties with the outside world, acting as a sort of ‘social glue’, joining people together.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the gifts, and particularly their production, also helped to create bonds of community and common identity within the convent’s walls, as some of the nuns helped with the baking, whilst all received them as gifts.

The gifts, though, went beyond the social, as is evident if we consider parallels in other sources. Embodied in the gifts were much wider issues – of emotions, of identity and of spirituality, of salvation, sanctification and healing. On 1st January, the Feast Day of the Circumcision of the Lord, Cistercians did not perform prostrations in the daily chapter meeting but rather heard the

⁵³ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fol. 44^v.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA 65/247, fol. 18^r.

⁵⁶ The bishop of Basle, for example, reciprocated the presents of gingerbread and spices that he received every year from the nuns of Klingenthal with gifts to the servants who delivered them: Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*, pp. 41 and 180, n. 132. Margarete von Hanau continually sent her father, Philip, gingerbread at New Year – and apologised profusely in March 1491 for sending them so late: Steinhausen, *Deutsche Privatbriefe des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, p. 292 (‘Und bitten uwer gnode demuttiglich, daz uwer gnode uns nit wol in ubel versten, daz wir uwer gnoden die kuchlin nit lang ubersent haben, wan uns mercklich ursach daran verhindert hat’).

⁵⁷ Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*, p. 141.

⁵⁸ Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*, p. 85.

head of the chapter, the abbot, wish them a happy New Year.⁵⁹ In a rare case of knowing what a nun spoke as opposed to what she wrote, in 1508 the Günterstal abbess addressed ‘her dear ladies and sisters’ and hoped that ‘our dear Lord, Jesus Christ, the new born little child, will grant a good, blessed happy year in body and soul and that through what we earn here may we also take possession of eternal life after this life.’⁶⁰ She then addressed those who were sick in the infirmary in similar words, but with added resonance.⁶¹ The entry then continues that every year the convent needed ‘52 measures of honey for the gingerbread and in each measure you should add one *lot* of ginger and one *lot* of pepper.’⁶² Here was a clear indication of the practical and the material standing alongside much higher issues.

The Günterstal’s abbess’s words are similar to those contained in surviving letters of nuns. Caritas Pirckheimer, for example, wrote to Michael Behaim, the Nuremberg *Baumeister*, in 1507 wishing him ‘many thousand, good, blessed, healthy and happy new Years’. She enclosed a ‘Dominus tecum’, a small figurine of the Christ child, with her letter which she hoped would be of use for his body and soul. She and her fellow sisters thanked him for all that he had done for them and hoped that the figurine would be a ‘a sign of our friendship.’ She added that the same reminder was also present in a few sugared goods with lavender which she also enclosed. These had the additional benefit of strengthening his body. The letter closes with a reminder that Michael and his relatives, even his deceased ones, were forever in the convent’s prayers.⁶³ Woodcuts such as these, with the ‘Happy New Year’ message and a box of food or goods in the foreground, were widespread in the region.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Cod. Sang. 1343, p. 53: ‘In dem tag der beschnidung nemmen wür nit die venien / sonder vns würt gewünscht von dem der do heltt das Capittel ein Nuwes yar.’

⁶⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 40^v: ‘Item vf dem achtenen tag lieben frowen vnd swestren vnser lieber herr ihesus christus dz núw geboren kindli verlih vnß allen ein güt selig gluckhaftig jor zu sel vnd ze lib vnd dz wir hie verdienen daz wir mit im besitzen noch disem leben dz ewig leben.’

⁶¹ *Ibid.*: ‘Den guten luten. Item vnser herr got verlih vch ein güt selick gluckhaftig ior vnd dz ir verdienen hie dz ir dornoch besitzen ewigß leben.’

⁶² *Ibid.*: ‘Item man muß ally ior wol lii moß hung han zú den lepküchen vnd sol man in ietlichi mos i loth ymber vnd i loth pfeffer han.’

⁶³ Josef Pfanner (ed.), *Briefe von, an und über Caritas Pirckheimer (aus den Jahren 1498-1530)*, Caritas Pirckheimer-Quellensammlung, vol. 3 (Landshut: Caritas Pirckheimer Forschung, 1966), p. 112: ‘vil tausent gutter seliger gesunter und gluckseliger new jar...angedenken unßer freuntschaft.’

⁶⁴ Paul Heitz (ed.), *Neujahrwünsche des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1900).



Fig. 16: *Christ Child with New Year's Wish*, Woodcut, Anonymous, German, 15th Century, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 21.1 x 16.8 cm.⁶⁵ Available in the public domain.

Sweetened and spiced food, including gingerbread, were thought of as having a medicinal, restorative effect. It is no coincidence, for instance, that gingerbread recipes are found in manuscripts directly connected with the *Heiliggeistspital* in Munich from the period.⁶⁶ In a New Year letter in January 1518 to Katerina Furer in Nuremberg, Katerina Lemmel wrote, for example, that ‘the Reverend Mother is sending the baby Jesus carrying his little sack full of New Year’s blessings for Barbara Furer and for you. Take out as much as you ought. Also she is sending a small box of monastery *krapfen* [biscuits]. You should eat them with a beverage to help you sleep.’⁶⁷ Spices such as saffron, meanwhile, were used as remedies for the plague⁶⁸, whilst ingredients such as ginger were long recognised as being good for the body.⁶⁹ *Latweg* was also seen to have medicinal benefits, with contemporary medical manuscripts recommending its use against illnesses of the eyes, teeth, ears, breasts, lungs, windpipe and even obesity.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Wilhelm Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926), nr. 784.

⁶⁶ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 2086, fol. 73^r (Pfründenmanual des Heiliggeistspitals zu München, 1493-1519); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 3051 (Pfründenmanual des Heiliggeistspitals zu München, 1506), fol. 123^r.

⁶⁷ Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, p. 236; ‘Die wirdig muter schickt der Sigmundt Furerin und dir das kindlein Jesus, das tretg sein secklein voll seliger neuer jar, da solt ir herausnemen, als fill ihr durft. Auch schickt sie ieder ein schlechtelein mit closterkrepflin, die solt ihr zu eim schlafrunck essen und bitt euch, das ir also vergut nemt, sie ist noch ein arme abtessin.’ I am grateful to Volker Schier, Corine Schleif and Anne Simon for allowing me to consult this unpublished text.

⁶⁸ Schleif and Schier, *Katerina's Windows*, pp. 11-3.

⁶⁹ Freedman, *Out of the East*, pp. 50-75.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 257, dating from around 1580, fols. 28^r-36^r; 37^r-77^r.

For Gabriele Signori, ‘Freundschaft ist ein Geschenk. Geschenke wiederum erhalten bzw. bestärken die Freundschaft.’ She adds that in surviving nuns’ letters it is almost as if the attached presents are more important than the letter itself, that the words become almost simply ‘Begleitschreiben.’⁷¹ Jodocus Wind wrote, for example, to the Clarissan nun of Söflingen, Magdalena von Suntheim, in 1482, praising her ‘loyal and friendly heart’ and thanking ‘really truly for your good gingerbread and all your virtues.’⁷² The virtue and friendship of Magdalena became embodied in the material object of the gingerbread. Such a connection is less explicit in the case of Günterstal. Yet the nuns were aware of the links between objects and friendship. The nuns recorded instructions for when a priest was to say the thirty-day anniversary Mass after someone had died. The abbess was to give him three or four schilling pence and place it on the altar ‘but if she wants to offer him particular friendship (‘ein sundri fruntschaft’) then she should put half a *gulden* on the altar.’⁷³

Beyond the medicinal and social lay, however, the benefits of spiritual health for the recipient, as one contemporary sermon put it ‘for daily spiritual nourishment and for the health of your souls’.⁷⁴ A whole series of manuscripts from the southern Germany region, from the same period as this study and in direct connection with convents, transmitted the anonymous series of Passion sermons entitled *Spiritual Gingerbread (Geistlicher Lebkuchen)*.⁷⁵ The anonymous compiler was a preacher active in the Diocese of Constance, Günterstal’s own diocese. Divided into eighty-two Passion sermons, the two books focus on the individual stations of Christ’s suffering and death, presented in the form of the distribution of the gingerbread. Each sermon begins with the quotation from Matthew’s Gospel – ‘Take this and eat’ (Mt. 26:26) – the words Christ spoke before distributing bread and wine with his hands to his disciples at the Last

⁷¹ Gabriele Signori, “‘Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft’”. *Freundschaftsideal und Freundschaftspraxis in der mittelalterlichen Briefliteratur*, in Michael Grünbart and Margaret Mullett, eds, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums Münster, 19.-20. November 2009*, Byzantinistische Studien und Texte 1 (Berlin: Lit, 2011), 187-208, (p. 203).

⁷² Max Miller, *Die Söflinger Briefe und das Klarissenkloster Söflingen bei Ulm im Spätmittelalter* (Würzburg: 1940), pp. 164-5: ‘truwe und fruntlichs hercz’; ‘recht tuwlichen dines güten lebkuchen und aller tugend.’

⁷³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 27^v: ‘Item wen ein priester hie meß hat in sinem xxx so sol im die ep iii ald iiii ß d vf den altar legen wil sy im ein sundri fruntschaft tün so sol sy im ein halben guldin vf dem alter legen.’

⁷⁴ Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Doctor Keiserspegrs [sic] Passion Des Heren Jesu Fürgeben vnd geprediget gar betrachtiglich (particuliert) vnd geteilt in stückes weiß eins süßen Lebkuchen vßzuogeben (per quadragesimam) als durch die gantze fasten allen tag wol ein Predig daruß zuonemen ist* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1514), fol. 7^v: ‘fur teglich geistlich narung / vnd gesuntheit euwer selen.’

⁷⁵ Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 199, fols. 2^r-225^v (1516, linked to Ehingen); Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 200, fols. 2^r-163^v (1523); Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 201, fols. 2^r-294^v (1518, linked to Weißenau); Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 419, 217^r (fragment). See Winfried Hagenmaier, ‘Passionspredigten “Geistlicher Lebkuchen”’, in *VL²*, vol. 7 (1989), cols. 350-2.

Supper. Gingerbread was quite literally compared with the Eucharist, ‘the sacrament which is effective against all illnesses and drives away all poison.’⁷⁶

The sermons drew, in part, on a series of sermons held by Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg between 14 February and 3 April 1507 known as the ‘Fragmenta Passionis Domini’.⁷⁷ These were translated into German in 1514 by Johannes Adelphus Muling, and printed by Grüninger in Strasbourg in the same year.

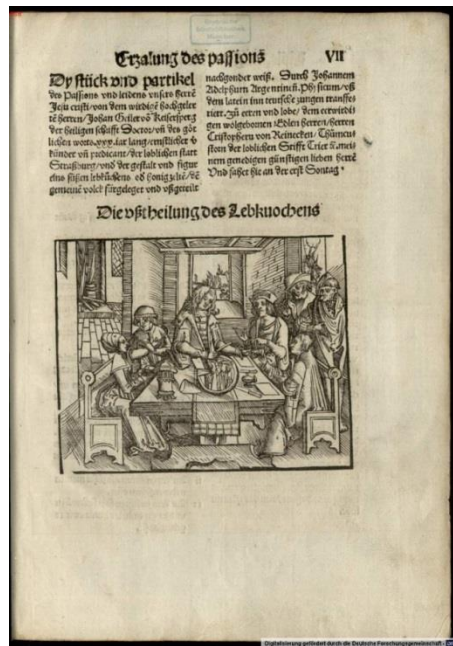


Fig. 17: Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Doctor keiserspegrs [!] passion Des Herren Jesu etc.*, fol. 7^r: the dividing up of the gingerbread. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, VD16 G 747, is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

The German print edition included a woodcut of the careful division of gingerbread by both men and women, in a remarkably similar way to what the convent notebook described. Geiler’s sermon made twenty comparisons of gingerbread with Christ’s passion. The kneading of the mixture was compared to Jesus being handled by Mary as a baby and after the deposition and the fact that dogs and cats liked to come to smell the mixture whilst it was rising to the presence of the animals in Bethlehem who stuck their noses and mouths into the manger.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Kaysersberg, *Doctor Keiserspegrs Passion*, fol. 11^r: ‘So brauchen wir den lebkûchen oder lebzelten vast aller meist in den krankheiten / vnd vnser kûch christus der gemartert / vnder dem sacrament ist gût wider alle krankheit / er vertreibt alles gift.’

⁷⁷ Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Fragmenta passionis domini nostri Jesu Christi. a celeberrimo domino Joanne geiler ex keisersberg theologo sub typo placte mellee praedicate. per Jacobo ottheru familiar eius in hunc modum collecta* (Strasbourg: Matthias Schûrer, 1508).

⁷⁸ Kaysersberg, *Doctor Keiserspegrs Passion*, fols. 7^v-8^r: ‘Nim war vnd sihe zû / der hund vnd die katz will auch den brei oder lebzelten versûchen...Auch hund vnd katzen / dz ist der esel vnd rynd / stießen ire ko^epfte vnd müler

Such links were not new. In the thirteenth century the Cistercian mystic Gertrude of Helfta had a vision of a crucifix leaning over her bed, as if it were about to topple over. Pressing the image between her breasts, Gertrude removed the iron nails from the cross and replaced them with cloves, and kissed them repeatedly. When she fell asleep, the image extended its right arm and embraced her, whispering in her ear a love poem, a stanza from the *Jubilus* attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux.⁷⁹ Yet whilst Gertrude had a vision, in the sixteenth century people had images of religious scenes before them on the gingerbread, as surviving moulds for gingerbread of the Last Supper or Christ on the Mount of Olives, which survive from the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal, show.⁸⁰ Gertrude had a poem whispered in her ear whilst those in Strasbourg would listen to Geiler preach.⁸¹ Gertrude would smell and kiss the cloves, whilst two hundred years later people were encouraged to take a bite of the gingerbread, with its aromas of different spices, and meditate and reflect upon a stage of Christ's passion. Finally, whilst the image embraced Gertrude, nuns were now crafting gingerbread with their own hands, which would then find their way into the hands of others, religious and lay, as they reflected on the 'nails and the cross which have become so holy through the touch of the humanity of Christ.'⁸² As seen with spiritual bathhouses and we will be shown with virtual pilgrimages in 'Feet', this was a very specific form of convent spirituality, in which the imagination and the sensory world around the nuns were brought together. Yet it also shows attempts to make a routine of a vision, as the exclusive became more inclusive. In the thirteenth century visions were granted only to holy women, but this saw attempts to widen the practice to include the population at large as practices in the convent and the world overlapped.

darin / vnd bliessen den ane / der in der krüpfen lage'; 'Am sechsten So würt der lebküchen gewircket vnd gehandelt...Am ersten von seiner müter / in der wiegen...' ('Think about and see how the dog and cat try to get to the mixture or gingerbread... Dogs and cats as well, that is the donkey and cattle, sticks their heads and snouts inside and sniff the forefather (?) who lay in the crib'; 'Sixth, this is the way the gingerbread is formed and handled... Firstly by his mother in the manger...').

⁷⁹ Pierre Doyère (ed.), *Gertrude D'Helfta. Oeuvres Spirituelles*, vol. 3 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968), pp. 192-3; Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 89, fols. 211^r-213^v, a German translation of the *Legatus divini pietatis* completed in 1566 by abbess Barbara Veus of Lichtenthal. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapter *Heart*.

⁸⁰ Fritz Arens, 'Die Ursprüngliche Verwendung gotischer Stein- und Tonmodel mit einem Verzeichnis der Model in mittelhessischen Museen', *Mainzer Zeitschrift. Mittelrheinisches Jahrbuch für Archäologie, Kunst und Geschichte* 66 (1971): 106-31 (pp. 112-3).

⁸¹ Robert W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon, 1987), p. 25, fn. 31 refers to the example of Gerresheim, where during Christmas vespers in the collegial church the canon took off his surplice and distributed gingerbread, while the choir sang carols.

⁸² Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 200, fol. 4^v: 'Ist nün das die nagel vnd das creucz so haylig sind worden durch das anrüren der menscheit christi.'

In 1397 the Dominican reformer Konrad von Preußen gave each nun in the newly reformed Alsatian Dominican convent of Schönensteinbach an image which then miraculously transformed into the same small picture of the crucified Christ.⁸³ A gift – in this instance an image with a clear spiritual connection – from the outside created a sense of community, of shared belonging and of a shared purpose, on the inside, as the ideal of enclosure was emphasised and a regime of sensory control, in which communality was stressed over individuality, was created. As a form of communication gifts, and particularly gingerbread, did not require presence. In that sense they were the perfect enclosed gift, coming from within the convent’s wall to the outside – often enclosed quite literally in the box – they represented the efforts of the convent’s labours within the walls. A clear process was apparent – material came from the outside, was crafted by the nuns’ hands on the inside, and then sent out into the public sphere. Moreover, evidence points to the fact that gingerbread was more often than not a ‘convent gift’. In her analysis of late medieval testamentary grants of clothing and other objects in late medieval Basle, Gabriele Signori argues that a distinction was drawn between men’s and women’s goods. A close relationship existed between the persons and their objects,⁸⁴ whilst Natalie Zemon Davis observes how ‘we have seen women everywhere active in gift-giving.’⁸⁵ It is true that Simon Grunau, a Dominican monk in Tolsemit, baked gingerbread in his monastery in 1397,⁸⁶ whilst in the case of Günterstal it was a man who helped the nuns with a new recipe. But the practice seems to have been particularly popular within female houses, underlined by the transmission of the passion sermons within this context.

Natalie Zemon Davis has argued that the bad gift – such as in the form of a bribe – played an important role in gift-exchange in the period and has been overlooked by scholarship which has tended to analyse gift exchange at its most positive. Gifts could go wrong, even exacerbate problems or were never approved in the first place, as seen in the discussion of simony in *Mouth*.⁸⁷ In the description of Jakob Häßler’s visit, the nuns noted how they baked the first batch wrongly and had to start again and other evidence points to the fact that the production process was not always plain-sailing. In 1509, for example, the scribe did not cook enough

⁸³ Thomas Lentens, ‘Bild, Reform und cura monialium. Bildverständnis und Bildgebrauch im Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens des Johannes Meyer (†1485)’, in Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, ed., *Dominicains et dominicaines en Alsace XIIIe-XXe siècle. Actes du colloque de Guebwiller 8-9 avril 1994* (Colmar: Conseil général du Haut Rhin, 1996), 177-95 (p. 180).

⁸⁴ Signori, ‘Family Traditions’, p. 312.

⁸⁵ Davis, *The Gift*, p. 126.

⁸⁶ Franz Eckstein, ‘Lebkuchen’, in Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer & Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, eds, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 5 (Berlin; Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1930-1), 986-95 (col. 989).

⁸⁷ Davis, *The Gift*, p. 15.

Latweg and had to give out gingerbread instead.⁸⁸ Moreover, it remains to be seen why in 1512 Balthasar Tegenli and the convent's prioress received 'one gingerbread but no *Latweg*'.⁸⁹ It is strange that those who did not receive *Latweg* are marked as such, without simply indicating they only received gingerbread.

Moreover, for all that gifts were a part of enclosure, there also remained a sense that they were at the same time breaking it. Attempts to halt gift-giving in convents formed one strand in the desire of the Observance movement to impose stricter control. In 1455, for example, the new statutes of the reformed convent of Brixen ordered the nuns not to send out into the world a number of gifts including, pepper cakes, rose water and gingerbread.⁹⁰ Yet, at the same time, even a reformed and enclosed convent in Freiburg like the Dominican Penitents, would send Geiler von Kaysersberg *Latweg* at New Year, and in return received a sermon, in which he emphasised that following rules such as enclosure only had benefit if it resulted in a true change of heart.⁹¹ Gift-exchange could therefore equally play a role in enforcing enclosure more strictly.

Above all, the Reformation argued that many good gifts of a convent were in fact bad. In his sermon for New Year's Day of 1522 on the Circumcision of the Lord, Martin Luther noted that 'on this day it is customary to distribute new year's gifts from the pulpit, as if one did not have enough useful and beneficial matters to preach about, and it were necessary to hand out such useless tales instead of the word of God and to turn this serious office into a game and a joke. The Gospel demands that our sermon be about the circumcision and the name Jesus, and we

⁸⁸ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fol. 43r: 'Mit diser lattwergen hat ich nit gnüg vnd mu^ast etwan mengen leppküchen enweck gen on lattwergen.'

⁸⁹ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fols. 16v-17r: 'i leppküchen kein latweg'.

⁹⁰ P. Max Straganz, 'Die ältesten Statuten des Klarissenklosters zu Brixen (Tirol), *Franziskanische Studien* 6 (1919): 143-70 (p. 160): 'Auch sol man hin für nit meren oder wider auf pringen an den enden, do sollichs ganz abgelegt, zu machen vnd auß zu senden in die welt lebkuchen, pfeferzelten, krapfen, hauben, peutel, nadel, pain schmir [?], zucker, rosat vnd geprent wasser, tuch pleichen vnd der geleich.' Within Günterstal the nuns received German translations of the statutes of the Cistercian order which warned the monks (and nuns) 'not to give out or receive gifts and presents, letters or greetings, from any other person without the permission of the abbot...': Cod. Sang. 1344, pp. 243-4: 'Aber von den gaben vnd schenken brieffen oder grüssen weder zegeben noch zeentpohend von ennicerleÿg person on vrloub des eignen abbttes.'

⁹¹ Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Ejn Sendtbrieff des Hochgeleerten Doctor Johann Geylers von Keisersperg wylant gethon an die würdigen frawen zu den Reüweren zu Freiburg im Breißgaw, darinn sie ermanend zu der waren Euangelischen geystlichkeit, vormals im truck nie mehr außgangen* (Bern: Matthias Apiarius, 1543), sig. aii^r: 'ich schicke euch hie ein predig / so ich gethon hab / vnd in geschriffit überantwort / vnsern lieben schwestern / den Reuweren zû Straßburg / vnd danckt euch darbey freüntlich / eüwer Latweg / die ir mir geschickt haben / ich wüßte euch auff diß mal keinen widergelt zuthûn / anders weder das ich euch dise leer schicke / die mich duncket / gema^eß sein allen denen / die da als ihr ru^ewigklich Gott wo^ellen dienen.' Geiler later discusses (sig. aiii^v) 'die recht Obseruantz der beschlossenen Clo^ester'.

are going to observe this.’⁹² An obvious shift was apparent in that objects which had been previously been compared to the Eucharist (seen, for example, by the inclusion of the words ‘Take this and eat’ at the beginning of each of Geiler’s gingerbread sermons) were suddenly nothing more than an object of ridicule and to be laughed at. It would go too far to talk of a ‘Reformation of gingerbread’ but the questioning of the healing powers of objects such as gingerbread reflected wider challenges to the spiritual value of everyday objects in religious life, such as bells or incense.

Moreover, reformers commonly used the language of gift in their critiques of convents. They argued that the virtues embodied in the monastic vow – poverty, obedience and, above all, chastity – could not be forced on children who knew no better but were rather gifts from God. It was not within the nun’s power to keep chastity, but rather was a gift from God.⁹³ Luther wrote of the ‘foolishness’ of the vow of chastity, arguing ‘in vowing chastity what does the monk vow but something which is not and cannot be in his hands, since chastity is a gift from God alone, which a man can accept, but never proffer. He is mocking God, therefore, when takes such a vow.’⁹⁴ The language of touch and the hands was prevalent as Andreas Karlstadt (1486-1541), in his treatise *Regarding Vows*, noted that ‘Paul says [1 Cor. 7] that whoever is able to control himself should do so, for it is good for a person not to touch a woman. But one who feels unchastity and feels inclined ought to take a wife in marriage. On account of unchastity everyone ought to take a woman in marriage and every woman ought to have her husband.’⁹⁵ Similarly Luther characterised the vow of poverty as leading to idle hands on the part of monks and nuns: ‘For the vows keep them closed up in their monasteries so that they cannot help anyone at all. It keeps them absolutely free from the necessity of working with their hands with the consequence that they allow themselves to be served by others.’⁹⁶ Luther

⁹² LW 52 (1959), p. 150; WA 10, part 1 (1910), pp. 504-5: ‘Auff dießen tag pflegt man das new iar außzuteylen auff der Cantzel als hett man sonst nit gnug nutzlichs, heylsams dings zu predigen, das man solch unnutz fabeln an statt gottlichs worts furgeben muste und auß solchem ernsten ampt eyn spiel und schimpff machen. Von der beschneydung foddert das Euangelium tzu predigen und von dem namen Jhesus, da wollen wyr auff sehen.’

⁹³ Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 42-4.

⁹⁴ LW 44 (1966), p. 384; WA 8 (1889), p. 658: ‘Quid enim vovet coelebs vovendo castitatem, nisi rem, quae prorsus nec est nec potest esse in manibus suis, cum sit solius dei donum, quod accipere, non offerre potest homo?’

⁹⁵ Edward J. Furcha (ed.), *The Essential Carlstadt: Fifteen Tracts* (Waterloo, Ont.; Scottdale, Pa.: Herlad Press, 1995), p. 67; *Von Gelübden Unterrichtung* (Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger, 1521), sig. Ciii^v: ‘Wer sich kan enthaltten / der enthalt sich dann es ist güt / das ainer kayn weyb antaßt. aber welcher vkeüsch treibt / Vnnd wellycher sich genaygt mercket zü eelychen wercken / der soll ain weyb zü der ee angreüffen. Dann von wegen der vnkeüschayt / sol yedlicher sein weib zür Ee nemen / vnd yedliches weib iren mann haben.’

⁹⁶ LW 44, p. 362; WA 8, p. 645: ‘Tenet enim eos clausos, ut nulli serviant, deinde ociosos ab operibus manuum, ut tantum sibi sinant ab aliis serviri.’

inversed poverty and framed it in terms of greed as he characterised the life of monks as being ‘fattened by the labours of other men’s hands. They lived securely in idleness, luxury, and plenty.’⁹⁷

Baking gingerbread was a sign of the high status lifestyle of the convent as the nuns bought expensive ingredients but, in contrast to Luther’s protests, nuns were making these with their own hands and using them to interact with the world, not to be separate from it, as a way of working around their enclosed status. Reformers in turn undermined that status as they challenged the nature of enclosure, arguing that it was redundant and that nuns should step out into the world and marry. Gift-giving could still play a vital role in how nuns responded to such a challenge, as gifts which had previously symbolised the social and spiritual status of the nun took on new meanings, as a symbol of confessional identity and a defence against the criticism of the convent. Although we cannot know whether it served internal or external purposes, the Poor Clares and the Dominican house of St. Maria Magdalena in Freiburg continued to pay out money for honey, spices, saffron and sugar over the course of the sixteenth century, pointing to the fact that the nuns continued to bake gingerbread, and the Poor Clares noted explicitly that they bought spices for use in the convent kitchen as well as ‘for the honour of good friends in the name of the convent’.⁹⁸ More strikingly, the Dominican nuns of St Nicholas-in-Undis in Strasbourg recorded between December 1575 and February 1592 (the year of the convent’s eventual closure) 6000 gifts of objects and money which they distributed.⁹⁹ In the 1,676 entries included in their ‘Book of Donations’, the nuns listed over one thousand people who received rosaries, reliquaries, prayer books, images, candles, apples, bags, sweets, pepper cakes and gingerbread. Each entry indicates the origin of the gift, noting in particular whether it was the handiwork of a nun. In this new confessional context, the nuns sent gifts to nuns such as Sister Anna Maria whose convent (which is not named) was threatened with closure in 1579 and who

⁹⁷ LW 44, p. 371; WA 8, p. 650: ‘Tu cave, ne credas eos caste vivere, quos constat impie vivere, tum alienis opibus saginatos, ocio, saturitate et abundantia securos agere.’

⁹⁸ StaFr, E1 BII b13 a 1 (1523-42), an account book from St Clara’s, which includes references to these ingredients in 1523, 1530, 1539, 1540, 1542, 1545 and 1557, such as in 1523 ‘item vmb wurtzen vnd saffren xvi fl iii d’, in 1530 ‘vmb zucker vnd honig xvi fl x β iii d’ and in 1557 ‘vmb gewürtz mandell korn zücker honig wachs ix lb vii β ii d’. In 1538/9 they noted ‘vnd sind diß die stuck her nach geschriben so wir alwegen hân müssen züm jar haben mit gewürtz in die kuchin vnd für den gemeinen conuent ouch zü vererung gütter fründt in deß conuentz namen.’ E1 BII b9 2 (1556) includes a reference from the Dominican convent of the Penitents ‘vmb gewürtz zucker saffran vnd honig vi lb x β viii d’.

⁹⁹ Strasbourg, Archives municipales II 39/20; Thomas Lentès, ‘Mit Bildgeschenken gegen die Reformation: Das *Geschenkbuch* der Dominikanerinnen von St. Nikolaus in undis aus Straßburg (1576-1592). Mit Editionsbericht’, in Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *Femmes, Art et Religion au Moyen Âge* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2004), 19-33.

received, amongst other things, a veil.¹⁰⁰ Sent to both supporters of the convents as well as its direct opponents who wanted it closed, these nuns used gifts as diplomacy to negotiate their position.

Other convents in the region formed a significant body of the recipients and in New Year 1576, for example, the Dominican nuns of Kirchberg, south west of Tübingen, received a number of gifts, including four pounds of gingerbread.¹⁰¹ In general, however, gifts of gingerbread seem to have been reserved for secular administrators as opposed to nuns, who tended to receive more overtly religious gifts such as images of saints, books and objects of devotion.¹⁰² Gingerbread seemed to have lost some of its spiritual power, even in a convent setting. In 1579, for instance, the abbess of the Cistercian convent of Wonntal received a parchment image of the deposition, whilst the nuns of Lichtenthal received an image of the angels wiping away the sweat away from Christ on the Mount of Olives.¹⁰³ The network of recipients extended to other Cistercian convents, such as Königsbrück in the Alsace, and also to the Poor Clares in Freiburg and the Dominican convents of St Agnes and the Penitents.¹⁰⁴ Through the exchange of gifts, the convent was creating a circle of support, an implicit defence of the convent way of life and of the values which had come under attack, in the case of Strasbourg directly by the town council. Amy Leonard does not mention the gift-book in her analysis of Strasbourg's convents, but it conforms exactly with her argument that the nuns 'conspicuously demonstrated their continued connection to Catholicism and their order by documenting all their activities...[they] refused to hide their rebellion and continued their loyalty to Catholicism.'¹⁰⁵ For all that Strasbourg witnessed interaction, compromise and accommodation, nuns were still 'on the frontlines of a minor front in the war to promote Catholicism long before the Jesuits'¹⁰⁶ and objects such as gingerbread had their role to play.

¹⁰⁰ Fol. 46^v: 'Item zinsten den xiiii julii ist ein closter fräwe genant anna maria mitt herre valthins dorothee hin gewesen. ir closter soll zerstört sin worden. Ir durch gott geben i böwlen wyl ii flachßen schleyger i nuwen wyße lederen söckel vnd i Taler.'

¹⁰¹ Fol. 2^r: 'Item der Ew. mütter priorin vnd schaffnerin zü kilberg züm güttten jar gesendet einen 4 pf. lebküchen. i lad mitt kittenlattwery iiii bommeranzen vnd melonen. v pergamentne heylgen namlich iiii sunnen müttlerin. vnd ein mynende sele.'

¹⁰² Fol. 3^r notes how Johann Scherzhaymer, the convent *Schaffner*, and his wife received gingerbread, *Latwerge* and money.

¹⁰³ Fol. 7^r: 'Item der äpttißin zü wunenenthal almelia spelhin i pergamenten heiligin ist wie der herr ihesus vnder dem crutz nider felt'; 8^r: 'Item fritag den letsten augusti der fräwen äpathißen zü liechtenthal mitt vnßren schaffner geschickt ein pergamenten heylglin ist ein ölberglin als der Engel den herren den schweyß abwischt.'

¹⁰⁴ In 1584, for example, abbess Anna Böcklerin of St Clara's received images of Saints Anna, Philip and James whilst the prioress of the Penitents received an image of the Flagellation of Christ: fol. 110^v.

¹⁰⁵ Leonard, *Nails in the Wall*, pp. 125-6.

¹⁰⁶ Leonard, *Nails in the Wall*, p. 108.

But it is surely significant that Günterstal was absent from the list of recipients in the ‘Book of Donations’ from St. Nicholas whilst other houses in Freiburg and Cistercian convents in the region (Wonnental, Lichtenthal and Königsbrück) received gifts. This cannot be explained by geography or the convent’s relative position of weakness or strength: Wonnental had been reduced to a single nun by 1573¹⁰⁷, whereas Lichtenthal was required to send sisters to other convents in the region between 1570 and 1599 in order to maintain numbers in those communities, which indicated its more secure basis.¹⁰⁸ The rising numbers of nuns from the eight professed sisters in 1573 in Günterstal is evidence of a middling position somewhere in between these houses.

That is not to say that Günterstal was not involved in gift-exchange in the second half of the sixteenth century and the convent did continue to reach out to other houses in the town and region, just seemingly not to Strasbourg. It appeared in the list of ninety-seven benefactors who gave gifts to the Poor Clares of Freiburg between 1552 and 1625, including a quantity of flour and a decorated crucifix.¹⁰⁹ In the same period, the convent paid for new choir stalls to be installed in the Cistercian convent of Wonnental, which was gradually being rebuilt and in 1602 donated a valuable reliquary made of cypress wood to the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland.¹¹⁰ This was not nearly as sophisticated as the gift-exchange programme which the nuns had developed in the earlier sixteenth century, nor the network which St. Nicolas in undis had established. But it did show a convent re-establishing itself and extending its hand in the world, despite being behind walls. As with the other senses, there

¹⁰⁷ Alois Postina, ‘Geschichte der Cistercienserklöster des 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland’, *Cistercienser-Chronik*, 13 (1901), 225-37 (p. 237): ‘Monasterium monialium de Jucunda-Valle, germanice Wunnenthal, Constantiensis dioec., in Brisgovia, in quo unicam tantum reperi monialem 22. octobris.’

¹⁰⁸ In 1570 a group of sisters was sent to the former Benedictine convent of Friedenweiler, which had been unoccupied since 1561. Sisters were also sent in 1573 to Maria Hof in Neudingen and in 1593 to Olsberg. Maria Pia Schindele, ‘Das Kloster Lichtenthal vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert’ in Harald Siebenmorgen, *Faszination eines Klosters. 750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Lichtenthal* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), 129-35 (p. 130).

¹⁰⁹ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/216, ‘Gedenkregerister der Schwestern Sancti Francisci Freiburg’, fols. 68^r (‘Die Ehrwürdig Andächtigt vnd Gnedig Fraw Maria Störin deß würdigen Gotshauß Gunterstal aptissin vnser Gnadiger Frauen gab unß zwey Mütt meel’) and 70^v (‘Die Ehrwürdig Edel vnd Geistlich Junckfraw Elsbeth von Röttenberg Chorfraw deß loblichen Gotshauß zu Günterstal gab vnß Anno 1588 den 2. Hornung an obgemelten Corniolcrütz [a type of gemstone] ain einglot [crystallised] zu Viertzig Batzen zu Steür einzufassen, ir in unserem schuldigem gebett tod vnd lebendig mit mir Mitschwesteren zudedenkchen, vnd thailhaftig lassen sein: wir die hingegen für vnß zu dergleichen dauerbot Amen).’

¹¹⁰ Engelberrt Krebs, ‘Wonnental im Breisgau 1240-1806. Geschichte eines verschundenen Cisterzienserinnenstiftes’, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichtedes Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 4 (1914): 281-92 (p. 285); Dreher, ‘Äbtissinen des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Günterstal’, p. 134; Klosterarchiv Einsiedeln, ‘Guttäterbuch’, KAE A.W.11a, pp. 111-5, on donations to the monastery from convents.

continued to be a paradox in the palm of nuns' hands, as they sought to touch other people's lives, without physically touching them with their own hands.

VII: Heart

The convent notebook records how the Günterstal nun, on taking up one of the higher offices in the convent, such as prioress, scribe or chief cellarer, had to go to the chapter house and swear an oath. With her right hand placed on her heart, she swore to carry out the office faithfully and not speak against the abbess.¹ Appointment to an office brought with it certain responsibilities in the convent's liturgical, administrative and economic affairs. But it also brought privileges: better living quarters, fewer prayers to say when a sister died and better quality and larger quantities of gingerbread.² The oath was designed to secure peace. A prayerbook from the mid-sixteenth century from the Cistercian convent of Königsbrück near Hagenau in the Alsace contained prayers calling for 'peace, health, unity and love' in the community. The nuns called on God to protect their convent from disagreement and 'attacks of the devil.'³ In another prayerbook, the same scribe, Sister Katharina, prayed for an increase in the spiritual discipline and devotions of the convent, as well as against a decline in numbers and temporal goods. In a prayer intended for the convent's abbess she expressed the wish that the Lord might 'enlighten the inner eyes of her [the abbess's] heart with the mercy of God and the holy spirit.'⁴ But oaths and precepts however, did not always guarantee that there would be no infighting in the convent. Such loyalties were tested to the limit in the years after the Reformation. Abbess Verena Tegelin von Wangen was pensioned off and forced to leave the

¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 34^v: 'Item die grossen ambt als priori schriberin vnd groskellerin wen die gesetz werden su^end si im kapitel globen wenn man si do von heiß gon dz sy nüt do wider wellen reden vnser frow sol sprechen stond do har vnd globen dz amt trülich ze tünd vnd wenn man vch do von heiß gon mit ein wort do wider ze reden so spricht die vf dem grot ich swer vnd sol die recht hand vf dem hertzen han dz halt diffinicion^eß ynn.'

² Chapters 110 to 120 of the *Ecclesiastica Officia* contained specific instructions on the key roles of the convent, as transmitted in Cod. Sang. 1344, pp. 891-921, albeit with the masculine forms only retained. The scribe is not included in this list.

³ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 94, fols. 51^{rv}: 'O herr Jhesu Christi almechtiger gott... gib vns in dißer statt den fryden, gesuntheit, eynhellikeit, vnd die liebe... O herr behütt diße statt vor aller swerer sundt, vnd ergerniß, vnd vor allen heymlichen noch stellung, widerwertikeitten, vnd stricken des düffels.' Felix Heinzer & Gerhard Stamm, eds, *Die Handschriften von Lichtenthal*, Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe XI (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 221-7.

⁴ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Wonnenthal 12, fols. 53^v-54^r: 'Vor das closter: Ich here ich bitt dich send dinen wetterlichen segen über die inwoner und inwonerin dißes closters Kingesprück das es biß zu endt der welt in geistlicher zucht vnd zal der personen nitt ab nemb sunder in geistlichen übungen gemert werd vnd in zittlichem kein mangel nit hab zu dinem ewigen lob vnd ere amen. Vor die Eptißin diß closters: O almechtiger ewiger gott... erlücht also die inneren augen irs hertzen mit der gnoden gottes des heiligen geistes.' Armin Schlechter & Gerhard Stamm, eds, *Die Kleinen Provenienzen*, Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 357-62.

convent in September 1540 because of disagreements with her fellow sisters, who did not hold back from speaking against her.⁵

Both Günterstal and Königsbrück were institutions under pressure in the years after the Reformation: plundered during the Peasants' War, they were faced with a decline in both physical inhabitants and spiritual discipline. Sister Katharina was calling for unity in an ununified world. That extended to the heart itself, as evangelical reformers argued that a nun's heart was divided from the moment she entered the convent walls. Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, for example, in his treatise on monastic vows argued that swearing an oath to Benedict or Bernard was flawed. For Karlstadt 'all creatures must have separated hearts. In other words, we are to love God with all our heart and our heart must not partly rely on angels or saints and for the other part subject itself to God. God desires to be praised, called on, feared, and loved in divine matters singularly, alone and perfectly. This is what it means to be spiritually cut off, when a person solely loves God with all his heart.'⁶ When sister Elisabeth Böcklerin professed in Günterstal in 1542 and swore obedience to follow the rule of Saint Benedict in a convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary she did so in a changed context, both in wider society and specifically in Günterstal. Whilst the words were the same as those of the nuns who had professed before her, they had new emphasis as a sign of her commitment to a religious life which had faced unprecedented criticism and a first indication of the convent beginning to rebuild following its split just two years earlier.⁷

⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/6 (1 October 1540).

⁶ Edward J. Furcha (ed.), *The Essential Carlstadt: Fifteen Tracts* (Waterloo, Ont.; Scottdale, Pa.: Herlad Press, 1995), pp. 63-4; *Von Gelübden Unterrichtung* (Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger, 1521), sig. Biv^v: 'Demnach sprich ich / dz kain gelübdt güt ist / es sey gaistlich aber leiplich / innerlich aber eüßerlich / dz du den hailigen thüst gereden / dann ich frage dich / ob S. Clara Benedictus. Dominicus / Franciscus / Augustinus vnd Bernhardus vnd der gleich / Ain warhafter got sein'; sig. C^v: 'alle creaturen mu^essen von hertzen abgeschnitten sein / dz ist / wir sollen got auß gantzem hertzen lieben / vnnser hertz sol sich nicht / züm tayl an engel oder hailigen hencken / vnd für ain andern tail got vnder thenig machen. Got wil sunderlich. allain. vnd volkumlich gelobt / anru^effen / gefürcht / vnd geliebt sein / in go^tlichen stucken. Das haysset sich gaistlich beschneyden. Wann ayner mit gantzem hertzen allayn got liebet.'

⁷ Erzbischöfliches Archiv Freiburg i. Br., UH 516 20): 'Ego soror Elizabeth promitto stabilitatem meam et conuersionem morum meorum. et obedienciam secundum regulam sancti benedicti abbatis. coram deo et omnibus sanctis eius. in hoc loco qui uocatur Günterßtal ordinis cisterciensis. constructo in honore beatissime dei genitricis semperque uirginis marie:. in presencia domine Mariae abbatisse.'



Fig. 18: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. K 3356, fol. 92^r, a prayerbook from 1540 owned by Sister Katharina Röder von Rodeck, a nun in the Benedictine convent of Frauenalb, near Baden-Baden. Mary holds the Christ child enclosed in a heart. Reproduced by permission of the library.

In comparison with the other six body parts, the heart was internal and hidden from view. Yet over the course of the sixteenth century the focus on inwardness and on the heart increasingly became an outward symbol of a specific convent identity and spirituality. In particular, opposing views emerged on how best to control the heart in order to make it pure in the eyes of God. First, the Reformation attacked spiritual practices which made use of the ‘eyes of the heart’, in particular devotions to the Passion, and saw such devotions in emotional, uncontrolled terms. This laid down a challenge to the widespread popularity of such practices in convents.

Secondly, the ever-present dangers of ‘the unruly desires of our body, the caressing deception of the world and the secret insidiousness and temptations of the vexatious devil’ were hammered home to the nuns and threatened to lead the nuns’ hearts away from God.⁸ This danger was raised because the heart was ‘more movable than anything else which can move and more slippery than anything else which can slip’.⁹ Indeed a characteristic feature of the heart was the paradoxical relation between a ‘closed heart’ and an ‘open heart’. Was purity of

⁸ Jodocus Lorichius, *Geistlichs Sendtschreiben* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1588), sig. Ax^r: ‘Dann dem menschen vilerley feind hie auff erden verlassen / die ihm sein willen oder hertz vnderstehn von Gott abzuzihen / vnd auff andere ding / so demselben zu wider sind / zuweysen vnd zuerkeren. Diese feind sein / die widerspennige gelu^esten vnsers flaischs / die Liebekosend betrugliche welt / vnd die haimliche nachstellungen vnd verfu^rungen des laidigen Teuffels.’ This translation of the Carthusian Justus Landspergius’ (1490-1539) *Alloquium Jesu Christi ad animam fidelem* (1533) was dedicated to Abbess Barbara Veuss (1551-1597) and the Cistercian convent of Lichtenenthal, near Baden-Baden.

⁹ Christoph Grienewald, *Meditationes* (Dillingen: 1557), fol. 85^v: ‘Dann das hertz ist vil bewo^eglicher / dann alles das / so bewo^eglich ist : vnd schlipfferiger / vber alles das da schlipfferig ist.’

heart to be found in closing it off to external temptations and open solely to the love of her bridegroom, Christ? Or should a nun's heart, like the doors of the convent, be open to the world in order to breakdown down a paradox which went against nature? Despite its invisibility, the heart became crucial for these religious debates on the nature of that purity, 'since he [God] knows the secrets of the heart'.¹⁰ Indeed, in a sermon in 1493 to the Poor Clares nuns of the Bickenkloster in Villingen, the Franciscan Johannes Pauli, drawing on Bonaventure, emphasised the heart's centrality, noting it 'is the most noble and distinguished organ of the body, since it is the first which receives life, also the last, when man dies. It gives all other organs its influence, movement and life. Therefore a man can have no greater gift than the heart.'¹¹ In that respect the debates which surrounded how best to control the heart were debates about how best to lead life itself.

Despite its invisibility, the gift of the heart could take on open forms, particularly in convents. As the last chapter showed, gifts of objects were widespread in convents and helped to reinforce a convent and Catholic identity, particularly in the years after the Reformation. This was particularly true for the vogue for heart-shaped objects. In Günterstal, for example, the convent's former abbess Veronica handed over 'several sealed hearts' ('ingefasti hertz') to her successor Agnes in 1508, whilst in 1576 the nuns of St Nicholas-in-Undis gave objects of hearts to Lichtenthal and in 1580 received them from St Clara's in Freiburg.¹² The exchange of these sorts of tokens were a physical manifestation of a specific devotional, sexual and confessional identity, values which all came under unprecedented pressure. This chapter hopes to understand the changing meanings behind these objects of devotion and affection.

In popular texts of the late medieval period, the convent was compared directly to the heart: 'a peaceful heart is a spiritual convent.'¹³ Within this *Herzklosterallegorie* tradition¹⁴, different

¹⁰ Grienenwald, *Meditationes*, fol. 116^v: 'Scha^em dich nit / Gott zubeichten / dem nichts verborgen mag werden / dann er kennet die verborgenheit der hertzen.'

¹¹ Robert G. Warnock (ed.), *Die Predigten Johannes Paulis*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 26 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1970), p. 133: 'Davon spricht Bonaventura, das hertz ist daz aller edlest und fürnemet glid des menschen, won es ist daz erst, daz da ist enpfachen daz leben, och daz letscht, daz am menschen styrbt. Es git allen andren gelidern sinen influß, ir bewegung und daz leben. Darumb kan ain mensch dem andren nit grösser gab geben denn das hertz.'

¹² Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 36^r: 'Item i cedrin vnd sust me ingefasti hertz'; Strasbourg, AVS II 39/20, fol. 1^v: 'Item der Gnedigen fräwen zü liechtenthal...v pergamenten herzlin mitt zweyen henten vnd dem heiligen geist dorunder ein fur... ein hertz mitt einem pfyl vff einen triffuß dorunder ein fur als sy es begertt hett'; fol. 62^r: 'Der apptißen zü Sant Clara inn friburg als sy mir geschriben vnd ein hupst brun amathisten hertzlin inn goldt in gefaßt geschickt...' In return St Nicholas sent St Clara painted images of Saints Anna and Odile.

¹³ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgf. 19, fol. 250^v: 'Ain fridsam hartz ist ain gaistlich closter'. The manuscript was written in Basle and dates from 1448.

¹⁴ Gerhard Bauer, *Clastrum Animae. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Metapher vom Herzen als Kloster*, 2 vols. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973); Gerhard Bauer, 'Herzklosterallegorien', *VL²*, vol. 3 (Berlin; New York: De

attributes were compared to the various offices of the convent. The abbot represented God, modesty was represented by the abbess, the prioress stood for humility, the cellarer for divine comfort and so on.¹⁵ The physical buildings of the convent were also given attributes (‘merk von ainem gaistlichen closter wie vnd wa mit du das in buwen vnd machen solt’): *Gelassenheit* (letting-go) was represented by the church, remembrance of death by the churchyard and purity of heart by a straw mattress.¹⁶ This idealised convent was therefore made up of a combination of people, spaces and objects to form a true catalogue of virtuous, monastic living.

There is no evidence that the Günterstal nuns had access to texts specifically within this tradition, but we do know that such works were both popular and widespread within South West Germany.¹⁷ Indeed the books which they did own contained numerous references to the need to build, heal and clean one’s heart. As the *Gesta Romanorum* put it, ‘every good Christian man should build a house of God, that is to say a dwelling, so that he may fulfil God’s will with all his power through the path of penitence over sins.’¹⁸ Similarly, the Alsatian *Legenda Aurea* adopted the healing metaphor as Saint Matthew ‘received our Lord not only externally in his house, but also internally in his heart...He found the doctor who could remove the pain of his heart and the blemishes of his soul, since he knows all that is secret.’¹⁹

The Reformation challenged many of the aspects of this idealised, peaceful convent. Values such as chastity and silence, represented by the dormitory and trees respectively, came under unprecedented attack.²⁰ Every professed sister stood for obedience, but the rule-based life of the convent, in which the nun could not eat or sleep when she wanted, was at the core of what the Reformation rejected. Johann Reydbach made this clear in the opening of his 1523 treatise

Gruyter, 1981), cols. 1153-67; Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists. The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 157-8.

¹⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgf. 19, fols. 250^v-251^r: ‘[G]ot selber der apt ist / Beschaidenhait ist a^optissin darin / Demütikait ist prÿolin... Go^tlich trost ist die kellerin.’

¹⁶ Fol. 251^r: ‘Gelassenheit ist die kirch... Geda^echnuss des tods ist der kirchoff... Rainikait dees hertzen ist der strosak.’

¹⁷ See, for example, Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. et. phil. 4^o 59, fols. 321^v-222^v, from the Dominican convent of St Agnes’s in Strasbourg.

¹⁸ *Das büch Gesta Romanorum* (Strasbourg: 1488), fol. 11^r: ‘ein yeglicher gütter cristenmensch / der da sol bawen ein hauß gotes / dz ist sein hercz beraiten gegen got. zû einer wonung / das er mit allem seinem vermügen erfill gottes willen mit dem weg der reü über sein sünd.’

¹⁹ Cod. Sang. 1140, pp. 513-4: ‘sant matheuß entpfienng vnsern herren nit allein usserlich in sin huß me er enpfienng in ouch innerlich in sin herz... den arzat het er funden der im abnan den schmerzen sinß hertzen vnd die flecken siner sel wan er alle heimlikeit erkant.’ As a late fifteenth/early sixteenth century prayerbook, StaFr B1/163, fol. 45^r put it: ‘Enter into the house of my heart and make my daughter healthy, that is my poor soul’ (‘Gang hin in das hus mynes hertzen / vnd mach do gesunt myn dochter dis ist myn arme sele.’)

²⁰ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, mgf. 19, fol. 251^r: ‘Gehorsamkait ist des couentz schwäster... Kûschait ist das schlâfhus... Schwigen sind die bom.’ This formed part of a wider comparison between virtues and the garden, as peace, for example, was compared to the orchard (‘Frid ist der bomgart’).

On the Presumptuousness of Convent Rules and Statutes: ‘Keep in mind that your order and its rules are nothing other than external things and an illusion which you maintain and keep with external works, out of fear of punishment, unwillingly and with a peevish temper and sad heart.’²¹ The heart was no longer framed in terms of peacefulness but sadness, convent practices not in terms of virtues but illusions.

This kind of devotion inevitably came under sustained pressure in the Reformation years. In turn, attempts to restore the religious life of convents returned to the nun’s heart from the mid-sixteenth century, including the *Herzklosterallegorie* tradition.²² In Günterstal, texts such as the *Meditations*, published in 1557, encouraged them to clean ‘the house of their hearts from all muck and uncleanness’ whilst directly commanding them that ‘you should protect and maintain your heart with all care and attention so that God may dwell in it.’²³ Indeed, in a crescendo of imagery which became ever more aggressive, by the later half of the sixteenth century the nuns were receiving material which ordered them to take ‘hoes, axes, picks and other strong, sharp instruments’ and, ‘just like the clearing of desolate and abandoned fields’ they were to rid the heart of ‘unpunished and unclean sins.’²⁴ In the eyes of those in control over convents in the Counter-Reformation period, more forceful measures were needed to restore the nun’s monastic discipline. Whilst adopting a similar framework, the shift in language from peace to punishment was evident.

In this house, the heart was a door which had to be ready at any time to welcome Christ knocking on the door. Jeffrey Hamburger has shown how, following their reform in 1456, the nuns of St Walburga in Eichstätt produced drawings of the Heart as House to conjure up a

²¹ *Von vermessenheit Closter regeln vnd statuten aller jungfrawen Clöster vnd orden Mit christlicher ermanung derseleb abzustein, vnd allein dem wort gotts frey anzuhanen* (Strasbourg: haer. Reinhard I Beck, 1523), sig. aii^r: ‘Gedencken das ewer Orden / Regeln / nichts anders ist dann eüsserliche ding vnd ein schein / die ir halten vnd vollbringen mit eüsserlichen wercken / vß forcht der straff / on allen willen / mit verdrossenem gemu^et / vnd traurigem hertzen.’

²² Freiburg i. Br., Erzbischöfliches Archiv Hs. 19, fols. 214^r-215^r which begins ‘Das sollen mercken alle Geistliche und Weltliche Menschen begern seelig zuo werden. Ein fridsam herz ist ein Gaistlichs Closter.’ The manuscript was written by Brother Johannes Jacobus, Abbot of St Peter between 1601 and 1610 and given to a Dominican convent in Freiburg, presumably St Katherine’s: Clytus Gottwald, ed, *Die Musikhandschriften der Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Freiburg im Breisgau und Umgebung*, Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg im Breisgau, vol. 1 part 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979), pp. 177-9.

²³ Grienenwald, *Meditationes*, fol. 64^v: ‘Selig ist die Seel / welche sich befließt / das das hauß ires hertzens von allem vnflat vnd vnsauberkeit der su^end also zureinigen’; fols. 33^v: ‘Derhalben solt du dz hertz mit aller sorg vnd behütsame bewaren vnd innhalten / daß Got in ime wonen ko^end.’

²⁴ Jodocus Lorichius, *Christlicher Laienspiegel*, sig. iii^r: ‘Zur seuberung aber der zuho^erer Hertzen muß man nit nur einerley mittel brauchen / weyl ein Hertz wil vn geschlachter vnnd vnsauberer in Su^enden ist dann das ander. Gleich wie zu seuberung der rauhen vnd wu^esten Aeckern auch nit einerley Instrumenten gebraucht werden. Dann zu etlichen bedarffs allein des umfarens / zu andern muß man Hawen / Axten / Pickel /vnnd andere starcke gescherppte Instrumenten brauchen / sonderlich an orten da man neue reutenen machen wil.’

mental and physical interior space in order to converse with Christ.²⁵ Emphasising the importance of participation, as the images became a secret place of mystical communion, the imagery framed the heart in spatial terms.²⁶ Nothing comparable survives in visual form from Günterstal, but the same imagery can be found in the texts which they owned: a Christian was ‘to open the doors of his heart and for the noble king to build a garden in your pure heart and also a chamber in which he [Christ] may watch over your good, pure works.’²⁷ Indeed, this idea became a key rallying point for the defence and revival of convents over the course of the sixteenth century as Christ continued to enter into dialogue with the nun, drawing upon a longstanding medieval tradition: ‘Therefore you must stay awake. I stand before the door and knock. Open up, O sister, my bride, your heart, give me your heart, and desire only me since I also desire you.’²⁸



Fig. 19: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 4473, first flyleaf, verso, Christ knocking on the door of the heart, dating from 1529. Available under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license.

The author of these words, the Carthusian monk John Justus of Landsberg (1489-1539), was an ardent defender of the monastic life and, in addition to his interest in the dialogue between the nun and Christ, placed devotion to the Sacred Heart as the one of the rallying points of the

²⁵ Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, pp. 151-8.

²⁶ Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, pp. 159-68; 175.

²⁷ *Gesta Romanorum*, fol. 77^r: ‘so soll er auff schliessen die thüre seins herczen / vnnnd dem edlen künig bawen einen garten in deinem rainen hertzen auch ein kamer darinn er sey behu^ten deine gûte reine werck.’

²⁸ *Geistlichs Sendtschreiben*, sig. Qvii^r: ‘Derhalben must du wachen ich steh fu^r der thu^r / vnd klopf an. Thu mir auff / O schwester mein gsponß dein hertz / gib mir dein hertz / vnd beger allein mich / dann ich beger auch dich.’ Similarly, for the Günterstal nuns, *Weltlicher Eytelkait*, p. 214: ‘“See”, says the Lord, ‘I stand at the door and knock. Who ever hears my voice and opens the door for me I will enter and eat an evening meal with him and he with me’ (‘Syhe / spricht der Herr / ich steh an der thu^r vnd klopf. Wer mein stimm ho^rt vnd mir die thu^r o^offnet / zuem selben wil ich hinein gehn / vnd mit ihm zunacht essen vnd er mit mir’).

Catholic revival.²⁹ In 1536 he combined these two causes when he published his Latin edition of Gertrude of Helfta's *The Herald of Divine Love* which contained the thirteenth-century Cistercian nun's visions of Christ's heart.³⁰ In 1566, Abbess Barbara Veus of Lichtenthal used this as the source text for her translation into German of the mystic's writings.³¹ This drew on much the same language as Landsberg's words, as Gertrude heard a sweet voice 'as though in her heart' which told her to 'come to me my own; because I love you as the cherished bride of my heart.'³² God told Gertrude to 'behold my heart; now it will be your temple' and the text abounds with references to God's heart and its importance for the mystical union between Gertrude, the Helfta community and Christ.³³ In one vision, for instance, Gertrude saw the members of the community standing round the Lord sucking 'draughts of divine grace' from a golden tube which connected to the infinite depths of God's divine heart:

But as much as each person tried to draw more from the divine heart, then all the more sweetly and abundantly they could obtain the divine gifts and grace... Those who were created so simply out of the heart of the Lord and drew directly from it were those who were always conformed and subdued to the will of God, desiring above all else that the most laudable will of God be fully perfected in their regard, in matters both spiritual and temporal.³⁴

²⁹ In 1528 he authored *Eyn schöne underrichtung was die rechte Ewangelisch geystlicheit sy und was man von den cloestern halten soll* (Cologne: Eucharius Cervicornus, 1528) and in 1530 *Red unnd antwurdt vom cloesterlichen standt ob der ein anfang und fundament hab auß Goetlicher geschriff* (Cologne: Hero Fuchs, 1530).

³⁰ *Insinvationum divinae pietatis libri quinque, totius Christiane perfectionis summam complectentes ab opt. Quibusque desiderati iamdiu et commendati atque tandem post ducentos quiquaginta annos nunc primum in lucem editi* (Cologne: Melchior von Neuß, 1536).

³¹ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 89; Maria Pia Schindele, 'Der heiligen Gertrud von Helfta "both der göttlichen myltigkeit" in einer Lichtenthaler Handschrift von 1566', *FDA* 120 (2000): 53-107; Pius Reiß, 'Die Bücher des *Legatus divinae pietatis* II und III in einer Lichtenthaler Handschrift von 1566', *FDA* 125 (2005): 69-217.

³² Pierre Doyère (ed.), *Gertrude D'Helfta. Oeuvres Spirituelles*, vol. 3 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968), p. 124: 'audivit (sicut auditur in corde) quamdam vocem dulcissimam, tamquam citharistae suaviter demulcenti melodia citharizantis in cithara sua, haec verba... "Veni mea ad me, quia ego amans te, sicut sponsam praecordialissimam desidero te mihi semper adesse; ergo voce te."' Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 89, fol. 165^v: 'Kûm mein gelibte zu mir, dan ich hab dich lieb, vnd beger dz du by mir seÿest, als eÿn aller liebste gesponszin, dan ich hub mein wollustbarkeit in dir. Gang ÿn in mich, dz beger ich, als die jugent begert, dz ihr freÿdt vnd erlÿstiung ihres hertzens volkÿmmen sÿ.'

³³ Doyère, *Gertrude D'Helfta*, p. 128: 'Cum ad Vesperas cantaretur: *Vidi aquam egredientem*, dixit ad eam Dominus: "Respice ad Cor meum, hoc manebit templum tuum"'; Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 89, fol. 167^r: 'Als man sang vidi aquam egredientem Da sprach der herr, du mein geliebte sieh on mÿn hertz, dz soll fürthyn sÿn dÿn tempel.'

³⁴ Doyère, *Gertrude D'Helfta*, pp. 132-4: 'et quanto propius Cordi Dominico extrahere conati sunt, tanto facilius, dulcius et abundantius hauriebant. Unde per has quae directe et proxime de Corde Dominico hauriebant, notabantur hae quae se totas divinae voluntati conformati et subdunt, super omnia desiderantes ut laudabilissima voluntas Dei circa se plenissime perficiatur, tam in spiritualibus quam corporalibus'; Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 89, fols. 170^r-171^r: 'So vil sich aber eÿn jegliche beflÿysz, neher vss dem göttlichen hertzen zÿ ziehen, so vil süsziglicher vnd überflÿziger wz sie der gaben vnd gnaden erlangen... die jenigen die so schlechtlich vnd gar noh vss dem göttlichen hertzen schöpfften, dz werent die menschen die do sich in allen dingen sÿne göttlichen

The vision ends when Christ appears and offers God Gertrude’s heart united with his divine heart.



Fig. 20: Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi redemptoris nostri* (Lyon: 1529), titlepage. This was the first edition in which the heart appears on the cross. Ludolph (c. 1295-1378) was a Carthusian. Available in the public domain.

Although drawing on medieval material in their respective edition and translation, the Cologne Carthusian Landsberg and abbess Veus of Lichtenthal were both making a confessional statement. Through the close links between a female mystic and the heart, the monk and nun were laying claim to the heart as a symbol of their Catholic and monastic identities. The text presented a unified community, drawn together by a shared devotion towards Christ’s heart.

Nevertheless, in her translation Veus was offering a rallying cry for a revival of a now lost tradition of women’s writing. The text was widely transmitted in German in the fifteenth century as a fourteenth-century translation,³⁵ evidence of a much wider phenomenon in which

willen glichförmig möchten / vnd sich im gantz vnderwürffent, vnd über alle dýng begerten / dz sýn aller löblichster will an ýnen vollentbracht würt, als wol in den geistlichen als in den lýblichen sachen.’

³⁵ The ‘Handschriftencensus’ lists twenty-seven manuscripts: ‘Gertrud von Helfta: ‘Ein botte der götlichen miltekeit’ [http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/1058] (11 August 2016).

mystical literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was copied.³⁶ Nuns were now copying and reading texts, however, within a more sceptical context, as male monastic reformers expressed doubt about the validity of the claims made in this kind of literature. As one text from the second quarter of the fifteenth century put it: ‘One should note, when now a man has a vision or feeling with the external senses, whether it be a figure or picture of Christ, Mary or an angel, he should be terrified with his whole heart and fear that the devil perhaps wants to deceive him.’³⁷ Whilst this scepticism did not lead to a major crisis in this kind of literature – its continued transmission points against this – it did expose cracks in the seams, as nuns read about visions but did not necessarily experience them. Moreover, throughout the period, a constant discrepancy existed between the experience of mystical union itself and simply reading about it. As Seuse noted in his *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*:

It is one thing to hear for oneself a sweet lute, sweetly played, and quite another thing merely to hear about it. There is a great difference hearing words received in pure grace flowing from a living heart through a living mouth, and reading the same words when they are written on dead parchment, and especially in the German language. For then they grow cold somehow, and fade like roses that are plucked. For the joyful melody which above all things touches a human heart then dies away, and they are received in the dryness of parched hearts. No string was ever so sweet that it would not become silent if it was strung on a dried-up stick. A loveless heart can understand a loving tongue as little as a German understands an Italian.³⁸

The challenge therefore for abbess Barbara Veus of Lichtenthal lay not just in the act of translation, but rather in how to translate the words on the page into practice on the ground, to make the words resound amongst the sisters and to build a community shared in devotion to the heart. Indeed, abbess Barbara, in her translation of Gertrude, hoped ‘out of heartfelt desire’ that the translation would help ‘the salvation of your [her fellow sisters’] souls’. She prayed

³⁶ Werner Williams-Krapp, ‘The Erosion of a Monopoly: German Religious Literature in the Fifteenth Century’, in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Robertson and Nancy Bradley Warren, eds, *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 239-59.

³⁷ Ulla Williams & Werner Williams-Krapp, ‘Eine Warnung an alle, dy sych etwaz duncken. Der ‘Sendbrief vom Betrug teuflischer Erscheinungen’ (mit einer Edition)’, in Horst Brunner & Werner Williams-Krapp, eds, *Forschungen zur deutschen Literatur des Spätmittelalters. Festschrift für Johannes Janota* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), 167-89 (p. 177).

³⁸ Clark, *Little book of Wisdom*, pp. 45-6; Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 492-3: ‘Ein ding sol man wissen. alß vngelich ist der ein su^e seitenspil selber horti su^eziklich erklingen gen den dz man allein do von ho^rt sprechen. als vngelich sint die wort du in der lutren gnod werden enphangen. vnd vsser einem lebenden herzen. dur einen lebenden mund vß fliezent. gen den selben worten. so su an dz tot bermet koment. vnd sunderlich in túscher zungen. wan so erkaltent su neis wie. vnd verblichent alß die abebrochen rosen. Wan die lustlich wise. du ob allen dingen menschlich herzen ruret. du erlo^eschenn denn. vnd in der durri der durren hertzen werdent su denn enphangen. es enwart nie kein seiten so su^es. der in rihtet vf ein durren schit. er erstumlet. eine minne richen zungen. ein vnminneriches herze. enkan alß verston alß ein túscher einen walhen.’

that the Lord would ‘fill your hearts with divine love so that you learn from him according to his divine commands generous goodness and humility of heart.’³⁹

Gertrude was able to listen with her heart, as she described in a vision how the other nuns listened to a sermon whilst the Lord preached to her by making ‘her lean against his heart, with that of the soul close to his divine heart. When her soul had sweetly rested there a while, she heard in the Lord’s heart two wondrous and very sweet pulsations...the first pulsation effects the salvation of sinners; the second, that of the just.’⁴⁰ This echoed Bernard of Clairvaux’s sermon on the Song of Songs, in which he explained that his song ‘is not a melody that resounds abroad but the very music of the heart, not a trilling of the lips but an inward pulsing of delight.’⁴¹ Whilst Gertrude listened with her heart, the Günterstal nuns were more like the other members of the Helfta community. The sermons they listened to were supposed to bring about a change of heart and formed one element in the wider role of the imagination in late medieval spiritual practices.⁴² Whilst meditations on the Passion tended to focus on Christ, the nuns in Günterstal heard sermons which held up Mary as a model to follow.⁴³ Sermons on John 13 in one volume of the fifteenth-century lectionaries, for example, abound with references to Mary’s ‘pure heart which was full of the most bitter pain, which no mother’s heart has ever experienced.’⁴⁴ Mary’s reaction stood between external outpourings of grief (‘she ran to the

³⁹ Karlsruhe, BLB Cod. Lichtenthal 89, fols. 758^v-759^r: ‘Dyß büoch habent ich vnd eüwer liebe mitschwester euch geschryben auß mütterlicher liebe vnd auß hertlicher begird zû dem heyl euwer selen...erfüll euwere hertzen mit göttlicher liebe, da mit yr von ym lernen nach synem gebott die myltsame gütigkeit vnd die demütigkeit des hertzen.’

⁴⁰ Winkworth, *The Herald of Divine Love*, p. 219; Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 89, fols. 229^v-230^v: ‘Dyße gott geliebte sant Gertrudt sah eyns mals, dz die andern so fir ylten predig zu hören...Zu hant neygt sie der herr vff syn göttlichs hertz also, dz daß der selen dem göttlichen hertzen gantz nah zu gefugt wz...da befandt sie dz er in synem hertzen hett zwen wunderbare, aber doch gar senfite pülssen..Der erste pülss würckt dz heyl der sunder, der andern [sic] pülss würckt dass heyl der gerechten’. Barbara Newman, ‘The Visionary Texts and Visual Worlds of Religious Women’, in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds, *Crown & Veil. Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, tr. Dietlinde Hamburger, (New York; Chicester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 151-71 (pp. 160-1).

⁴¹ ‘Sermo super Cantica Cantorum 1’ in Jean Lerclercq, Charles Talbot & Henri Rochais, eds, *S. Bernardi Opera*, vol. 1 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957), pp. 7-8: ‘Non est strepitus oris, sed iubilus cordis; non sonus labiorum, sed motus gaudiorum’; Kilian Walsh (tr.), *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux: On the Song of Songs*, vol. 2 (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications; Oxford: Mowbray, 1976), pp. 6-7. The Günterstal book catalogue (Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 40^r) refers to ‘II nuwi buecher von der omelig Bernhardi uber kantika kantikorum’

⁴² Berndt Hamm, ‘Die Medialität der nahen Gnade im späten Mittelalter’, in Carla Dauven van Knippenberg, Cornelia Herberich and Christian Kiening, eds, *Medialität des Heils im späten Mittelalter*, Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 10 (Zurich: Chronos, 2009), 21-59 (pp. 21-2).

⁴³ Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 798-815; Médard Barth, ‘Zur Herz-Jesu- und Herz-Mariä-Verehrung des deutschen Mittelalters’, *Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik* 2 (1927): 210-39 (p. 233) notes: ‘Das Andachtsleben des Mittelalters war, wie ein Blick in die Gebets- und Erbauungsliteratur zeigt, christozentrisch gerichtet.’

⁴⁴ Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 798: ‘Jr rein hertz wz vol des aller bitterlichsten smertzen. den kein mu^eterlich hertz je gewan.’

cross with raised arms’; ‘she reached for her dear son but when she could not reach him she sank to the ground in a great faint’; ‘her great lament, the friendly embrace, the pitiful weeping’⁴⁵) and the internal sufferings of her heart (‘O how often did she look upon her dear child with a wounded heart’⁴⁶). In turn, the audience was encouraged to see Mary’s reaction ‘with inner compassion’⁴⁷, ‘to direct your hearts in true compassion and to recognise the unspeakable, great suffering which the most holy Virgin Mary experienced here.’⁴⁸ As the sermon asked: ‘what heart of stone could not feel compassion.’⁴⁹ The nun was encouraged to offer a very emotional response to what she heard.

Such Passion devotions had a strong visual aspect as the ‘eyes of the heart’ became a common phrase for this type of widespread meditative and imaginative devotion, present in convents like Günterstal.⁵⁰ Johannes Nider wrote in his *24 Golden Harps (24 Goldene Harfen)* that ‘when a man wants to pray he should not begin immediately with his mouth but should turn his heart towards God and should imagine Jesus Christi before the eyes of his mind as if he is standing physically before him.’⁵¹ The inner eye – the eyes of the mind, of the soul, of the heart – became the central locus of meditation and devotion, in which the characteristic of one of the external senses, vision, was transplanted into the nun’s heart. Otto von Passau in his *24 Elders (Die 24 Alten)* encouraged the reader to find the kingdom of God in both the internal and external senses and in purity of heart.⁵²

⁴⁵ Cod. Sang. 1142, pp. 798 (‘sie lieff zû dem crutz mit vf gebotten henden’); 799 (‘vnd greiff noch irem lieben sûn vnd wen sy den nit mocht ergriffen so sanck sy nider vor grosser onmacht’) and 802 (‘die groß klag. dz fruntlich vmb vohen. dz kleglich weynen’).

⁴⁶ Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 800: ‘O We wie mengen ougenblick sach sy vff ir hertz liebes kind mit versertem hertzen.’

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*: ‘O andehtigen kinder cristi hie mögen ir betrachten mit innerlichem mittlyden wie der reinen magt so gar we dorzû mol geschach.’

⁴⁸ Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 805: ‘O ir andächtigen Jungfro^uwen hie richtent vwere hertzen In gantzem mittliden zeerkennen dz vnsäglich gross we dz die aller heligoste Junfgro^w maria hie empfand.’

⁴⁹ Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 806: ‘weliches steinneß hertz hette nit mit liden.’ See also Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Wonnental 15, fol. 149^r on the five sufferings of Mary’s heart.

⁵⁰ Fritz Oskar Schuppisser, ‘Schauen mit den Augen des Herzens. Zur Methodik der spätmittelalterlichen Passionsmeditation, besonders in der Devotio Moderna und bei den Augustinern’, in Walter Haug & Burghart Wachinger, eds, *Die Passion Christi in Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, Fortuna Vitrea 12 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 169-210 (pp. 176-84).

⁵¹ Stefan Abel (ed.), *Johannes Nider. ‘Die vierundzwanzig goldenen Harfen’. Edition und Kommentar*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), p. 185: ‘Dar vmb: Wenn ein mensch peten wil, so soll er niht als pald anfahen mit dem munde. Er sol sein hertz vor zu got keren vnd sol Cristum Iesum fur die augen der vernuft pilden, als ob er leiplich vor im stund’; Thomas Lentens, ‘Inneres Auge, äusserer Blick und heilige Schau. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur visuellen Praxis in Frömmigkeit und Moraldidaxe des späten Mittelalters’, in Klaus Schreiner (ed.), *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2002), 179-220 (p. 181).

⁵² Otto von Passau, *Die 24 Alten*, fol. 7^r: ‘Das reych gotes ist in euch vnd sûch in in deinen besten lo^eblichen synnen mit gûten pilden außwendig vnd inwendig in deinen reinen herczen mit adelicher betrachtung.’



Fig. 21: Otto von Passau, *Diß buch ist genant die vierundzweinczig Alten oder der guldin tron* (Augsburg, 1480), sig. av^r. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, available under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license.

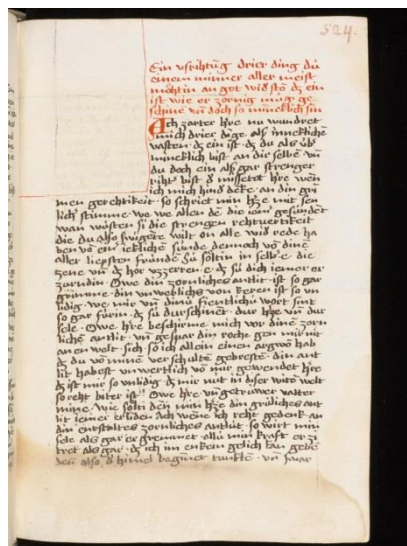


Fig. 22: *Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 524, from Seuse's Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit. Reproduced by permission of the library.*

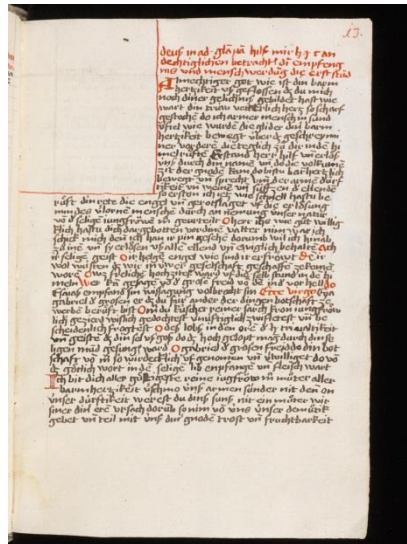


Fig. 23: Cod. Sang 1142, p. 13, from Berthold's *Zeitglöcklein des Lebens und Leidens Christi*. Reproduced by permission of the library.

Texts such as Seuse's *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom* and Berthold's *Little Clock of the Life and Passion of Christ*, shown here in the manuscript copies the Günterstal nuns owned, characterised this type of devotion and were two of the most popular devotional works of the fifteenth century, especially widely read in convents, including unreformed ones.⁵³ The prologue to Berthold's text explains that 'this little book is with no exceptions nothing more than devotional meditations to which man should devote his full attention. He should not skip over them hurriedly but softly, desirously, unhurriedly and lovingly read and meditate upon them in his heart.'⁵⁴ Each of the twenty-four chapters, which contained an episode from Christ's life, exhorted the reader to 'meditate with one's heart or with devotion' ('hertziglich' or 'andechteglich' 'betrachten') on a specific part of Christ's life. In the Günterstal copy this was made easier as each chapter was reduced in length, in comparison with other manuscript and printed copies, suggesting a possible use at table readings, reinforced by the transmission of bible readings and sermons in the same manuscript.

⁵³ Seuse's work was the most widely transmitted devotional work of the fifteenth century. The *Zeitglöcklein* survives in 22 manuscript textual witnesses and fourteen incunable editions, both Latin and German. Griese notes that Dominicans, Franciscans, Carthusians and Benedictines read the work: Cistercians can now be added to that list. Sabine Griese, 'Das Andachtsbuch als symbolische Form. Bertholds *Zeitglöcklein* und verwandte Texte als Laien-Gebetbücher und -Bilder', in Rudolf Suntrup, Jan Veenstra and Anne Bollmann, eds, *The Mediation of Symbol in Late Medieval and Early Modern Times / Medien der Symbolik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Medieval to Early Modern Culture / Kultureller Wandel vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit 5 (Frankfurt a. M.; New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 3-36.

⁵⁴ Berthold, *Zeitglöcklein des Lebens und Leidens Christi* (Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1493), sig. aiii^v-aiv^r: 'Dieß pu^echlein ist vber al nicht anders / denn andechtig betrachtunge dar zu sich der mensch mit allem fleiß schicken sol. Nicht eilendß vberlauffen / sunder senftklich / begirlich / gemechlich vnd lieblich lesen vnd hertziglich betrachten.' The Günterstal copy does not transmit the prologue.

Arising from the relationship between confessor and nun in the *cura monialium*, Seuse's text was likewise to be read, reflected and meditated upon individually as Seuse used the term 'bilde' to stand both for God's example and his reflection in the soul.⁵⁵ For Seuse the act of beholding and meditation encompassed both physical looking and spiritual imagining with the heart.⁵⁶ Seuse explains that 'I present myself tenderly before the eyes of your heart; now embellish me and clothe me spiritually, and dress me up in finery to your heart's desire' and that 'whosoever desires to have great reward and eternal salvation, whoever wishes for high knowledge and deep wisdom, should at all times hold you, crucified Jesus, before the eyes of his heart'. Addressing the reader, he writes 'you should place before your eyes my desolate Cross, and take to heart my bitter martyrdom, and conform all your sufferings thereto.'⁵⁷

As the photographs show (figs. 28 & 29), the Günterstal manuscript contained spaces for illustrations which have never been filled, presumably for practical reasons.⁵⁸ Although we cannot prove it decisively, it would seem that they intended single-leaf woodcuts to be pasted, sewn, or printed directly onto the regular spaces the manuscript left for them.⁵⁹ Indeed, the

⁵⁵ Stephanie Altrock and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, 'Vom *diener der ewigen wisheit* zum Autor Heinrich Seuse. Autorschaft und Medienwandel in den illustrierten Handschriften und Drucken von Heinrich Seuses 'Exemplar'', in Ursula Peters (ed.), *Text und Kultur. Mittelalterliche Literatur 1150-1450*, Germanische Symposien Berichtsbände XXIII (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), 150-81; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Medieval Self-Fashioning: Authorship, Authority, and Autobiography in Seuse's *Exemplar*', in Kent Emery, Jr. & Joseph Wawrykow (ed.), *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans. Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies VII (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 430-61; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans', *Art Bulletin* 71/1 (1989): 20-46; Niklaus Largier, 'Der Körper der Schrift. Bild und Text am Beispiel einer Seuse-Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Jan-Dirk Müller & Horst Wenzel (ed.), *Mittelalter. Neue Wege durch einen alten Kontinent* (Stuttgart; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1999), 241-71.

⁵⁶ Ursula Weekes, *Early Engravers and their Public. The Master of the Berlin Passion and Manuscripts from Convents in the Rhine-Maas Region, ca. 1450-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), p. 140.

⁵⁷ Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 518: 'Jch stelle mich zartlich für dines herzen ougen. Nu zier vnd kleid mich in geistlichen sinne vnd mach mich finlich vf noh wünsch gewalt. vnd gib mir alles dz dz ze sunderlicher minne vnd liebi. vnd ze ganzem herzelust din herze bewegen kan'; p. 553: 'ich merck hierinnen. wer groztes lones. vnd ewigs heiles begert. wer hoher kunst vnd tieffer wisheit begert... der sol dich den gekruzgeten ihesum ze allen ziten. vor den o^ugen sines hertzen tragen'; p. 577: 'Du solt min trostloses kruz dik für dinu o^ugen stellen. vnd solt dir min biter marter ze hertzen lassen gon. vnd alles din liden dor noh bilden.'

⁵⁸ In the *Zeitglöcklein* there are eighteen small spaces (ca. 70 mm. x 50 mm.) in the top-left hand corner and six larger spaces which run across the whole page. The spaces cannot be for enlarged initials because each chapter begins with Psalm 69 ('Deus in adiutorium meum intende') and an extra letter cannot go before Deus. The large spaces could also not be used in that regard. In the *Büchlein* the beginning of chapters 2-19 and 21-24 include spaces for illustration. Peter Schmidt's work on the Augustinian canonesses of Inzigkofen shows how complicated acquiring woodcut cycles could be: 'Kleben statt malen: Handschriftenillustration im Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift Inzigkofen', in Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlottheuber & Volker Honemann (eds), *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter. Ergebnisse eines Arbeitsgesprächs in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 24-26. Febr. 1999*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought XCIX (London; Boston: Brill, 2004), 243-83.

⁵⁹ Weekes, *Early Engravers and their Public*; Peter Schmidt, 'The Use of Prints in the German Convents of the Fifteenth Century: The Example of Nuremberg', *Studien in Iconography* 24 (2003): 43-69; Peter Schmidt, *Gedruckte Bilder in handgeschriebenen Büchern. Zum Gebrauch von Druckgraphik im 15. Jahrhundert*, Pictura et Poesis 16 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2003).

production of extensive written prayer cycles on the *Life of Christ* and the *Passion* seem to have acted as a stimulus for major engraving cycles, as the example of Sister Regula's German copy of a pre-existing translation from the Trier region of Michael de Massa's *Life of Christ* illustrates. As blood poured down from Christ's body on the cross, the viewer's heart was supposed to be changed by their emotional response to the image.⁶⁰



Fig. 24: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenenthal 70, fol. 150^v. The illustrations were probably made in a professional workshop in Strasbourg. Reproduced by permission of the library.

Berthold's *Little Clock* has a varied tradition of illustrations and the text was clearly thought of in visual terms.⁶¹ Seuse devised a set of eleven or twelve images for his *Exemplar*, the authoritative collection of his four main works, including the *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom*. There was, however, only one image directly for the *Little Book*. The manuscript the Günterstal

⁶⁰ Robert W. Scribner, 'Perceptions of the Sacred in Germany at the End of the Middle Ages', in Robert W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 81 (Leiden; Boston; Cologne: Brill, 2001), 85-103 (p. 94): 'Sensuality was...intended to produce a pious change of heart...This attitude was supposed to find sensual expression in loud sighing and weeping, i.e. active empathy'; Matthew Milner, 'The Senses in Religion: Towards the Reformation of the Senses', in Herman Roodenburg (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, Cultural History of the Senses 3 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 87-105 (pp. 99-100) draws on the example of Ulrich Pinder who 'engaged Christ's suffering and pains in artworks and imaginative devotion... as a vehicle for a heartfelt transformation of believers'.

⁶¹ The print editions encompass a picture programme ranging from fourteen to forty-two woodcut illustrations. The Kassel and Weimar Latin manuscripts both contain picture cycles with thirty-three drawings. A Berlin manuscript with the German version, contains eight drawings and thirty-two woodcuts. It should be noted, thought, that the majority of the German and Latin manuscripts were unillustrated.

nuns owned is therefore highly significant as the compiler planned a series of images for this text, probably for the first time.⁶²

The texts the Günterstal nuns read and the images the Lichtenthal nuns saw echoed a much wider Passion piety which resonated across society. Yet the widespread nature of this type of Christocentric devotion was far from being universally accepted. In his 1519 *Meditation on Christ's Passion* (*Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi*), Luther criticised the fact that people sought their own advantage through contemplating Christ's passion and were misguided in following Albert Magnus's dictum that it was more beneficial to ponder Christ's passion just once than to fast a whole year or to pray a psalm daily. Luther criticised those who carried 'pictures and booklets, letters and crosses' in the belief that this would protect them as this had the contrary result of using Christ's passion to effect a lack of suffering.⁶³ Moreover, he saw the outpouring of emotion and grief in terms of gender, comparing it to 'the women who followed Christ from Jerusalem and were chided and told by Christ that it would be better to weep for themselves and their children' [Lk 23:27-8].⁶⁴ First and foremost, he advocated a shift in the believer's heart, arguing that the believer should not contemplate the suffering of Christ but rather see his heart as a 'friendly heart' ('fruntlich hertz') which strengthens faith. He wrote:

After man's heart has thus become firm in Christ, and love, not fear of pain, has made you a foe of sin, then Christ's passion must from that day on become a pattern for your entire life. Henceforth you will have to see his passion differently. Until now we regarded it as a sacrament which is active in us while we are passive, but now we find that we too must be active, namely, in the following.⁶⁵

This was not simply rhetoric but rather the emergence of a shift in an entire system and concept of devotion and spirituality, a reaction against the set of practices which had developed in

⁶² A later printed edition of the *Büchlein*, by Jacob Pfortzheim in Basel in 1518, contains a more extensive range of woodcuts but this is a much later example and not in the same pattern as the much earlier St Gall codex intended.

⁶³ *LW* 41 (1966), pp. 7-9; *WA* 2 (1884), p. 136: 'Darzu geht yrre eyn spruch, S. Albert zu geschriben, das es besser sey, Christus leyden eyn mal oben hyn uber dacht, dan ob man eyn gantz jar fastet, alle tag eyn Psalter bettet &c.. Dem folgen sie blind da hyn und geratten eben widder die rechte frucht des leydens Christi, dan sie das yhre darynnen suchen. Darumb tragen sie sich mit bildelein und buechlein, brieffen und creutzen, auch etlich ßo ferne faren, das sie sich vor wasser, eyßen, fewr und allerley ferlickeyt zu sicheren vormeynen, und alßo Christus leyden eyn unleyden yn yhn wircken sol widder seyn art und natur.'

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: 'Zcum dritten haben sie eyn mit leyden mit Christo, yhn zu clagen und zu beweynen alß eynen unschuldigen menschen, gleych wie die weyber, die Christo von Jerusalem nach folgeten, und von yhm gestrafft wurden, sie solten sich selb beweynen und yhre kinder.'

⁶⁵ *LW* 41 (1966), p. 14; *WA* 2 (1884), p. 141: 'Waan alßo deyn hertz in Christo bestetiget ist unnd nu den sunden feynd worden bist auß liebe, nit auß furcht der peyn, ßo soll hynfurter das leyden Christi auch eyn exempel seyn deynes gantzen lebens und nu auff eyn anderweyß dasselb bedencken. Dan biß her haben wir es bedacht als eyn sacrament, das yn unß wirkt und wir leyden, Nu bedencken wyr es, das wir auch wircken.'

convents such as Günterstal, Lichtenthal and beyond. This was an attack on the emotions of devotion, as he promoted a shift from fear and weeping to friendship and love, reframed the relationship between believer and Christ, and encouraged an (active) recognition and confession of one's own sin. This sin was in turn responsible for Christ's suffering. The aim was not to consider Christ's suffering so as to be moved to pity but rather acknowledge one's sinfulness.

It was therefore in this context that the focus on the heart became even more pronounced in the responses of figures such as Landsberg as he placed a far greater focus on the sacred humanity of Christ. His encouragement to meditate on the five wounds of Christ and on the power of his sacred heart was deliberately focussed on pain and on a very specific emotional response. As Landsberg wrote in a text which was translated by Lorichius and given to abbess Barbara of Lichtenthal in 1588: 'Love of God should and must be placed in one's heart as a root and foundation of the new, inner, justified Christian life. The same love of God unifies the heart, with the whole of the man in which it is found, making him so strong with his Lord and God, that he may not be easily lead away or tempted.'⁶⁶

For evangelical reformers the dangers of the world and the body could not be controlled through separation from the world in the closed walls of the convent or separation from men through chastity. In their eyes these boundaries were artificial, deceptive and dangerous. For Luther, monks and nuns were far from being pure in heart:

They have imagined that having a pure heart means for a man to run away from human society into a corner, a monastery, or a desert, neither thinking about the world nor concerning himself with worldly affairs and business, but amusing himself only with heavenly thoughts. By this delusive doctrine they have not only beguiled and dangerously deceived themselves and other people, but have even committed the murderous crime of calling 'profane' the works and estates which the world requires and which God Himself has ordained.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Lorichius, *Geistlichs Sendtschreiben*, sig. Aiii^r: 'Volgt also hier auß / das zur bekerung des menschen zue aim bessern volkommern leben die liebe gegen Gott / ins hertz / fu^r ain wurtzel vnd grunduest / des newen / innerlichen / gerechten / Christlichen lebens / soll vnd muß geleget werden. Die selb verainigt das hertz / ja dem gantzen menschen in dem sie ist / dermassen starck mit seinem Herrn vnd Gott / das er von ihme nit leichtlich widerumb mag abgezogen noch verfu^rt werden.'

⁶⁷ LW 21 (1956), p. 38; WA 32 (1906), p. 325: 'Ein rein hertz haben sie getreumet, das ein mensch von den leuten jnn einen winckel, Closter odder wuesten lieffe und nicht an die welt gedechte noch sich mit weltlichen sachen und geschefften bekoemert, sondern mit eitel himlischen gedanken spielete; Haben mit solcher trawmlere nicht allein sich und ander leute generret und ferlich verfuert, sondern auch den mordlichen schaden gethan, das man die werck und stende, so jnn der welt gehen muessen und von Gott geordnet sind, fur unrein gehalten hat.'

Similarly figures such as Eberlin saw the nun's heart not as a pure heart of contemplation but rather an object of frustration. He wrote: 'Ah, how many and extended thoughts torment a maiden's heart when for so many years, so many hours and days, so many moments she is drawn to the joys of the world, to dancing, to singing, idle talk or even greater things that catch her fancy. For even if your child were to be hidden away in hardened stone, its nature would not grow cold. And the more foolish she is by nature, the more she will follow her own will, as one also sees among cattle.'⁶⁸ For these and other reformers the response lay not in chastity or enclosure but rather in marriage: 'I believe God introduced marriage because a pious married person is better before God than a monk or nun, even if she has had three husbands one after each other and 20 children, better even than the jokers who have been chaste for 30 years in body and heart, as God knows.'⁶⁹

Such views were a reaction against prevalent views in the later Middle Ages which emphasised the potential of the heart for sin and sought to protect it from the dangers of the world, body and devil. In a series of set piece confessions for each body part, for example, the fifteenth century devotional tract *Der slecht weg zuo dem himelrich* noted what sins with the heart could entail: 'I have often and many times sinned against you with my heart, that I had wanton thoughts and have sinned in many different ways against you with wanton desire and bad deeds.'⁷⁰ The heart could be a place of both good and bad thoughts, sin as well virtue.⁷¹ This was made clear in a number of texts which the Günterstal nuns had access to in the fifteenth century. In a pseudo-Augustine sermon on John 12:31, the nuns could have heard how 'the devil... ruled in the hearts of unbelievers, and, deceiving and enslaving them, seduced them to

⁶⁸ Dipple, *Fifteen Confederates*, p. 45; Günzburg, *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 18: 'Ach wie vyl vnnd lange gedänck bekümmern das junckfröwlich hartz, do sie so vyl jar, so vil tag vnd stund vnd augenblick gestüpfft wirt zü froid der wält, zü thantz, gsang, geschwatz vnd zü grosserem, dar vff ir verwilligung fallet, dann ob dein kind in eim herten stain verborgen were, so fryret die natur nit. Vnd je thorechter es von natur ist, je meer es vff sich selbs genaigt ist, als auch an dem vyhe kundtlich ist.'

⁶⁹ Heinrich von Kettenbach, 'Vergleichung des allerheiligsten Herrn und Vater des Papsts gegen Jesus' in Arnold E. Berger (ed.), *Die Sturmtruppen der Reformation. Ausgewählte Flugschriften der Jahre 1520-25* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1931), 217-30 (pp. 231-2): 'Jch gleub, so got die Ee hat vff gesetzt, ein fromm Eelich person sy besser vor Got, ob sy auch drey Eelich gemahel nach einander gehabt hab vnnd xx. kinder, dann ein Münch oder Nunn, auch von den alfantzer, die xxx. jar keüscheyt haben gehalten imm lyb, imm hertzenn, wie got weyß.'

⁷⁰ Arnold Otto, "*der slecht weg zuo dem himelrich*": *Ein oberrheinisches Erbauungsbuch: Edition und Kommentar*, Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit 42 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2005), p. 212: 'Ich han auch dicke und manigfelteclich / mit dem herten gesündet wieder dich, / daz ich mit uppigen gedenccken han / Sunde manigerley wieder dich getan, / mit upiger begirde und bosen dingen.'

⁷¹ Bauer, *Clastrum animae*, pp. 86-8. See also Warnock and Zumkeller, *Der Traktat Heinrichs von Friemar über die Unterscheidung der Geister*, p. 161 which warns: 'Therefore man should retreat to the secret and inner place of his heart so that he is hidden from all devils and the cares of the world, and then God will rise up in him through the gentle influence of divine goodness' ('Und da von sol der mensch gen zu sogetaner haimleicher und innerleicher stat seins herten, daz er verporgen werd von allen tewfeln und sorgen der welt, und dann wirt got in im erhocht durch milte influsse der gotleichen gu^{et}').

forsake the Creator, but by faith in Christ...thousands of believers are delivered from the dominion of the devil.⁷² Similarly on the Friday after the ninth Sunday after Pentecost they could have heard Jesus's words to his disciples to 'be careful that your hearts do not become weighed down through greed and the cares of the world' (Lc. 21:34).⁷³ Chiefly, there was the threat of the nuns' and other people's bodies, which could harm their oath of chastity: 'Nothing harms and hinders man more than the undeadened desire and curiosity of his heart.'⁷⁴ As Geiler von Kaysersberg warned the Freiburg nuns of Adelhausen in his *Nine Fruits of a Correct Monastic Life* (*Neun Früchte eines rechten Klosterlebens*), they were 'not to touch worldly things, since lust, desire, joy in physical delights, worldly goods and vain honours are all things which devastate the heart.'⁷⁵

The later sixteenth century witnessed a consolidated, coherent and widespread attempt to restore that division between convent and world and to reassert how best to control the heart and protect it from the dangers of the world, body and the devil and misuse of the five external senses, in direct response to a body of thought that now considered a nun's heart a joke. Whilst in Günterstal the nuns in the fifteenth century heard bible readings warning them of this danger, by the later sixteenth century they received a coherent body of literature which directed them precisely in this direction. In the same way that the nun was to be physically enclosed from the world but spiritually free, the nun's heart was to be closed off from danger but open to contemplation and love.

The 1557 *Meditations* by Grienewald noted that when 'Christ watches over the doors of the heart, and is a gatekeeper of the hearts, so that the household of the heart goes in and out, that there are 100,000 angels standing over there and watching over the doors of the external senses.'⁷⁶ In turn, by shunning the world and the body, the nun could experience joy of the

⁷² Cod. Sang. 1140, p. 277: 'Possidebat ergo diabolus genus humanum... dominabatur in cordibus infidelium, ad creaturam colendam deserto creatore deceptos captivosque pertrahebat: per Christi autem fidem... millia credentium a dominatu liberantur diaboli'.

⁷³ Cod. Sang. 1141, p. 345: 'hu^etent úch daz úwer herze iht besweret werde mit d(e)r frasheit vnd von den sorgen dirre welte.'

⁷⁴ Thomas a Kempis, *Die wahre Nachfolgung*, fol. 4^r: 'Den menschen irret vnd lediget nit mer dann sein vnerstorbene begird. vnd naigung seines herzen.'

⁷⁵ Gerhard Bauer (ed.), *Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 2 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1991), p. 280: 'Was ain rain lauter hertz seye / das habe ich ewch oft gesagt. Das haíßt ain lauter hertz / welches mitt begirden und anmút. nit anru^ert irdische ding Wann lust. begird. liebe zu flaischlichen glústen. zeitlichem gút. und úppigen eeren / das seind die ding von denen das hertz verwu^estet wúrt.'

⁷⁶ *Meditationes*, fols. 24^v-25^r: 'Dann wann Christus die thu^er des hertzen bewaret / vnnd ist ein thorhúter des hertzen / das dadurch ine [sic ?] ein vnnd außgangen das haußgesind des hertzen / zuhand so seind alda tausent malen tausent Engel / bey der thür der außwendigen sinne / vnnd wachend.' It is not clear what the meaning of 'ine' is in this passage.

senses of a far more satisfying kind: ‘Worldly people will never attain peace of the heart. But love God and you will receive life...Since who receives true peace? Whoever has a soft and humble heart. Clean your heart from all sin and you will obtain peace... And lastly you will enjoy the sweetness of the holy spirit and reach Paradise here on earth.’⁷⁷ Or as Landsberg put it in a chapter on purity of heart: ‘Stay at all times constant and assiduous in protecting your heart... so that no human lusts, bodily disturbances, desire, feelings or bad intent takes root in it.’⁷⁸

The human heart could not know what awaited in the next life – ‘that joy which eyes have not seen, nor ears heard, nor human heart conceived’ (1 Cor. 2:9)⁷⁹. Yet this did not stop widely divergent views emerging of how best to control the heart to reach salvation. The increased focus on the heart in the Counter-Reformation, as it became a symbol of Catholic identity and purity, was in direct response to the scepticism of evangelicals about both spiritual practices associated with the heart and a way of life which sought to separate the heart from the world and body. In the emphasis on the need to close the heart off from the world, it had become an open sign of these debates.

⁷⁷ Lorichius, *Weltlicher Eytelkait*, pp. 5-6: ‘Die Weltlichen werden den friden des hertzen nimmer erlangen. Hab aber Gott lieb / so wirst da leben emfahen....Dann wer bekommt den wahren friden? Der von hertzen sanfft / vnd diemu^etig ist. Rainige dein hertz von aller su^endt / so erlangst den friden....Vnd letstlich wirst in der su^essigkeit des gaists erfrewet / ja auch ain Paradeiß hie vff Erden erlangen.’

⁷⁸ Lorichius, *Geistliches Sendtschreiben*, sigs. Mix^v: ‘Bleib allzeit beständig vnnd geflissen in bewarung deines hertzens / damit... kein menschlicher gelust / kein bo^ese bewegung / kein begierd / kein anmutung / kein bo^eser fu^ersatz inn dir einwurtzle.’

⁷⁹ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 65, a German version of Bonaventure’s *Soliloquium* written by Schwester Regula in 1460, fol. 27^{va}: ‘die fröide dins herren. die keyn auge in dißer zit volkomlichen nie gesehen hat. noch kein ore nie gehöret / noch in keins menschen hertze nie kumen ist.’

VIII: Feet

So now hear what I say and take note of what I exhort: It is better for you to sit still in the convent than to walk around the streets of the town. Let it please you more to stay in the convent than to visit the town. It is better to rest between the walls of the convent than to show oneself before the eyes of people. Where you shut yourself off in the convent, you will be loved by Christ.¹

At the heart of this passage lay the control of nuns' movement: where they could or could not go. The convent is idealised as a place where the feet can rest ('to sit still'), whereas the world is depicted as a place of sensory temptation, where the eyes of the people could catch a glimpse of a nun. Indeed, there is a disciplinary tone to the passage, signalled by the use of the imperative, whilst words such as 'admonish' and 'shut off' betray an implicit note of control and obedience. Jodocus Lorichius, who translated this passage for the first time into German and presented it to the nuns of Günterstal in 1581, was translating a text from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, the *Liber de modo bene vivendi ad sororem*.² Yet, this passage spoke to another age, a post-Tridentine world which set great store on the enclosure of the nun.

The final session of the Council of Trent in 1563 reaffirmed the Papal Bull of *Periculoso* of 1298, which, for the first time, had ordered universal enclosure for nuns. The stated aim of this perpetual cloistering was so 'that [the nuns] be able to serve God more freely'.³ The language used was one of spiritual freedom, achieved through worldly restriction. Likewise, in the passage from Lorichius above, the text spoke of Christ's love of the enclosed nun, which could only be achieved by avoiding the world. This paralleled the wider paradox which lay at the heart of what it meant to be a nun: she should avoid the dangers of worldly experience (expressed in this example through the eyes of those who see her) by immersing herself in a highly regulated sensory environment (expressed, in part, through the auditory command to

¹ Jodocus Lorichius, *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, p. 375: 'So hoere nun was ich sag / merck was ich dich ermane: Besser ist dir im Kloster stil sitzen / dann auff den Gassen der Statt herumb treten. Laß dir besser gefallen im Kloster zu bleiben / dann die Statt zu besichtigen. Besser ist zwischen den Mawren des Klosters ruhen / dann fur den Augen der Leuthen sich erzeigen. Wo du dich ins Kloster einschließt / so wirst von Christo geliebet werden.'

² Edmund Wareham, "'Wann du fromm lebst / so wirst du nimmer trawrig'": Professor Jodocus Lorichius and the Cistercian Nuns of Günterstal', *Oxford German Studies* 43/4 (2014): 362-79 (pp. 370-2).

³ Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women. Periculoso and its Commentators, 1298-1545 Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997), pp. 134-5: 'ut sic a publicis et mundanis conspectibus separatae omnino servire Deo valeant liberius.'

hear). She was both to fear and yet to embrace the senses as the binary categories were heightened.

The chapter on ‘mouth’ argued for the need to understand the impact of the 1298 Papal bull *Periculoso* in terms of the support (‘ernerung’) for convents, within the wider framework of the changing nature of convent entry (pp. 126-8). The discussion adopts many of the themes found in the chapter on the mouth – the spiritual, the social, the political – but returns to the core issue at the heart of *Periculoso* and its reaffirmation at the final session of the Council of Trent in 1563: nuns’ movement and freedom. The issue of enclosure, both active and passive, i.e. who could visit a convent and whether a nun could leave, was a central issue of the time, and was directly concerned with the senses. Recent work has encouraged us to think about the impact of the Council of Trent within a German context, given that the majority of studies on monastic enclosure in the Early Modern period continue to focus on Iberia and Italy.⁴ Moreover, a clear shift has emerged in scholarship from seeing the impact of Trent purely in terms of male-female discipline, towards a tendency to view it positively, in terms of spiritual and artistic creativity, to emphasise the role which the nuns themselves played in that process and to question the extent to which its enforcement was in fact universal.⁵

For Foucault, space was an institutional tool of discipline, power and control of knowledge. The monastery was in his eyes a classic example of using the principles of enclosure to express the institutional requirements of separation from the non-monastic world.⁶ The enforcement of enclosure through visitation and the language of texts such as those voiced by Lorichius earlier point in that direction as the decree of Trent on convents did act as a watershed. Indeed, the threat of physical imprisonment was very real in convents, as will be shown. Unlike Strasbourg where there is no concrete evidence that the nuns in the town’s surviving convents even knew about Trent, in Günterstal this was not the case and the nuns witnessed first hand attempts at

⁴ Ulrike Strasser, ‘Clara Hortulana of Embach or How to Suffer Martyrdom in the Cloister’, in Cordula van Whye (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 39-57 (p. 39); Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginitly: Gender, Religion and Politics in an early modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Simone Laqua-O’Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 15-49.

⁵ Strasser, ‘Clara Hortulana of Embach’, pp. 39-41; Craig A. Monson (ed.), *The Crannied Wall. Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) for a number of primarily Southern European case studies of nuns’ creativity. On discipline see Gabriella Zarri, ‘From Prophecy to Discipline, 1450-1650’, in Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri, eds, *Women and Faith. Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 83-112.

⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, tr. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991).

its enforcement.⁷ But this chapter will show that there were a number of limits to the extent and nature of enclosure; the nuns themselves were able to negotiate this and that the nuns could secure certain freedoms. Secondly, whilst the dangers to the nuns' sexual status became more pronounced in decrees and the prescriptive literature, it was not necessarily the main concern when visitations were carried out. Thirdly, more needs to be done to emphasise the role of individual abbesses in Trent's enforcement and to move beyond a one-sided view of enforcement purely in terms of a model of male-female control. Fourthly, we must recognise that there were limits to the positive responses of nuns. Whilst the nuns could respond creatively, embracing a wider chronological view allows us to see that the ways in which the nuns did respond had changed.⁸ Even in an unreformed convent, nuns were involved in practices to work around the limits of their freedom but many of these practices came in turn under sustained criticism from the Reformation. Finally, we need to understand convents as seats of power in their own right as nuns could restrict the movement of those under their care. Events such as the *Bundschuh* rebellions, a set of localised disturbances in the south west between 1493 and 1517, and the Peasants' War (1524-5) were a direct attack on the control institutions such as convents exerted.

Nuns used movement to conceptualise the spiritual and social space which they inhabited, as a sign of their spiritual and social status in the eyes of those who lived beyond the convent walls. The chapter seeks to understand how the nuns constructed and defined this space through their actions – principally through communal movement – and how their words and gestures gave this space specific meaning.⁹ Different people could, however, have different understandings of such space, and the role of nuns within it. It is a chapter about nuns walking inside and outside their convent but also about them running away from it.

⁷ Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 124.

⁸ On the pre-Reformation context see for example Heike Uffmann, 'Innen und Außen: Raum und Klausur in reformierten Nonnenklöstern des späten Mittelalters', in Gabriela Signori (ed.), *Lesen, Schreiben, Sticken und Erinnern: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), 185-212.

⁹ Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth Century English Cistercian Monasteries*, Medieval Church Studies 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), p. 8; Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: the Delineation of Sacred Space', in Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, eds, *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 1-23 (p. 22); Kathryn Beebe, Angela Davis & Kathryn Gleadle, 'Introduction: Space, Place and Gendered Identities: Feminist History and the Spatial Turn', *Women's History Review* 21/4 (2012): 523-32 (pp. 523-5).

Gabriella Zarri has described the idea that all nuns considered the convent a prison ‘a tendentious generalisation.’¹⁰ This was, however, precisely the picture which evangelical reformers painted of the convent. The convent was a prison from which one could not escape, a place where the senses were dulled. Eberlin began his clarion call on convents with the note that:

whenever I consider the general state of persons known as cloistered women, my heart is *moved* [my emphasis] to pity, for who could contemplate their torment without great sorrow? They are taken during their high-spirited, innocent youth into a captivity, from which they will never be saved, where they are neither able nor allowed to complain of their predicament, and if they complain, no one may help them. Believe me, for the most part they are deceived into believing God has called them, either by the “good advice” of their friends or by the pleasing appearance of the convents; in this way the devil has tricked them.¹¹

Likewise Florentina of Oberweimar of the Cistercian convent of Helfta, described in her account how God ‘freed me from my prison’, how she regarded herself as ‘a prisoner under the heels of my sister nuns’, whose own abbess locked her legs in iron shackles in the convent prison.¹² Indeed, convents had physical prisons within the walls. In an inventory which the Günterstal nuns made in 1485, for example, the prioress notes that ‘I found in front of the little prison room three feather cushions and three blue bench covers.’¹³ More tellingly, and indicative of attempts to impose more control in the Counter-Reformation period and the role of the abbess in that process, the 1573 visitation threatened the nuns with prison and further punishment at the discretion of the abbess if they were to own any book which ran counter to the Catholic religion.¹⁴ This built on a number of attempts over the course of the sixteenth

¹⁰ As quoted in Anne Jacobson Schutte, *By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 2. Schutte’s work concentrates on the later period of 1668 to 1793. See also Ulrich L. Lehner, *Monastic Prisons and Torture Chambers: Crime and Punishment in Central European Monasteries, 1600-1800* (Eugene, Or.: Cascade Books: 2013).

¹¹ Dipple, *Fifteen Confederates*, p. 43; Eberlin, *15 Bundsgenossen*, p. 17: ‘Als oft ich bedenck gemeines wäsen deren personen genant klosterfrawen, so wirt all min gemüt zû erbarmung bewegt, wann wer mag on grosses härtzeleid ir arbeitsäligkeit bedencken. Sich in irer blüenden vnerfarnen iugenr [sic] kumen sie in ein gefencknûß, dar auß sie nümmer erlöst mögen werden, do sie ire not nit mögen noch bedörfften klagen, vnd ob sy schon klagen, mag in niemand helffen. Sie werden, gloub mir, der merer theil betrogen, aintweders durch liebrede irer fründ oder durch güten schein der klöster, also das sy meinen got hab sy beroten, so sy der butz hat beschissen.’

¹² *LW* 43 (1968), pp. 89, 94-5; *WA* 15 (1899), pp. 89, 93: ‘nach dem myr Gott der allmechtige durch gnad und barmhertzickeit so scheynbarlich aus disem gefengnis geholffen hatte’; ‘under alle meyners mitschwester fusse wie eyn gefangene’.

¹³ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 26^r: ‘Vor dem kercher kemmerli fand ich iii flunfederini ho^upt kussi iiii blowi banctu^echer.’

¹⁴ GLA, Karlsruhe, 23/70, fols. 3^v: ‘So aber ain argekwonisch Büch der Catholischen Relligion zû wider bay ainer gefunden würt, die soll in dem kercker gelegt werden vnd von der abbtissin nach irer beschuldung gstrafft werden.’ Arnold Schromm, *Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Zisterzienserinnenklosters Kirchheim am Ries. Buchpflege und geistiges Leben in einem schwäbischen Frauenstift*, Studia Augustana, Augsburgische Forschungen zur europäischen

century to limit what could be read in Freiburg: in November 1522 Archduke Ferdinand had banned people owning Luther's books and in January 1523 organised a town-wide book burning.¹⁵

Megan Cassidy-Welch has argued that monastic prisons in the Middle Ages were not simply punitive spaces: the 'relationship between individual and institution is a good deal more complex than a dominant/subordinate relationship between those wielding power and those submitting to it.'¹⁶ Emphasis was given to the need for penance and healing as part of the punishment, whilst the captivity metaphor was used positively, as figures such as Bernard of Clairvaux likened the monastery to a prison with open doors, with its inhabitants 'not kept in chains, but staying for the desire for God.'¹⁷ Yet, this was not evident in the Günterstal visitation record in which the prison was framed entirely negatively in terms of punishment, in a new confessional context of book searches and burnings. The punitive aspect was also in evidence in the fifteenth century: in 1461 the Cistercian General Chapter agreed that breaking the vow of chastity would result in six months in prison for monks and nuns, and a year's punishment for an abbot or abbess.¹⁸

Statutes and visitation records present only one side of the story and the extent to which they were actually or could be enforced was another matter. But the use of prison space did reveal the aims, expectations and fears of those nominally in control. In a sermon preached to the enclosed nuns of Villingen in 1493, for example, Johannes Pauli cautioned them with the story of a Cistercian monk who was deceived by a bad spirit who came to him in the form of a female sacristan and encouraged him to steal all the monastery treasures and hide in a wood. 'Poisoned

Kulturgeschichte 9 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), p. 112 notes, as part of a visitation conducted on 3 March 1543, that any arguments between sisters would lead to imprisonment.

¹⁵ Horst Buszello, Dieter Mertens and Tom Scott, "'Lutherey, Ketzerey, Uffrur.'" Die Stadt zwischen Reformation, Bauernkrieg und katholischer Reform', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1996), 13-68 (pp. 55-6).

¹⁶ Megan Cassidy-Welch, 'Incarceration and Liberation: Prisons in the Cistercian Monastery', *Viator* 32 (2001): 23-42 (pp. 36, 42), which builds on Jean Leclercq, 'Le cloître est-il une prison?', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 47 (1971): 407-20.

¹⁷ 'In Dedicacione Ecclesiae, Sermo Primus' in Jean Leclercq & Henri Rochais, eds, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 5 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1968), p. 371: 'velut in carcere aperto tenentur sine vinculis, solo Dei timore confixi'; Cassidy-Welch, 'Incarceration and Liberation', p. 24

¹⁸ Hermann Tüchle, *Kirchengeschichte Schwabens. Die Kirche Gottes im Lebensraum des Schwäbisch-Alemannischen Stammes*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag, 1954), p. 206; Joseph M. Canivez & A. Trilhe (ed.), *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol. 5 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1937), 1461, No. 28, p. 77: 'Ad extirpandam, quantum possibile erit, immunditiam carnalem a personis Ordinis nostri utriusque sexus, generale Capitulum ordinat et diffinit quod amodo qui repertus et convictus fuerit de contagio carnis, si abbas vel abbatissa extiterit per annum integrum incarceretur, si vero monachus aut monialis per sex menses continuos in firmis carceribus recludatur, cum aliis poenis in statutis contentis.'

and dirtied in his heart by this evil desire', the spirit gave the game away to the rest of the monastery and the monk was seized, put in prison and placed in a stock, 'left behind by all people.' Thanks to the intercessory prayers of the monk to Mary, the bad spirit was forced to swap places with the monk in the prison, and when the abbot attempted to bless him with holy water, he disappeared before their eyes and left behind an 'unbearably bad smell.'¹⁹ The cautionary tale warned against the visionary and emphasised the deceptive, underlined the dangers of the opposite sex and showed the power of Mary over the devil and resulted in a monk being cut off his from his own community. The monk was shamed but could also be saved.

As with the senses more widely, a paradox was apparent in convents as spiritual freedom was supposed to come through physical enclosure. For nuns, the legislation and enforcement of this was very different to that of monks. Nuns' movement was more curtailed than that of monks, since monks had certain responsibilities which nuns did not have, not least the *cura monialium*, which required monks to visit houses in the region.²⁰ The Cistercian Order had made enclosure a condition of membership for nuns in 1220, as a way of controlling the enormous demand for women's houses in the period, to keep the convents financially viable, to maintain the character of the Order and to justify the inclusion of women, who were not a part of the original foundation.²¹ These conditions were reinforced throughout the thirteenth century by a number of measures of the General Chapter, including the use of iron grilles in the parlour (1242) and forbidding nuns to go on pilgrimage (1296).²² Subsequent commentaries on enclosure were

¹⁹ Robert G. Warnock (ed.), *Die Predigten Johannes Paulis* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1970), 258-61 (pp. 259-61): '...do kam der böß gaist für sin zell in aller form und gestalt, als ob er die lieb frow und custri wär im frowencloster...Do stünd der böß gaist in der frowengestalt vor im und sprach...“Nement alle úwer kelch und die besten clainot!”...Und wie in der böß gaist uswendig raitz mit worten, also vergifft und verunraint er im och inwendig sin hertz mit böser begird...Sú fiengent in und leiten in in irem closter in den kerker. In dem waz ain stock...Do er also allain, bekúmet und trúpt, verlassen von allen menschen im stok lag...Sobald sú mit dem crútz zú im koment, daz wichwasser uff in gussent, verschwand er vor iren ogen, und ward ain unlidelicher, böser schmack.'

²⁰ On the role of gender in enclosure see Jean LeClercq, 'La clôture. Points de repère historiques', *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 43 (1981): 368-70; Jane Tibbets Schulenberg, 'Strict Active Enclosure and its Effects on the Female Monastic Experience (500-1100)', in John A. Nichols and Lilian Thomas Shank, eds, *Medieval Religious Women. Volume One: Distant Echoes*, Cistercian Studies Series 71 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), 51-86; Noreen Hunt, 'Enclosure (II)', *Cistercian Studies* 22 (1987): 126-51 (p. 127); Mary David Totah, 'The Undivided Heart: Another Look at Enclosure', *Cistercian Studies* 33/4 (1998): 345-68 (p. 346); Francesca Medioli, 'An unequal law: the enforcement of clausura before and after the Council of Trent', in Christine Meek (ed.), *Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 136-52 (pp. 139-43); Marie Luise Ehrenschtendner, 'Creating the Sacred Space Within: Enclosure as a Defining Feature in the Convent Life of Medieval Dominican Sisters (13th-15th C.)', *Viator* 41/2 (2010): 301-16 (pp. 305-6). Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols 24^v-25^f describes, for example the visit of the abbots of Tennenbach, Salem and Bebenhausen to Günterstal in 1489, as discussed in the chapter *Mouth*.

²¹ Totah, 'The Undivided Heart', pp. 353-4.

²² Totah, 'The Undivided Heart', pp. 354-5; Hunt, 'Enclosure (II)', p. 144.

presented in patriarchal terms, such as the fifteenth century monastic reformer Denis the Carthusian, whose work the Günterstal nuns read on simony, and who wrote: ‘As a matter of fact, women are especially and naturally very unstable, fragile, soft and weak in what they think; so, it is really very dangerous that nuns circulate among lay people, particularly among men, if they appear in public and take part in conversation, see them, speak with them and listen to them.’²³ This expressed itself most clearly in *Periculoso* and in the conclusions of Trent through a specific focus on nuns’ sexuality and the breaking of chastity. *Periculoso* emphasised:

I have laid down, with regard to the dangerous and abominable situation of certain nuns, who, casting off the reins of respectability and impudently abandoning nunnish modesty and the bashfulness of their sex, sometimes rove about outside of their monasteries to the homes of secular persons and frequently admit suspect persons into these same monasteries, to the injury of that to which by free choice they vowed their chastity, to the disgrace and dishonour of the religious life and the temptation of many...²⁴

The Council of Trent reaffirmed the Bull and stressed the need for tighter active and passive enclosure:

After religious profession no nun may go out of her monastery on any pretext even for a short time, except for a legitimate reason approved by the bishop... And no one of any kind or condition or sex or age may enter within the confines of a monastery without the permission of the bishop or superior given in writing, under pain of excommunication automatically incurred.²⁵

²³ ‘De reformatione monialium’ in *Doctoris ecstatici d. Dionysii Cartusiani opera omnia, cura et labore monachorum sacri Ordinis Cartusienis*, vol. 40 (Turnhout: 1911), 245-61 (p. 249): ‘Quia videlicet foeminae sunt specialiter ac naturaliter multum instabiles, fragiles, molles ac debiles ratione; ideo periculossimum est monialibus inter saeculares personas, praecipue inter viros, apparere et conversari, ipsosque inspicere, alloqui et audire’; Mediolis, ‘The Enforcement of *clausura*’, p. 143.

²⁴ Emil Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1881), col. 1053: ‘Periculoso et detestabili quarundam monialium statui, (quae, honestatis laxatis habenis et monachali modestia sexusque verecundia impudenter abiectis, extra sua monasteria nonnunquam per habitacula saecularium personarum discurrunt, et frequenter infra eadem monasteria personas suspectas admittunt, in illius, cui suam integritatem voluntate spontanea devoverunt, gravamen, offensam, in religionis opprobrium et scandalum plurimorum), providere salubriter cupientes, praesenti constitutione perpetuo irrefragabiliter valitura sancimus, universas et singulas moniales, praesentes atque futuras, cuiuscunq[ue] religionis sint vel ordinis, in quibuslibet mundi partibus existentes, sub perpetua in suis monasteriis debere de cetero permanere clausura ita...’

²⁵ Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2 (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, D.C.: George University Press, 1990), p. 778: ‘Nemini autem sanctimonialium liceat, post professionem exire a monasterio, etiam ad breve tempus, quocumque praetextu, nisi ex aliqua legitima causa, ab episcopo approbanda...Ingredi autem intra saepia monasterii nemini liceat, cuiuscunq[ue] generis aut conditionis, sexus vel aetatis fuerit, sine episcopi vel superioris licentia, in scriptis obtenta, sub excommunicationis poena, ipso facto incurrenda.’

Similarly, texts which the nuns received, which explicitly mentioned Trent, hammered home the message of the danger of sexual temptation. In his translation, collection and interpretation of Augustine, for example, Lorichius made clear the message:

I do not know which nuns wanted men. But what did she want? Yes just what other virgins want. What, I repeat, did she want? Just what her mother had. Did she want something evil? Yes truly something evil. Why? Because she is betrothed to God our Lord.²⁶

Drawing even more explicitly on the imagery of movement and attraction, Lorichius wrote further:

[They] should not swan around outside but stay in their convent home, before the eyes of the Lord at all times. But now, the stones of the Holy Temple have been scattered at every street corner because the religious people wander outside to look for vain and worldly things... They have more desire to live in royal courts than to stay within the confines of the convent.²⁷

Yet such prescriptive literature was not necessarily strictly enforced in Günterstal. Indeed, a series of disconnects emerged between the ideals of *Periculoso* and Trent; their actual enforcement; the literature which the nuns received, emphasising strict enclosure, and the realities of everyday life. As part of the visitation in 1573 the abbess was exhorted not to allow any sisters to leave ‘without highly important, necessary reasons’. The nuns were no longer permitted to travel outside the convent for ‘yearly markets, marriage of relatives, Carnival or feasts of the dedication.’²⁸ The sexual element was not expressed explicitly, but rather implied in the strictures, particularly in the case of attending weddings, which would have displayed the difference in status between relative and nun. But at the same time the fact that the nuns were visiting family members points not to the possibility of the nuns being involved in unpermitted sexual activity, but simply missing their previous environment from before profession. That must have been particularly so for older members of the community.

²⁶ *Von Artickeln Christlichen Glaubens S. Augustini* (Cologne: Cholinus, 1582), p. 86: ‘Ich weiß nicht welche Closterfraw hat wo^llen Mannen. Was hat sie aber gewolt? Ja eben das was andere Jungfrawen wo^llen. Wz / sage ich wiederumb / hat sie gewo^lt? Eben was ihr Mutter. Hat sie dann etwas bo^eses gewo^llt? Ja freylich etwas bo^eses. Warumb? Dann sie hat sich jetzo Gott ihrem Herrn verlobt.’

²⁷ *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, p. 373: ‘[D]ie nit sollen aussen herumb schweiffen / sonder im geheymen ihres Klosters / fur dem [sic] Augen Gottes alzeit bleiben. Aber jetziger zeit / seind die Stein des H. Tempels zerstreut an den Ecken aller Gassen / weil die Geistlichen aussen herumb / nach eytelen vnd Weltlichen dingen schweyffen... Die Geistlichen haben mehr lust an den Konigs ho^effen zu leben / dann im beschluß ihrer Kloster zu bleiben.’

²⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/70, fol. 3^v: ‘one hochwichtige notwendige vrsachen’; ‘Järmärkten, Blüts verwandten Hailzaiten, fastnachtstagen, Kirchwaihinien.’

For all this, the same report permitted the nuns to visit their parents once every two years, which underlines that enclosure, even officially, was not regarded as total. The report emphasised that if a nun did leave, she must be back within a certain time limit, otherwise she may never leave again. Trent expressed the need for approval of the bishop to leave the convent, but in the convent it was the abbess who controlled when a nun could leave and was responsible for ensuring when she came back on time. Moreover, the visitation report also suggests that, for all that there was a desire to cut the nuns off from the world, they were still very much part of it, with economic and human needs. Male figures such as confessors, doctors, apothecaries and workmen were all allowed to enter the convent to carry out their necessary work, spiritual, medical or practical.²⁹ Above all, enforcement was clearly not always possible and the nuns themselves sought to hold on to certain freedoms. In 1616 a subsequent visitation complained that the nuns should not see their relatives as often as they were presently doing so and only invite them to the convent once a year. Further, the abbess gave permission to the whole convent go on walks ‘now and then’ (‘zurr Zeitten’). The post-Tridentine convent landscape did not necessarily build community spirit by cutting nuns off from the world but rather explicitly allowing them out into it.³⁰

The contrast between enclosure and freedom mirrored the tension between the divergent views of the convent as a prison or as a garden of paradise. Lorichius in his writings drew on the common theme of the sensory delights of an enclosed garden: ‘Since in the garden virtues are nourished and it brings forth flowers. She sustains herself with virtues, she refreshes herself, the fruit which they bring will protect you.’³¹ This built on a long tradition, which developed in the Middle Ages, of texts, such as *The Little Rose Garden of the Heart* (*Rosengärtlein des Herzen*) and *The Little Herb Garden of Mary* (*Marien Wurzgärtlein*), which compared the cloistered environment to that of the garden.³² As an early sixteenth century prayerbook from the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal emphasised: ‘it is usual that women work in the garden in the summer. Working in the garden is women’s work. But spiritually the soul should please God, so therefore she must be a good gardener so that she plants her soul well and makes it

²⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/70, fol. 3^v.

³⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA, 229/36789 (15 June 1616): ‘die geistliche Frawn ire Verwandten nit gar zuo oft, sonder ettwann ein Jar ain mal zu gast laden’.

³¹ *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, p. 375: ‘Dann in dem [Garten] sie die tugenden erneret / bringt sie herfur die Bluemen. Sie nheret [sic] sich mit tugenden / sie erquickt sich / die frucht die sie herfur bringt / die bewaret sie selber.’

³² Dietrich Schmidtke, ‘Rosengärtlein des Herzens’, in *VL²*, vol. 8 (1992), cols. 192-3. Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 44, fols. 1^r-6^v transmits this text, has a south west German provenance and dates from 1501. Peter Kesting, ‘Marien Wurzgärtlein’, *VL²*, vol. 5 (1985), cols. 1280-1.

beautiful.³³ Texts such as *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, owned by the Günterstal nuns according to the 1457 book catalogue, told the story of a nobleman who entered a hole in the ground, opened up by Saint Patrick on Station Island in County Donegal, and was able to return with full remission of all his sins.³⁴ Having met a group of monks dressed all in white, and been confronted by a group of demons who lead him through purgatory, the nobleman eventually crossed a narrow bridge where 'he met two proud young men standing on a beautiful plain which was adorned with sweet-smelling flowers. The men told him to follow him towards a large city, which was adorned with gold and gemstones and they said the city was Paradise.'³⁵ The multi-sensorial place of bliss was contrasted directly with the penitential space which the nobleman had to travel through beforehand, a place where dragons savaged men and women with their teeth and where people were covered head to foot in nails.

Within Günterstal in the later sixteenth century, far from responding negatively to calls for tighter enclosure, the nuns responded positively, creating their own gardens on the written page. This expressed itself through the production of new processional books around 1600, replete with illustrations of fruits and flowers (fig. 26). The senses - sight through the visual imagery, hearing through the music on the page, taste through the fruits, touch by feel of the book itself and above all smell through the flowers – were all evoked and explicitly linked to the nun moving around in the enclosed walls. This becomes particularly evident when compared with earlier examples of processional books from Günterstal (fig. 25) and with other contemporary liturgical manuscripts (fig. 27).

³³ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 95, fol. 62^v: 'Es ist gewonheit dz die frauwen im sommer arbeiten in den gerten / garten arbeit ist frauwen arbeit / aber gaistlich sol die sele got gefallen / so muß sie eyn gute gertnerin syn / dz sie wol pflantz ir sele / vnd die vast schön mach.'

³⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 38^v, the Günterstal library catalogue, refers to 'Item s. Patricio fegfur'. As with other entries in the catalogue, it remains to be seen whether this was written in Latin or German: the use of German in the title may point to the latter, but this is inconclusive. On its transmission see Nigel F. Palmer, "*Visio Tnugdali*," *the German and Dutch translations and their circulation in the later Middle Ages* (Munich: Artemis, 1982), pp. 410-2 on German and Dutch translations of Hugh of Saltrey's *Tractatus de Purgatorio S. Patricii*; Jean-Michel Picard, *A Twelfth Century Tale of a Journey to the Other World* (Kill Lane, Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1985), p. 33 refer to no fewer than 150 manuscripts containing the Latin *Tractatus* written between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, such as Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. IX 31, fols. 63^r-71^r, from the Cistercian monastery of Salem, which dates from the second quarter of the thirteenth century: Wilfried Werner, *Die mittelalterlichen nichtliturgischen Handschriften des Zisterzienserklosters Salem*, Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg V (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), pp. 200-4.

³⁵ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 27, fols. 76^r-78^r. This transmits the very different version of the story in the *Alsatian Golden Legend*, copied in the 1460s, owned by the nuns of Wonnental and given to Günterstal in 1567 by Sister Christina Marschalkin.

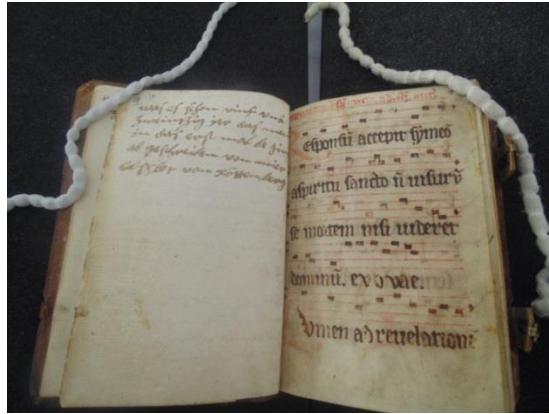


Fig. 25: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Günthersthal 10, fol. 1^r, fourteenth century. Reproduced by permission of the library.



Fig. 26: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Günthersthal 2, fol. 1^r, late sixteenth century. Reproduced by permission of the library.



Fig. 27: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenhal 102, fol. 14^v (1613). Reproduced by permission of the library.

Some hundred years earlier, in 1494, the nuns of Günterstal recorded how on the eve of St George's Day there was a 'great frost so that the grass and the earth became frozen and the

walnut and the oak trees became quite black from the glare of the sun.’³⁶ This observation made by the convent’s prioress was a far cry from the idealised sensory garden of Lorichius or the call in the Lichtenthal prayer book for nuns to work in the garden in the summer, but spoke more to the practical concerns of daily life in this period, making an observation about the cold weather. Yet, recorded alongside this note on the weather and the convent garden, the nuns were also recording how they went about their lives in an age, as with the Counter-Reformation, in which enclosure was increasingly important. The evidence from Günterstal suggests an ambiguous picture. On the one hand, this was a period in which attempts to control the use of the speaking grille were reinforced, as the 1516 visitation made clear, and in which the convent was sent statutes which emphasised that ‘nuns who wander around at night or behave in any other unspiritual manner should be punished with imprisonment or relocation or any other power of the general chapter so that through such pain they may learn not to do the same thing again.’³⁷ But on the other hand, as we have seen, this was an age in which nuns went on trips to the baths, travelled to the market to buy spices and welcomed family to the convent on profession days. The prioress who recorded the note on the weather also noted down, for instance, detailed, practical instructions on how to grease the wheels of the convent cart:

Item to grease a cart take two pounds of animal fat and forty pounds of resin and two measures of oil. Melt down the resin so that there are no lumps in it and place the animal fat next to it and let it gradually melt. And when it has melted put the oil into it and mix it up well. And after the resin has boiled, pour the animal fat in and boil it once again, take it out, pour it and stir it until it goes cold.³⁸

Whilst instructions for greasing the wagon wheel point to more practical concerns, there was a decidedly spiritual element in the way in which nuns walked in this period. This was particularly evident through the practice of mental or virtual pilgrimages, whereby nuns travelled to holy spaces in their minds within their own walls. In 1478 the Papal Jubilee was

³⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 24r: ‘Item im lxxxx iiii jor do wz der oster tag vi tag noch vnser frowen annunciacio vnd viel an sant jergen oben alß ein großer riff dz graß gefroren vnd dz ertrich vnd wurden die nuß boum vnd die eichen gantz schwartz won die sunn schein den selben tag.’

³⁷ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/69; Cod. Sang. 1344, p. 360, an early sixteenth-century German translation of the 1350 *Libellus novellarum definitionum*: ‘Die moniales so durch die welt louffent oder sich sunst vngeistlich haltend sullent durch die vattera^obt durch die kärkerung oder verschickung oder sunst mit gewalt des general capitels gestrafft werden also das so^ollich pen sie lerne furbas nit so^ollichs ze begond.’ On the Latin source text see Bernard Lucet, *La Codification Cistercienne de 1202 et son Evolution Ulérieure*, Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 2 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1964), pp. 205-307.

³⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 36r: ‘Item zû einer karren salben nim xx lb vnschlitt vnd xl lb hartz vnd ii moß o^ols zerloß dz hartz dz kein knoll dorin syg vnd henckt dz vnschlitt derneben vnd loß es gemechlich zer gon vnd wenn eß wol zergot so tû dz o^ol dorin vnd ru^er eß wol widereinander vnd wen dz hartz ein guten wal getût so schutt dz vnschlitt dorin vnd loß es aber ein gûten wal tûn vnd dû es denn ab vnd guß es vnd ru^ers vntz dz es kalt wirt.’ On ‘wal’ see *DWB*, vol. 27, col. 1263: ‘wallung des wassers, strudel, aufkochen’.

extended to the town of Freiburg: anyone who visited the seven altars of the Münster in the week before or after *Laetere* (the fourth Sunday in Lent) and donated ‘as much as one person in his house would roughly earn in a week’ towards the construction of a new choir and the Turk Tax, was granted full remission of their sins.³⁹ The seven altars in Freiburg came to represent the Seven Principal Churches in Rome (St Peter, St John, St Mary, St Paul, St Sebastian, St Lawrence and the church of the Holy Cross) or the Seven Altars of St Peter’s.⁴⁰ Similarly, in 1500, another Jubilee Year, Freiburg was able to offer plenary indulgences to its residents. The seven altars of the Münster ‘were decoratively adorned, each with two long burning wax candles and Veronica pictures as a sign of the seven churches in Rome.’ Penitents would have heard sermons, the singing of the choir, the playing of the organ and the ringing of the bells and seen a procession which took place ‘with all prelates, monks and priests, including all the abbots’ who were afterwards ‘invited to the chapter rooms and fed well.’ Meanwhile, up to four people stood around holding sticks ‘to keep apart those confessing and control the throngs.’⁴¹ In short, this was a festive event for the people of Freiburg – ‘all believers of both genders’ (‘all cristglöbigen beider geslecht’) – which invited them to take part in a communal act of devotion and to reap the benefits of travelling to Rome without going there themselves. Organised by the religious authorities of the city, it helped to create and reinforce a civic identity amongst the population, whilst simultaneously raising much-needed funds.

Alongside the sick and the elderly, nuns received a dispensation to be able to secure an indulgence without travelling to the Münster and breaking their enclosure. They were still to give the donation and ‘to make use of other altars, if they are to hand, or to do other good works on the advice of their confessor, in order to secure the same plenary indulgence of all their sins

³⁹ Peter P. Albert, ‘Sixtus’ des vierten Ablassbriefe für das Freiburger Münster’, in *Freiburger Münsterblätter: Halbjahrsschrift für die Geschichte und Kunst des Freiburger Münsters* 11 (1915): 31-48 (pp. 38-9): ‘so vil...als ein ieglicher für sin person jn sinem huss ein woch verzert vngeuerlich...Des ersten vollkommen indulgenz des jubeljars, aplas der sünden und mit dem allerhöchsten ganze versünung’; Nine R. Miedema, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Frühen Neuzeit: Die ‘Indulgentiae Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae’ (deutsch/niederländisch). Edition und Kommentar*, Frühe Neuzeit 72 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2002), pp. 449-50. Three broadsheet prints survive from Freiburg which give information on the pilgrimage: Falk Eisermann, ‘The Indulgence as a Media Event: Developments in Communication through Broadides in the Fifteenth Century’, in Robert N. Swanson (ed.), *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 5 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 306-30 (p. 322).

⁴⁰ On Jubilee Years see Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923), pp. 181-94.

⁴¹ Albert, ‘Sixtus’ des vierten Ablassbriefe für das Freiburg Münster’, pp. 43-5: ‘wurden zierlich zugericht, yeder mit zweien langen brinnenden wachskerzen und ff[e]roniken in bezeichnung der siben kilchen zu Rom’; ‘mit allen prelaten, clostern und priestern begangen, ouch die äpt dazue berueft werden’; ‘geladen uf der geistlichen stuben und errichlich gespist’; ‘den bichtern witi zu machen und die gedreng abzustellen.’

for this Jubilee year, as if they visited the church and altars in person.⁴² A detailed description survives from Günterstal in the notebook from 1488 which records how the nuns went about this:

In the year of our Lord 1488 there was a pilgrimage to Rome and we also acquired the donation given to the church in Freiburg.⁴³ The whole convent confessed, and when it was announced to us that we had also acquired the donation, we rang both bells and sang *Te deum laudamus*. We covered the crucifix that we worship on Good Friday with red silk in the brothers' choir and made a virgin figure out of wax and with green foliage and hung it in the middle. We placed two valuable⁴⁴ crosses next to it and opened up the covers and kept the doors open at all times. After confession we had to go to the seven altars, first to the high altar, to the three altars in the brothers' choir, to the holy cross in the chapel by the sacristy and in the chapel in the infirmary. We received fourteen days of mercy and no more. They sounded the bell on Whitsun evening in Freiburg, three days before Saint Potenciana [19 May] (marked in the calendar with letter 'd') and on Saint Petronilla [31 May], which fell on the eve of Holy Trinity, when they rang the bells with vigour once again.⁴⁵ But we had to wait a short while before we could acquire the donation and confess.⁴⁶

The nuns took part in their own pilgrimage within the convent not because of their gender – both women and men were flocking to Freiburg's Münster – but because of their commitment to enclosure.⁴⁷ Indeed, the whole description is framed in spatial terms. There is an emphasis in the passage on openness: the nuns kept the doors to the church open at all times. Similarly,

⁴² Albert, 'Sixtus' des vierten Ablassbriefe für das Freiburg Münster', p. 42: 'Item um das krank, alt luot und die, so götlichen oder menschlichen diensten oder emptern, von den si sich komenlich nit abwesig machen können, behaft sind, die in vintschaft stend, vintschaft entsitzent und die armen, ouch die den weg zuo der vorgeantent kilchen angangen und mit redlicher ursach darunder verhindert werent, nutzbarkeit desselben apas nit manglend, wird aber us bepstlicher bewegnus etc. zuogelassen, das dieselben und all ander allenthalben, die dis kilchen nit komenlich erlangen und ouch sovil geltz oder des wert geben an die ort, wie vor stat, ander altar, ob sie des stat hand, suochen oder nach rat irs bichtvaters ander guot werk volbringent, denselben allervolkomenlichsten apas aller sünd und indulgenz des jubeljahrs ervolgen mögent, als ob sie die kilchen und altar persönlich suochten.'

⁴³ Ulrich Goebel, Anja Lobenstein-Reichmann and Oskar Reichmann, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 8, part 4 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), col. 1716 lists 'cruciat' and 'cruciatgeld' as 'eine Abgabe an die Kirche.'

⁴⁴ *DWB*, vol. 23, col. 284 lists 'übergülten' as 'an geltung, werth übertreffen.'

⁴⁵ *DWB*, vol. 1, col. 905 lists 'ausläuten' as 'extremum sonare campana.'

⁴⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 4^r: 'Anno domini m cccc^o lxxxviii^o do wz ein grossi romfart vnd cruciat ze friburg die erwurben wir o^uch wir bichtetten all o^uch vnd da man vns die bottschaft seit dz wir sy o^uch hetten do luten wir mit beden glogken vnd sungen te deum laudamus vnd vber zugen dz crucifx dz man am stillen fritag einest in der herren kor an bettet mit roten syden vnd machten ein dirnin vß wachs vber zugenz kron mit grienen vnd hanckten dz dor an in die mitli vnd die vber gulten ii crutz dar neben vnd machten die vmb heng vff vnd ließ man die tur ze allen zyten offen ston wir müsten nach der bicht zû vii ältern gon zum ersten zû den fron altar zû den iii ältern in der brüder kor denn zu heiligen crutz in der kappel by der kustry in der kappell im siechuß die gnod weret xiiii tag nit lenger mon lut sy an dem pfignt oben in ze friburg der wz iii tag vor potenciane vff den büchstaben d vnd vff petronelle wz vff die heilig trifaltikiet oben do lut man sy wider vß vnd es ward vns hie gar kurtz ee wir sy erwurbent vnd gebichteten.'

⁴⁷ Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica* 8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 28.

the nuns physically walked to the altars ‘in the brothers’ choir’, a part of the church normally restricted to them, where they would have seen altars dedicated to Saints Bernard, Benedict, Sebastian, Anthony and other saints.⁴⁸ In his 1484 devotional guide to nuns going on mental pilgrimage, the *Sionpilger*, the Ulm Dominican Felix Fabri differentiated explicitly between ‘spiritual pilgrimage’ (‘gaistisch bilgerfahrt’) and physical pilgrimage (‘leiblich bilgerfahrt’).⁴⁹ The concept ‘spiritual pilgrimage’ gives a sense of being static but the nuns here moved physically from site to site within the convent, a crucial part of the devotional exercise. Indeed, just as baking gingerbread reflected a certain spiritual confidence and openness in a closed world, so too did these mental pilgrimages. The nuns opened up and reinterpreted the space of the convent – space that was, in some instances closed off to them – to reaffirm, to themselves and to the city, their particular status within society.

The links with Freiburg did not just extend to the use of seven altars, but also to the way in which the mental pilgrimage was constructed, as a number of different symbols signalled the practice’s importance. In Günterstal, the devotional exercises consisted of an acoustic element as the bells of the church were rung and the nuns sang *Te Deum Laudamus*, a hymn of praise. Visually the description of the crosses and the covers suggested parallels with Lenten Veils and the ‘dirnin vß wachs’ could well have been a wax image of the Virgin Mary.

The practice of mental pilgrimage was widespread in South West Germany and in the Dutch/German borderlands.⁵⁰ The fifteenth century witnessed an explosion of interest in the practice, reflecting, in part, the growing demand for indulgences alongside the increasing calls for enclosure, which was reflected in the wide transmission of devotional guides to Rome, often owned by convents.⁵¹ This included the Cistercian convent of Lichtenthal⁵², the Freiburg Dominican convent of St Agnes⁵³ and other houses in the region (based on the use of the

⁴⁸ GLA, Karlsruhe, 65/247, fols. 2^v-3^r which describes the visit of a bishop to the convent in 1486 and the altars he blessed.

⁴⁹ Wieland Carls (ed.), *Felix Fabri. Die Sionpilger*, Texte des späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 39 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999), p. 23.

⁵⁰ Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, on the North West; Kathyne Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher. The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) on the South West.

⁵¹ See Nine R. Miedema, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit; Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den ‘Indulgentiae Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae’* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2001) and *Die ‘Mirabilia Romae’. Untersuchung zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996).

⁵² Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 98, from the early part of the sixteenth century transmits a German version of the ‘Stationes ecclesiarum urbis Romae’. See Miedema, *Mirabilia Romae*, pp. 112-3.

⁵³ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 3, dating, interestingly, from the second half of the sixteenth century. See Miedema, *Mirabilia Romae*, p. 112.

Alemannic dialect).⁵⁴ Preachers such as Geiler von Kaysersberg encouraged travellers, meanwhile, to say 147 Pater Nosters in order to travel the 147 miles to Rome from Strasbourg, walking seven miles each day. As in walking, it was important to pace oneself in prayer: ‘Do not overload yourself with a great pile of prayers...Pray briefly, briefly turn to God with one or two words or without words.’⁵⁵

The fifteenth century monastic reform movement was a driving force behind this upsurge in interest. Kathryn Beebe has emphasised enclosure as the most important element of Observant reform, arguing that Felix Fabri’s *Sionpilger* must be read in this light. Fabri had himself travelled to the Holy Land twice and produced a number of different versions of his account. But it is only in the mental journey of the *Sionpilger*, written explicitly for nuns, that he includes the story of how a great host of sisters travelled to Ulm from various convents in the region (primarily Dominican but also the Cistercian convent of Heggbach). They gathered and prayed together before setting off on their mental journey to Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago.⁵⁶ Arguing that this was not historical reality, but rather another element in the ‘mental’ journey, Beebe believes that Fabri wanted the nuns to transcend the walls between them. Observant spiritual life was, despite enclosure, something to be practiced cross-communally: this was a ‘Freundfahrt’ as much as a Jerusalem-, Rom- or Santiagofahrt.⁵⁷ Rather than stifling women’s voices, Beebe suggests a more complex spiritual relationship between confessor and nun, which manifested itself in sophisticated strategies of travelling in the mind.

Similarly, other examples of more elaborate mental pilgrimage practices have been explained by the reform movement. In the Bickenkloster of Villingen, for example, which had become fully enclosed in 1482, prioress Ursula Haider was able to secure a privilege for the 1489 Jubilee Year in 1491.⁵⁸ To celebrate this, Haider recorded 210 stations of churches and holy

⁵⁴ Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 189, dates from 1469 and transmits a German version of the ‘Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae’. See Miedema, *Mirabilia Romae*, pp. 116-7.

⁵⁵ Johannes Geieler von Kaysersberg, ‘Eyn geistlich Romfahrt Jübel Jor so ein christner Mönsch mag thûn. Der do Ursachen halben nit gen Rom kumen kan volget clarlich harnoch’ in Gerhard Bauer (ed.), *Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg. Sämtliche Werke*, vol.1 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1988), 145-52 (p. 149): ‘Nit uberladt dich ouch mit grossem hüffen der gebeth...Kurtz gepete. kurtz uff kere zû got mit eynem oder mit zweien worten oder on wort.’

⁵⁶ Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, p. 133; Jacob Klingner, ‘Just say happily: ‘Felix said so’, and you’ll be in the clear: Felix Fabri OP (1440-1502) Preaching Monastic Reform to Nuns’, *Medieval Sermon Studies* 46 (2002), 42-56.

⁵⁷ Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher*, pp. 193-4.

⁵⁸ On Villingen see Renate Stegmaier-Breinlinger, ‘“Die hailigen Stett Rom und Jerusalem”. Reste einer Ablassammlung im Bickenkloster in Villingen’, *FDA* 91 (1971), 176-210 (pp. 182-89). On the history of the convent see Wolfgang Müller, ‘Die Villingen Frauenklöster des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit’, in Helmut Heinrich & Sr. Maria Sattler, eds, *200 Jahre Kloster St. Ursula Villingen* (Villingen: 1982), 14-31; Charlotte Woodford, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: 2002), pp. 144-63; Marie-Luise Ehrenscheidtner,

places in Rome and Jerusalem on separate pieces of parchment and placed them in different locations around the convent. A number of these were then carved into stone as permanent monuments (seventy survive today), providing a textual description of where the nun had been transported to ('the house of Pilate, in which Christ was flogged'; 'the Roman church and station of St Praxedis, a virgin'). All these were located in different parts of the convent, from the dormitory to the cloister. A description survives of how 'they adorned each tablet, in which the holy places stood inscribed, of which there were many, with a particularly lovely garland, covered the earth with flowers and herbage, so that the house of God looked truly like a delightful and earthly paradise.'⁵⁹ Indeed, at their dedications, objects played a vital role in creating the sensory environment of this new paradise: sight as each nun carried a burning candle, hearing through the use of cymbals ('cimbalschlagen'), touch through carrying the convent's relics and smell through the flowers adorning each site. Cut off from the world, the nuns had invented a new world within their walls: a material landscape which expressed their identity as reformed, enclosed nuns. In a similar manner in 1499 the sisters of St Katherine's in Augsburg commissioned the artists Hans Holbein the Elder, Burgkmair the Elder and the unknown monogramist 'LF' to paint a series of six panels, depicting the seven Principal Churches of Rome, in the convent's Chapter House. Whether an aid to their mental pilgrimages or simply a commemoration of the papal privilege which they had secured in 1487, it was a powerful visual reminder to the nuns of their status, wealth and connections to Rome.⁶⁰

The reformed status of these houses seems to have acted as an impetus for mental pilgrimage in Ulm, Villingen and Augsburg, as both confessors, and the nuns themselves, developed sophisticated devotional practices in textual and visual forms. Yet, the reform movement was not the decisive factor in the practice *per se*, as the example of Günterstal demonstrates. Günterstal was an unreformed house, yet it too practised a form of mental pilgrimage around which the nuns could develop their own specific devotional exercises. Indeed, within Freiburg, this was a civic event, in which the reformed status of the convents which participated was not

'Jerusalem Behind Walls: Enclosure, Substitute Pilgrimage, and Imagined Space in the Poor Clares' Convent at Villingen', *Medieval Journal* 3/2 (2013): 1-38.

⁵⁹ Karl Jordan Glatz (ed.), *Villinger Chronik*, Publication des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 35 (Tübingen: 1882), p. 91: 'Sie zierten ein iedes deffelin, in welchen die heilige statt geschriben stunden, deren dan vil waren, iede mit einem besondern schenen crenzlin, bestreiten auch die erten allenthalben mit bluomen und kreüttern, also [dass] dis gottshaus recht ein lustiges und irtisches paradeis anzusehen war.'

⁶⁰ Marie-Luise Ehrenschtendner, 'Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60/1 (2009), 49-63; Henri Defoer, 'Images as Aids for Earning the Indulgences of Rome', in Jeffrey Hamburger & Anne S. Korteweg, eds, *Essays in Honor James H. Marrow. Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance* (London; Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2006), 163-71.

a factor. Although separated by their walls, the nuns were vicariously, like Freiburg's inhabitants, taking part in the journey. There was a degree of crossover between lay and monastic groups, as both sets, albeit in different locations, visited Rome in their minds. Similarly, in 1500, another Jubilee Year, the nuns received the papal privilege through the Cistercian Order, which made no distinction between reformed and unreformed houses.⁶¹

The practice of pilgrimage and indulgences was of course a central dividing line of the Reformation and this was evident in a place like Freiburg. Ludwig Öler, a former priest in Freiburg's *Münster* who converted to Lutheranism, penned a rhyming verse on the 1525 Jubilee Year and provided a series of contrasts between papal practice and true faith in Christ. Much of this centered on movement: 'One says that in the papal Jubilee year / that throughout the whole of Christendom / the indulgence will be annulled / and whoever wants this indulgence must travel to Rome. / But in the Jubilee year of Jesus Christ / the sinner is completely forgiven / wherever he is on the earth / and does not have to travel to Rome as a pilgrim.'⁶² Likewise Öler contrasted the danger of being murdered on the road to Rome with the promise of eternal life through Christ.⁶³ In response to this sort of criticism, a mandate was published in Freiburg in 1532 which encouraged the regular holding of processions in all parishes and churches, as well as the monasteries and convents, and they remained an important part of civic life over the course of the sixteenth century.⁶⁴

The practice of mental pilgrimage in particular did not disappear but rather became an increasingly significant confessional sign of the place of the convent within the world. The language of inner pilgrimage of the Carmelite nun Teresa of Avila in *The Interior Castle* and the widespread devotions of Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* built on this tradition, whilst the practice continued as Milanese nuns 'made the spiritual trip' to Loreto or Toulouse

⁶¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fols. 31^v-32^r: 'Item in 1500 our order acquired the pilgrimage to Rome for our whole order, our confessor announced this to us on the first Sunday in Advent' ('Item im hundertesten jor her warb vnser orden die romfart den gantzen orden die verkunt vnser herr vnß an dem ersten aduent sunnentag'); Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses*, pp. 254-5 on the granting of Papal privileges to Cistercians. See also Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Tennenbach 9, fols. 105^v-107^r, a letter from Abbot Humbertus of Cîteaux on the granting of the privilege for Cistercian houses in the 1475 Jubilee Year.

⁶² *Von dem jubel jar genant das gulden jar- diß buechlin sagt gar offenbar von zwifeltigem jubel jar das ein des Herren Jhesu Christ das ander des Bapsts jansarck ist* (Strasbourg, Johann Schwan, 1525), sig. Aii^r: 'Jm Jubel jar des Bapsts man sey / das durch die weyte Christenheit / Der aplaß werd gantz vff gehalten / wer aplaß wel gen Rom muß traben / Jn Jhesu Christi Jubel Jar / dem sünder würt verzygen gar / Er sey gleich wo er sey vff erden / darff nit zü Rom ein bilger werden.'

⁶³ Sig. Aii^v: 'Jm Jubel jar des Bapsts nün ho^ert / würt manger vff der straß gemo^ert. / Jm Jubel Jar Christ / wirt geben / Den todten das sye ewig leben.'

⁶⁴ Buszello, Mertens and Scott, "'Lutherey, Ketzerey, Ufffrur', p. 54; StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 1 Allgemeines 17 Jubiläen und Ablässe (1560-1726); C1 Kirchensachen 2 Allgemeines 15 Bittgänge und Wallfahrten 1589-1649.

nuns travelled to Rome.⁶⁵ In Germany the continuation of the practice became more sporadic: what was previously a widespread event now occurred within more isolated pockets and there is no direct evidence from Günterstal that the practice was continued.⁶⁶ In 1637, for example, Juliana Ernst, the prioress of the Bickenkloster in Villingen, began work on a history of the stone tablets in the convent and lamented the fact that ‘through long and difficult times almost everything has been forgotten, and gone missing on account of its antiquity.’⁶⁷ The tradition did not, however, die out and the Dominican nuns of St Agnes’s in Freiburg continued to go on mental journeys to Rome in the latter half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸ Popular late medieval texts such as Margaretha Ursula von Masmünter’s *Spiritual Sea Journey* continued to be read and transmitted over the course of the sixteenth century by nuns.⁶⁹ But these sorts of journeys which had become less widespread also took on new symbolic meanings. The words on the pages of the manuscript may have stayed the same but they had become a further marker of a very specific Catholic and convent identity.

Mental pilgrimages were one method of reaching out into the world without physically leaving the convent. But other sorts of processions, particularly intercessory processions (the ‘Bittgang’), were an important way for the nuns to influence the world outside through their movement within the convent walls. The nuns used these rituals in an attempt to heal discord and tension elsewhere. In 1489, for example, disagreements emerged between the town council and the ecclesiastical and secular lords of the countryside (‘gemeind’). There were disagreements over major sources of revenue, such as tolls and highway dues, but tension had

⁶⁵ P. Renee Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan* (New York; London: Routledge, 2002), p. 167: ‘Not being able to go bodily, she [Sister Agata] made the spiritual trip to Loreto saying many Hail Marys of Jesus Maria, counting the miles from Milan to Loreto.’ Baernstein recognises the long tradition of such a practice but argues that ‘from these deeps roots grew a peculiarly Counter-Reformation concern with accuracy, nourished by the obsession with authenticity.’ Nevertheless Geiler von Kaysersberg set great store on accuracy and the correlation between distance and prayers well before the Counter-Reformation. On the Augustinian nuns of Toulouse see Elizabeth C. Tingle, *Indulgences after Luther: Pardons in Counter-Reformation France, 1520-1720* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015), p. 99.

⁶⁶ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 3, which belonged to the Freiburg Dominican nuns of St Agnes, dates from the second half of the sixteenth century and contains a spiritual guide to Rome for nuns.

⁶⁷ Glatz, *Villinger Chronik*, p. 22: ‘dan durch lange und schwere zeiten ist solches fast alles in vergessenheit komen und von alter wegen verrissen und verlohren worden’.

⁶⁸ Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St Peter pap. 3.

⁶⁹ The Cistercian convent of Kirchheim im Ries, for example, owned two sixteenth-century copies: Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. III.1.8.50, fols. 156^v-164^v, from the second quarter of the sixteenth century and Cod.III.2.4.34, fols. 331^r-333^v, from the second half of the sixteenth century. Other examples of the continued interest in the tradition can be seen in Sigmaringen, Hofbibliothek, Cod. 44, pp. 178-212, a copy from the Swabian convent of Stetten written in 1543 by Sister Anna Heltzlin and Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 202, fols. 189^v-191^v, part of a number of later additions to a fifteenth-century devotional manuscript for nuns. Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Wonnenthal 10 was given to the Cistercians of Eschenbach in 1630 by their Jesuit confessor, before being passed on to the Cistercian nuns of Wonnenthal and contains a reworking of Ursula’s text.

in particular emerged over the existence of peasant outburghers. These were peasants of lords who could reside in villages and enjoy freedom of movement and marriage but who were subject to Freiburg. These traditional rights were, however, gradually being eroded by lords who restricted the use of common land and sought to raise taxes from them. Formally, rural subjects remained burghers – they took the burgher’s oath, could appear in civic courts and discharged their military service with the town’s troop. At the same time, however, they had to pay an annual sum to the town council as recognition of their servile status. Village lords particularly resented the fact that these rural citizens appeared in civic courts as this prevented them from raising penalties and fines (and therefore income) against them.⁷⁰ The Günterstal nuns sought to ease tensions by processing around the convent:

Item in the year of our Lord 1489 when there was an argument in Freiburg between the council and the community, we went on a procession. We sang the seven psalms and litany in the church and after Mass we proceeded to the Holy Cross and read the psalm *Exaudiat* and sang the antiphon from the Book of Tobias *Ne reminiscaris* and sang two responses at Matins *Machabeorum congregati sunt inimici* and the other one afterwards. We also sang the verse *ostende nobis domine, domine exaudi* and the collects *miserere domine populo tuo*. This took place on the Tuesday but we still fasted. At vespers we said the collects *respice quaesumus domine super hanc familiam tuam unde perpetua quaesumus domine pace custodi sancta maria succurre in omni tribulacione domine exaudi famulorum*.⁷¹

As with the spiritual exercise of the mental pilgrimage, the nuns were taking part in a multi-sensorial procession, in this case in an overtly political act, as they sought to create unity within competing elements of the city’s political structure. The use of intercessory prayers to call upon the protection of Mary and unity amongst ‘this family’ (‘*hanc familiam*’) pointed to an overlap between the spiritual and the political. Indeed, it points to a wider political culture in which the procession formed an intrinsic part of the civic life of a town. Unlike liturgical processions they were not bound to church use, but rather reactions to events, and examples abound of the practice in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, whether countering the threat of

⁷⁰ Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau*, pp. 77-82.

⁷¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 19^v: ‘Item anno domini m ccc lxxxix do man ze friburg zwei trechtig wz der rot vnd die gemeind wider einander wored do totend wir ein crutz gang mit den vii psalmen vnd sang man die latnyg [sic] in der kilchen vnd noch der mess do giengend wir zû dem helgen crutz vnd losen den psalmen exaudiat vnd sungend die antifen von der historg thobie ne reminiscaris vnd sungend zwen respons an der metti machabeorum congregati sunt inimici vnd den anderen dor noch vnd den uers ostende nobis domine, domine exaudi vnd die collecten miserere domine populo tuo die stot an dem zinstag noch mituasten ze vesper vnd die collect respice quaesumus domine super hanc familiam tuam vnde perpetua quaesumus domine pace custodi sancta maria succurre in omni tribulacione domine exaudi famulorum.’

attack, hoping for better weather in the event of floods.⁷² In 1519, for example, the Günterstal nuns, alongside the Carthusians, were asked by the town council to perform a procession to commemorate the death of Emperor Maximilian I and to ward off a plague which had struck the town.⁷³ As in the case of the mental pilgrimage, the nuns were requested to perform an act of penance within the convent's walls, as a mark of their enclosed status. This was well illustrated for Strasbourg, where participation seems to have depended on the convent's location inside or outside the city's walls, and this was clearly also the case in Freiburg as they became what Gabriela Signori has labelled a 'Krisenbewältigungs- und Stabilisierungsstrategie.'⁷⁴

But it remains to be seen what they could, in reality, achieve when faced with the realities of everyday life. Whilst the convent scribe in 1517, 'die von bolschwiler' [Bollschweil] was saying 600 Ave Marias in memory of the death of her fellow sister Veronica von Summeröw, her relative Gabriel Snewlin Bernlapp von Bollschweil was embroiled in bitter dispute with peasants in the villages of Bollschweil and Biezighofen.⁷⁵ The nuns owned property in Bollschweil, including a farmstead, barn and vineyard, and had direct contact with villagers such as Hans Nürenberg, Hans Schoffhuser and Hans Cünrat Hurscheli, who all owed the convent annual payments.⁷⁶ In 1511, the peasants of Bollschweil complained bitterly to the Outer Austrian government about the behaviour of Gabriel, a noble outburgher.⁷⁷ Peasants had voiced concerns about restrictions on the usufruct of commons – water, forest, pasture – and the demand for higher restriction fees by serfs.⁷⁸ One of the bondsmen called to testify against Gabriel was Kilian Meiger, who would become a key instigator, alongside Joss Fritz, of the

⁷² Andrea Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten. Politische Partizipation, Obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, Städtische Einheit*, Norm und Struktur 12 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), p. 236 and pp. 234-81 more generally; Gabriela Signori, 'Ritual und Ereignis: Die Strassburger Bittgänge zur Zeit der Burgunderkriege (1474-77)', *Historische Zeitschrift* 264/2 (1997): 281-328 (p. 284).

⁷³ StaFr, B5 X1 Missiven 10, fols. 203^v-204^r; 211^r.

⁷⁴ Signori, 'Ritual und Ereignis', p. 288.

⁷⁵ Albert Krieger, *Topographisches Wörterbuch des Großherzogtums Baden*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: 1903), cols. 245-6 refers to 'frow Kúngund sin swester' in 1484. Ten names are connected to Bollschweil in the Günterstal necrology, of whom nine belong to the Berenlapp line.

⁷⁶ Karlsruhe, GLA, 66/3205, fols. 85^v-91^r.

⁷⁷ Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau*, p. 177; StaFr, XIV a Bollschweil Schnewlin: Landeck Staufen; Albert Rosenkranz, *Der Bundschuh. Die Erhebungen des südwestdeutschen Bauernstandes in den Jahren 1493-1517*, Schriften des wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsaß-Lothringer im Reich, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1927), pp. 267-8.

⁷⁸ Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau*, p. 177.

Bundschuh Uprisings in Lehen in 1513.⁷⁹ Following his arrest and subsequent confession, Meiger listed convents as one of the targets of his ire.⁸⁰ On 22 December 1513 he was beheaded.

On one level these two worlds seem remote: one a world of prayer behind closed walls within an all-female community, the other a world of conflict, dispute and executions. Yet these worlds were connected: through the processions as a way of healing conflict; through the personal, family connections of the convent scribe and Gabriel; through land, as the convent's presence extended into the village of Bollschweil; and, by extension, complaints over the use and control of that land by monastic institutions.⁸¹ The laced-boot or *Bundschuh*, a symbol of peasant oppression, was very different to other markers of convent life, not least enclosure or mental pilgrimages, but was in part an oppositional symbol to what convents represented for people under their rule.⁸² Whilst the nuns processed with their feet, meditated upon the cross with their eyes, listened to prayers with their ears and fasted with their mouths, in reality they were at the same time inhabitants of an institution which had power and influence in and connections to the world which could in turn be challenged. Debates and changes about enclosure and practices to enhance the monastic experience represented only one way of approaching convent space, and the convent was, despite its nominally closed-off status, very much open to the world, with the problems and tensions that this could bring.

⁷⁹ Rosenkranz, *Der Bundschuh*, vol. 2, pp. 190-7: 'Basel an Strassburg [und Freiburg]' (18 November 1513).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ This clash between the world of prayer and the world of peasant discontent manifests itself in the Tennenbach Necrology. The entry for 9 March notes: 'Nobilis dominus Brumen [corr: Bruno] a Hornberg aedificavit pro salute suae animae suorumque sacellum prope portam in honorem ss. Benedicti, Petri et Wilhelmi episcoporum ordinis Cisterciensis et s. Aegydi atque Galli abbatum, S. Scholasticae virginis et omnium confessorum, fuit destructum in Seditone Rusticorum': Franz Ludwig Baumann (ed.), 'Necrologium Tennenbacense', in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Necrologia Germaniae. Dioeceses Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis*, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1888), pp. 339-40.

⁸² Pamphilius Gengenbach, *Der Bundtschu. Diß biechlein sagt von dem bdsen [!] fürnemen der Bundtschuhher, wye es sich angefengt geendet vnd aus kumen ist* (Augsburg: Erhard Oeglin, 1514); Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau: Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 165-89; Ulrich Steinmann, 'Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joss Fritz', *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 6 (1960): 243-84.

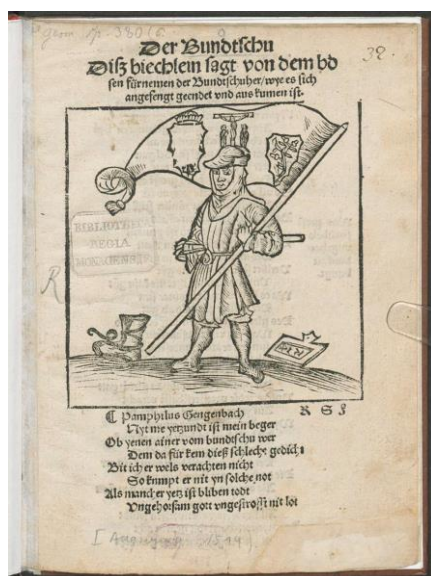


Fig. 28: Pamphilus Gengenbach, Der Bundtschu Diß biechlein sagt von dem bdsen [sic] fürnemen der Bundtschuher, wye es sich angefangt geendet vnd aus kumen ist (Augsburg: Ludwig Oerlin, 1514), fol. 1^r.⁸³ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, VD16 G 1171, available under a CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license.

There were both direct and indirect connections between peasants' grievances and land which the convent owned. Indirectly, a number of the *Bundschuh* uprisings in 1513, which would be quelled by authorities before they could take root, took place within villages in which the convent's sphere of influence extended through its land-holdings. Joss Fritz was able to gain a foothold in a number of villages in the Breisgau including Munzingen, Mengen, Au, Biengen, Norsingen and Wolfenweiler.⁸⁴ At Biengen, for example, where the Günterstal nuns owned gardens, houses and fields, the conspirators planned to raise the *Bundschuh* flag at the church-ale festival in the village in October 1513 but authorities got wind of the plan before it could be implemented.⁸⁵ Although the convent was not the prime focus of the peasants' ire, a clear overlap existed between the convent's and peasants' webs of influence. Likewise, in nearby Munzingen, where the nuns had substantial landholdings, a dispute arose over whether Kaspar von Blumenegg, who in 1497 had been involved in a sale of land to Günterstal⁸⁶, should be able to arrest the conspirator Marx Studlin, who had sought asylum in the parish church. Rudolf von Blumenegg, a cousin once removed of Kaspar, was the Outer Austrian representative in the region and Günterstal's steward. He had received gloves and gingerbread from the convent

⁸³ *DWB*, vol. 1, col. 1148 lists 'delirare, vagari' (to deviate; wander) under 'basen'.

⁸⁴ Karlsruhe, GLA, 66/3205, fols. 104^r-119^v, 120^v-129^r, 72^r-79^r, 100^v-102^r, 49^v-52^r, 41^r-47^r; Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau*, p. 177 for other villages involved.

⁸⁵ Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau*, pp. 179-80; 184; Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, p. 239.

⁸⁶ GLA 23/15 (16 November 1497); Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, p. 237.

and put his name on the petitions to the Bishop of Constance to allow authorities to enter the sacred space of the church to seize Studlin.⁸⁷

Günterstal itself did not witness an uprising. But the period was marked by ongoing tension between convent and village, something which the ringing of church bells could only do so much to hide. The main obstacle rested on the issue of marriage rights within the village and the extent to which the convent could guarantee death dues being paid following the death of a villager under its control. In August 1513, for example, the convent brought a claim in the manorial court against Heinrich Wilhelm, a cobbler from Freiburg, whose wife, Elspett Vögtin, had died.⁸⁸ Heinrich was refusing to pay death dues to the convent, whilst the convent, represented by Aristoteles their bursar, claimed that Elspett's parents had gone to the dance in Horben and then settled in Günterstal behind the convent, married, and gave birth to Elspett, so that 'along with her sister [she] was a nun' ('vnd mit ir swester ein gotzhûs frow wer'). In 1466, the convent had written to the monastery of St Peter's, the original owner of the manorial court in the village, to ask about marriage and death dues⁸⁹, but the issue came to a head in the early part of the sixteenth century, as the convent complained of the many times when it had seemingly lost out.⁹⁰ In August 1510, for example, a dispute emerged between the convent and Else, daughter of Gilg Eberhart from Wendligen, who was a convent serf, about whether she was permitted to move to Ebringen and marry Lenz Meyer.⁹¹

Yet for all this tension convent and village were willing to negotiate and compromise. In March 1519, for example, the manorial court and the village of Günterstal ('vogt gericht vnnd gantze gemeind') agreed that the convent would no longer claim *Drittelsrecht* over the village, the right to claim a third of a deceased's property, as long as it was given a yearly sum of two pound pennies from its villagers.⁹² This may have been a significant factor in the the lack of evidence of involvement of peasants from Günterstal itself in the uprising of 1525. The convent was attacked but this seems to have been by a band of peasants who had looted Adelhausen

⁸⁷ Rosenkranz, *Der Bundschuh*, vol. 2, pp. 138-46, for the correspondence: permission was ultimately granted and the arrest carried out.

⁸⁸ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, 23/27 (20 August 1513).

⁸⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/4 (25 October 1466): 'Wenn zwo personen jn Sacrament der heiligen Ee zusammen koment, und ir eine frye, die andere von Gottzhus luttten ist, das denn ire kinde allwegen derborsern hande nach volgent, das ist die eigen hand von dem gottzhus darru^erende, es sye von man oder vrowen.' Kim, *Grundherrschaft*, p. 194 notes 'daß die Kinder aus der ungenossamen Ehe der Gotteshausleute mit Freien auf alle Fälle *derborsern*, also der "ärgeren Hand" folgen sollten, d.h. sie wurde Eigenleute [serfs] des Klosters.'

⁹⁰ Karlsruhe, GLA 23/4 (27 October 1500): 'Dawider aber yetz zum dicken mal von den gotzhus luten gehandelt, und wurden dadurch min frowen jre lut und gerechtikeit offft entzogen unnutz und absweiff.'

⁹¹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/14 (27 August 1510).

⁹² Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/4 (5 March 1519).

and made their way up the valley to Günterstal. Indeed, this location may have saved the convent from further destruction as the main band headed east out towards Kirchzarten, having laid siege to Freiburg.

This helps to explain why Günterstal fared better than many other houses in the region in the Peasants' War and claimed only 2,118 florins of damage.⁹³ This was more than the 1,268 florins claimed by Adelhausen, but significantly less than the other Cistercian houses of Wonnenthal (6,250 florins) and Tennenbach (over 30,000 florins).⁹⁴ In Günterstal the peasants looted the convent and its stores, stealing wheat, rye, and barley as well as bed covers, cushions, linen sheets and altar cloths.⁹⁵ But places such as Wonnenthal and Tennenbach witnessed real physical destructions as buildings were raised to the ground, so that the monks and nuns were forced to leave⁹⁶ and services could no longer be continued.⁹⁷ In the region around Freiburg the collapse of monasticism was very much a physical process.

The place of the convent in the world was therefore by no means uniform: for some the convent was a prison and symbol of oppression and power; for others a garden and symbol of freedom. The spiritual and the everyday could come together through communal movement, as nuns processed around their houses offering intercessory prayers for the world outside and creating

⁹³ StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 124/4 Günterstal (1526).

⁹⁴ StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 137/6 Tennenbach (1542).

⁹⁵ StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 124/4 Günterstal: 'So ver es in min vnd mÿns gotzhusses vermÿgen were e[uer] w[ürden] weist aber wol was grosses schades vns vergangen Iars von den pursami [Bauersame] in vnserm gotzhus vnd auff dem land allenthalben zÿ gefÿgt worden, wie es vns dann mit denen vsser der statt gangen ist. Als sy in vnser gotzhus gefallen ob xxx mut weissen lx mÿt Rogken funfftzig mÿt gersten, i^c malter haber, vnd by i^c fiertel kligen [?] dar zÿ vil feder want, bet zwehen, kussizie [end of word damaged], lilachen, sergen, alter thucher, in der kirchen husgechirr vil gerbs leder vnd vngerbs leder, vnd anders genomen, hintragen vnd hingefurt haben.'

⁹⁶ StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 137/6 Tennenbach (1542). Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 234; Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 34-5 on Anna Wurm from St Nicholas-in-Undis in Strasbourg; Schier & Schleif, *Katerina's Windows*, p. 409 on the split within the Maria Mai community of those who fled and remained; Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians. Ideal and Reality* (Kent State University Press, 1977), p. 117 notes how the monastery of Ebrach had 75 members in 1503 but was then sacked during the Peasants' War. The monks were forced to flee and eighteen failed to return. Fifteen of these were known to have become Lutheran.

⁹⁷ StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 30 A, fol. 1^r: '...die frowen im demselbigen nit ferner enthalten vnd gott dem almechtigen dinen mo^egen.' For a comparison see Manfred Eder, 'Die Zisterzienserinnen', in Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Schwerdtfeger, *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und Katholischer Reform 1500-1700*, vol. 1, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* 65 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 99-124 (p. 115), who cites the example of Anrode whose buildings were destroyed in April 1525 and whose bells were taken away to Mühlhausen. In nearby Adelhausen see StaFr, C1 Kirchensachen 30 A Adelhausen 3 (1526) and C1 Kirchensachen 30 A Adelhausen 4 (1529). Schier & Schleif, *Katerina's Windows*, p. 412 includes the passage in the Maria Mai House Book on book burning: 'They stacked up piles of books and then lit them. They burned, drowned, tore up, and ripped apart more than 3000 books.' See also Berent Schweincköper, 'Klosteraufhebungen als Folge von Reformation und Bauernkrieg im habsburgischen Vorderösterreich (Zisterzienserinnenkloster Marienau und Augustinerkloster zu Breisach 1525/26)' in Herwig Ebner (ed.), *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 489-504.

new, imagined worlds out of the built environment of the convent. But spirituality and the everyday could also come apart, as bands of peasants marauded across the land, ransacked convents and challenged the position of power that the convent held in the world. It is important to recognise that the convent in this period was a place of processions as well as pillaging, prayers as well as peasants. Debates and challenges to the space of the convent focussed not just on enclosure but the place of the convent in the world as well. In all this the nun was able in many respects to negotiate her position, as she engaged with the world outside: with relatives, with church authorities and with peasants. But things could also break down, as when peasants entered the convent walls and the nuns forced to flee. The convent walls were permeable in many different ways.

IX: Conclusion

In 1495 Johannes Kerer founded Freiburg's first university boarding house, the *Collegium Sapientiae* or *Sapienz*. The former incumbent of the *Münster*, and friends with Geiler von Kaysersberg, Gregor Reisch and Konrad Stürzel, later chancellor to Emperor Maximilian I, bought a number of houses in Nußmannstrasse and Herrenstrasse which were rebuilt into one unit for the foundation.¹ A set of statutes survive from 1497 which regulated everyday life in the boarding house: the students were not supposed to wear 'vain and feminine adornments', on Sunday morning the President summoned the scholars by ringing a bell and they were to have wine removed from their meals if they did not make their own beds immediately after they had risen in the morning.² Much of the content of the statutes had parallels with the rules governing convents: the students had to observe complete silence when studying or asleep, they were to avoid 'vain, foolish and deceitful talk' and they were explicitly told that the house not 'be sullied by accursed carnal lusts.'³ But there was also obvious differences: the students only had to return to the house by nightfall and were reminded that drinking bouts were not permitted.⁴ Despite these differences the *Sapienz* and Günterstal were closely connected: the boarding house stood side by side with the set of houses Günterstal nuns owned in the town. Moreover, the nuns recorded that whenever a wandering student made the three and a half mile journey to the convent in the village to beg for alms, the nuns should give him some money.⁵

Both statutes from the *Sapienz* and from a convent like Günterstal helped to shape the regular rhythm of the day, to define boundaries between one environment and another and provide limits on what was and was not permitted, especially with regard to the senses. Whilst the content of this sort of material did not necessarily change, the context of its implementation

¹ Josef Hermann Beckmann (ed.), *Statuta Collegii Sapientiae. The Statutes of the Collegium Sapientiae in Freiburg University, Freiburg, Breisgau, 1497. Facsimile Edition* (Lindau; Constance: Thorbecke, 1957), pp. 5-10.

² Beckmann, *Statuta Collegii Sapientiae*, pp. 46-7 ('Vino in primis duabus refectionibus coerceatur'), 48-9 ('vt die dominica presidens mane omnes campane sonitu ad citet, citatos pariter omnes veluti fidus fastor ad pascendum in verbo dei in ecclesiam ducat'), 68-9 ('et effeminatorum ornamentis vel vanis vel muliebribus').

³ Beckmann, *Statuta Collegii Sapientiae*, pp. 42-3 ('In vno tamen dormitorio et non alibi licet diuersis in cubiculis decumbant omnes illic continuum seruantes silentium omni cessante strepitu et studij et quietis tempore'), 58-9 ('sermones vanos, scurriles, mendaces, et obtrectorios' [sic]), 62-3 ('Preterea volumus nostram domum sapientie spurcissima et execranda libidine feminarum non contaminari').

⁴ Beckmann, *Statuta Collegii Sapientiae*, pp. 30-1 ('excedencium penas non remittat'), 64-5 ('Vnde volumus eum scolarem qui non improba existimacione affligi velit extra domum noctu non quiescat').

⁵ Karlsruhe, GLA, 65/247, fol. 30^r: 'Item iedem faren schüler der har kunt sol man geben ein blophart.' A *plapphart* or *blaphart* was a small coin widespread in the south west in the later Middle Ages. See *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch*, vol. 2 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1932-5), col. 358.

and reception often did and this was particularly evident in the case of Günterstal. Ideal and reality did not always match, and those two poles were in turn subject to change. In that respect statutes offer one way of understanding the place of the convent between continuity and change. This conclusion takes three sets of statutes to consider the changing fate of the convent and to underline some of the key findings of this thesis.

Between 1504 and 1508 the nuns received a set of German translations of normative texts of the Cistercian order, including the *Ecclesiastica Officia*, the *Libellus antiquarum definitionum*, the *Libellus novellarum definitionum* and statutes from the general chapter from 1381 until 1463.⁶ This content overlapped directly with a manuscript, also dated to the early sixteenth century, from the convent of Lichtenthal.⁷ In comparison with the Lichtenthal manuscript, the Günterstal manuscript contains the treatise on simony (discussed in *Mouth*) and the Latin source texts for the translations. Significantly it was a set of statutes adapted specifically for nuns since chapters from the *Ecclesiastica Officia* were omitted which could not be applied to nuns, such as on shaving ('De rasuris').

The existence and content of this manuscript suggests that the division by later scholarship between reformed and unreformed houses is in need of some revision. Lichtenthal had been formally reformed in 1426; Günterstal had not. In 1465 Freiburg town council fully enclosed three of the town's Dominican houses but Günterstal was left untouched. Yet, reforming impulses were evident in both Günterstal and Lichtenthal in the early sixteenth century as a framework for a correct life, adapted specifically for use by nuns, was laid down. In Günterstal, however, many signs of what has been seen as 'reformed'— correct liturgical practice, communal devotions, vernacular devotional literature – were in evidence in the late fifteenth century, well before they received the statutes. At the same time, other aspects of the nuns' lives reveal a less clear picture: they had their own rooms, travelled to the baths and welcomed family members to lavish meals. Moreover, the reform agenda did not necessarily propose change: the treatise on simony essentially allowed the convent to retain an exclusive membership. The convent experience in this period was not easily pigeonholed.

One of the nuns who grew up in this context was Cordula von Krotzingen who had entered Günterstal in 1507, i.e. just when the nuns received the translated statutes, and joined a community which said its prayers and baked its gingerbread. Yet, she also witnessed first-hand

⁶ Cod. Sang. 1344.

⁷ Kloster Lichtenthal 46.

the turbulence which the Reformation brought about. In 1525 she was forced to flee the convent because of its attack in the Peasants' War and in 1538 she left Günterstal to become abbess of the canonical foundation of Andlau. Despite the sustained criticism of the rule-based life of the convent, Cordula continued to see great value in a clearly-defined daily routine of prayer and communal living. In Andlau she had three sisters under her care, Margareta and Agnes Wurmser von Vendenheim (blood sisters) and Veronika von Schauenburg, and she immediately set about trying to impose new statutes for the nuns 'to bring about good obedience, as well as discipline and honour' ('zu gutter gehorsame, auch zu zucht und ere zyhen und bringen'). She was attempting to bring aspects of her former life in Günterstal to bear in Andlau. The three Andlau sisters, however, did not welcome this reforming impulse with open arms, arguing that 'they had never heard of any statutes' ('dann sy von keinen statuten iye gehort [hätten]'). They communicated constantly with their relatives to defend their position and felt threatened by the newly held power of Cordula who could 'act with authority' ('mit gewalt handeln'). Over the next nine years Cordula, the sisters, their relatives, the Strasbourg bishopric and even the Emperor were involved in a constant back and forth before the three sisters finally left in 1547. Cordula herself then lived – and died – alone in the house as the communal ideal of monastic life completely collapsed. In 1544, for example, the sisters argued that they were happy to live, eat and drink with Cordula but 'they did not want to be forced to go to the choir, and to perform the canonical hours' ('aber in kor zu gen, messen und ire sibem zitt zu betten und zu lesen, wellent sie nit getzwungen sin'). Part of the issue was that the foundation did not have the financial resources to pension off the three sisters, having paid out sums to a number of sisters who had left the house already as a result of the Reformation. The aims and expectations of Cordula – who tried to impose through the statutes a regular life of prayer and communal living from her own time in Günterstal – were blocked by both new realities and personalities.⁸

One of the reasons Cordula seemed to have left Günterstal was because of near collapse in spiritual discipline, a convent defined by its 'errors, discord and unpleasantness' ('irrung, zwitragt unnd widerwertigkeit'). The convent had become divided into two camps, as a group of sisters began to support the prioress to replace Verena Tegelin von Wangen as abbess. Verena was eventually pensioned and the remaining nuns were encouraged to serve God 'in

⁸ Sabine Klapp, *Das Äbtissenamt in den unterelsässischen Frauenstiften vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Umkämpft, Verhandelt, Normiert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra, N.F. 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 291-305.

spiritual unity and discipline' ('inn geistlicher Einigkeit vnd zucht'). As a way of preventing the complete downfall of the convent ('das Gotshauß vor abuwen vnnnd verderben verhütten') and as a means of preventing discord breaking out again, the nuns were ordered to follow the rules and statutes of the order. Whether she had developed Lutheran sympathies or had moved to rejecting the rule-based life of the convent, Verena's actions clearly led to nearly outright collapse of the convent, since services were stopped and discord reigned. Rebuilding a rule-based life was therefore no longer just a question of reform but about survival. The stakes were high.⁹

A final set of statutes date from 1583. These are a German translation of the *Ecclesiastica Officia* written by Jodocus Lorichius for Günterstal.¹⁰ The use of the manuscript form underlined the personal relationship between the Freiburg professor and the nuns. Yet, unlike the early sixteenth century manuscript, Lorichius did not adapt his translation for the nuns but rather included every chapter of the *Ecclesiastica Officia*. There was a great deal of overlap, as he drew on the same material in an attempt to reform convent life; but Lorichius was also aware of the new context in which he was writing. The translation was not transmitted in isolation. Rather Lorichius included a defence of the importance of external practices for salvation and included a German translation of the *Exordium Cistercii*, one of the founding documents of the Cistercian order from the twelfth century. History for Lorichius had a formative function and its primary use was to renew and stabilise the Christian faith and religion, through examples of religious virtues and moments of God's punishment. The Günterstal nuns had models to follow, including the description of Stephan Harding, the third abbot of Cîteaux, who was described as 'an eager lover and a devout follower of spirituality, poverty and monastic discipline.'¹¹ Moreover, this translation formed part of an interconnected body of texts which he sent to Günterstal at the time. In *How to Lead a Good Life as a Nun*, which contained a printed dedication to abbess Maria of Günterstal, he explained how 'this book describes in more detail and more clearly what the rules and statutes mean in and of themselves...so that nothing is missing your pursuit of complete Christian justification.'¹² Lorichius recognised that a set of

⁹ Karlsruhe, GLA, 23/114 (1 October 1540).

¹⁰ Cod. Sang. 1345.

¹¹ Cod. Sang. 1345, fol. 7r: 'der ain eyfriger liebhaber, vnd ernstlicher nachvolger gwesen der gaistlichait, armut, vnd klösterlicher disciplin.'

¹² *Christliche Geistliche Predigen*, sig. vi: 'Ihr habt zwar in der Regul vnd anderen Satzungen ewers Ordens / alles beschrieben was zu ewerem berüff geho^orig / aber nur kurtz vnd in gemein: Derhalben in diesem Buch / eben dasselb etwas außfürlich vnd deutlicher furgeschrieben wirdt / das ihr vnd andere ein fleißigs nach gedencken habt / was die kurze vnd gemeine Gebott der Regel vnnnd ordnung in sich begreifen / vnd also euch vnd anderen an gnugsamer Lehr vnd vnderweysung / zu volkomner Christlicher Gerechtigkeit / nichts manglete.'

rules on their own were not enough to change practice. Rather he sought to explain why they were necessary, important and valuable, a true sign of convent identity.

These three statutes illustrate the changes both in Günterstal and the wider society surrounding it. First, the imposition of control in convents must not be seen solely in terms of a top down model of male control over women. In Andlau it was a woman, Cordula, who sought to impose more order, whilst Lorichius had no formal relationship with the convent, but rather developed a personal connection through his writings. Secondly, the statutes reveal institutions increasingly under pressure, that were facing severe difficulties in trying to (re)impose control. Throughout the period studied in this thesis, the challenge of imposing rules and the desire to create an environment and everyday life that was 'reformed' and cut off from the world could run counter to the expectations and background of the nuns to whom it applied. They did not take this lying down. Attempts to reform certain aspects of the convent, from cells to bathing practices, were in constant tension with the realities on the ground and the lived experiences of the nuns themselves. Thirdly, the convent way of life was increasingly under threat, as the Reformation ushered in a sustained and direct attack on the man-made order of the convent. Much of the reformers' ire focussed on the fact that nuns followed a set routine, and in particular, that the convent was an environment where the nuns' senses were dulled. Lastly, these statutes offered a number of different markers of what it meant to be a nun in this period, from correct dress to the prayers to be said, and sought to create an environment in which the spiritual and everyday lives of the nuns could be harmonised. At the core of all the attempts to reform the lives of the nuns was a desire to create a community cut off from the world. Yet, this thesis has shown how whenever the aim was put into practice, it was met with a cacophony of different voices, from peasants and political rulers, Catholics and evangelicals reformers, and, above all, the nuns themselves. Moreover, the reality was that nuns sometimes developed spiritual exercises outside of the statutes to break down the boundaries to the world and physically travelled there themselves. Nuns were constantly developing different ways of understanding what convent life meant to them.

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1: Gregor Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Basel: 1517), sig. aviii^r, [http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00006242/image_443] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 2: Johann Schuttenheimer, *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1598), sig.): (1^v, [http://reader.digital-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11093002_00012.html] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 3: The Maltererteppich, Freiburg i. Br., Augustinermuseum, Inv.-Nr. 11508, 63.5 x 485 cm, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maltererteppich_complete.jpg] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 4: Votive wing from Günterstal, 1506, Freiburg i. Br., Augustinermuseum, Inv.-Nr. M 39/3, 162 x 157 cm.

Fig. 5: Altarpiece from Günterstal, ca. 1500, Freiburg i. Br., Augustinermuseum, Inv.-Nr. M 63/13, 170 x 178 cm.

Fig. 6: Fig. 8: Eine Nonne schlafend, circle of Bernhard Strigel (1460-1528), ca. 1500, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv.-Nr. Gm 576, 57 x 45 cm, [<http://objektkatalog.gnm.de/objekt/Gm576>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 7: Eine Nonne bei der Betrachtung, circle of Bernhard Strigel (1460-1528), ca. 1500, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv.-Nr. Gm 577, 57 x 44 cm, [<http://objektkatalog.gnm.de/objekt/Gm577>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 8: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Donaueschingen 120, p. 291, [<https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/114741>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 9: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 45, fol. 3^r [<https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/Handschriften/content/pageview/3336645>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 10: Albrecht Dürer, 'The Men's Bath', 1496/7, 39.2 x 28.3 cm, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albrecht_D%C3%BCrer_-_The_Men%E2%80%99s_Bath_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 11: Albrecht Dürer, 'Woman's Bath', c. 1496, 23.1 x 22.6 cm, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Women%27s_Bath_by_Albrecht_D%C3%BCrer#/media/File:Albrecht_Durer,_%22Woman%27s_Bath%22.jpg] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 12: Hans Sebald Beham, 'Drei Frauen in der Badestube', Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 8.2 x 5.8 cm, [<http://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/de/contents/show?id=571108>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 13: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dounce M 690: Thomas Murner, *Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1509), sig. Biv^v.

Fig. 14: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dounce M 690: Thomas Murner, *Ein andechtig geistliche Badenfahrt* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1509), sig. Eiv^v.

Fig. 15: The Raising of Lazarus, ca. 1525, Panel, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, C.292-1928, 71.1 x 68.7 cm, [<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O113289/raising-of-lazarus-the-panel-master-of-st/>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 16: Christ Child with New Year's Wish, Woodcut, Anonymous, German, 15th Century, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 21.1 x 16.8 cm, [<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/375938>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 17: Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Doctor keiserspegrs [!] passion Des Herren Jesu etc.* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1514), fol. 7^r, [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00020110/image_16] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 18: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. K 3356, fol. 92^r, [<https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/3214517>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 19: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 4473, first flyleaf, verso, [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034586/image_4] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 20: Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi redemptoris nostri* (Lyon: 1529), titlepage, [http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10165488_00009.html] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 21: Otto von Passau, *Diß buch ist genant die vierundczweinczig Alten oder der guldin tron* (Augsburg: 1480), sig. av^r, [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00005636/image_13] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 22: Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 524, [<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/1142/524/0/Sequence-740>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 23: Cod. Sang. 1142, p. 13, [<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/1142/13/0/Sequence-740>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 24: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 70, fol. 150^v, [<https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/Handschriften/content/pageview/1208541>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 25: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Günthersthal 10, fol. 1^r.

Fig. 26: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Günthersthal 2, fol. 1^r.

Fig. 27: Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. Lichtenthal 102, fol. 14^v, [<https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/Handschriften/content/pageview/1378416>] (26 June 2017).

Fig. 28: Pamphilus Gengenbach, *Der Bundtschu Diß biechlein sagt von dem bdsen [sic] fürnemen der Bundtschuher, wye es sich angefenzt geendet vnd aus kumen ist* (Augsburg: 1514), fol. 1^r, [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00005383/image_5] (26 June 2017).

Primary Sources

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

- Mgf. 19.

Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek

- Ms. Germ. oct. 28.

Freiburg im Breisgau, Erzbischöfliches Archiv

- UH 511, 512, 516.

Freiburg im Breisgau, Stadtarchiv

- B1 107-9; B1 125-6; 128; 138; 153; 160-3; 183; 186.
- B3 3, I; 4, II; 5, III; 25; 27.
- B5 X 1 Missiven 10, 12, 13.
- C1 Kirchensachen 30 A Adelhausen 3-4.
- C1 Kirchensachen 124 Günterstal 3-4.
- C1 Kirchensachen 137 Tennenbach 6.
- E1 AI a2 1.
- E1 A II a1 14-16; 40.
- E1 BII b1 a1-6.
- E1 BII b9 1-3a.
- E1 BII b13 a 1-2; 12-4; 33.
- E1 BII b15.
- XVI D (Klöster): Günterstaler Zettel.

Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek – Manuscript Sources

- Hs. 10, 19, 37, 200, 201, 202, 253.

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek

- Cod. Pal. germ, 270.
- Cod. Sal. VII 69.

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek – Manuscript Sources

- Cod. Donaueschingen 120, Donaueschinger Liederhandschrift (c. 1485).
- Cod. Günthersthal 1-17.
- Cod. Lichtenthal 42, 45, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 77, 79, 83, 87, 89, 94, 95, 98, 99, 103, 105.
- Cod. St. Georgen 5.
- Cod. St Peter pap. 3, 17, 18, 27, 29, 44, 47.
- Cod. Thennenbach 9.

- Cod. Wonnenthal 10, 14, 15.

Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv

- 23, Günterstal (1217-1800).
- 24, Tennenbach (1195-1804).
- 25, Wonnental (1242-1790).
- 35, Lichtenthal (1245-1803).
- 64/14.
- 65/216, 217, 247.
- 66/3120, 3123, 3205, 3206, 3212, 3211, 3214, 3216.
- 67/639.

Kloster Lichtenthal

- Hs. 86, 117.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

- Cgm. 78.

London, British Library

- Add. Ms. 15710.

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

- Hs. 86409.

St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek

- Cod. Sang. 591, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1156, 1343, 1344, 1345.

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire

- Ms. 297.

Strasbourg, Archives Municipales

- II 39/20.

Wil

- Klosterarchiv St. Katharina, ohne Sign., 'Klosterchronik'.

Würzburg, Stadtarchiv

- Kloster Ebrach Urkunden 1160.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek

- Cod. C 157 (808).

Printed Primary Sources

Freiburg i. Br., Universitätsbibliothek – Printed Sources from Günterstal

- K 2161, r: Jodocus Lorichius, *Von Artickeln Christlichen Glaubens S. Augustini / Deß heiligen Hochgelehrten der Christlichen Kirchen Doctorn / [et]c. Bekanntnuß. Auß seinen büchern / von wort zu wort / mit fleiß vnd trewen gezogen / auch auß dem Latin verteutscht* (Cologne: Cholinus, 1582).
- K 3434, p: *Spiegel des Sünders* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1480).
- K 4202: Christoph Grienewald, *Meditationes, das ist andechtige Betrachtungen zu erkandtnuß menschlicher Condition, eigenschafft und wesens, welchs genennt wirt: das Buch von der Seel* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1557).
- K 4209, d: Jodocus Lorichius, *S. Bernards Des Heiligen Hochgelehrten Abtts zu Clarevall: Christliche Geistliche Predigen / von den furnembsten Christlichen Tugenden. Geschrieben an sein geliebte Schwester. Allen Jungfrawen unnd Wittiben / so in oder ausserhalb der Kloster sein und wonen: Deßgleichen allen und jeden Christen fast nutzlich und notwendig zu lesen* (Cologne: Cholinus, 1581).
- M 3742, d: Johann Schuttenheimer, *S. Otilien Fürstlichen herkommens / heiligen lebens vnd wandels histori. Durch Hieronymum Gebwiler / im Jar 1521 gestellt / vnd zu Straßburg gedruckt. Jetzo von nevwen / mit eim zusatz etlicher wunderzeichen / so auff S. Otilien Berg vnd sonsten besehehen / in truckt verfertigt. Durch den würdigen Herrn Johan Schuttenheimer von Freiburg im Breißgaw / Priester vnd Pfarrer zu Ottenrodt vnnd St. Nabor / in Bistumb Straßburg* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1598).
- N 8836, c: Diego Estella, *Weltlicher eytelkait Verachtung F. Diadaci Stellae, Minoriter Ordens in Hispanien. Erstlich auß Spanischer sprach ins Latein versetzt / an jetzo aber außm Latein mit fleiß verteutscht* (Cologne: Johann Quentel, 1586).
- N 9528, 1/2: Jodocus Lorichius, *Christlicher Laienspiegel. Das ist / Ein Newer außfürlicher Tractat, von allen Weltlichen Ständen / wie dern Leben / Wandel vnnd Handlungen / nach ordnung Gottes natu^rlichen vnnd gemeinen Rechten beschaffen sein sollen* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1593).

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek – Printed Sources from Günterstal

- Dd 195: *Die wahre Nachfolgung Christi* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1486).
- De 11, 2: *Biblia* (Ger.) (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1485).
- Df 270: Johannes Marchesinus, *Mammotrectus super Bibliam* (Strasbourg: Martin Flach, 1487).
- Pc 208: *Das büch Gesta Romanorum / der ro^emer von den geschichten oder geschehen dingen gaistlichen vnd weltlichen* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüningner, 1488).

Stefan Abel (ed.), *Johannes Nider. 'Die vierundzwanzig goldenen Harfen'. Edition und Kommentar*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

Johannes Altenstaig, *Vocabularius theologie complectens vocabulorum descriptiones diffinitiones et significatus ad theologiam utilium: et alia quibus prudens et diligens lector multa abstrusa et obscura theologorum dicta et dissoluere poterit magno cum labore et diligentia compilata* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1517).

Joseph Bader, 'Die Schicksale des ehemaligen Frauenstiftes Günterstal bei Freiburg im Breisgau', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 5 (1880): 119-206.

Josef Bader, 'Bad-Ordnung in dem Glotterthal', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 21 (1868): 248-51.

Carl August Barack (ed.), *Zimmerische Chronik*, 4 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1881-2).

Gerhard Bauer (ed.), *Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg. Sämtliche Werke. Erster Teil: Die deutschen Schriften*, 3 vols, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1989-95).

Josef Hermann Beckmann (ed.), *Statuta Collegii Sapientiae. The Statutes of the Collegium Sapientiae in Freiburg University, Freiburg, Breisgau, 1497. Facsimile Edition* (Lindau; Constance: Thorbecke, 1957).

Berthold, *Zeitglöcklein des Lebens und Leidens Christi* (Nuremberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1493).

Karl Bihlmeyer (ed.), *Heinrich Seuse. Deutsche Schriften* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1907).

Johannes Bolte (ed.), *Johannes Pauli. Schimpf und Ernst*, 2 vols (Berlin: Herbert Stubenrauch, 1924).

Ekkehard Borries, *Schwesternspiegel im 15. Jahrhundert. Gattungskonstitution, Editionen, Untersuchungen* (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2008).

Daniel Bornstein (ed. & tr.), *Life and Death in a Venetian Convent: The Chronicle and Necrology of Corpus Domini, 1395-1436* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

David Brett-Evans, *Bonaventuras Legenda Sancti Francisci in der Übersetzung Sibilla von Bondorf*, Texte des späten Mittelalters (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1960).

Martin Bucer, *Das einigerlei Bild bei den Gotgläubigen, an orten da sie verehrt, nit mögen geduldet werdn, helle anzeyg, auß Göttlicher Schrift, der alten heili. Vätter leer, und beschluß etlicher Concilien Mit außweisung, auß waß falschem grunde, und durch welche die Bilder in die Kirchen erst nach der zeit der heil. vätter Hieronymi, Augustini und anderer, kommen sindt...* (Strasbourg: Johann II Knobloch, 1530).

Joseph M. Canivez & A. Trilhe, eds, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, 8 vols (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933-41).

Wieland Carls (ed.), *Felix Fabri. Die Sionpilger*, Texte des späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 39 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1999).

John Cassian, *The Conferences of John Cassian*, tr. Edgar C. S. Gibson (New York: 1894).

Danièle Choisselet & Placide Vernet, eds, *Les Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciens du XIIème Siècle. Texte Latin selon les Manuscrits édités de Trente 1711, Ljubljana 31 et Dijon 114. Version Française. Annexe Liturgique, Notes, Index et Tables*, La Documentation Cistercienne 22 (Reiningue: Abbaye d'Oelenberg, 1989).

Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, Irene Edmonds, Jean Leclercq, Kilian Walsh & Corneille Halflants, eds and trs, 4 vols (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1971-80).

James M. Clark (tr.), *The Life of the Servant by Henry Suso* (London: James Clark, 1952).

John E. Crean, *The Altenburg Rule of St. Benedict, a 1505 High German Version Adapted for Nuns*, Regulae Benedicti Studia; Supplementa 9 (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag Erzabtei, 1992).

Andrew Cunningham & Sachiko Kusakawa, trs and eds., *Natural Philosophy Epitomised. A Translation of Books 8-11 of Gregor Reisch's Philosophical Pearl (1503)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

Léon Dacheux (ed.), *Die ältesten Schriften Geilers von Kaysersberg. XXI Artikel – Briefe – Todtenbüchlein – Beichtspiegel – Seelenheil – Sendtbrieff – Bilger* (Freiburg i. Br.: Hder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1882).

Sarah Glenn DeMaris (ed.), *Johannes Meyer. Das Amptbuch*, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica 31 (Rome: Angelicum University, Press 2015).

Des Bapsts und der pfaffen badstub (Strasbourg: Jakob Frölich, 1546).

Geoffrey Dipple (ed. & tr.), *The Fifteen Confederates: Johann Eberlin von Günzburg* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick, 2014).

Pierre Doyère (ed.), *Gertrude D' Helfta. Oeuvres Spirituelles*, vol. 3 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968).

Edward J. Furcha (ed.), *The Essential Carlstadt: Fifteen Tracts* (Waterloo, Ont; Scottdale, Pa: Herlad Press, 1995).

Hieronymus Gebwiler, *Beschirmung des lobs vnd eren der hochgelobten hymelischen künigin Marie aller heiligen gottes, auch der wolangesetzten ordnungen der Christlichen kirchen wider die freuenlichen heiligenschmeher* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1523).

Karl Jordan Glatz (ed.), *Villinger Chronik*, Publication des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 35 (Tübingen: 1882).

Moriz Gmelin, 'Das Visitationsprotokollen der Diözese Konstanz von 1571-1586. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Klerus', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 25 (1873): 129-204.

Phyllis Walter Goodhart Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters. The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (New York; London: Columbia University Press, 1974).

Rosalie Green, *Hortus deliciarum*, 2 vols, Studies of the Warburg Institute 36 (London: Warburg Institute, 1979).

Joachim von Grüd, *Christlich anzeygung das im sacrament des altars warlich sey fleisch und blut Christi, wie den schedlichen verführerischen irtumb Ulrich Zwinglins zu Zürich* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johann Wörlin, 1526).

Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *15 Bundsgenossen* (Berlin: Berliner Ausgabe, 2013).

Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, 'Wider die schender der Creaturen gottes, durch Weyhen, oder segnen, des Saltz, Wasser, Palmen, kraut, wachs, fewr, ayer, fladen xc.: nit zûuerachtung der Creatur, allain meldung der gotslesterlichen betruglichn falsch glaubigen yrnsalen', in Ludwig Enders (ed.), *Johann Eberlin von Günzburg. Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 2, Flugschriften aus der Reformationszeit XV (Halle a. S.: Niemeyer, 1900), 1-19.

Helene Harth (ed.), *Poggio Bracciolini: Lettere I: Lettere a Niccolò Niccoli* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1984).

Hugo von Hohenlandberg, *Christenlich underrichtung des Hochwirdigen Fürsten unnd Herren, Herrn Hugo Bischoffen zu Costantz die Bildtnüssen und das Opfer der Mess betreffend Burgermeister und Rhat zu Zürich uff den ersten tag Junij diß Vierundtzweintzigsten Jars übersendt* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johann Wörlin, 1524).

Irmtraud Just (ed.), *Die Vita Luitgarts von Wittichen. Text des Donaueschinger Codex 118*, Deutsche Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1700 31 (Bern etc.: Peter Lang, 2000).

Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Von Gelübden Underrichtung* (Augsburg: Melchior Ramming, 1521).

Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, *Doctor Keiserspegrs [sic] Passion Des Heren Jesu Fürgeben vnd geprediget gar betrachtiglich (particuliert) vnd geteilt in stückes weiß eins süßen Lebkuochen vßzuogeben (per quadragesimam) als durch die gantze fasten allen tag wol ein Predig daruß zuonemen ist* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1514).

Sabine Klapp and Peter Rückert, 'Die Ordnung der Küsterin: Auszug aus den Statuten für das Frauenstift Hohenburg von 1444. Edition und Kommentar', in Stephan Mossman, Nigel F. Palmer and Felix Heinzer, eds, *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*, Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2012), 299-310.

Theodor Kolde, 'Der Nachlaß einer Äbtissin des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Himmelthron zu Groß-Grundlach aus dem Jahre 1504', *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 13 (1908): 35-7.

Josef König (ed.), 'Die Chronik der Anna von Munzingen. Nach der ältesten Abschrift mit Einleitung und Beilagen', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 13 (1880): 129-236.

Matthias Kretz, *Von der Meß und wer der recht priester sey der Meß habe auch zum teyl ob sie ein opffer sey* (Freiburg i. Br.: Johann Wörlin, 1525).

Paulus V. Loë & Benedictus Maria Reichert, eds, *Iohannes Meyer Ord. Praed. Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens. II, II und III Buch*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1909).

Jodocus Lorichius, *Von der Liebe Gottes. Ein uralts Außerlesen Wundernutzlich Büchlin Sowol Weltlichen als Geistlichen nothwendig und nutzlich zu lesen. Mit angehencktem kurtzen Krancken Spiegel* (Freiburg i. Br.: Martin Böckler, 1593).

Jodocus Lorichius, *Geistlichs Sendtschreiben / in der person unsers Herrn IESV CHRISTI. An ain jede fromme Christliche Seel. Erstlich zu latein gestellt Durch den Gottseligen vilgelerten Iustum Landspergium. An jetzo aber den ainfaltigen dürfftigen Seelen zu trost und hail verteutsch...* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1588).

Jodocus Lorichius, *De horis canonicis: seu penso precu, quod ministri dei, et ecclesiae; pro se, et populo accurabunt. Disputatio theologica. Praeside iod. Lorichio theo. Doct. Et ordinario professore in archiducali academia Friburgensi: respondebit f. Ioannes appius, ordin. S. Dominici ibidem supprior, philosophiae M. Et s. Theologiae studiosus. Anno M. D. LXXXIX. Mense maio, die XXII* (Freiburg i. Br.: Stephan Graf, 1579).

Bernard Lucet, *La Codification Cistercienne de 1202 et son Évolution Ulérieure*, Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 2 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1964).

Martin Luther, 'Lectures on Genesis 18', *LW* 3 (1961), 176-238.

- 'Lecture on Genesis 30', *LW* 5 (1967), 322-86.
- 'Lecture on Psalm 31', *LW* 10 (1974), 139-144.
- 'Sermon on the Mount', *LW* 21 (1956), 3-294.
- 'On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church' (1520), *LW* 36 (1959), 3-336.
- 'Personal Prayer Book', *LW* 40 (1958), 3-47.
- 'On the Councils and the Church', *LW* 41 (1966), 15-53.
- 'Meditation on Christ's Passion', *LW* 41 (1966), 5-14.
- 'Against the Roman Papacy an Institution of the Devil', *LW* 41 (1966), 291-359.
- 'How God Rescued an Honourable Nun', *LW* 43 (1968), 83-96.
- 'On Monastic Vows', *LW* 44 (1966), 245-400.
- 'The Estate of Marriage', *LW* 45/II (1965), 18-32.
- 'Sermon Preacher at Weimar 19 October 1522', *LW* 51 (1959), 112-9.
- 'The Gospel for New Year's Day, Luke 2', *LW* 52 (1959), 150-9.

Anne Mouron (ed.), *The Manere of Good Lyvyng. A Middle English Translation of Pseudo-Bernard's Liber de modo bene vivendi ad sororem*, *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts* 30 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

Jakob Otter, *Die Epistel Sancti Pauli an Titum / geprediget vnd außgelegt durch Jacobum Otther / Predicant zů Kentzingen* (Strasbourg: 1524).

Josef Pfanner (ed.), *Briefe von, an und über Caritas Pirckheimer (aus den Jahren 1498-1530)*, *Caritas Pirckheimer-Quellensammlung*, vol. 3 (Landshut: Caritas Pirckheimer Forschung, 1966).

Alois Postina, 'Geschichte der Cistercienserklöster des 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 13 (1901): 225-37.

Damianus Macherentinus, *Jungfrawschafft. Ein Christlichs außlesens büchlin vomnutz, ziert, lob und herrligkeit der jungfrawschafft. Nicht allein den geistlichen verlobten, sonder auch weltlichen unverlobten jungfrawen beiderley geschlechts zusampt andern guthertigen Christen ingemein, sehr lustig unnd nutzlich zulesen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Martin Böckler, 1594).

Hermann-Josef May, *Marquard von Lindau OFM – De reparatione hominis – Einführung und Textedition*, *Regensburger Studien zur Theologie* 5 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 1977).

Hermann Mayer, 'Chronik des Cistercienserinnen-Klosters Wonnenthal von P. Konrad', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 1 (1900): 131-221.

Franz Joseph Mone, 'Almosenordnung zu Günthersthal, um 1470', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 1 (1850): 147-9.

Franz Joseph Mone, 'Jahresgeschichten von Günthersthal', in Franz Joseph Mone (ed.), *Quellensammlung der badischen Landesgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Karlsruhe: 1854), 136-8.

'Necrologium Günterstalense', Franz Ludwig Baumann (ed.), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1888), 296-309.

'Necrologium Tennenbacense', Franz Ludwig Baumann (ed.), in *Monumtena Germaniae Historica: Necrologia Germaniae. Dioeceses Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis*, vol. 1 (Berol: 1888), 338-42.

Ludwig Öler, *Von dem jubel jar genant das gulden jar. diß buechlin sagt gar offenbar von zwifeltigem jubel jar das ein des Herren Jhesu Christ das ander des Bapsts jansarck ist* (Strasbourg, Johann Schwan, 1525).

Arnold Otto, "der slecht weg zuo dem himelrich": *Ein oberrheinisches Erbauungsbuch: Edition und Kommentar*, *Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* 42 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2005).

Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993).

Adolf Poinson, 'Brandschatzung in Breisgau nach dem Bauernkriege von 1525', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 37 (1984): 78-98.

Gregor Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Basel: 1517).

Pius Reiß, 'Die Bücher des *Legatus divinae pietatis* II und III in einer Lichtenthaler Handschrift von 1566', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 125 (2005): 69-217.

Bernhard Rem, *Ain Sendtbrief an ettlich Closterfrawen zu sant katharine vnd zu sant niclas in Augspurg* (Augsburg: Philipp I Ulhart, 1523).

Katharina Rem & Bernhard Rem, *Antwort zwayer Closter frauwen im Katheriner Closter zu Augspurg an Bernhart Remen, Vnd hernach seyn gegen Antwort* (Augsburg: Philipp I Ulhart, 1523).

Johann Reydbach, *Von vermessenheit Closter regeln vnd statuten aller jungfrawen Clöster vnd orden Mit christlicher ermanung derseleb abzusteem, vnd allein dem wort gotts frey anzuhanen* (Strasbourg: haer. Reinhard I Beck, 1523).

Christian Roder (ed.), *Heinrich Vugs Villingen Chronik von 1495 bis 1533*, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 164 (Tübingen: 1883).

Hans Schadek (ed.), *Ulrich Zasius 'Geschichtbuch' der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau. Eine Sammlung exemplarischer Einzelfälle zur städtischen Politik, Rechts- und Verwaltungspraxis im Spätmittelalter*, vol. 1: Text (Freiburg i. Br.: Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau, 2012).

Hans-Jochen Schiewer (ed.), *Die Schwarzwälder Predigten: Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonntags- und Heiligenpredigten: mit einer Musteredition* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996).

Wilhelm Schleußner, 'Magdalena von Freiburg: eine pseudomystische Erscheinung des späteren Mittelalters 1407-1458', in *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholisches Wissen und kirchliches Leben* 87 (1907): 15-32, 109-27, 199-216.

Wieland Schmidt (ed.), *Die Vierundzwanzig Alten Ottos von Passau*, Palaestra 212 (Leipzig: 1938).

Peter Schmieher, 'Die Nonne im Bade', in Hanns Fischer (ed.), *Die deutsche Märendichtung des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchung zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 12 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1966), 93-8.

Heinrich Schreiber (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, 2 vols (Freiburg i. Br.: Herderische Kunst- und Buchhandlung, 1828-66).

Heinrich Schreiber, *Das Münster in Freiburg im Breisgau* (Karlsruhe & Freiburg i. Br.: Herderische Kunst- und Buchhandlung, 1829).

Tom Scott and Robert W. Scribner, eds, *The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International, 1991).

Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *The Crown of Monks. Diadema Monachorum*, intro. & tr. David Barry, Cistercian Studies Series 245 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2013).

Otto Stolz, *Geschichtliche Beschreibung der Ober- und Vorderösterreichischen Lande, Quellen und Forschungen zur Siedlungs- und Volkstumsgeschichte der Oberrheinlande* (Karlsruhe: Südwestdeutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1943).

Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2 (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, D.C.: George University Press, 1990).

Craig R. Thompson (ed. & tr.), *Collected Works of Erasmus. Colloquies* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

Chrysogonus Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, Studia et Documenta 9 (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1999).

Robert G. Warnock (ed.), *Die Predigten Johannes Paulis* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1970).

Robert G. Warnock and Adolar Zumkeller OSA, eds, *Der Traktat Heinrichs von Friemar über die Unterscheidung der Geister. Lateinisch-Mittelhochdeutsche Textausgabe mit Untersuchungen*, Cassiciacum 32 (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1977).

P. Eginow Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters. Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 10 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1965).

Merry Wiesner-Hanks (ed. & tr.), *Convents Confront the Reformation: Catholic & Protestant Nuns in Germany*, Reformation Texts with Translation (1350-1650) 1 (Marquette University Press, 1996).

Ulla Williams and Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Die Dominikaner im Kampf gegen weibliche Irrtümer. Eberhard Mardachs 'Sendbrief von wahrer Andacht' (mit einer Textedition)', in Hans-Joachim Behr, Igor Lisovy & Werner Williams-Krapp, eds, *Deutsch-Böhmische Literaturbeziehungen. Germano-Bohemica. Festschrift für Václav Bok zum 65. Geburtstag*, Studien zur Germanistik 7 (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2004), 428-46.

Ulla Williams and Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Eine Warnung an alle, dy sych etwaz duncken. Der 'Sendbrief vom Betrug teuflischer Erscheinungen' (mit einer Edition)', in Horst Brunner and Werner Williams-Krapp, eds, *Forschungen zur deutschen Literatur des Spätmittelalters. Festschrift für Johannes Janota* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), 167-89.

Werner Williams-Krapp, "'Dise ding sint dennoch nit ware zeichen der heiligkeit.'" Zur Bewertung mystischer Erfahrungen im 15. Jahrhundert', *Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 1 (1990): 61-70.

Ulrich Zasius, *Niwe Statrechten und Statuten der löblichen Statt Fryburg im Prysrgow gelegen* (Basel: Adam Petri, 1520).

Secondary Sources

Gadi Algazi, 'Introduction: Doing Things with Gifts', in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner & Bernhard Jussen, eds, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 9-27.

Stephanie Altmann and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, 'Vom *diener der ewigen wisheit* zum Autor Heinrich Seuse. Autorschaft und Medienwandel in den illustrierten Handschriften und Drucken von Heinrich Seuses 'Exemplar'', in Ursula Peters (ed.), *Text und Kultur. Mittelalterliche Literatur 1150-1450*, Germanische Symposien Berichtsbände XXIII (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001), 150-81.

Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997).

Joachim Angerer, *Die liturgisch-musikalische Erneuerung der Melker Reform. Studien zur Erforschung der Musikpraxis in den Benediktinerklöstern des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikforschung 15; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte 287,5 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974).

Horst Appuhn, *Der Fund vom Nonnenchor* (Wienhausen: Kloster Wienhausen, 1973).

Fritz Arens, 'Die Ursprüngliche Verwendung gotischer Stein- und Tonmodel mit einem Verzeichnis der Model in mittelrheinischen Museen', *Mainzer Zeitschrift. Mittelrheinisches Jahrbuch für Archäologie, Kunst und Geschichte* 66 (1971): 106-31.

John Arnold, 'Catholic Reformations: A Medieval Perspective', in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen & Mary Laven, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 419-34.

Susanne Arnold, 'Badhäuser in Südwestdeutschland', in Rurality & Jan Klápště, eds, *Water Management in Medieval Rural Economy / Les usages de l'eau en milieu rural au Moyen Âge* (Prague: Institute of Archaeology, 2005), 174-82.

Edward Atchley, *A history of the use of incense in divine worship* (London: Longmans, 1909).

Niall Atkinson, 'The Republic of Sound: Listening to Florence at the Threshold of the Renaissance', *I Tatti Studies in the Renaissance* 16/1 (2013): 57-84.

Colleen Baade, 'Music and Misgiving: Attitudes Towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain', in Cordula van Wyhe (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe. An Interdisciplinary View* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 81-95.

Martina Backes and Barbara Fleith, 'Zur Funktion von Heiligenviten in Text und Bild in elsässischen und südwestdeutschen Frauenklöstern des Mittelalters am Beispiel des Odiliakultes', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Marti and Hedwig Röckelein, eds,

Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung 'Krone und Schleier' (Leiden: Brepols, 2007), 165-75.

Martina Backes, 'Literarische Interessenbildung im mittelalterlichen Südwesten am Beispiel der Stadt Freiburg/Br.', in Anne Keck & Theodor Nolte, eds, *Ze Hove an der Stâzen. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters und ihr 'Sitz im Leben'*. Festschrift für Volker Schupp zum 65. Geburtstag (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1999), 1-11.

P. Renee Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan* (New York; London: Routledge, 2002).

Alexandra Bamji, 'The Catholic Life-Cycle', in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 183-201.

Michael Bärmann, "'herz liebi swester vnd getrüwe muom": Ein Brief Susannas von Falkenstein an Dorothea von Kippenheim aus dem Colmarer Dominikanerinnenkloster Unterlinden und sein literarhistorischer Hintergrund', *Schau-ins-Land* 120 (2001): 13-56.

Gerhard Bauer, 'Herzklosterallegorien', in Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *VL²*, vol. 3 (1981), 1153-67.

Gerhard Bauer, *Clastrum Animae. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Metapher vom Herzen als Kloster*, 2 vols (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973).

Christa Baufeld, *Kleines frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch: Lexik aus Dichtung und Fachliteratur des Frühneuhochdeutschen* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996).

Jacob M. Baum, 'From Incense to Idolatry: The Reformation of Olfaction in Late Medieval German Ritual', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44/2 (2013): 323-44.

Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in München & Paul Lehmann, eds, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz. Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 1969).

Eugène Becourt, 'La Réforme à Andlau (1538-1609)', *Revue d'Alsace* 72 (1932): 3-12.

Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim & Preacher. The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Kathryne Beebe, Angela Davis & Kathryn Gleadle, 'Introduction: Space, Place and Gendered Identities: Feminist History and the Spatial Turn', *Women's History Review* 21/4 (2012), 523-32.

Ellen J. Beer, *Beiträge zur oberrheinischen Buchmalerei in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Initialornamentik* (Basle: Birkhäuser, 1959).

Lorenz Benkmann, 'Schenken als historisches Phänomen. Gewandelte Sichtweisen zum mittelalterlichen Schenken im Gang der Forschung', in Hans-Werner Goetz (ed.), *Moderne Mediävistik. Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1999), 206-212.

Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).

Wim Blockmans, 'The Feeling of Being Oneself', in Wim Blockmans & Antheun Janse, eds, *Showing Status. Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 2* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 1-16.

Madeleine Blonde, Jeffrey Hamburger and Catherine Leroy, eds, *Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden* (Paris: Somogy; Colmar: Musée d'Unterlinden, 2001).

Sebastian Bock, Maria Effinger, Lothar A. Böhler & Adelhausenstiftung Freiburg i. Br., eds, *Bestandskataloge der weltlichen Ortsstiftungen der Stadt Freiburg i. Br.*, 3 vols (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1999).

Sebastian Bock, *Der Inventar- und Ausstattungsbestand der säkularisierten Dominikanerinnen-Neuklosters Adelhausen in Freiburg im Breisgau* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. PhD Thesis, 1997).

Sebastian Bock, 'Freiburger Klosterfrauenarbeiten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', in Sebastian Bock (ed.), *"Gold, Perlen und Edel-Gestein..." Reliquienkult und Klosterarbeiten im deutschen Südwesten* (Munich: Hirmer, 1995), 30-40.

Heiner Borggreffe, 'Anatomie, Erotik, Dissimulation. Nackte Körper von Dürer, Baldung Grien und den Kleinmeistern', in Andreas Tacke and Stefan Heinz, eds, *Menschenbilder. Beiträge zur altdeutschen Kunst* (Fulda: Michael Imhof, 2011), 33-55.

Karl-Heinz Braun, *Pugna spiritualis: Anthropologie der katholischen Konfession: Der Freiburger Theologieprofessor Jodocus Lorichius (1540-1612)*, *Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, N.F. 23 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003).

Katherine Brun, *The Abbot and his Peasants: Territorial Formation in Salem from the Later Middle Ages to the Thirty Years War*, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte* 56 (Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2013).

Katherine Brun, 'Ruling Class and Regime in an Ecclesiastical Territory: The Case of Salem' in Thomas Brady and Christopher Ocker, eds, *Politics and Reformations: Communities, Polities, Nations, and Empires: Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions* 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 359-80.

Paul Brazinski & Allegra Fryxell, 'The Smell of Relics: Authenticating Sainly Bones and the Role of Scent in the Sensory Experience of Medieval Christian Veneration', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 23/1 (2013): 1-15.

Astrid Breith, *Textaneignung: das Frauenlegendar der Lichtenthaler Schreibmeisterin Schwester Regula* (Münster; New York: Waxmann, 2010).

Scott G. Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism. The Cluniac Tradition c.900-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Julia Bruch, *Die Zisterze Kaisheim und ihre Tochterklöster. Studien zur Organisation und zum Wirtschaften spätmittelalterlicher Frauenklöster mit einer Edition des Kaisheimer Rechnungsbuches*, Vita Regularis 5 (Berlin: Lit, 2013).

Truus van Bueren, 'Care for the Here and Hereafter: A Multitude of Possibilities', in Truus van Bueren and Andrea van Leerdaam, eds, *Care for the Here and Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 13-34.

Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca; New York: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Helmut Busch, 'Reisen zum Gesundwerden: Badereisen', in Xenja von Ertzdorff & Dieter Neukirch, eds, *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 3.-8. Juni 1991 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen*, Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis 13 (Amsterdam; Atlanta, Ga.: Rodopi, 1992), 487-92.

Horst Buszello, 'Krise, Reform und neuer Aufschwung. Die Stadt Freiburg am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Hans Schadek, ed., *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt. Maximilian I. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg 1498* (Freiburg i. Br.: Kore, 1998), 275-312.

Horst Buszello, Dieter Mertens and Tom Scott, "'Lutherey, Ketzerey, Uffrur.'" Die Stadt zwischen Reformation, Bauernkrieg und katholischer Reform', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1996), 13-68.

Erwin Butz, *Das Jahrbuch des Münsters zu Freiburg im Breisgau (um 1455-1723)* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. PhD Thesis, 1978).

Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Béatrice Caseau, 'The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation', in Richard G. Newhauser (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, Cultural History of the Senses 2 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 89-110.

Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth Century English Cistercian Monasteries*, Medieval Church Studies 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

Megan Cassidy-Welch, 'Incarceration and Liberation: Prisons in the Cistercian Monastery', *Viator* 32 (2001): 23-42.

Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye. Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Constance Classen, David Howes and Anthony Synnott, eds, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994).

John W. Coakley, 'Afterword: Ordinary Life and the Gendered Imagination', in Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin, eds, *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men and Religious Life in Germany, 1100-1500*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 401-12.

Ernst Coester, *Die einschiffigen Cistercienserinnenkirchen West- und Süddeutschlands von 1200 bis 1350*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhheinischen Kirchengeschichte 46 (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für mittelhheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1984).

Clare Copeland and Jan Machielsen, eds, *Angels of Light. Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Alain Corbin, *Village Bells. Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, tr. Martin Thom (London: Papermac, 1999).

Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1986).

Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 'Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe', in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-16.

Sebastian Coxon, 'Keller, Schlafkammer, Badewanne: Innenräume und komische Räumlichkeit bei Heinrich Kaufringen', in Burkhard Hasebrink et al, eds, *Innenräume in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters. XIX. Anglo-German Colloquium* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), 179-96.

Patricia Crawford, 'Women's Dreams in early modern England', in Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper, eds, *Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 91-103.

Cynthia Cyrus, *The Scribes for Women's Convents in Late Medieval Germany* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', *Past & Present* 90 (1981): 40-70.

Henri Defoer, 'Images as Aids for Earning the Indulgences of Rome', in Jeffrey Hamburger & Anne S. Korteweg, eds, *Essays in Honor James H. Marrow. Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance* (London; Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2006), 163-71.

Ulrike Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau. Ihre Einbindung in den Orden und in die städtische Kommunität*, *Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte* 32 (Munich: Karl Alber, 1997).

Roman Deutinger, 'Simonisten rechtfertigen sich. Mittelalterliche Antworten auf den Vorwurf der Simonie', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 120/2 (2009): 145-59.

Geoffrey Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation. Johann Eberlin von Günzburg and the Campaign against the Friars*, *St Andrews Studies in Reformation History* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996).

Madlen Doerr, *Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen in Freiburg in 15. Jahrhundert: Sozialstruktur und Reform* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. PhD Thesis, 2012).

Gerald Dörner, *Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben in Zürich von der Brunschen Revolution (1336) bis zur Reformation (1523)* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996).

Ernst Dreher, *Günterstal. Seine Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Klosterauflösung im Jahre 1806. Die Gemeinde Günterstal zwischen 1806 und 1830* (Lahr: Technische Dokumentation, 2001).

Ernst Dreher, 'Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Günterstal', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 120 (2000): 5-51.

Immo Eberl, 'Stiftisches Leben in Klöstern. Zur Regeltreue im klösterlichen Alltag des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit', in Irene Crusius (ed.), *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 167; *Studien zur Germania Sacra* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 275-315.

Franz Eckstein, 'Lebkuchen', in Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer & Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, eds, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 5 (Berlin; Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1930-1), 986-95.

Manfred Eder, 'Die Zisterzienserinnen', in Friedhelm Jürgensmeier & Regina Elisabeth Schwertdfeger, eds, *Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und katholischer Reform 1500-1700*, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* 65, vol. 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), 99-124.

Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, 'Jerusalem Behind Walls: Enclosure, Substitute Pilgrimage, and Imagined Space in the Poor Clares' Convent at Villingen', *Medieval Journal* 3/2 (2013): 1-38.

Marie Luise Ehrenschwendtner, 'Creating the Sacred Space Within: Enclosure as a Defining Feature in the Convent Life of Medieval Dominican Sisters (13th-15th C.)', *Viator* 41/2 (2010): 301-16.

Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, 'Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60/1 (2009): 49-63.

Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Contubernium: Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte 60 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004).

Nicole Eichenberger, 'Stiftermemoria, franziskanischer Eifer und poetische Erbauung: Bertholds vom Bombach *Leben der seligen Luitgart von Wittichen* und seine Rezeption in der frühen Neuzeit', *Oxford German Studies* 43/4 (2014), 400-419.

Anja Eichler, 'Votivbild des Zisterziensers Sebastian Metzger mit dem Hl. Bernard, seinen Eltern und Brüdern', in Harald Siebenmorgen, Rosemarie Stratmann-Döhler, Brigitte Herrbach-Schmidt & Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, eds, *750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal: Faszination eines Klosters. Ausstellung des Badischen Landesmuseum, 25. Februar bis 21. Mai 1995, Karlsruhe, Schloss* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995), 303-4.

Barbara Eichner, 'Musizieren und Komponieren in süddeutschen Frauen- und Männerklöstern. Bedingungen und Begrenzungen' in Susanne Rode-Breymann (ed.), *Musikort Kloster. Kulturelles Handeln von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Musik – Kultur – Gender 6 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 93-115.

Carlos M. N. Eire, 'The Reformation Critique of the Image', in Robert W. Scribner (ed.), *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbüttler Forschungen 46 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 51-68.

Falk Eisermann, 'The Indulgence as a Media Event: Developments in Communication through Broadsides in the Fifteenth Century', in Robert N. Swanson (ed.), *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 5 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 309-30.

Falk Eisermann, 'Soror Carissima Agnes. Zur Rezeption einer päpstlichen Simonie-Konstitution in spätmittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern. Mit Edition', in Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlotheuber and Volker Honemann, eds, *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter: Ergebnisse eines Arbeitsgesprächs in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 24.-26. Febr. 1999*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 99 (Leiden: Brill 2004), 119-67.

Jutta Eißengarthen, *Mittelalterliche Textilien aus Kloster Adelhausen im Augustinermuseum Freiburg* (Freiburg i. Br.: Adelhausenstiftung Freiburg i. Br., 1985).

Kasper Elm & Peter Feige, 'Reformen und Kongregationsbildungen der Zisterzienser in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit' in Kasper Elm, Peter Joerissen, Hermann Roth & Rheinisches Museumsamt, eds, *Die Zisterzienser: Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Eine Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler: Aachen, Krönungssaal des Rathauses 3. Juli-28. September 1980*, Schriften des rheinischen Museumamts 10 (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1980), 243-54.

John van Engen, 'Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church', *Church History* 77/2 (2008): 257-84.

Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450-1700* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Silvia Evangelisti, 'Rooms to Share: Convent Cells and Social Relations in Early Modern Italy', in Ruth Harris & Lyndal Roper, eds, *The Art of Survival: Gender and History in Europe, 1450-2000. Essays in Honour of Olwen Hufton*, Past & Present Supplement 1 (2006) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 55-71.

Lucien Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century. The Religion of Rabelais*, tr. Beatrice Gottlieb (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Werner Fechter, *Deutsche Handschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts aus der Bibliothek des ehemaligen Augustinerchorfrauenstifts Inzigkofen*, Arbeiten zur Landeskunde Hohenzollern 15 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997).

Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote, 'Heinrich Glarean's World', in Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote, eds, *Heinrich Glarean's Books. The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1-37.

Ronald Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

Barbara Fleith and René Wetzel, eds, *Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter. Studien und Texte*, Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 1 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2009).

Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, tr. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991).

Paul Freedman, *Out of the East. Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008).

Eberhard Fritz, 'Badstubben im Konstitutionsprozess der ländlichen Gemeinde in Südwestdeutschland an der Wende zur Frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 65 (2006): 11-35.

David Garrioch, 'Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns', *Urban History* 30/1 (2003): 5-25.

Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Paul F. Gehl, 'Competens Silentium: Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West', *Viator* 18 (1987): 125-60.

Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, tr. Monika B. Vizedom & Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960).

Jan Gerchow, 'Bruderschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg i. Br.', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 113 (1993): 5-74.

Udo Gerdes, 'Gesta Romanorum', in Kurt Ruh et al, eds, *VL²*, vol. 3 (1981), 25-34.

Gudrun Gleba, 'Reform und Kunst in westfälischen Frauenklöstern im 15. Jahrhundert', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Marti and Hedwig Röckelein, eds, *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung 'Krone und Schleier'* (Leiden: Brepols, 2007), 155-63.

Gudrun Gleba, *Reformpraxis und materielle Kultur. Westfälische Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter*, Historische Studien 462 (Husum: Matthiesen 2000).

Bruce Gordon & Peter Marshall, eds, *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Neil Gregor and Bridget Heal, 'Forum: The Senses', *German History* 32/2 (2014): 256-73.

Sabine Griese, 'Das Andachtsbuch als symbolische Form. Bertholds Zeitglöcklein und verwandte Texte als Laien-Gebetbücher und –Bilder', in Rudolf Suntrup, Jan Veenstra and Anne Bollmann, eds, *The Mediation of Symbol in Late Medieval and Early Modern Times / Medien der Symbolik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Medieval to Early Modern Culture / Kultureller Wandel vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit 5 (Frankfurt a. M.; New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 3-36.

Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin, 'Women and Men in the Medieval Religious Landscape', in Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin, eds, *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men and Religious Life in Germany, 1100-1500*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 1-46.

Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights. Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

Valentin Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts : Presents and Politics at the end of the Middle Ages*, tr. Pamela Selwyn (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

Valentin Groebner and Pamela Selwyn (tr.), 'Losing Face, Saving Face: Noses and Honour in the Late Medieval Town', *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995): 1-15.

Sabine Griese, *Text-Bilder und ihre Kontexte. Medialität und Materialität von Einblatt-, Holz- und Metallschnitten des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 7 (Zurich: Chronos, 2011).

Sabine Griese, '“Regularien”. Wahrnehmungslenkung im sogenannten Leben Jesu der Schwester Regula', in Carla Dauven van Knippenberg, Cornelia Herberich and Christian Kiening, eds, *Medialität des Heils im späten Mittelalter*, Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 10 (Zurich: Chronos, 2009), 297-315.

Peggy Grosse, 'The Nude', in *Daniel Hess and Thomas Eser*, eds, *The Early Dürer* (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums; London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2012): 373-5.

Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Traditions of the Imitatio Christi, 1425-1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

Winfried Hagenmaier, 'Passionspredigten “Geistlicher Lebkuchen”', in Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *VL²*, vol. 7 (1989), 350-2.

Philip Hahn, 'The Reformation of the Soundscape: Bell ringing in early modern Lutheran Germany', *German History* 33/4 (2015): 525-45.

Philip Hahn, 'Sensing Sacred Space: Ulm Minster, the Reformation, and Parishioners' Sensory Perception, c. 1470 to 1640', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 105 (2014): 55-91.

Nicky Hallett, *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600-1800. Early Modern 'Convents of Pleasure'*, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Robert Suckale, 'Between This World and the Next: The Art of Religious Women in the Middle Ages', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds, *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 76-108.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Gebetbuch aus einem mittelrheinischen Zisterzienserinnenkloster' in Jutta Frings & Jan Gerschow, eds, *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), 445-6.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Medieval Self-Fashioning: Authorship, Authority, and Autobiography in Seuse's *Exemplar*', in Kent Emery, Jr. & Joseph Wawrykow, eds, *Christ among the Medieval Dominicans. Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, *Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies VII* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 430-61.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists. The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1997).

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans', *Art Bulletin* 71/1 (1989): 20-46.

Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: the Delineation of Sacred Space', in Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, eds, *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 1-23.

Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, 'Introduction', in Tara Hamling & Catherine Richardson, eds, *Everyday Objects. Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2010), 1-23.

Berndt Hamm, 'Abschied vom Epochendenken in der Reformationsforschung. Ein Plädoyer', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 39/3 (2012): 373-411.

Berndt Hamm, 'Die Medialität der nahen Gnade im späten Mittelalter', in Carla Dauven van Knippenberg, Cornelia Herberich and Christian Kiening, eds, *Medialität des Heils im späten Mittelalter*, Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 10 (Zurich: Chronos, 2009), 21-59.

Berndt Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays*, ed. Robert James Bast (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

Berndt Hamm, "'Gott berühren': Mystische Erfahrung im ausgehenden Mittelalter. Zugleich in Beitrag zur Klärung des Mystiksbegriffs', in Berndt Hamm and Volker Leppin, eds, *Gottes Nähe unmittelbar erfahren: Mystik im Mittelalter und bei Martin Luther*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, neue Reihe 36 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 111-37.

Berndt Hamm, 'Von der spätmittelalterlichen reformatio zur Reformation: Der Prozeß normativer Zentrierung von Religion und Gesellschaft in Deutschland', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 84 (1993): 256-93.

Craig Harline, 'Active and Contemplatives: The Female Religious of the Low Countries before and after Trent', *The Catholic Historical Review* 81/4 (1995): 541-67.

Helmar Härtel, 'Die Klosterbibliothek Ebstorf. Reform und Schulwirklichkeit am Ausgang des Mittelalters', in Martin Kintzinger, Sönke Lorenz and Michael Walter, eds, *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Colmar: Böhlau, 1996), 245-58.

Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation. Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley, Ca.; London: University of California Press, 2006).

Burkhard Hasebrink, 'Tischlesung und Bildungskultur in Nürnberger Katharinenkloster. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Rekonstruktion', in Martin Kintzinger, Sönke Lorenz and Michael Walter, eds,

Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts (Colmar: Böhlau, 1996), 187-216.

Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vols 1 and 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1992-96).

Heiko Haumann, 'Von Ordnungen und Unordnungen. Lebensformen in der Stadt', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1992), 501-23.

Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Felix Heinzer, 'Lichtenthaler Bibliotheksgeschichte als Spiegel der Klostergeschichte', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 136 / N.F. 97 (1988): 35-62.

Felix Heinzer & Gerhard Stamm, *Die Handschriften von Lichtenthal* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1987).

Felix Heinzer, "'Dis liset man, so ein swester hinzuht'". Sondergut in der Sterbeliturgie der elsässischen Dominikanerinnenklöster', *Archives de l'Eglise d'Alsace* 44 (1985): 337-42.

Felix Heinzer, 'Die Inkunabeln der ehemaligen Klosterbibliothek von St. Peter im Schwarzwald in der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 18 (1984): 1-46.

Paul Heitz (ed.), *Neujahrwünsche des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg: Heitz 1900).

Barbara Henze, 'Änderung der Kontsellationen für Klöster bis zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Stadt Freiburg i. Br., Augustinermuseum & Universität Freiburg, eds, *Eine Stadt braucht Klöster* (Lindenberg im Allgäu: Josef Fink, 2006), 22-9.

Barbara Henze, 'Orden und ihre Klöster in der Umbruchszeit der Konfessionalisierung' in Anton Schindling and Walter Zeigler, eds, *Die Territorien des Reiches im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500-1650*, Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 57, vol. 7 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1997), 91-105.

Tamar Herzig, 'Female Mysticism, Heterodoxy, and Reform', in James D. Mixson and Bert Roest, eds, *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 59 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 255-82.

Hardo Hilg, 'Mantel Unser Lieben Frau', in Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *VL²*, vol. 5 (1985), 1221-25.

Kat Hill, *Baptism, Brotherhood, and Belief in Reformation German. Anabaptism and Lutheranism, 1525-1585*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Eugen Hillenbrand, 'Klösterlicher Alltag in oberrheinischen Städten', in Sönke Lorenz & Thomas Zotz, eds, *Spätmittelalter am Oberrhein. Alltag, Handwerk und Handel 1350-1525* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2001), 445-52.

Helen Hills, 'The Veiled Body: Within the Folds of Early Modern Neapolitan Convent Architecture', *Oxford Art Journal* 27/3 (2004): 271-90.

Helen Hills, 'Architecture as Metaphor for the Body: The Case of Female Convents in Early Modern Italy' in Louise Durning & Richard Wrigley, eds, *Gender and Architecture: History, Interpretation, Practice* (Chichester & New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 67-112.

Iso Himmelsbach, *Erfahrung – Mentalität – Management, Hochwasser und Hochwasserschutz an den nicht-schiffbare Flüssen im Ober-Elsass und am Oberrhein (1480-2007)* (Freiburg i. Br. Univ. PhD Thesis, 2012).

Sigrid Hirbodian, "'Töchter der Stadt" oder Fremde? Geistliche Frauen im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg zwischen Einbindung und Absonderung', in Geschichtsverein Markgräflerland e. V. (ed.), *Kloster und Stadt am südlichen Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Das Markgräflerland 2 (Schopfheim: 2011), 52-70.

Josef Hirn, *Erzherzog Ferdinand von Tirol. Geschichte seiner Regierung und seiner Länder*, 2 vols (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1885-8).

Werner J. Hoffmann, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus in High German Literature of the Middle Ages', in Zbigniew Izydorczyk (ed.), *The Medieval Gospels of Nicodemus. Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 159 (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), 287-336.

Georg Hofmann, 'Seuses Werke in deutschsprachigen Handschriften des späten Mittelalters', *Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter* 45 (1969): 113-208.

Rudolf Holbach, 'Die Schmucksteinschleiferei von Freiburg i. Br. und Waldkirch im 16. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungen und Bedingungen eines Luxusgewerbes', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 80/3 (1993): 319-44.

Eugène Honée, 'Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: A Historical Perspective', in Henk van Os (ed.), *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500*, tr. Michael Hoyle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 157-74.

Julie Hotchin, 'The Nun's Crown', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 4 (2009): 187-94.

David Howes (ed.), *Empires of the Senses. The Sensual Culture Reader* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005).

Noreen Hunt, 'Enclosure (II)', *Cistercian Studies* 22 (1987): 126-51.

Frank Irsigler, 'Jahrmärkte und Messen im oberrheinischen Raum vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert', in Konrad Krimm & Rainer Brüning, eds, *Zwischen Habsburg und Burgund. Der Oberrhein als europäische Landschaft im 15. Jahrhundert*, *Oberrhenuische Studien* 21 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2003), 229-54.

Carola Jäggi & Uwe Lobbedey, 'Church and Cloister: The Architecture of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages' in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds, *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 109-31.

Carola Jäggi, "'Sy bettet och gewonlich vor únsere frowen bild...': Überlegungen zur Funktion von Kunstwerken in spätmittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern', in Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *Femmes, Art et Religion au Moyen Âge* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2004), 62-86.

Gerhard Jaritz, 'Von der Objektkritik bis zur Objektzerstörung. Methoden und Handlungsspielräume im Spätmittelalter', in Robert W. Scribner (ed.), *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, *Wolfenbüttler Forschungen* 46 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 37-50.

Gerhard Jaritz, 'Die Reiner Rechnungsbücher (1399-1477) als Quelle zur klösterlichen Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters', in Heinrich Appelt (ed.), *Die Funktion der schriftlichen Quellen in der Sachkulturforschung*, Veröffentlichung des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976), 145-249.

Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Follow Your Nose? Smell, Smelling, and Their Histories', *The American Historical Review* 116/2 (2011): 335-51.

Trevor Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles. The Counter-Reformation in the Upper Palatinate*, *St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

Claire Taylor Jones, 'Rekindling the Light of Faith: Hymn Translation and Spiritual Renewal in the fifteenth-century Observant Reform', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 42/3 (2012): 567-96.

G. Jungbauer, 'Handschuh', in Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer & Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, eds, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 3 (Berlin; Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1930-1), 1405-6.

Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Pius Kaufmann, *Gesellschaft im Bad. Die Entwicklung der Badefahrten und der 'Naturbäder' im Gebiet der Schweiz und im angrenzenden südwestdeutschen Raum (1300-1610)* (Zurich: Chronos, 2009).

Thomas Kaufmann, 'Die Sinn- und Leiblichkeit der Heilsaneignung im späten Mittelalter und in der Reformation', in Johanna Haberer and Berndt Hamm, eds, *Medialität, Unmittelbarkeit, Präsenz: Die Nähe des Heils im Verständnis der Reformation*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 70 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 11-45.

Hildegard Elisabeth Keller, 'Sensory Media: From Sounds to Silence, Sight to Insight', in Richard G. Newhauser (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, Cultural History of the Senses 2 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 195-216.

Peter Kesting, 'Marien Wurzgärtlein', in Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *VL²*, vol. 5 (1985), 1280-1.

Yu-Kyong Kim, *Die Grundherrschaft des Klosters Günterstal bei Freiburg im Breisgau. Eine Studie zur Agrargeschichte des Breisgaus im späten Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 45 (Freiburg i. Br.; Munich: Karl Alber, 2002).

Sabine Klapp, *Das Äbtissenamt in den unterelsässischen Frauenstiften vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Umkämpft, Verhandelt, Normiert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra, N.F. 3 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012).

Sabine Klapp, 'Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit in Straßburger Frauenklöstern des späten Mittelalters', in Stephan Mossmann, Nigel F. Palmer & Felix Heinzer, eds, *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*, Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 213-28.

Sabine Klapp, 'Die "Äbtissinnenrechnungen" des Klosters St. Klara auf dem Werth. Alltag und Festtag einer geistlichen Frauengemeinschaft Straßburgs am Ausgang des Mittelalters', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 159 (2011): 211-48.

Sabine Klapp, 'Frauenstifte in Städten am südlichen Oberrhein. Das Beispiel St. Stephan in Strassburg im späten Mittelalter', in Geschichtsverein Markgräflerland e. V. (ed.), *Kloster und Stadt am südlichen Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Das Markgräflerland 2 (Schopfheim: 2011), 71-89.

Ulrich Knefelkamp, *Das Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau im Mittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 17 (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1981).

Julius Kindler von Knobloch (ed.), *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, 3 vols (Heidelberg: 1898-1919).

Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Linda Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2009).

Désirée Koslin, 'The Robe of Simplicity: Initiation, Robing, and Veiling of Nuns in the Middle Ages', in Stewart Gordon (ed.), *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 255-74.

Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 2000).

Carsten Kottmann, *Das buch der ewangelii und epistel. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und Gebrauchsfunktion südwestdeutscher Perikopenhandschriften*, Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur Frühen Neuzeit (Münster: Waxmann, 2009).

Engelbert Krebs, 'Wonnental im Breisgau 1240-1806. Geschichte eines verschwundenen Cisterzienserinnenstiftes', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 4 (1914): 281-92.

Jessica Kreutz, *Die Buchbestände von Wöltingerode. Ein Zisterzienserinnenkloster im Kontext der spätmittelalterlichen Reformbewegungen*, Wolfenbüttler Mittelalter-Studien 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014).

Albert Krieger, *Topographisches Wörterbuch des Großherzogtums Baden*, 2 vols (Heidelberg, 1903-5).

Britta-Juliane Kruse and Herzog August Bibliothek, eds, *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten: Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013).

Maren Kuhn-Refus, 'Zisterzienserinnen in Deutschland', in Kaspar Elm et al., eds, *Die Zisterzienser. Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland, Rheinisches Museumsamt, Brauweiler* (Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1981), 125-47.

Hiram Kümper, "'Seelenbad' und 'Geistliche Wirtschaft': Noch Einmal zur Allegorie der Badstube in spätmittelalterlichen Andachtsübungen', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 139/1 (2010): 87-99.

Konrad Kunze, 'Alemannische Legendare (I)', *Alemannisches Jahrbuch* 2 (1971): 20-45.

Simone Laqua-O'Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation in Early Modern Münster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Niklaus Largier, 'Der Körper der Schrift. Bild und Text am Beispiel einer Seuse-Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Jan-Dirk Müller & Horst Wenzel, eds, *Mittelalter. Neue Wege durch einen alten Kontinent* (Stuttgart; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1999), 241-71.

Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice. Enclosed Lives and Broken Vows in the Renaissance Convent* (London: Viking, 2002).

Jean Leclercq, 'La clôture. Points de repère historiques', *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 43 (1981): 368-70.

Jean Leclercq, 'Le cloître est-il une prison?', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 47 (1971): 407-20.

Elizabeth A. Lehfelddt, 'The Permeable Cloister' in Allyson M. Poska, Jane Couchman, Katharine A. McIver, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 13-31.

Elizabeth A. Lehfelddt, 'Spatial Discipline and its Limits: Nuns and the Built Environment in Early Modern Spain', in Helen Hills (ed.), *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 131-49.

Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians. Ideal and Reality* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977).

Ulrich L. Lehner, *Monastic Prisons and Torture Chambers: Crime and Punishment in Central European Monasteries, 1600-1800* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books: 2013).

Thomas Lentès, 'Mit Bildgeschenken gegen die Reformation: Das *Geschenkbuch* der Dominikanerinnen von St. Nikolaus in undis aus Straßburg (1576-1592). Mit Editionsbericht', in Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *Femmes, Art et Religion au Moyen Âge* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2004), 19-33.

Thomas Lentès, 'Inneres Auge, äusserer Blick und heilige Schau. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur visuellen Praxis in Frömmigkeit und Moraldidaxe des späten Mittelalters', in Klaus Schreiner (ed.), *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Politisch-Soziale Kontexte, Visuelle Praxis, Körperliche Ausdrucksformen* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2002), 179-220.

Thomas Lentès, 'Vita Perfecta zwischen Vita Communis und Vita Privata. Eine Skizze zur klösterlichen Einzelzelle' in Gert Melville and Peter von Moos, eds, *Das Öffentliche und Private in der Vormoderne*, Norm und Struktur 10 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 125-64.

Thomas Lentès, 'Bild, Reform und cura monialium. Bildverständnis und Bildgebrauch im Buch der Reformacio Predigerordens des Johannes Meyer (†1485)', in Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, ed., *Dominicains et dominicaines en Alsace XIIIe-XXe siècle. Actes du colloque de Guebwiller 8-9 avril 1994* (Colmar: Conseil général du Haut Rhin, 1996), 177-95.

Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany*, Women in Culture and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Amy Leonard, 'Female Religious Order', in Ronne Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Malden, Ma.; Oxford; Melbourne: Blackwell, 2004), 237-54.

Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, For Women, About Women. The Sister Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany*, Studies and Texts 125 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1996).

Erika Lauren Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2009).

Bernd-Wilhelm Linnemeier, 'Stift Quernheim: Untersuchungen zum Alltagsleben eines Frauenkonvents an der Schwelle zur Reformation', *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 144 (1994): 21-88.

Andrea Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten. Politische Partizipation, Obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, Städtische Einheit, Norm und Struktur* 12 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 1999).

Kate Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Kate Lowe, 'Secular Brides and Convent Brides: Wedding Ceremonies in Italy during the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation', in Trevor Dean and Kate Lowe, eds, *Marriage in Italy 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 41-65.

Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen Mangion, 'Introduction: Gender, Catholicism and Women's Spirituality over the Longue Durée', in Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen Mangion, eds, *Gender, Catholicism and Spirituality. Women and the Roman Catholic Church in Britain and Europe, 1200-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-18.

Joseph H. Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260. A Social, Economic and Legal Study* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976).

Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London: Penguin, 2013).

Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women. Periculoso and Its Commentators 1298-1545*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 5 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997).

Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, tr. W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990).

June Mecham, 'Katharina von Hoya's Saint Anne Chapel. Female Piety, Material Culture, and Monastic Space on the Eve of the Reformation', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Marti and Hedwig Röckelein, eds, *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung 'Krone und Schleier'* (Leiden: Brepols, 2007), 177-85.

June Mecham, 'A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen', in Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton, eds, *Defining the Holy. Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2005), 139-160.

Francesca Medioli, 'An Unequal Law: The Enforcement of clausura before and after the Council of Trent', in Christine Meek (ed.), *Women in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 136-52.

Barbara Lawatsch Melton, 'Loss and Gain in a Salzburg Convent: Tridentine Reform, Princely Absolutism, and the nuns of Nonnberg (1620 to 1696)', in Lynne Tatlock (ed.), *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill 2010), 259-80.

Simone Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen um 1500: Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Katharina St. Gallen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

Dieter Mertens, 'Gebwiler (Gebwilerius), Hieronymus', in Franz Josef Worstbrock (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480-1520. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter: 2008), 870-89.

Nine R. Miedema, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Frühen Neuzeit: Die 'Indulgentiae Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae' (deutsch/niederländisch). Edition und Kommentar*, Frühe Neuzeit 72 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2002).

Nine R. Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den 'Indulgentiae Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae'* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2001).

Nine R. Miedema, *Die 'Mirabilia Romae'. Untersuchung zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996).

Wolfgang Milde, 'Deutschsprachige Büchertitel in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen', in Nikolaus Henkel & Nigel F. Palmer, eds, *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter 1100-1500 : Regensburger Colloquium 1988* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 52-61.

Matthew Milner, 'The Senses in Religion: Towards the Reformation of the Senses', in Herman Roodenburg (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, Cultural History of the Senses 3 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 87-105.

Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Farnham; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2011).

Adalbert Mischlewski, 'Monastisches Ideal und Bürgerinteressen. Das Problem der Klausur bei den Memminger Augustinerinnen', *Analecta Augustiana* 53 (1990): 453-66.

Jan-Friedrich Missfelder, 'Perspektiven einer Klanggeschichte der Neuzeit', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft* 38/1 (2012): 21-47.

Jan-Friedrich Missfelder, 'Der ferne Klang. Kann man Alteuropa hören?', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung. Beiheft* 46 (2012): 313-27.

James D. Mixon, *Poverty's Proprietors. Ownership and Mortal Sin at the Origins of the Observant Movement*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 143 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009).

Claudia Mohn, *Mittelalterliche Klosteranlagen der Zisterzienserinnen. Architektur der Frauenklöster im mitteldeutschen Raum*, Berliner Beiträge zur Bauforschung und Denkmalpflege 4 (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2006).

Craig A. Monson (ed.), *The Crannied Wall. Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

Stephan Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany. The Passion, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary*, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Anne Müller, 'Symbolic Meanings of Space in Female Monastic Tradition', in Janet Burton & Karen Stöber, eds, *Women in the Medieval Monastic World*, Medieval Monastic Series (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 299-325.

Wolfgang Müller, 'Die Villingener Frauenklöster des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit', in Helmut Heinrich & Sr. Maria Gisela Sattler, eds, *200 Jahre Kloster St. Ursula Villingen* (Villingen: 1982), 14-31.

Gisela Muschiol, 'Liturgie und Klausur. Zu den liturgischen Voraussetzungen von Nonnenemporen', in Irene Crusius (ed.), *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 167; Studien zur Germania Sacra 24 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 2001), 129-48.

Gisela Muschiol, 'Die Reformation, das Konzil von Trient und die Folgen. Weibliche Orden zwischen Auflösung und Einschließung', in Anne Conrad (ed.), *"In Christo ist weder Man noch Weyb". Frauen in der Zeit der Reformation und der katholischen Reform*, Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 59 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999), 172-98.

Hermann Nehlsen, *Die Freiburger Patrizier-Familie Snewlin. Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte Studien zur Entwicklung des Mittelalterlichen Bürgertums*, Veröffentlichung aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Zimmer, 1967).

Richard G. Newhauser, 'Introduction: The Sensual Middle Ages', in Richard G. Newhauser (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, Cultural History of the Senses 2 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 1-22.

Barbara Newman, 'The Visionary Texts and Visual Worlds of Religious Women' in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds, *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 151-71.

Klaus Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter im Schwarzwald. Erster Teil: Die Papierhandschriften*, Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 10 (Wiesbaden, 1969).

Carl Nordenfalk, 'The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art', *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985): 1-22.

Peter Ochsenbein, 'Latein und Deutsch. Alltag oberrheinischer Dominikanerinnenklöster des Spätmittelalters', in Nikolaus Henkel & Nigel F. Palmer, eds, *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter 1100-1500: Regensburger Colloquium 1988* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 1-18.

Peter Ochsenbein, *Das Große Gebet der Eidgenossen. Überlieferung, Text, Form und Gehalt* (Bern: Francke, 1989).

Otto Oexle, 'Die Gegenwart der Toten', in Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke, eds, *Death in the Middle Ages, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia. Series I, 9* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 19-77.

Hugo Ott, 'Edith Stein (1891-1942) und Freiburg. Ein Beitrag anlässlich der Seligsprechung am 1. Mai 1987', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 107 (1987): 253-74.

Luc Ottmann, *Die Geschichtliche Entstehung und Entwicklung der Pfarrei Ottrott=St. Nabor* (Obernai: Ch. Gyss, 1939).

Nigel F. Palmer, 'Daughters of Salem. The Literary Culture of Cistercian Nuns in South-Western-Germany', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger (ed.), *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zur internationalen Colloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung 'Krone und Schleier'* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 85-97.

Nigel F. Palmer, 'Deutschsprachige Literatur im Zisterzienserorden. Versuch einer Darstellung am Beispiel der ostschwäbischen Zisterziensen- und Zisterzienserinnenliteratur im Umkreis von Kloster Kaisheim im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', in Anton Schwob & Karin Kranich-Hofbauer, eds, *Zisterziensisches Schreiben im Mittelalter – Das Skriptorium der Reiner Mönche: Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung im Zisterzienserstift Rein, Mai 2003* (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005), 231-266.

Nigel F. Palmer, 'Das "Einsiedeln-Zürcher Lektionar". Untersuchungen zur spätmittelalterlichen Bibelübersetzung im südwestdeutschen Raum' in Ralf Palte & Andrea Rapp, eds, *Metamorphosen der Bibel. Beiträge zur Tagung "Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel im deutschsprachigen Mittelalter" vom 4. bis 6. September 2000 in der Bibliothek des bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier*, *Vestigia Bibliae* 24/5 (Bern: Peter Lange, 2004), 123-54.

Nigel F. Palmer and Hans-Jochen Schiewer, 'Literarische Topographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im 14. Jahrhundert', in Helmut Tervooren and Jens Haustein, eds, *Regionale Literaturgeschichtsschreibung: Aufgaben, Analysen und Perspektiven*, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philosophie* 122, Sonderheft (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2003), 178-202.

Nigel F. Palmer, *Zisterzienser und ihre Bücher. Die mittelalterliche Bibliotheksgeschichte von Kloster Eberbach im Rheingau unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der in Oxford und London aufbewahrten Handschriften* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 1998).

Nigel F. Palmer, 'Die Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten' in Konrad Kunze, Johannes Mayer, Kurth Ruh and Bernhard Schnell, eds, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters: Kurt Ruh zum 75. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1989), 210-29.

Nigel F. Palmer, 'Latein, Volkssprache, Mischsprache: Zum Sprachproblem bei Marquard von Lindau, mit einem Handschriftenverzeichnis der 'Dekalogerklärung' und des 'Auszugs der Kinder Israel'' in James Hogg (ed.), *Spätmittelalterliche Geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*, Analecta Cartusiana 106/1, vol. 1 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983), 70-110.

Nigel F. Palmer, "*Visio Tnugdali*", *the German and Dutch translations and their circulation in the later Middle Ages* (Munich: Artemis, 1982).

Richard Palmer, 'In Bad Odour: Smell and its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century', in William F. Bynum and Roy Porter, eds, *Medicine and the Five Senses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 61-68.

Gustav Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham. Ein kritisches Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche, Radirungen und Holzschnitte*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 33 (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1901).

Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923).

Christian Peters, *Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, ca. 1465-1533: franziskanischer Reformator, Humanist und konservativer Reformator* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994).

Jean-Michel Picard, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Twelfth Century Tale of a Journey to the Other World* (Kill Lane, Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1985).

Daniel Pick and Lyndal Roper, eds, *Dreams and History: The Interpretation of Dreams from Ancient Greece to Modern Psychoanalysis* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004).

Janice M. Pinder, 'The Cloister and the Garden: Gendered Images of Religious Life from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in Constant J. Mews (ed.), *Listen, Daughter. The Speculum Virginum and the Formation of Religious Women in the Middle Ages* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 159-79.

Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

Bernhard Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, tr. Francis Courtney (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder; London: Burns & Oates, 1964).

Constance Proksch, *Klosterreform und Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994).

Jill Raitt, 'Saints and Sinners: Roman Catholic and Protestant Spirituality in the Sixteenth Century' in Jill Raitt (ed.), *Christian Spirituality. High Middle Ages and Reformation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 454-63 (pp. 454-6).

Francis Rapp, 'Zwischen Spätmittelalter und Neuzeit. Wallfahrten der ländlichen Bevölkerung im Elsaß', in Klaus Schreiner (ed.), *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter. Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge*, Schriften des historischen Kollegs 20 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), 127-36.

Francis Rapp, 'Zur Spiritualität in elsässischen Frauenklöstern am Ende des Mittelalters', in Peter Dinzelbacher and Dieter R. Bauer, eds, *Frauenmystik im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern: Schwaben, 1985), 347-65.

Margareta Reichenmiller, *Das ehemalige Reichsstift und Zisterzienserinnenkloster Rottenmünster. Studien zur Grundherrschaft, Gerichts- und Landesherrschaft*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg 28 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964).

Maarten van Rhijn, 'Bernard van Reida', *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 35:2 (1946): 81-4.

Hedwig Röckelein, 'Founders, Donors, and Saints: Patrons of Nuns' Convents', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Martin, eds, *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 207-24.

Petra Rohde, 'Die Freiburger Klöster zwischen Reformation und Auflösung', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1994), 418-45.

Herman Roodenburg, 'Introduction: Entering the Sensory Worlds of the Renaissance', in Herman Roodenburg (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, Cultural History of the Senses 3 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 1-17.

Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze. Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

Werner Rösener, Heinz Krieg and Hans-Jürgen Günther, eds, *850 Jahre Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach: Aspekte seiner Geschichte von der Gründung (1161) bis zur Säkularisation (1806)* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2014).

Werner Rösener, 'Spiritualität und Ökonomie im Spannungsfeld der zisterziensischen Lebensform', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 34 (1983): 245-74.

Sophia Rosenfeld, 'On Being Heard: A Case for Paying Attention to the Historical Ear', *The American Historical Review* 116 (2011): 316-34.

Albert Rosenkranz, *Der Bundschuh. Die Erhebungen des südwestdeutschen Bauernstandes in den Jahren 1493-1517*, Schriften des wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsaß-Lothringer im Reich, 2 vols (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1927).

Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

Uwe Ruberg, *Beredtes Schweigen in lehrhafter und erzählender deutscher Literatur des Mittelalters. Mit kommentierter Erstedition spätmittelalterlicher Lehrtexte über das Schweigen* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1978).

Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Ulinka Rublack, 'Female Spirituality and the Infant Jesus in Late Medieval Dominican Convents', *Gender & History* 6/1 (1994): 37-57.

Peter Rückert, 'Die heilige Odilia und ihre Verehrung im späteren Mittelalter', in Stephan Mossman, Nigel F. Palmer and Felix Heinzer, eds, *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*, Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2012), 277-97.

Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, *Disciplina Monastica* 8 (Turnhout, 2011).

Kurt Ruh, *Bonaventura deutsch. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Franziskanermystik und -scholastik*, *Bibliotheca Germanica* 7 (Bern: Francke, 1956).

Philipp F. Rupf, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach im mittelalterlichen Breisgau: Besitzgeschichte und Aussenbeziehungen* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2004).

Heinrich Rüthing, 'Die mittelalterliche Bibliothek des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Wöltingerode', in Clemens Kasper OCist. & Klaus Schreiner, eds, *Zisterziensische Spiritualität: Theologische Grundlagen, funktionale Voraussetzungen und bildhafte Ausprägungen im Mittelalter*, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige. Ergänzungsband, 34 (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1994), 189-216.

Catrien Santing, '“And I bear your beautiful face painted on my chest”. The Longevity of the Heart as the Primal Organ in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance', in Catrien Santing, Barbara Baert and Anita Traninger, eds, *Disembodied Heads in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, *Intersections* 28 (Leiden; Boston: Brill 2013), 271-306.

Hans Schadek, ed., *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt. Maximilian I. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg 1498* (Freiburg i. Br.: Kore, 1998).

Hans Schadek & Jürgen Treffeisen, 'Klöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg. Frühgeschichte, Sozialstruktur, Bürgerpflichten', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1996), 421-67.

- Albert Schelb, 'Evangelium Nicodemi', in Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *VL²*, vol. 2 (1980), 659-63.
- Volker Schier, 'Probing the Mystery of the Use of Saffron in Medieval Nunneries', *Senses and Society* 5/1 (2010): 57-72.
- Armin Schlechter and Gerhard Stamm, *Die kleinen Provenienzen*, Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 13 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000).
- Sr. Maria Pia Schnidele, 'Der heiligen Gertrud von Helfta 'both der göttlichen myltigkeit' in einer Lichtenthaler Handschrift von 1566', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 120 (2000): 53-107.
- Sr. Maria Pia Schindele, 'Das monastische Leben nach der Lehre des Hl. Bernhard von Clairvaux: VIII Das Schweigen', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 99 (1992): 77-92.
- Sr. Maria Pia Schindele, 'Der Beitrag der Lectio Divina zur monastischen Erneuerung. Zum 500. Todestag einer Lichtenthaler Schreib- und Lesemeisterin am 20. Mai 1978', *Cistercienser-Chronik* 85 (1978/1): 13-16.
- Corine Schleif & Volker Schier, *Katerina's Windows: Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, as Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).
- Corine Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990).
- Eva Schlotheuber, 'Intellectual Horizons: Letters from a Northern German Convent', in Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann and Anne Simon, eds, *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 44 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 343-72.
- Eva Schlotheuber, 'Fehden und Festessen – das Leben der Nonnen am Rande der Stadt', in Anne-Marie Hecker & Susanne Röhl, eds, *Monastisches Leben im urbanen Kontext*, Mittelalterliche Studien 24 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2010), 11-23.
- Eva Schlotheuber, 'Best Clothes and Everyday Attire of Late Medieval Nuns', in Rainer C. Schwinges and Regula Schorta, eds, *Fashion and Clothing in Late Medieval Europe / Mode und Kleidung im Europa des späten Mittelalters* (Basel: Schwabe & Riggisberg, 2010), 139-54.
- Eva Schlotheuber, 'Sprachkompetenz und Lateinvermittlung. Die intellektuelle Ausbildung der Nonnen im Spätmittelalter', in Nathalie Kruppa & Jürgen Wilke, *Kloster und Bildung im Mittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 61-87.
- Eva Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung. Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter. Mit einer Edition des 'Konventstagebuchs' einer Zisterzienserin von Heilig-Kreuz bei Braunschweig (1484-1507)*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, neue Reihe 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

Martin A. Schmidt, 'Dionysius der Kartäuser (D. Rickel, D. de Leeuwis u.ä.)', in Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *VL²*, Vol. 2 (1980), 166-78.

Peter Schmidt, 'Kleben statt malen: Handschriftenillustration im Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift Inzigkofen', in Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlotheuber & Volker Honemann, eds, *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter. Ergebnisse eines Arbeitsgesprächs in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 24-26. Febr. 1999*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 99 (London; Boston: Brill, 2004), 243-83.

Peter Schmidt, 'Die Rolle der Bilder in der Kommunikation zwischen Frauen und Männern, Kloster und Welt: Schenken und Tauschen bei den Nürnberger Dominikanerinnen', in Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *Femmes, Art et Religion au Moyen Âge* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2004), 34-61.

Peter Schmidt, *Gedruckte Bilder in handgeschriebenen Büchern. Zum Gebrauch von Druckgraphik im 15. Jahrhundert*, Pictura et Poesis 16 (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2003).

Peter Schmidt, 'The Use of Prints in the German Convents of the Fifteenth Century: The Example of Nuremberg', *Studien in Iconography* 24 (2003): 43-69.

Dietrich Schmidtke, 'Rosengärtlein des Herzens', in Kurt Ruh et al., eds, *VL²*, vol. 8 (1992), 192-3.

Jean-Claude Schmitt (ed.), *Femmes, Art et Religion au Moyen Âge* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2004).

Reinhard Schneider (ed.), *Salem: 850 Jahre Reichsabtei und Schloss* (Constance: Stadler, 1984).

André Schnyder, *Die Ursulabruderschaften des Spätmittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der deutschsprachigen religiösen Literatur des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Sprache und Dichtung 34 (Bern; Stuttgart: Paul Haupt, 1986).

Arnold Schromm, *Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Zisterzienserinnenklosters Kirchheim am Ries. Buchpflege und geistiges Leben in einem schwäbischen Frauenstift*, Studia Augustana, Augsburger Forschungen zur europäischen Kulturgeschichte 9 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998).

Jane Tibbets Schulenberg, 'Strict Active Enclosure and its Effects on the Female Monastic Experience (500-1100)', in John A. Nichols and Lilian Thomas Shank, eds, *Medieval Religious Women. Volume One: Distant Echoes*, Cistercian Studies Series 71 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), 51-86.

Helga Schuller, 'Dos – Praebenda – Peculium', in Herwig Ebner (ed.), *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 453-87.

Fritz Oskar Schuppisser, 'Schauen mit den Augen des Herzens. Zur Methodik der spätmittelalterlichen Passionsmeditation, besonders in der Devotio Moderna und bei den

Augustinern', in Walter Haug & Burghart Wachinger, eds, *Die Passion Christi in Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, Fortuna Vitrea 12 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), 169-210.

Ralf Schurer, Jutta Zander-Seidel & Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, eds, *Erwerbungen zur Kunst des Mittelalters: Ziborium aus Kloster Tennenbach, zwei Nürnberger Bildteppiche* (Berlin: Kulturstiftung der Länder, 2004).

Anne Jacobson Schutte, *By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

Berent Schwineköper, *Der Handschuh im Recht, Ämterwesen, Brauch und Volksglauben* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1981).

Berent Schwineköper, 'Klosteraufhebungen als Folge von Reformation und Bauernkrieg im habsburgischen Vorderösterreich (Zisterzienserinnenkloster Marienau und Augustinerkloster zu Breisach 1525/26)' in Herwig Ebner (ed.), *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 489-504.

Berent Schwineköper, 'Beobachtungen zum Lebensraum südwestdeutscher Städte im Mittelalter, insbesondere zum engeren und weiteren Einzugsbereich der Freiburger Jahrmärkte in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', in Erich Maschke and Jürgen Sydow, eds, *Stadt und Umland. Protokoll der X. Arbeitstag des Arbeitskreises für südwestdeutsche Stadtgeschichtsforschung, Calw 12.-14. November 1971*, Veröffentlichung der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, 82. Band (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974), 29-53.

Tom Scott, 'Why was there no Reformation in Freiburg im Breisgau?', in Tom Scott, ed., *The Early Reformation in Germany. Between Secular Impact and Radical Vision* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 143-81.

Tom Scott, 'Die Rolle der Freiburger Klöster in der Wirtschaftskrise der Stadt im 15. Jahrhundert', in Heinz Krieg & Johannes Waldschütz, eds, *Klöster und Stadt am südlichen Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Das Markgräflerland 2 (Schopfheim: 2011), 203-23.

Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau: Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

Robert W. Scribner, 'Perceptions of the Sacred in Germany at the End of the Middle Ages', in Robert W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 81 (Leiden; Boston; Cologne: Brill, 2001), 85-103.

Robert W. Scribner, 'Das Visuelle in der Volksfrömmigkeit', in Robert W. Scribner (ed.), *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbüttler Forschungen 46 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 9-20.

Robert W. Scribner, 'Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-Industrial Germany', in Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon, 1987), 1-16.

Eduard Seidler, "'Die Lüt zu artzeneyen". Gesundheitswesen in Freiburg', in Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek, eds, *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau. Vom Bauernkrieg bis zum Ende der Habsburgischen Herrschaft*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1994), 333-53.

Harald Siebenmorgen, Rosemarie Stratmann-Döhler, Brigitte Herrbach-Schmidt & Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, eds, *750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal: Faszination eines Klosters. Ausstellung des Badischen Landesmuseum, 25. Februar bis 21. Mai 1995, Karlsruhe, Schloss* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995).

Gabriele Signori, "'Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft". Freundschaftsideal und Freundschaftspraxis in der mittelalterlichen Briefliteratur', in Michael Grünbart and Margaret Mullett, eds, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums Münster, 19.-20. November 2009*, Byzantinistische Studien und Texte 1 (Berlin: Lit, 2011), 187-208.

Gabriele Signori, 'Wanderers Between Worlds: Visitors, Letters, Wills, and Gifts as Means of Communication in Exchanges Between Cloister and the World', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds, *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2008), 259-73.

Gabriela Signori, 'Ritual und Ereignis: Die Straßburger Bittgänge zur Zeit der Burgunderkriege (1474-77)', *Historische Zeitschrift* 264/2 (1997): 281-328.

Franz Simmler, 'Zur deutschsprachigen handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Regula Benedicti', *Regulae Benedicti Studia. Annuario Internationale* 16 (1987): 137-204.

Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Dürer* (London; New York: Phaidon, 2012).

Mark M. Smith, 'Producing Sense, Consuming Sense, Making Sense: Perils and Prospects for Sensory History', *Journal of Social History* 40/4 (2007): 841-58.

Heribert Smolinsky, 'Frömmigkeit und Leben. Ausgewählte Beispiele zur religiösen Literatur, ihren Trärgeschichten und Inhalten im Frühneuzeitlichen Christentum am Oberrhein', in Hermann Schäfer (ed.), *Geschichte in Verantwortung. Festschrift für Hugo Ott zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1996), 53-72.

Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: the Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous is his Saints. Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture 17 (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1993).

Dieter Speck, 'Tennenbach als landsässiges Kloster zwischen Krisen und Konfession (1368-1632)', in Werner Rösener, Heinz Krieg and Hans-Jürgen Günther, eds, *850 Jahre Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach: Aspekte seiner Geschichte von der Gründung (1161) bis zur Säkularisation (1806)* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2014), 223-44.

Christian Stadelmaier, *Zwischen Gebet und Pflug: das Grangienwesen des Zisterzienserklosters Tennenbach* (Freiburg i. Br.: Karl Alber, 2014).

Städtische Museen Freiburg i. Br., eds, *Kunstepochen der Stadt Freiburg. Augustinermuseum Freiburg. Ausstellung zur 850-Jahrfeier* (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach & Co., 1970).

Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed', in Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan and Nancy J. Vickers, eds, *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 123-42.

Felicitas Stampfer, 'Das Zisterzienserinnenkloster Günterstal im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Eine Sozialgeschichtliche Analyse', (Magisterarbeit Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Br., 2004).

Renate Stegmaier-Breinlinger, "'Die hailigen Stett Rom und Jerusalem". Reste einer Ablaßsammlung im Bickenkloster in Villingen', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 91 (1971): 176-201.

Barbara Steinke, *Paradiesgarten oder Gefängnis?: Das Nürnberger Katharinenkloster zwischen Klosterreform und Reformation*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation, neue Reihe 30 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

Ulrich Steinmann, 'Die Bundschuh-Fahnen des Joss Fritz', *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* 6 (1960): 243-84.

Hugo Stopp (ed.), *Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin* (Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1980).

Ulrike Strasser, 'Clara Hortulana of Embach or How to Suffer Martyrdom in the Cloister', in Cordula van Whye (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 39-57.

Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic state* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

Uta Störmer-Casya, *Gewissen und Buch. Über den Weg eines Begriffes in die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 14 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1998).

Birgit Studt, 'Die Badenfahrt. Ein neues Muster der Badepraxis und Badegeselligkeit im deutschen Mittelalter', in Michael Matheus (ed.), *Badeorte und Bäderreisen in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Mainzer Vorträge 5 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 33-52.

Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Medieval Religion* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975).

Karin Tebbe, 'Bisamapfel', in Germanisches Nationalmuseum (ed.), *Spiegel der Seligkeit. Privates Bild und Frömmigkeit im Spätmittelalter* (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2000), 286-7.

Götz-Rüdiger Tewes, *Die Bursen der Kölner Artisten-Fakultät bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Studien der Geschichte der Universität zu Köln 13 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993).

Johanni Thali, 'Strategien der Heilsvermittlung in der spätmittelalterlichen Gebetskultur', in Carla Dauven van Knippenberg, Cornelia Herberich and Christian Kiening, eds, *Medialität des Heils im späten Mittelalter*, Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 10 (Zurich: Chronos, 2009), 241-78.

Johanna Thali, *Beten – Schreiben – Lesen. Literarisches Leben und Marienspiritualität im Kloster Engelthal*, Bibliotheca Germanica 42 (Tübingen: Francke, 2003).

Sigrid Thurm, *Deutscher Glockenatlas*, vol. 4: Baden (Munich; Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1995).

Elizabeth C. Tingle, *Indulgences after Luther: Pardons in Counter-Reformation France, 1520-1720* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015).

David Totah, 'The Undivided Heart: Another Look at Enclosure', *Cistercian Studies* 33/4 (1998): 345-68.

Jürgen Treffeisen, *Die Breisgaukleinstädte Neuenburg, Kenzingen und Endingen in ihren Beziehungen zu Klöstern, Orden und Kirchlichen Institutionen während des Mittelalters*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 36 (Freiburg; Munich: Karl Alber, 1991).

Hermann Tüchle, *Kirchengeschichte Schwabens. Die Kirche Gottes im Lebensraum des Schwäbisch-Alamannischen Stammes*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag, 1950-4).

Heike Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten, Monastische Reformen des späten Mittelalters in den Vorstellungen von Klosterfrauen*, Religion in der Geschichte, Kirche, Kultur und Gesellschaft 14 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008).

Heike Uffmann, 'Innen und Außen: Raum und Klausur in reformierten Nonnenklöstern des späten Mittelalters', in Gabriela Signori (ed.), *Lesen, Schreiben, Sticken und Erinnern: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), 185-212.

Matthias Untermann, 'The Place of the Choir in Churches of Female Convents in the Medieval German Kingdom', in Janet Burton & Karen Stöber, eds, *Women in the Medieval Monastic World*, Medieval Monastic Series (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 327-53.

András Vizkelety, 'Eine deutsche Benediktinerregel für ein Zisterzienserinnenstift in Mähren', in Anton Schwob & Karin Kranich-Hofbauer, eds, *Zisterziensisches Schreiben im Mittelalter – Das Skriptorium der Reiner Mönche. Beiträge der internationalen Tagung im Zisterzienserstift Rein, Mai 2003*, Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik A 71 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 293-304.

Katharina Vogler, 'Das Dominikanerinnen-Kloster St. Katharina in St. Gallen zur Zeit der Reformation', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte / Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique suisse* 28 (1934): 1-20.

Caroline Walker-Bynum, "'Crowned with Many Crowns": Nuns and Their Statues in Late-Medieval Wienhausen', *The Catholic Historical Review* 101/1 (2015): 18-40.

Caroline Walker-Bynum, 'The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages', in Caroline Walker-Bynum (ed.), *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 181-238.

Caroline Walker-Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols & Violent Hands. Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Dirk Wassermann, *Dionysius der Karthäuser: Einführung in Werk und Gedankenwelt*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 133 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1996).

Edmund Wareham, "'Wann du fromm lebst / so wirst du nimmer trawrig": Professor Jodocus Lorichius and the Cistercian Nuns of Günterstal', *Oxford German Studies* 43/4 (2014): 362-79.

Lena Weber, '342 a-b: Aus dem Tagesablauf in einem Nonnenkloster: Nonne bei der Betrachtung und schlafende Nonne in ihrer Zelle', in Jutta Frings & Jan Gerschow, eds, *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern* (Munich: Hirmer, 2005), 436-7.

Ursula Weekes, *Early Engravers and their Public. The Master of the Berlin Passion and Manuscripts from Convents in the Rhine-Maas Region, ca. 1450-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

Brigitte Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum. Untersuchungen zu Konzeption und Überlieferung*, *Fortuna Vitrea* 3, 2 vols (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1992).

Wilfried Werner, *Die mittelalterlichen nichtliturgischen Handschriften des Zisterzienserklosters Salem*, *Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg* 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000).

Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints : The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

Cordula van Whye (ed.), *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

Merry E. Wiesner, 'Ideology meets the Empire: Reformed Convents and the Reformation' in Andrew C. Fix and Susan Karant-Nunn, eds, *Germania Illustrata. Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 181-95.

Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Die Süddeutschen Übersetzungen der 'Imitatio Christi'. Zur Rezeption der Devotio moderna im oberlant', in Ulriek Bodemann & Nikolaus Staubach, eds, *Aus dem Winkel in die Welt. Die Bücher des Thomas von Kempen und ihre Schicksale, Tradition – Reform – Innovation 11* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 65-79.

Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Wir lesent daz vil in sölichen sachen swerlich betrogen werdent'. Zur monastischen Rezeption von mystischer Literatur im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert', in Eva Schlotheuber, Helmut Flachenecker and Ingrid Gardill, eds, *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen: religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Süddeutschland: Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Tagung vom 21. bis 23. September 2005 in Frauenchiemsee* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 263-78.

Werner Williams-Krapp, 'The Erosion of a Monopoly: German Religious Literature in the Fifteenth Century', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Duncan Roberston and Nancy Bradley Warren, eds, *The Vernacular Spirit: Essays on Medieval Religious Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 239-59.

Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Ordensreform und Literatur im 15. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 4 (1986/7): 41-51.

Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte*, Texte und Textgeschichte 20 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986).

Ulla Williams & Werner Williams-Krapp, eds, *Die "Elsässische Legenda Aurea"*, Texte und Textgeschichte 3, 10 & 21, 3 vols (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1980-90).

Antje Willing, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters St. Katharina zu Nürnberg. Synoptische Darstellung der Bücherverzeichnisse*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012).

Antje Willing, *Literatur und Ordensreform im 15. Jahrhundert. Deutsche Abendmahlsschriften im Nürnberger Katharinenkloster*, Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit 4 (Münster; New York: Waxmann, 2004).

Andreas Wilts, 'Alltag und Sachkultur in spätmittelalterlichen Frauenzisterzen', in Harald Siebenmorgen, Rosemarie Stratmann-Döhler, Brigitte Herrbach-Schmidt and Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, eds, *750 Jahre Zisterzienserinnen-Abtei Lichtenthal: Faszination eines Klosters. Ausstellung des Badischen Landesmuseum, 25. Februar bis 21. Mai 1995, Karlsruhe, Schloss* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995), 49-62.

Anne Winston-Allen, ‘Nonnenmalerei’: Iconography in Convent Women’s Art of the Upper Rhine Region’, in Barbara Fleith and René Wetzels, eds, *Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter, Studien und Texte*, Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 1 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 141-56.

Anne Winston-Allen, ‘“Es [ist] nit wol zu gelobind, daz ain frowen bild so wol kan arbeiten”. Artistic Production and Exchange in Women’s Convents of the Observant Reform’, in Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Carola Jäggi, Susan Marti and Hedwig Röckelein, eds, *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium vom 13. bis 16. Mai 2005 anlässlich der Ausstellung ‘Krone und Schleier’* (Leiden: Brepols, 2007), 187-95.

Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing About Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

Charlotte Woodford, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany*, Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Gabriella Zarri, ‘From Prophecy to Discipline, 1450-1650’, in Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri, eds, *Women and Faith. Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 83-112.

Petra Zimmer, *Die Funktion und Ausstattung des Altares auf der Nonnenempore. Beispiele zum Bildgebrauch in Frauenklöstern aus dem 13. Jahrhundert* (PhD Thesis, University of Cologne, 1990).