

ARTICLE

# Negotiating Liturgical Obligations in Late Medieval Dominican Convents

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## Abstract

Liturgy has often served as a source for studying the identities of medieval religious communities through examining local saints and special chants or ceremonies. This article deepens such approaches by considering the practice of liturgical coordination, which required each convent to reconcile the obligations imposed upon it by the order to which it belonged, the diocese in which it lay, and the personal networks of its sisters. The shifting dates of the Easter cycle created a wide variety of possible calendrical conflicts and necessitated that each convent's liturgical practice be organized anew every year. Focusing on German-language liturgical manuals from Observant Dominican convents, this article introduces these sources and examines the various obligations, authorities, and sources of advice that Dominican sisters coordinated when planning each year's liturgy. It then turns to the concrete example of a major calendrical conflict on May 1, 1519, which illustrates how convents negotiated their networked obligations and defended their decisions. Supplementing traditional sources such as chronicles and charters, liturgical administrative documents reveal how each convent's liturgical identity was both iterative and networked and how the tensions between these features opened up spaces for assertive decision-making.

**Keywords:** liturgy; Dominican order; Observant Reform; religious women

## 1. Religious Identity and Regional Identity

In her introduction to *Jesus in Our Wombs*, Rebecca Lester describes how reading scholarship on medieval women's piety shaped her expectations for her anthropological field work in a Mexican convent. Coming from a psychiatric background in eating disorders, Lester was fascinated by Caroline Walker Bynum's magisterial scholarship on medieval women's embodied piety and especially their manipulation of food practices.<sup>1</sup> With a research question inspired by medievalist scholarship, she writes, "I arrived in Puebla expecting to find frail, depleted nuns who wished to escape their bodies, disciplined

<sup>1</sup>See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); and Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone, 1991).

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women who saw their materiality as an impediment to saintliness. I didn't."<sup>2</sup> Instead, she discovered a profound nationalism among women who articulated their pursuit of religious femininity as "a mission for the restoration of the Mexican nation."<sup>3</sup> For the Mexican sisters studied by Lester, even the seemingly banal practices of daily life become spheres where they reconcile religious life and order with regional or national identity, both of which are inflected by gender in different ways.

The kinds of sociocultural ties and regional connections that still inform the identities of Catholic sisters have been affecting religious women for centuries. Indeed, as medievalist scholarship has expanded beyond ecclesiastical history and scholastic theology by examining charters, account books, everyday objects, and architecture, the past four decades have significantly advanced our understanding of the ways in which material and visual culture, economic conditions, and local secular politics influenced the lives and activities of medieval religious women.<sup>4</sup> Attention to local factors is all the more important for communities in German-speaking Europe since the German-speaking regions of the Middle Ages did not have any concept of nation or national identity in the way we do today.<sup>5</sup> This fact highlights the importance of micro-regional contexts and the ways in which local connections interacted with broader networks.<sup>6</sup> One of the current frontiers of this research is liturgy, an inherently interdisciplinary object of study that rewards hyperlocalized approaches—for example, through history of the senses with its attention to specificity and performance context.<sup>7</sup> Yet beyond the history of piety and spiritual experience, liturgical sources also provide insight into the less lofty aspects of communal religious life, including the relationships religious women had with people outside their walls,<sup>8</sup> the political struggles within

<sup>2</sup>Rebecca J. Lester, *Jesus in Our Wombs: Embodying Modernity in a Mexican Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 25.

<sup>3</sup>Lester, *Jesus in Our Wombs*, 25 and 255–259.

<sup>4</sup>See the diverse contributions to Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). For the rising interest in the medieval laity and religious women, see Barbara Newman, "New Seeds, New Harvests: Thirty Years of Tilling the Mystic Field," *Traditio* 72 (2017): 9–20; and Christine Caldwell Ames, "Medieval Religious, Religions, Religion," *History Compass* 10, no. 4 (2012): 334–352.

<sup>5</sup>Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Helmut Walser Smith, *Germany, a Nation in Its Time: Before, During, and After Nationalism, 1500–2000* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2020); Todd Kontje, *Imperial Fictions: German Literature Before and Beyond the Nation-State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018); Graham A. Loud and Martial Staub, eds., *The Making of Medieval History* (Woodbridge: York Medieval, 2017); and Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245–1414* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>6</sup>Sigrid Hirbodian, "Research on Monasticism in the German Tradition," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 2:1140–1153.

<sup>7</sup>For examples, see Éric Palazzo, "Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 41, no. 1 (2010): 25–56; Palazzo, "Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, 2nd ed. (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019), 759–776; Jacqueline E. Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Jacob Baum, *Reformation of the Senses: The Paradox of Religious Belief and Practice in Germany* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019).

<sup>8</sup>For example, in Essen, the canons processed together with the townspeople while the women of the *Frauenstift* remained within the cloister. Jürgen Bärsch, "Stiftsliturgie und städtische Religiosität im Mittelalter: Beziehungen und Abgrenzungen im Zeugnis des Liber ordinarius," in *Herrschaft, Liturgie*

communities,<sup>9</sup> and the local impact of major historical events such as the Protestant Reformation.<sup>10</sup> In late medieval Europe, each city had its own cultural profile and religious traditions, which affected the everyday life of communities differently according to religious order, the sex of its members, and the degree of enclosure. Medieval women who changed communities (as reformers, for example) needed to adjust to new political and cultural circumstances. Liturgical manuals reveal some of the ways in which religious women navigated internal and external pressures in order to keep their communities running on a daily basis.

The profound reach of these various pressures meant that they affected each community's liturgy even at the most basic level of yearly planning. Determining the appropriate date on which to perform a liturgical celebration was a complex affair. Beyond the recurring controversies over the date of Easter,<sup>11</sup> different kinds of feasts were scheduled in different ways such that they could end up falling on the same day. Today, dioceses publish guidelines every year to reconcile the Church's universal calendar with local observances and special saints. In the late Middle Ages, bishops were beginning to use the new medium of print to exercise greater control over liturgical practice within their territory,<sup>12</sup> but this proved only one of the many pressures felt by those responsible for planning in religious communities. The ways in which different communities resolved overlapping feasts and conflicting obligations provide particularly fruitful insight into the degree of self-determination religious women enjoyed and how they negotiated the social and political networks in which they were embedded. Even an activity this mundane provided an opportunity to assert or reject various influences in the construction of a community's liturgical identity.

## II. The May 1519 Conflict and Its Context

In 1519, a series of overlapping feasts following Easter seemed problematic enough that the Dominican convent of St. Mary Magdalene (known as the *Reuerinnenkloster*, hereafter the Penitents) in Freiburg im Breisgau recorded their decision and a justification.<sup>13</sup> Easter was celebrated on April 24, so the Easter octave with its special observances fell

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*und Raum: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte des Frauenstifts Essen*, ed. Katrinette Bodarwé and Thomas Schilp (Essen: Klartext, 2002), 132–145. For women's processions outside the German context, see Alison Altstatt, "The Rogationtide Processions of Wilton Abbey," *Yale Journal of Music and Religion* 2, no. 2 (2016): 11–48; and Charles Caspers, "On the Road: The Processions of the Canonesses of Nivelles and their Attitude towards the Outside World (c. 1350)," in *The Liber Ordinarius of Nivelles: Liturgy as Interdisciplinary Intersection*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Eva Schlotheuber (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 255–276.

<sup>9</sup>The *liber ordinarius* for St. Gertrude in Nivelles emerged from a power struggle between the abbess, the abbey's chapter, and the canons. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Eva Schlotheuber, "Introduction," in *The Liber Ordinarius of Nivelles: Liturgy as Interdisciplinary Intersection* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 1–8, at 4.

<sup>10</sup>Andreas Odenthal, *Evangelische Stundenliturgie in Württemberg: Zum Chordienst der Klöster und Klosterschulen nach Einführung der Reformation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

<sup>11</sup>C. Philipp E. Nothaft, *Scandalous Error: Calendar Reform and Calendrical Astronomy in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>12</sup>Natalia Nowakowska, "From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century," *Past & Present* 213 (2011): 3–39.

<sup>13</sup>The term "feast" does not refer to a meal but rather the day of a religious celebration, often of a saint; for example, February 14 is the feast of Saint Valentine. A "translation" is the feast commemorating the relocation or reburial of a saint's body. The "octave" was a secondary feast celebrated one week after a major feast in order to prolong its commemoration. It took place on the eighth day, hence the term octave.

on Sunday, May 1. However, May 1 was also the date for the feast of the Apostles Philip and James. Both the Easter octave and the Apostles could not be celebrated on the same day, so one of them would have to be postponed. To make matters worse, in the previous year (1518) the Dominican order had confirmed the yearly celebration for the relatively new feast of Saint Catherine of Siena: it should be the first Sunday in May.<sup>14</sup> Dominican communities struggling to reschedule not one but two high-ranking feasts contended with a cascade effect of conflicting feasts and octaves with no obvious resolution. Moreover, their decisions had repercussions for their ability to cooperate with the liturgical celebrations happening both in nearby religious communities and in secular parishes.

Within the Holy Roman Empire, this Easter calendrical clash was far from the most pressing event of 1519. Emperor Maximilian I had died in January, and the enormously powerful Augsburg banker Jakob Fugger was financing the election of Charles V.<sup>15</sup> In Leipzig, Martin Luther engaged in a debate that would influence the future development of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>16</sup> Many Dominican convents in German-speaking lands would soon be facing dispossession, destruction, and dispersion at the hands of Protestant city authorities.<sup>17</sup> Freiburg im Breisgau would remain a haven of Catholic practice in the southwest, but sympathy for Luther's ideas was not wholly absent.<sup>18</sup> The religious landscape in Germany was beginning to shift, but 1519 was squarely in a period of overlap between the Protestant Reformation and a reform movement that had blossomed in the previous century: the Observance.

The Observance was a reform movement that participated in the broad reforming impulses of the later Middle Ages and affected almost all of the religious orders.<sup>19</sup> Although their rhetoric preached a return to origins, the Observant Dominican reformers developed innovative administrative structures that existed in parallel to the order's primary hierarchy.<sup>20</sup> The Observant network absorbed a convent by sending

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Octave can also refer to the duration of the intervening week in phrases such as "during" or "within the octave."

<sup>14</sup>Benedict Maria Reichert, ed., *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome: In domo generalitatis, 1901), 4:171.

<sup>15</sup>Götz Pölnitz, *Jakob Fugger* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1949), 431–434.

<sup>16</sup>Mickey Mattox, Richard J. Serina Jr., and Jonathan Mumme, eds., *Luther at Leipzig: Martin Luther, the Leipzig Debate, and the Sixteenth-Century Reformations* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 5. Reformation scholarship increasingly emphasizes continuities with the late medieval period. See Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther: A Late Medieval Life* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017); and Christine Helmer, ed., *The Medieval Luther* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

<sup>17</sup>For the fate of Dominican convents in the Reformation, see Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); and Barbara Steinke, *Paradiesgarten oder Gefängnis? Das Nürnberger Katharinenkloster zwischen Klosterreform und Reformation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006). For the friaries, see Klaus-Bernward Springer, *Die deutschen Dominikaner in Widerstand und Anpassung während der Reformationszeit* (Berlin: Akademie, 1999).

<sup>18</sup>Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau: Town-Country Relations in the Age of Reformation and Peasants' War* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 194–198.

<sup>19</sup>Kaspar Elm, ed., *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen* (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1989); and James D. Mixson and Bert Roest, eds., *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

<sup>20</sup>Anne Huijbers, "'Observance' as Paradigm in Mendicant and Monastic Order Chronicles," in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. James D. Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 111–143, here 114–115; Claudia Engler, *Regelbuch und Observanz: Der Codex A 53 der Burgerbibliothek Bern als Reformprogramm des Johannes Meyer für die Berner*

experienced reformers from an Observant house to the new member community in order to introduce Observant practice there. For Dominican sisters, many of whom actively engaged in and even agitated for the Observance, this procedure created a paradoxically high degree of mobility for strictly enclosed religious women as well as a network of personal connections between Observant convents.<sup>21</sup> Whereas for friars religious poverty was the flash point of Observant reform, for women stricter enclosure proved both a strong motivation and a point of contention.<sup>22</sup> Beyond making contact with family members difficult or impossible, strict enclosure could also lead to a significant loss in a convent's financial autonomy, and, in fact, economic motivations could drive lay powers in their support of a reform.<sup>23</sup>

Yet reform and strict enclosure also provided fertile ground for women's literary and artistic activity.<sup>24</sup> The Dominican Observance has been credited with the explosion of

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*Dominikanerinnen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 242–273; Eugen Hillenbrand, “Die Observantenbewegung in der deutschen Ordensprovinz der Dominikaner,” in *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1989), 219–271.

<sup>21</sup>Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 97–128; Stefanie Monika Neidhardt, *Autonomie im Gehorsam: Die dominikanische Observanz in Selbstzeugnissen geistlicher Frauen des Spätmittelalters* (Berlin: Lit, 2017); and Heike Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten: Monastische Reformen des späten Mittelalters in den Vorstellungen von Klosterfrauen* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008). For a description of the measures taken to maintain enclosure while transporting sisters, see Neidhardt, “Die Reise der Dominikanerinnen von Silo nach Kirchheim unter Teck 1478 im Kontext der spätmittelalterlichen Klosterreform,” *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 72 (2013): 105–130, at 113.

<sup>22</sup>James D. Mixson, *Poverty's Proprietors: Ownership and Mortal Sin at the Origins of the Observant Movement* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Bernhard Neidiger, “Der Armutsbegriff der Dominikanerobservanten: Zur Diskussion in den Konventen der Provinz Teutonia (1389–1513),” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 145 (1997): 117–158; Sylvie Duval, “*Mulieres Religiosae* and *Sorores Clausae*: The Dominican Observant Movement and the Diffusion of Strict Enclosure in Italy from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century,” in *Mulieres Religiosae: Shaping Female Spiritual Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Veerle Fraeters and Imke de Gier (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 193–218. For resistance to enclosure, see Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 88–89, 152–154. For positive attitudes towards enclosure, see Marie-Luise Ehrenschtndtner, “Creating the Sacred Space Within: Enclosure as a Defining Feature in the Convent Life of Medieval Dominican Sisters (13th–15th c.),” *Viator* 41, no. 2 (2010): 301–316; and Heike Uffmann, “Inside and Outside the Convent Walls: The Norm and Practice of Enclosure in the Reformed Nunneries of Late Medieval Germany,” *The Medieval History Journal* 4, no. 1 (2001): 83–108.

<sup>23</sup>Steinke, *Paradiesgarten*, 24–28; Sabine Klapp, “Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit in Straßburger Frauenklöstern des späten Mittelalters,” in *Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt: Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg*, ed. Stephen Mossman, Nigel F. Palmer, and Felix Heinzer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 213–238, at 219–220 and 227–228; Ulrike Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau: Ihre Einbindung in den Orden und in die städtische Kommunität* (Freiburg: Karl Alber, 1997), 231–233; Madlen Doerr, “Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen in Freiburg im 15. Jahrhundert: Sozialstruktur und Reform” (PhD diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 2012), 260–261.

<sup>24</sup>Ann Roberts, *Dominican Women and Renaissance Art: The Convent of San Domenico of Pisa* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008); Anne Winston-Allen, “Gender and Genre in Manuscript Illustration,” *Manuscripta* 53, no. 2 (2009): 213–237; Anne Winston-Allen, “Nonnenmalerei: Iconography in Convent Women's Art of the Upper Rhine Region,” in *Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter*, ed. Barbara Fleith and René Wetzels (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 141–156; Mercedes Pérez Vidal, “Art, Visual Culture and Liturgy of Dominican Nuns in Late Medieval and Early Modern Castile,” in *Artiste nel chiostro: Produzione artistica nei monasteri femminili in età moderna*, ed. Sheila Barker and Luciano Cinelli (Florence: Nerbini, 2015), 223–240; and Paula Freire Cardoso,

German-language devotional literature in the fifteenth century; reforming sisters bought, borrowed, and copied books for the edification of their communities or received them as gifts from friars and lay people.<sup>25</sup> Even more important for a community's daily life than the vernacular devotional literature were the Latin liturgical manuscripts sent with the reforming party to help them ensure proper adherence to the order's rite.<sup>26</sup> As Stefanie Neidhardt has observed, the reforming sisters and the books they brought with them played a crucial role in the transfer of knowledge that instituted and supported the reformed community's new way of life.<sup>27</sup> For the southern German context, the role of Observant Dominicans (both friars and sisters) in producing and disseminating vernacular literature has received a significant amount of scholarly attention.<sup>28</sup> Less work has been done to trace the influence of Observant reform on Dominican liturgical manuscripts and practices in southern Germany.<sup>29</sup> The study of

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"Autonomy and the *cura monialium* in Female Monastic Art: The Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscripts from the Dominican Monastery of Jesus of Aveiro," *Journal of Medieval History* 44, no. 4 (2018): 484–505.

<sup>25</sup>Anne Winston-Allen writes of "an extensive interlibrary loan system." Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 171. See also Anne Winston-Allen, "Making Manuscripts as Political Engagement by Women in the Fifteenth-Century Observant Reform Movement," *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 42, no. 2 (2016): 224–247; Simone Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen um 1500: Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Katharina St. Gallen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), chap. 4–5; Antje Willing, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters St. Katharina zu Nürnberg: Synoptische Darstellung der Bücherverzeichnisse* (Berlin: Akademie, 2012), LXXXI–CI; Balázs J. Nemes, "Dis buch ist iohannes schedelin: Die Handschriften eines Colmarer Bürgers aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts und ihre Verflechtungen mit dem Literaturangebot der Dominikanerobservanz," in *Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter*, ed. Barbara Fleith and René Wetzels (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 157–214; and Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 288–302. Against the view that the Observant reform saved religious women from intellectual decline, pre-reform library holdings display "a decidedly different character than the book collections known to us from reformed convents at the end of the fifteenth century. The new emphasis in convent libraries on the literature of devotion was the work of the reform movement, which not only overwrote the older intellectual profile of the fourteenth century, but also consistently viewed it in negative terms." Jeffrey F. Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning at Paradis bei Soest, 1300–1425: Inscription and Illumination in the Choir Books of a North German Dominican Convent* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2017), 85. Werner Williams-Krapp's strong position on the role of the Observance in the "literary explosion" has engendered a long-standing debate in the scholarship. For a summary, see Stephen Mossman, "The Literary Culture of Dominican Women in Late Medieval Germany: Reutin near Wildberg on the Nagold (Lkr. Calw)," in *Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter: Württemberg*, ed. Nigel F. Palmer, Peter Rückert, and Sigrid Hirbodian (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

<sup>26</sup>Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, 220; Gisela Muschiol, "Migrating Nuns – Migrating Liturgy: The Context of Reform in Female Convents of the Late Middle Ages," in *Liturgy in Migration*, ed. Teresa Berger (Collegeville: Liturgical, 2012), 83–100; Willing, *Bibliothek*, LXXV–LXXX; and Karin Schneider, "Beziehungen zwischen den Dominikanerinnenklöstern Nürnberg und Altenhohenau im ausgehenden Mittelalter," in *Würzburger Prosastudien II*, ed. Peter Kesting (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1975), 211–218.

<sup>27</sup>Neidhardt, *Autonomie im Gehorsam*, 94, also at 153–156.

<sup>28</sup>For a recent overview with references to scholarship, see Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die Literatur des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit, ed. Joachim Heinze, vol. III, sec. 2.1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 206–354.

<sup>29</sup>The most thorough recent studies of German Dominican liturgica have focused intentionally on unreformed and pre-reformed communities. Marius Schramke, *Tradition und Selbstbestimmung: Das geistliche Leben nichtobservanter Dominikanerinnenklöster in Süddeutschland im Spiegel der Überlieferung* (Freiburg: Karl Alber, 2020); Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*. For liturgical transfer and production in the context of

Observant liturgical reform is being opened up with new research on Spain and Portugal, which reveals Dominican sisters negotiating between local practice and Dominican standardization. Paula Cardoso highlights that manuscripts from Portuguese convents contain liturgies for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, important regionally in Portugal but rejected by the Dominican order.<sup>30</sup> For Spain, Mercedes Pérez-Vidal has been able to show the extensive influence that noble laywomen could exercise over the convents they supported, as well as the liturgical innovations possible for women with personalities as strong as their piety.<sup>31</sup> Similar dynamics between local connections, reform networks, and the order's regulations influenced the practices and the decisions of the Freiburg Penitents, as we shall see. Although newly composed chants and newly choreographed processions present themselves as more compelling objects of study, even the banal practice of coordinating liturgical obligations could become a contested site of religious identity.

This process of liturgical identity formation could not be completed once and then permanently fixed as an in-house tradition; it had to be constantly reassessed, renegotiated, and performed anew. A certain amount of this change was necessitated by the introduction of new feasts, by changing affiliations, by the rise and fall of different donor or advocate families, or by the shifting boundaries of bishoprics and terminus districts. There was, however, an impetus that operated on a much shorter time scale and was inherent to the liturgical calendar itself: the kaleidoscopic rotation of fixed feasts, moveable feasts, and votive obligations. "Fixed" feasts were always celebrated on the same date (Valentine's Day is always February 14); "moveable" feasts were scheduled by reference to Easter and thus fell on different dates (Ash Wednesday is always forty-six days before Easter, no matter the calendar date); and by the late Middle Ages, the Church had just begun planning feasts using the method we now use, for example, for Mother's Day (in many countries always the second Sunday in May).<sup>32</sup> Religious communities also needed to integrate the special saints of their order and the patron saints of the individual community, as well as the local saints of the bishopric and of the city in which they were located. In addition to these special feasts, most

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the Observance, see Margot E. Fassler, "Women and Their Sequences: An Overview and a Case Study," *Speculum* 94, no. 3 (2019): 625–673, at 650–673; Anja Freckmann and Juliane Trede, *Die Handschriften aus den Klöstern Altenhohenau und Altomünster: Clm 2901–2966 sowie Streubestände gleicher Provenienz*, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis n. F. III/4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 8–10 and 16–37; Willing, *Bibliothek*, LXXV–LXXXI; and Christine Sauer, "Zwischen Kloster und Welt: Illuminierter Handschriften aus dem Dominikanerinnenkonvent St. Katharina in Nürnberg," in *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst: Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 113–129.

<sup>30</sup>Paula Cardoso, "Unveiling Female Observance: Reform, Regulation and the Rise of Dominican Nunneries in Late Medieval Portugal," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 12, no. 3 (2020): 365–382, at 377.

<sup>31</sup>See Mercedes Pérez Vidal, "Female Aristocratic Networks: Books, Liturgy and Reform in Castilian Nunneries," in *Relations of Power: Women's Networks in the Middle Ages*, ed. Emma O. Bérat, Rebecca Hardie, and Irina Dumitrescu (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021), 105–132, at 117; and especially her discussion of Sister Mary of Santo Domingo in "Compline and Its Processions in the Context of Castilian Dominican Nunneries," in *Life and Religion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2015), 246–277, at 273–276.

<sup>32</sup>John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 48–53; and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 3–13.

communities had further obligatory liturgical observances.<sup>33</sup> With all these obligations to juggle, the simple task of deciding when to observe what could quickly become a nightmare. Even for a single community, it was impossible to create a firm and eternally valid set of decisions for coordinating feast days, since each of these dating systems operated independently and the conflicts changed year to year. In some years—such as 1519—no less than three feasts would all fall on the same day. These calendrical conflicts were resolved through the aid of guidelines applied flexibly in consideration of the community's hierarchized networks. The ever-changing calendar of liturgical feasts required each community to negotiate their priorities and obligations each year anew, producing ephemeral configurations of local liturgical worship.

The three-feast pile-up on May 1, 1519, supplies an excellent case study that illuminates how a community might negotiate conflicting obligations to find creative solutions. Since early May was, for Dominicans, liturgically very busy, rescheduling Philip and James and Catherine of Siena created a cascade effect with repercussions for a variety of observances that were important to different aspects of a community's identity and different strands in their network. The series of decisions necessitated by this calendrical confluence is exhaustively recorded in a manuscript from the Dominican convent of St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg im Breisgau. This manuscript belongs to a little studied source type: German-language Dominican liturgical manuals that I call *directoria*.<sup>34</sup> These Dominican *directoria* assume a special profile as local supplements to the standardized *ordinarium* valid throughout the Dominican order, and, as such, reveal how Dominican sisters at the end of the Middle Ages coordinated the various obligations on their liturgical practice.

### III. Dominican Sources for Coordinating the Liturgy

Medieval Dominican cantors and chantresses relied first and foremost on the order's *ordinarium* for guidelines in planning their community's liturgy. Like other medieval *ordinals*, the Dominican *ordinarium* did not have musical notation, nor even the full text of chants; those were found in other books laid out for use in performance.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Dominican communities commemorated the Virgin Mary every Saturday and Saint Dominic every Tuesday. Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, 134–135; William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1944), 217. Commemoration of donors also required yearly coordination. Gabriela Signori, "Community, Society, and Memory in Late Medieval Nunneries," *History and Anthropology* 32, no. 2 (2021), 231–248.

<sup>34</sup>The terminology of medieval liturgical books is fraught, largely because their contents are quite variable. This is not the case for the Dominican order, whose standardized liturgy permits a relatively stable and precise terminology. I have chosen "*directorium*" to describe these sources, first, because the term is not already used to classify Dominican manuscripts and, second, because this is the term used today in German dioceses for the calendars published yearly, which establish the precedence of conflicting feasts and contain specifications for particular regional observances. The term used for these yearly publications in Anglophone dioceses is "*ordo*," which is close enough to "*ordinarium*" to invite confusion, so I have decided to avoid it. Of the published descriptions, only Marius Schramke's description of the Engelthal manuscript (Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs 1500–15) uses the term "*directorium*" (<http://dl.uni-freiburg.de/sammlung7/werk/pdf/hs1500-15.pdf>, accessed November 23, 2021).

<sup>35</sup>For introductions to *ordinals* as a genre, see Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1998), 221–228; Charles Caspers and Louis van Tongeren, "Libri ordinarii as a Source for Cultural History," in *Unitas in Pluralitate: Libri ordinarii als Quelle für die Kulturgeschichte* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2015), 15–28; Tillmann Lohse, "Stand und Perspektiven der *Liber ordinarius*-Forschung," in *Liturgie in*



Instead, the *ordinarium* provided instructions to facilitate organization of the liturgy by designating which chants were sung when, describing ritual gestures and processions, and regulating yearly schedules, among other things. For the Dominicans, the *ordinarium* was one of the fourteen liturgical books codified in 1256 by Master General Humbert of Romans.<sup>36</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century, it had assumed a legislative status similar to that of the order's constitutions. This is to say, the order controlled its standardized liturgy by requiring that any changes or innovations to the *ordinarium* be ratified by three successive general chapters.<sup>37</sup> Also like the constitutions, the *ordinarium* was translated into German for the use of Dominican sisters in the fourteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

However, by the fifteenth century any given copy of the *ordinarium*, whether Latin or German, could easily have become unwieldy or out of date, since the general chapters continually passed legislation pertaining to the liturgy.<sup>39</sup> Already in the first Observant convent north of the Alps (Schönensteinbach, founded 1397),<sup>40</sup> one of the sisters, most likely the chantress, began to record her solutions for thorny problems with the

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*mittelalterlichen Frauenstiften: Forschungen zum Liber ordinarius*, ed. Klaus Gereon Beuckers (Essen: Klartext, 2012), 215–255; Jürgen Bärsch, “*Liber ordinarius*: Zur Bedeutung eines liturgischen Buchtyps für die Erforschung des Mittelalters,” *Archa Verbi* 2 (2005): 9–58; and Palazzo, “Les ordinaires liturgiques comme sources pour l’histoire du moyen âge: à propos d’ouvrages récents,” *Revue Mabillon* n.s. 3 (1992): 233–240. A list of published *libri ordinarii* and related literature can be found at <https://www.ktf.uni-bonn.de/faecher/liturgie/forschung/dokumente-projekte/libriordinariilistepublikation-nov21.pdf> (accessed November 23, 2021).

<sup>36</sup>These fourteen books were: *ordinarium*, *martyrology*, *collectarium*, *processional*, *psalter*, *breviary*, *lectionary*, *antiphonal*, *graduale*, *pulpitarium*, *conventual missal*, *epistolarium*, *evangelarium*, and *missal for private mass*. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 84–94; and Eleanor J. Giraud, “*Totum officium bene correctum habeatur in domo*: Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy,” in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, ed. Cornelia Linde (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 153–172, at 153–156.

<sup>37</sup>Raymond Creyten, “L’ordinaire des frères prêcheurs au moyen âge,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 24 (1954): 108–188, at 126–130. The general chapter was the Dominican order’s legislative body, composed of representatives from across the male communities of the order. Gert Melville, “The Fixed and the Fluid: Observations on the Rational Bases of Dominican Constitution and Organization in the Middle Ages,” in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, ed. Cornelia Linde (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 19–35.

<sup>38</sup>I am aware of ten surviving manuscripts with German translations of the official Dominican *ordinarium* from Observant, non-Observant, and even unincorporated communities. The earliest surviving manuscript of a German-language Dominican *ordinarium* was produced in the fourteenth century for, or by, the convent of Oetenbach in Zurich. Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, “Literaturproduktion und Bibliothek in Oetenbach,” in *Bettelorden, Bruderschaften und Beginen in Zürich: Stadtkultur und Seelenheil im Mittelalter*, ed. Barbara Helbling, Magdalen Bless-Grabher, and Ines Buhofer (Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2002), 188–197, at 195. For German translations of the constitutions, see Engler, *Regelbuch*, 139–159; and Tobias Tanneberger, “. . . usz latin in tutsch gebracht. . .” *Normative Basistexte religiöser Gemeinschaften in volkssprachlichen Übertragungen* (Berlin: Lit, 2014), 186–187.

<sup>39</sup>See Claire Taylor Jones, *Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy, and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 86–96. For a compilation of liturgical legislation passed up through the reforms of Salamanca in 1551, see P. Antolin Gonzalez Fuente OP, *La vida litúrgica en la orden de predicadores: Estudio en su legislación, 1216–1980* (Rome: Institutum historicum ff. Praedicatorum ad S. Sabinae, 1981), 379–425.

<sup>40</sup>For Schönensteinbach’s history, see Johannes Meyer, *Women’s History in the Age of Reformation: Johannes Meyer’s Chronicle of the Dominican Observance*, trans. Claire Taylor Jones (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2019); Jean-Charles Winnlen, “Schönensteinbach: Une communauté religieuse féminine, 1138–1792” (PhD diss., Université de Franche-Comté, 1992); and Annette Barthelmé,

ordinarium, as well as the advice she received from the Colmar friars, producing the base text for the Observant directoria. The directives are predominantly in German, but the incipits of the chants are in Latin; to judge from these manuscripts, the liturgy was celebrated in Latin, and German was used solely for administrative purposes. The directoria do not permit conclusions about how much liturgical Latin the women understood.<sup>41</sup> When Schönensteinbach began reforming other convents, copies of their directoria were sent to the newly Observant convents; in addition to the manuscripts considered here, no less than eight Observant directoria with the Schönensteinbach base text survive. Directoria did not have the same regulative status as the ordinarium, and, for the Observance, they should be classed with other pararegular texts that were normative but non-binding.<sup>42</sup> Such manuals supplemented the constitutions and ordinarium to assist in organizing the convent's liturgical life. For example, in St. Catherine in Nuremberg, they would have been used together with the surviving sacristan's manual and the table reading catalogue.<sup>43</sup> Convent scribes designate all three texts as "notel," and all three address aspects of liturgical coordination understood broadly.<sup>44</sup>

The two Observant directoria under consideration here are the only exemplars known to me that do not have a connection to Nuremberg and, as such, are important witnesses to reform practices and Observant networks apart from the prolific community of St. Catherine.<sup>45</sup> In their organization and concept, they match the Nuremberg branch of the transmission (unsurprisingly, since all ultimately derive from Schönensteinbach), but they sometimes differ in wording and sometimes in text order.<sup>46</sup> Observant directoria are divided into paired volumes, one of which treats feasts

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*La réforme dominicaine au XVe siècle en Alsace et dans l'ensemble de la province de Teutonie* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1931).

<sup>41</sup>Because southern German Dominican sisters in the fifteenth century composed very few texts in Latin, there has long been a scholarly debate about the extent of their ability to understand the Latin they read and sang. For a summary of the debate and an extensive survey of the evidence, see Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 43–90.

<sup>42</sup>Such texts include Johannes Meyer, *Das Amptbuch*, ed. and trans. Sarah Glenn DeMaris (Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2015); and Antje Willing, ed., *Das 'Konventsbuch' und das 'Schwesternbuch' aus St. Katharina in St. Gallen: Kritische Edition und Kommentar* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2016), 511–669.

<sup>43</sup>Lena Vosding, ed., *Edition und Kommentierung von Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Cent. VII, 16 (Das Notel der Küsterin, St Katharina Nürnberg, 1436)*, forthcoming; and Gerhard Weilandt, "Alltag einer Küsterin: Die Ausstattung und liturgische Nutzung von Chor und Nonnenempore der Nürnberger Dominikanerinnenkirche nach dem unbekanntem 'Notel der Küsterin' (1436)," in *Kunst und Liturgie: Choranlagen des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Anna Moraht-Fromm (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), 159–187; and Willing, *Bibliothek*, XXXIX–LXIX.

<sup>44</sup>The convent's German-language ordinaria and directoria were given the shelf mark G and are described indiscriminately as "notel." Willing, *Bibliothek*, 488–490. The table reading catalogue self-designates as the "notel" of how one should read at table. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. III/3 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1939), 639.

<sup>45</sup>Freiburg im Breisgau, Stadtarchiv, B3 Nr. 25 (hereafter B3/25) and Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter pap 5. Both manuscripts are available online: <http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/digit/sta-b3-025> and <http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/76298> (accessed November 23, 2021).

<sup>46</sup>These differences enabled me to demonstrate that the directoria from Weiler near Esslingen belong to the Nuremberg branch of transmission and not, as one would expect given their place in the Observant reform network, from Alsace. Claire Taylor Jones, "Liturgical Manuals – Liturgical Norms: Reforming the Liturgy in Kloster Weiler OP in Esslingen," in *Kulturtopographie des deutschsprachigen Südwestens im späteren Mittelalter: Württemberg*, ed. Nigel F. Palmer, Peter Rückert, and Sigrid Hirbodian (Berlin: De Gruyter), forthcoming.

of the Temporale (pertaining to the life of Christ, including Christmas, Easter, and related feasts) while the other contains feasts of the Sanctorale (pertaining to saints, including the Virgin Mary). St. Peter pap 5 contains a Temporale cycle that complements the information for the Sanctorale cycle found in B3/25. This latter manuscript was originally created in Schönensteinbach and was likely brought to Freiburg when the Penitents were reformed to the Observance by a party of sisters from Schönensteinbach in 1465 or shortly thereafter.<sup>47</sup> In contrast, St. Peter pap 5 is a later copy that was not itself made for or used in Schönensteinbach. In both manuscripts (indeed, in all such Observant directoria), the Schönensteinbach base text is supplemented by further information that postdated the text's transfer from Schönensteinbach and/or was local to the Freiburg context, although the different stages of additions are somewhat obscured in St. Peter pap 5 because it is a later copy. St. Peter pap 5 has previously been associated neither with Schönensteinbach nor with the Freiburg Penitents, yet annotations with localizable information and the dates given for the anniversary of the church dedication establish its connections to these communities.<sup>48</sup>

From its contents, it is very clear that B3/25 originated in Schönensteinbach and moved to the Freiburg Penitents. Of the Observant directoria known to me, this is the only manuscript that was originally produced in and for Schönensteinbach, making it an important comparison text for the Sanctorale of the Nuremberg transmission branch. This fact also makes it comparatively easier to separate out the Schönensteinbach information from later additions by comparing the hands. The location in Schönensteinbach is attested by the inclusion of the feast of Bridget of Sweden, Schönensteinbach's patron saint, as well as her translation (ff. 127r, 129r, 161r) and *memoriae* for Saint Adelf of Metz in the main hand (ff. 195v, 206r, 246r).<sup>49</sup> More clearly yet, an interlinear insertion clarifies that "we" (*wir*) means "in Steinbach" (*ze steinbach*) (f. 20r). The Schönensteinbach layer of entries also establishes Schönensteinbach's church dedication anniversary (*kilwi*, that is *Kirchweihe*) as the octave of Easter: "if Saint Ambrose falls during Holy Week, then one celebrates him on the Monday after the octave of Easter, that is, on the day after our dedication anniversary."<sup>50</sup> Later use by a convent dedicated to Mary Magdalene is also clearly indicated in the lengthy addition detailing the procedures for profession of novices, who must beg forgiveness "for the sake of God and Our Dear Lady and Our Holy Father Saint Dominic and Saint Mary Magdalene" (f. 101v), as well as the addition of the feast of Mary Magdalene's translation (ff. 80v–81r). It can be more specifically assigned to the Freiburg Penitents, since another addition notes that the dedication anniversary

<sup>47</sup>Doerr, "Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen," 288–291. For the history of the Freiburg Penitents, see also the relevant passages in Denne, *Frauenklöster*.

<sup>48</sup>The catalog description attributes this manuscript to St. Agnes in Freiburg, but this is not tenable; the cataloger did not know about the other manuscripts and used material demonstrably from the Schönensteinbach base text to determine this manuscript's provenance. Klaus Niebler, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter im Schwarzwald: Die Papierhandschriften*, Die Handschriften der badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 10 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), 8–9.

<sup>49</sup>For Schönensteinbach's dedication to Bridget of Sweden, see Meyer, *Women's History*, 65–66. For the cult of Saint Adelf in Schönensteinbach, see Winnlen, "Schönensteinbach," 48–49.

<sup>50</sup>B3/25, f. 88v. Confirming that this entry belongs to the Schönensteinbach layer, it is also found in the Nuremberg transmission branch (see Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. 43y, f. 30r) yet without the final clause about the dedication anniversary, which was omitted because the dedication anniversary of St. Catherine in Nuremberg was two weeks after Easter (Cod. Cent. 43y, f. 111r and Cod. Cent. VII, 16, fol. 123r).

(here *kylwyn*) is always on Laetare Sunday (f. 80r), which the *Seelbuch* and martyrology from the Freiburg Penitents confirms.<sup>51</sup> This combination of evidence shows that B3/25 was created for use at Schönensteinbach, migrated to the Freiburg Penitents, and continued to be used there. The layered additions by different hands permit a reconstruction of the stages during which the manuscript was used at Schönensteinbach and subsequently in Freiburg after the reform.

The provenance of St. Peter pap 5 is more difficult to establish, partially since it is a later copy so the evidence of entries by different hands is obscured, and partially since it is missing some critical components that help localize the other Temporale directoria. Particularly disappointing is that it is missing the section describing the Maundy Thursday altar washing ceremony which, in the other directoria, records the saints to whom each altar is dedicated and the antiphons sung in their honor. However, the set of early sixteenth-century additions that now close the manuscript can be fairly securely located. They include a reference to the bishopric of Constance that would correspond to Freiburg provenance (f. 144r). Furthermore, the additions specify that in 1519 the feast of Saint Ambrose (April 4) was the day after their dedication anniversary (*kilwy*, f. 141r): April 3, 1519 was Laetare Sunday, the dedication anniversary of the Freiburg Penitents. These elements permit attribution to the Freiburg Penitents at the very least of the liturgical decisions in 1519 (including those for the feast of Catherine of Siena, to which I will return), even if the production of the main part of the manuscript cannot be securely localized. The main part of the manuscript contains, like B3/25, guidelines originally compiled in and for Schönensteinbach, an attribution supported by the shared text with the Nuremberg branch of transmission, including the repeated mentions of Colmar.

To sum up, like all surviving German-language Observant Dominican directoria, the manuscripts B3/25 and St. Peter pap 5 contain a base text that was compiled in Schönensteinbach and transmitted to other convents through the networks of the Observant reform. This base text is supplemented by later additions, which in both manuscripts permit localization to the convent of the Freiburg Penitents. B3/25 stands out from the other surviving directoria for the extraordinary amount of liturgical information pertinent only to Schönensteinbach, which was skipped in St. Peter pap 5 and in the manuscripts of the Nuremberg branch. Even in their differences, these two manuscripts are representative of their genre, and their contents exemplarily demonstrate how liturgical decision-making, even for Observant convents, was influenced by networks that reached not just outside the convent walls but also outside the Dominican order.

#### IV. Networks, Authority, and Liturgical Agency

The entries in these manuscripts often record the source of a particular directive, and these indications or justifications exemplarily illustrate the different vectors of obligation that shaped a convent's liturgical practice. Furthermore, the detailed resolution

<sup>51</sup>Winfried Hagenmeier, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek und die mittelalterlichen Handschriften anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Freiburg im Breisgau und Umgebung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 193. I thank the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, and especially Julie Dietman, for providing me with an image of just this opening so that I might confirm the date of the dedication anniversary provided in Freiburg im Breisgau, Stadtarchiv, B1 Nr. 162, f. 11r (HMML project number 43483).

of the May calendrical crisis in 1519 allows unparalleled insight into the process of decision-making and of negotiating obligations and networks by which Dominican sisters organized their liturgy. The relationship of these manuscripts and their trajectory from Schönensteinbach to St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg already reveal one way in which liturgical information might pass between Dominican convents in late medieval Germany. However, the ties of the Observant reform were not the only networks to which communities belonged, nor the only influences on their liturgical practice. Four main sources of authority or influence appear in the Schönensteinbach/Freiburg directoria: the ordinarium, the friars, other women's communities, and the local parish.

Since directoria were composed as supplements to the ordinarium, it is not surprising that they should contain numerous references to it as the source of particular practices or regulations. More interesting is the evidence that Schönensteinbach possessed both Latin and German copies of the Dominican ordinarium and consulted both of them. St. Peter pap 5 notes when a certain practice is contained in both.<sup>52</sup> B3/25 mentions an instance when the two ordinaria disagreed and the chantress turned to the Colmar friary for advice. Perhaps contrary to what one might expect, the German-language ordinarium turned out to be correct, because at some point it had been updated with decisions of the general chapter which had not been appended to the Latin copy.<sup>53</sup> The Freiburg Penitents evidently also owned two ordinaria, although it is not certain which language either was in. The same hand that added the feast of Mary Magdalene's translation (B3/25, f. 80v) also added a set of rules concerning conflicts with Ash Wednesday, concluding with the claim that "one finds all this correctly in the old parchment ordinarium and in Lindauer's ordinarium."<sup>54</sup> Whatever language either of these ordinaria may be in, the Penitents had access to a newer ordinarium but continued to use and refer to an old parchment one, as well. Both Schönensteinbach and the Penitents owned at least two ordinaria, which they knew differed from each other and both of which they consulted when planning the liturgy. These convents were not alone; no less than three ordinaria survive from St. Catherine in Nuremberg, one Latin exemplar and two strongly divergent German translations.<sup>55</sup> In cases of disagreement, the directoria adjudicate which ordinarium contains the correct practice. The Dominican ordinarium thus figures as an important authority but an ambiguous and multiple one, whose material witnesses were known to be imperfect.

In addition to the ordinarium, other Dominican communities appear as sources both of authoritative information and of alternative practice. The friars in Colmar are recorded as the source of the decision in favor of Schönensteinbach's German-language ordinarium, and indeed they appear as the liturgical experts quite frequently in both manuscripts, along with a few other individual friars. Dominican sisters were institutionally excluded from the order's legislative processes and thus relied on the friars for information about the decisions of the general chapter, which released mandates concerning the

<sup>52</sup>"This is written in the Latin and the German ordinarium." St. Peter pap 5, f. 13v.

<sup>53</sup>"But this about Saint Dominic has been corrected and is written differently in the German ordinarium and I also learned it from Colmar regarding the same matter." B3/25, fol. 6v.

<sup>54</sup>B3/25, f. 75r. These two ordinaria also appear in an addition by the same hand on B3/25, f. 72r. I thank Meret Wüthrich for sharing with me that she discovered a Johannes Lindauer as confessor of the Freiburg Penitents in a colophon (Freiburg im Breisgau, Stadtarchiv, B1 Nr. 162, f. 149v). It is possible that this second ordinarium belonged in the convent confessor's library, or it may have been Lindauer's personal copy.

<sup>55</sup>Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VII, 17 (Latin) and Cod. Cent. VII, 76 and 77 (German). The now lost manuscript with shelf mark G II in the medieval library catalog was likely a fourth. Willing, *Bibliothek*, 489.

liturgy at almost every meeting.<sup>56</sup> When it was refounded as an Observant convent in 1397, Schönsteinbach was entrusted to the oversight and care of the Observant Colmar friary. This relationship explains the frequent mentions of the Colmar friars as authorities and even the familiarity with which the chantress writes to her brothers with questions.<sup>57</sup> In this context, it is striking that the Colmar friary is the only one mentioned and the Freiburg friars do not appear, even in the later additions. This friary did not belong to the Observance and was apparently not in the Penitents' network or was not considered authoritative for their practice.<sup>58</sup> Instead, the later additions refer to single friars: a slip of paper tucked between folios 91 and 92 of B3/25 records its source as "the new provincial prior" and one addition to St. Peter pap 5 mentions as a source of information Father Johannes Walter, who is attested as a confessor in the necrology of the Freiburg Penitents.<sup>59</sup> Although the Freiburg Penitents continued to receive advice and information from authoritative friars, they do not seem to have enjoyed a relationship of close consultation with the local Freiburg friary such as Schönsteinbach had with Colmar. The Nuremberg directoria also mention individuals, as well as noting when a practice is shared with the friary.<sup>60</sup> One directorium notes that the renowned Dominican Johannes Nider (best known as the father of witchcraft literature) had ordered them to ceremonially wash the altar in the sisters' choir.<sup>61</sup> Another records that the provincial prior Peter Wellen had given them special permission to celebrate Saint Barbara with nine lections.<sup>62</sup> Each convent's connection to the order's broader network was configured a bit differently, creating different ties to the friars. The Freiburg Penitents only mention individuals (the confessor or provincial prior), whereas St. Catherine in Nuremberg had strong ties to the local friary and Schönsteinbach to the friary in Colmar.

Other women's convents serve as sources of information as well. The most obvious example of this direct exchange is, of course, the reform that brought both women and manuscripts from Schönsteinbach to the Freiburg Penitents, but the Observant network fostered other connections as well. The note about Unterlinden, an Observant women's convent near Colmar that had also been reformed by Schönsteinbach, is couched in the same first-person language as many of the notes about the Colmar friary: "once it was communicated to me from Unterlinden" (B3/25, f. 52v). Reforms were

<sup>56</sup>Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 90–91.

<sup>57</sup>For example, "I wrote to Colmar to ask if this were right" (B3/ 25, f. 22r–22v), "I wrote to Colmar once. . . and I asked" (B3/ 25, f. 24r), "so this surprised me. . . and I wrote to Colmar. It was written back to me that this is right" (B3/ 25, f. 26r–26v), "The community in Colmar wrote to us about the *historiae* Dignus es and Si oblitus. . . then I asked. . . and I received the answer that is written hereafter." St. Peter pap 5, f. 111r–v.

<sup>58</sup>Madlen Doerr suggests that the Observant convents did not completely shut out the Freiburg friary, but neither is there evidence for close relationships. Doerr, "Klarissen und Dominikanerinnen," 299–305.

<sup>59</sup>St. Peter pap 5, f. 25v. See Doerr, 294; Freiburg StA, B1/160, f. 40v (HMML project number 43481). I thank the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library for sending me an image of just this opening so that I might corroborate the information from Doerr.

<sup>60</sup>Some variation of the note "the fathers Preachers also observed it this way" is found in Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VII, 89 on ff. 36v, 45v, 46r, and 52r.

<sup>61</sup>Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VII, 89, f. 66r. Johannes Nider was prior of the Nuremberg friary when St. Catherine was reformed and played a large role in that process. For Nider's reforming mindset, see Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

<sup>62</sup>Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VI, 69, f. 255r. For Peter Wellen's role in supporting the Observance during his term as provincial prior, see the numerous references in Engler, *Regelbuch*.

not the only means of networking with other convents. The note on B3/25, f. 130r about the feast of Saints Vitus and Modestus attests to knowledge of their feast within the Augsburg diocese, for which there are two possible connections.<sup>63</sup> Sister Katharina Langmantel (d. 1442) was from Augsburg and had served as prioress of St. Catherine in Augsburg before transferring to Schönensteinbach where she also served as prioress.<sup>64</sup> Alternatively, this knowledge could be derived from one of the five sisters who spent a year from 1445 to 1446 at St. Catherine in Augsburg when armed conflict in Alsace forced Schönensteinbach temporarily to disperse.<sup>65</sup> These notes demonstrate that Dominican women compared their liturgical practices with their sisters in other houses. Such contacts fostered awareness that their own liturgical custom was contingent and highlighted the ties that permitted or necessitated divergent practices.

As was the case with Vitus and Modestus, some liturgical variance arose from bishoprics, but, even within the same diocese, different convents had different relationships to local ecclesiastical authorities, which had different effects on the convent's liturgical practice. When the reforming sisters moved from the secluded Schönensteinbach to St. Mary Magdalene in Freiburg, they not only moved from the Strasbourg to the Constance diocese—they also moved into a city. This meant giving up the privilege of following the Dominican ordinarium to the letter and instead conforming to the local parish. The main hand of the Schönensteinbach layer in B3/25 describes Schönensteinbach's privileges in a passage that is remarkable for its description of different liturgical influences from the Dominican ordinarium and the diocese and for its distinction between convents within and outside of cities in giving advice about prioritizing between these demands.

In the ordinarium it says that one should never postpone Candlemas. Instead, one should celebrate it on whatever day it happens to fall. It was also told to us by Colmar, from the friary, that this is correct, and whoever is in the wilderness, as at Schönensteinbach, should act according to the ordinarium. However, the communities in the cities must sometimes act according to the parish; otherwise, it would cause discord and conflict for them. But for the feast of the Annunciation, one should always find out when the secular clergy are celebrating it, if it happens to fall in a way that there is any doubt regarding how one should handle it. This is Our Dear Lady's Day during Lent. About this day, the ordinarium says: if one celebrates this feast on a certain day in the diocese, then the sisters should also celebrate it on the same day. Otherwise, they should postpone it as is written about other feasts in the ordinarium. Concerning the postponement of feasts: there one finds all of this written. (B3/25, f. 18r–19r)

Much of this passage is simply a German translation of the chapter of the ordinarium *De translatione festivitatum*, but it inserts further details of local relevance, including

<sup>63</sup>“Saints Vitus and Modestus have, according to the order, only a memoria, but in the diocese of Augsburg some breviaries have three or nine lections. But here nothing more than a memoria. Also in Colmar.” B3/25, f. 130r

<sup>64</sup>Meyer, *Women's History*, 114–115. For the non-Observant reform of St. Catherine in Augsburg, see Engler, *Regelbuch*, 286–288.

<sup>65</sup>Meyer, *Women's History*, 79, 81–82.

when not to follow the *ordinarium*.<sup>66</sup> For Schönensteinbach, this passage interpreted the *ordinarium* to explain why the convent could make their own choices regarding the feast of the Purification but had to defer to the diocese for the Annunciation. The privilege of isolation created differences of practice from the Colmar friary, which was in a city and had to conform to the parish more often.<sup>67</sup> As we shall see, the directive to follow the parish would also have repercussions for the Freiburg Penitents. In isolation, liturgical practices could be planned as an order-internal affair, but for communities with closer ties to local networks, the Dominican *ordinarium* was merely one factor among numerous considerations within and outside of the Dominican order.

There were many potential obligations and authorities that assumed differing configurations of influence for each community. When planning out liturgical performance, the Dominican *ordinarium* was a chantress's most important source, but it was not always an unambiguous one. Convents owned multiple copies, which sometimes differed from each other and did not always contain the innovations that had been introduced by the general chapter. The diocese or the city in which a convent lay could influence both the rank of feasts, as in the example of Vitus and Modestus, and the scheduling of feasts, as with the Purification and the Annunciation. In cases of doubt, sisters could turn to friars, such as their confessor or the friary responsible for their spiritual care, or they could field advice from other convents. Organizing the liturgy entailed correlating information and prioritizing demands from various entities whose relative degrees of authority might differ convent to convent and feast by feast.

#### V. May 1519

The Freiburg Penitents' resolution to the conflict on May 1, 1519, beautifully exemplifies the way in which a convent might draw on these different sources in order to solve liturgical problems, largely because the triple conflict and the busy schedule in early May necessitated an entire series of decisions. The problems to be resolved were as follows: Easter fell on April 24. The special observances for Easter Week overrode all other feasts and required that they be postponed until after the octave on May 1. In 1519, this rule affected Saint Mark (April 25) and Peter Martyr (April 29). This accident created a special complication, since the feast of Saint Mark was the date for the Major Rogation, a city-wide ceremony that entailed a public procession to each of the churches in town, including those attached to the Dominican convents.<sup>68</sup> Thus, on top of the two feasts conflicting with the Easter octave on May 1 (Catherine of Siena and the Apostles Philip and James), there were already two additional feasts postponed from Easter Week. Of these four feasts, one required coordination with the parish and two belonged to the Dominican order (Catherine and Peter). Worse yet, the first week of May

<sup>66</sup>Franciscus-M. Guerrini OP, ed., *Ordinarium Juxta Ritum Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome: Angelicum University Press, 1921), 67.

<sup>67</sup>This point is repeated at the conclusion of the passage regarding postponing feasts that fall between Palm Sunday and the Easter octave. "It was also learned that it is correct that one should follow the *ordinarium*, even though the convents that lie in the cities must sometimes act according to the parish in certain things, even against the *ordinarium*." B3/25, f. 21v.

<sup>68</sup>For Rogationtide processions, see Nathan J. Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth in Early Medieval Europe: A Ritual Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).



contained six further feasts: Invention of the Cross (May 3), Crown of Thorns (May 4), Peter Martyr's octave (May 5), John Before the Latin Gate (May 6), Peter Martyr's translation (May 7), and the Apparition of Michael (May 8). During the entire week, only May 2 was free, and, with four feasts to reschedule, it was guaranteed that the complications would drag out into the second week of May. Each Dominican convent would have to decide which feast took precedence over what, whether any should be skipped entirely, and how important it was to coordinate with the parish and with the other Dominican communities in the same city.

The decisions of the Freiburg Penitents are recorded at the end of St. Peter pap 5 on ff. 141r–142v. Easter feasts take precedence over all others, so Philip and James were pushed back a day to Monday, May 2, the only free day that week. The Invention of the Cross was celebrated on May 3, as usual, but on Wednesday the community could not celebrate the Crown of Thorns. On that day, the parish churches were celebrating the postponed feast of Mark and the Major Rogation, in which the convents had to participate.<sup>69</sup> Under normal circumstances, the octave of Peter Martyr would fall the following day (Thursday, May 5), and, indeed, the Penitents chose to celebrate his octave as an octave “as one otherwise does when the feast is not postponed” (f. 141v), even though they had never celebrated the main feast at all. In accordance with this decision, they also celebrated the remainder of the week, as usual, with John Before the Latin Gate (May 6), Peter Martyr's translation (May 7), and the Apparition of Michael (May 8) falling on their proper days. At this point, the Freiburg Penitents made the unusual decision to celebrate Catherine of Siena on Monday, May 9, wrapping up this intense liturgical period with the rescheduled Crown of Thorns on Tuesday, May 10. The feast of Philip and James had been unproblematically postponed only by a day; Mark and the Major Rogation were rescheduled in compliance with the parish observances; the first of the three feasts for Peter Martyr was simply cancelled; and Catherine of Siena and the Crown of Thorns were scheduled for the first free days available, which happened to be a Monday and Tuesday.

However, this final decision to celebrate Catherine of Siena on a Monday is more problematic than it at first appears. This choice violated the most recent pronouncement of the Dominican general chapter, which, as I noted in my opening, had confirmed in 1518 that her feast should be celebrated on the first Sunday in May, killing a 1513 proposal to change the regulation to the first *free* Sunday in May.<sup>70</sup> Either way, most Dominicans evidently considered it important that Catherine's feast be observed on a Sunday. For example, a directorium, likely from St. Catherine in Augsburg, attests that in 1516 the community bumped the Crown of Thorns to May 5 in order to celebrate Catherine of Siena on Sunday, May 4.<sup>71</sup> Yet more pertinently, a directorium from St. Catherine in Nuremberg also records their decisions for this period of 1519. The order of feasts during the week falls out differently, since the city of Nuremberg celebrated Saint Mark and the Rogation on Monday instead of Wednesday as in Freiburg, and the convent's dedication anniversary two weeks after

<sup>69</sup>The Penitents' compliance conforms to the directions in B3/25, which state as a general rule that “if this feast is postponed due to Easter Week, one should celebrate it in conformity with the parish, since the order's *ordinarium* contains this.” B3/25, f. 90v.

<sup>70</sup>*Acta capitulorum generalium*, 4:94, 125–126, 171.

<sup>71</sup>Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, cgo 678, f. 44v.

Easter adds a further complication. Yet the Nuremberg community still skipped available weekdays in order to schedule Catherine of Siena for the third Sunday in May.<sup>72</sup> As St. Peter pap 5 records, even the other Dominican convents in Freiburg pushed the Apparition of Michael to May 9 in order to celebrate Catherine on a Sunday in 1519. The Penitents, however, defied both their sisters and the Dominican general chapter with an appeal to the ordinarius:

Some convents celebrated the feast of Saint Catherine on Sunday and the Angels [the Apparition of Michael] on Monday, but the ordinarius forbids that one should push any feast from its day for the sake of a feast that is already postponed. Unless it were the case that the parish were holding such a feast, for which reason one would have to push another feast from its day. Otherwise, one should never do this. (St. Peter pap 5, f. 142v)

This defense openly criticizes other Dominican communities for having ignored or misunderstood the ordinarius, while conceding a degree of authority to the parish. The feast of Catherine of Siena was supposed to be the first Sunday in May, but this had fallen on the octave of Easter, forcing Catherine to be postponed. Some communities postponed Michael, because they prioritized Catherine, the order's own saint, and the general chapter's proclamation that her feast should always fall on a Sunday. The Freiburg Penitents, however, prioritized the letter of the ordinarius, insisting that Catherine's already postponed feast could not push another feast from its proper day, because this was forbidden as a rule. In this, they followed their *Sanctorale* directorium, which makes this regulation explicit with regard to Catherine of Siena's feast: "Item, this feast for Catherine should be celebrated on a Sunday in May, if it can be. One should not push any other feast from its day because of it" (B3/25, f. 110r). The Penitents had, however, just violated precisely this rule when the postponed feast of Saint Mark pushed the Crown of Thorns from its proper day. Admitting this fact required adding the explicit exception that this is only permissible when the parish makes you do it. Within this short passage, the Freiburg Penitents assert their liturgical agency by criticizing the practices of their sister communities and defying the declarations of the general chapter in order to prioritize the letter of the Dominican ordinarius, all while begrudgingly acknowledging necessary concessions to the local parish.

## VI. Conclusion

The liturgy held a special place in the textual and spiritual life as well as the communal identity of Dominican convents.<sup>73</sup> To be sure, Dominican friaries had cantors who directed their liturgies in the same way, making the same kinds of local yearly decisions. However, Dominican friars also had other ways of enacting their communal religious identity within their local secular networks and within their order, respectively through preaching and through scholarly education, for example.<sup>74</sup> The other kinds of

<sup>72</sup>Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VII, 76, fol. 224r–v.

<sup>73</sup>"For nuns who stayed within their convent walls, the performance of the liturgy came close to being the end all and be all of their existence." Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*, 8. See also Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 17–19.

<sup>74</sup>Michèle Mulchahey identifies preaching, study, and the salvation of souls as the interconnected foundations of the order. M. Michèle Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent in Study. . .: Dominican Education*

networked relationships that Dominican women possessed through property ownership or ties to biological family were not necessarily marked by the distinctly Dominican character of their community. This “not necessarily” should be understood as an important qualifier. Not all communities who identified as Dominican were formally incorporated into the order.<sup>75</sup> Among those who were, adherence to the Observance had a profound impact on the means by which women communicated with the outside world, as well as their relationships to the order’s governing structures.<sup>76</sup> Yet even in strictly reformed Observant convents, a certain degree of variance and local customization was permitted.<sup>77</sup> Certain aspects of a convent’s liturgy performed their attachment to the Dominican order (for example, commemoration of Saint Dominic every Tuesday), whereas other elements expressed their ties to their cities and families (in Nuremberg, for example, internal observances for the *Heiltumsweisung*, the day when the city publicly displayed the imperial regalia).<sup>78</sup> The liturgy thus served as an important site of religious identity—by its nature flexible in a way that many aspects of Observant practice were not.

The decisions of the Freiburg Penitents in early May 1519 exemplify the kinds of obligations and networks that placed demands on the women organizing their convent’s liturgy, but they also show that these women were able to negotiate these obligations in order to actively shape their convent’s performance. Not only did they have to weigh the relative importance of each conflicting feast but they also had to weigh the community’s dedication to the order’s rules, as well as the strength of the sisters’ local connections and the political importance of conforming to other regional communities or to the parish. In this case, avoiding conflict with the parish was important enough for them to displace the Crown of Thorns, but conformity with the other Dominican convents of the city and their devotion to Catherine of Siena were not important enough for them to displace the Apparition of Michael. Organizing a convent’s liturgy entailed a complex negotiation both of the continually shifting calendar of feasts as well as the persons and authorities, local and distant, secular and religious, that belonged to each convent’s network. The German Dominican directoria mention numerous different sources of regulations or advice, each of which grounds its authority in a different way and each of which plays a different role in the construction of the community’s liturgy. The references to these sources allow us to reconstruct the networks that influenced Dominican convents in making their liturgical decisions: directoria needed to be

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before 1350 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 3–5. For the context of the Observance, see Anne Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls: Dominican Narratives of Self-Understanding during Observant Reforms, c. 1388–1517* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 242–270.

<sup>75</sup>St. Verena in Zurich provides one example. Barbara Helbling, “Das Gotzhus Sant Vrenen,” in *Bettelorden, Bruderschaften und Beginen in Zürich: Stadtkultur und Seelenheil im Mittelalter*, ed. Barbara Helbling, Magdalen Bless-Grabher, and Ines Buhofer (Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2002), 215–227. The unincorporated convents of St. Catherine in Sankt Gallen and Zoffingen in Constance were reformed following the models of the Observance, but they could not take advantage of the Observance’s administrative structures because they were not technically part of the order. Mengis, *Schreibende Frauen*, 33–38, 238–241.

<sup>76</sup>Duval, “Mulieres Religiosae”; Uffmann, “Inside and Outside”; and Engler, *Regelbuch*, 242–273.

<sup>77</sup>For example, Observant ordinances explicitly permit convents to celebrate the translation of their patron saint and to sing sequences (a genre of chant for mass) on the translation, as well as the patron’s main feast. Engler, *Regelbuch*, 129.

<sup>78</sup>Elizabeth Rice Mattison, “The Receptions and Rejections of Sicilian Regalia in Late Medieval Nuremberg,” *Gesta* 58, no. 1 (2019): 77–102.

used together with the standard Dominican ordinarium; higher authorities within the order, including the general chapter, the master general, and the provincial prior, also appear as sources of liturgical change or mandates; in addition to these institutional authorities, the manuscripts name other Dominican communities of both friars and sisters as sources of advice or contrast; finally, the local parish clergy appear not as authorities on the Dominican liturgy but because they make liturgical decisions that sometimes affect the women even inside the convent. In compiling these manuscripts, the women who wrote them weighed the strength of the various connections in their networks and the potential consequences of following or ignoring one or the other authority in order to prioritize when resolving various liturgical conflicts. This very act of inscription itself produced a new authority constructed as precedence, should analogous situations arise in the future, and contained in a new quasi-institutional, ambiguously authoritative book type: the directorium. Each year's iterative decisions produced a liturgical performance through which these women enacted a dynamic communal identity at the nexus of their status as Dominicans, their connection to local community outside their walls, and the unique spiritual commitments that differentiated them from other Dominican convents.

In the introduction to this article, I called attention to the ways in which sociocultural background and regional belonging affect contemporary Catholic sisters' identities. This also pertains for medieval religious women, whose daily lives, experiences, and choices were differentially affected by the order to which they belonged, affiliation with a reform movement, the financial stability of their convent, age of entrance, socioeconomic background, family ties, and geographical location, and so on. It has long been recognized that the organization of the liturgy provides a special window into the performed identity of a religious community.<sup>79</sup> This process did not occur in a vacuum; rather, a community liturgically constructed its identity at the nexus of competing obligations and affiliations. Writing about the monastery of Farfa, Susan Boynton drew attention to the fact that liturgy "included certain elements typical of its geographic area, some aspects particular to the abbey's own customs, and other components that were more universal."<sup>80</sup> Even for strictly enclosed religious women, the liturgy was not an internal affair but rather a complex negotiation of competing demands from various entities within the convent's network. The religious order to which the convent belonged, the city or bishopric within which it lay, the patron saints to whom its altars were dedicated, and the human patrons who supported it materially all exercised a due degree of influence over the community's liturgical practice.<sup>81</sup> These competing demands, however, were not performative invasive and unnatural pressures on an independent entity to compromise its unique liturgical identity by conceding to external worship practices.<sup>82</sup> In cases where different obligations came into conflict, the religious

<sup>79</sup>For a spectacular study of the way one community of Dominican sisters uniquely interpreted and shaped their liturgy through the composition of liturgical books and new chants, see Hamburger et al., *Liturgical Life*.

<sup>80</sup>Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 4.

<sup>81</sup>For lay patrons financing liturgical commemorations, see Cardoso, "Unveiling Female Observance," 365–382, at 373–374.

<sup>82</sup>Liturgical reform could be perceived in this way by those undergoing it, as many aspects of reform could be experienced as a loss or destruction of tradition. See Alison I. Beach, *The Trauma of Monastic Reform: Community and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 24–28.

community could not compromise their identity or choose their own liturgy because “their own liturgy” was not fixed but rather was continually created through the living, flexible, and dynamic intersection of these obligations, networks, and performed decisions.<sup>83</sup> As Sigrid Hirbodian has written, meticulous analysis of hyperlocal sources in the tradition of German regional history “leads to fresh answers to the more general question of how the religious identities of women were shaped: not only through formal religious affiliation, but also by social background, by political climate in the hometown, and by spirituality, especially by the model of neighboring institutions that followed a very different way of life.”<sup>84</sup> In addition to the legal and economic records that have traditionally formed the basis of *Landesgeschichte*, liturgical documents such as these directoria provide invaluable insight into the ways religious women in the late Middle Ages reconciled their obligations to perform a networked identity.

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<sup>83</sup>Alison Altstatt has argued that Anna von Buchwald’s well-known *Buch im Chor* from Kloster Preetz represented her attempt, on the one hand, to assert her community’s traditional liturgical observations against the incursions of the Bursfelde reform and, on the other, to get a handle on the numerous votive and memorial obligations that the convent had assumed on behalf of patrons. Alison Noel Altstatt, “The Music and Liturgy of Kloster Preetz: Anna von Buchwald’s ‘Buch im Chor’ in its Fifteenth-century Context” (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2011), 14–103.

<sup>84</sup>Hirbodian, “Research on Monasticism in the German Tradition,” 2:1150.

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