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The Invisible Obvious: Women's Liturgy at Klosterneuburg

Abstract: Founded in the early twelfth century CE on the banks of the Danube just north of Vienna, the monastery at Klosterneuburg offers a rare glimpse into how one community of Augustinian canonesses asserted their liturgical voice in the face of male supervision. Like the Benedictine monasteries of the concurrent Hirsau reforms, the Augustinian houses incorporated both men and women in separate and often adjacent precincts, with the canonesses placed under the administrative and spiritual direction of the canons. Despite the illusion of male control, the canonesses of Klosterneuburg charted their own course in the celebration of their liturgy, and they expressed this liturgy with a form of musical notation distinct from that of the canons. Given the divergent forms of their liturgical and musical practices, canonesses likely served as scribes for their liturgical texts and music as well.

1 Introduction

In 1984, Norwegian psychologist Jan Smedslund published an essay entitled 'The Invisible Obvious: Culture in Psychology'.¹ He argued that in disregarding the cultures in which we are embedded, traditional psychology had missed much that was sitting in plain sight. He claimed that without the ability to participate in the cultures that framed its subjects, research itself was impossible.² For those who study the residues of past cultures, this is certainly unsettling. Indeed, any attempt to embed within a culture long past requires that we invent rather than experience the cultures we seek to understand. But as Anaïs Nin observed, 'We do not see things as *they* are. We see them as *we* are'.³ We struggle to connect dots to form an image of what we suspect the past to have been, an image that comports with what our education and experience dispose us to see, with the expectation that should more dots appear, the image will become clearer. But once seen, the now visible dots might unveil a picture altogether different from what we expected to see. For students of the past, this is the 'invisible obvious'.

1 Smedslund 1984.

2 Smedslund 1984, 445.

3 Nin 1961, 124.

Some aspect of an object or phenomenon hides in plain sight for decades or even centuries and at some juncture slides into view. In an instant, what was invisible is revealed, and once revealed, becomes obvious.

In this essay, I explore one facet of the ‘invisible obvious’ associated with the long-overlooked musical and liturgical practices of the canonesses enclosed within the double monastery at Klosterneuburg, practices that endured from the middle third of the twelfth century CE until the last canoness died in 1568 (note: CE assumed for all dates hereafter). I will show that the canonesses of Klosterneuburg followed a liturgical *cursus* that was independent from that of the canons in their adjacent precincts, and I will trace the process by which Amelia Carr and I uncovered this liturgical practice and the distinct form of musical notation used to express it. I will survey the extent to which requirements for enclosure were honoured by the canonesses, and I will speculate as to whether such an independent liturgical and notational practice might have manifested at other double monasteries. I will close with a brief summary along with a hint at new directions.

2 The canons and canonesses of Klosterneuburg

Inspired by the reforms for the common life promoted by Pope Gregory VII in the latter part of the eleventh century, Benedictine monks from Hirsau in the Black Forest and Augustinian canons in Austria and Bavaria established or reformed multiple monastic foundations in Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria over the course of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴ Many if not most were double monasteries, with the men and women housed separately in adjacent or nearby precincts and with the women under the nominal control of the male clerics.⁵ Despite the wide distribution of such foundations, the liturgical and musical practices of the female side of these institutions have received little attention.⁶ To be fair, most of these

4 For the Hirsau reforms see Jakobs 1961 and especially Schreiner 1991a and Schreiner 1999; as for the culture of Hirsau’s manuscript production, see Heinzer 1991. For the Augustinian reforms at Rottenbuch in the late eleventh century, see Mois 1953 and 1974. For the later reforms under Archbishop Konrad I of Salzburg, see Weinfurter 1975, 1984 and 1998.

5 I use the expression ‘double monastery’ (and in some cases, ‘dual-sex monastery’) in the sense proposed by Thompson 1991, 55, as ‘consisting of two communities, one of monks and one of nuns, established in the same place but not necessarily within the same boundary, observing the same rule, and together forming a legal entity under one authority’ (cited in Hotchin 2002, 69). On the problems of defining a ‘double house’, see Norton and Carr 2011, 71, n. 16.

6 Our understanding of the lives of women enclosed within the double monasteries of the German-speaking south has been broadened by many studies in recent years. The list is too long to engage

foundations can claim too few liturgical manuscripts to allow any meaningful distinctions between male and female use, and most scholars have been content to consider the few manuscripts and fragments that have survived as representing the use of the monks or canons by default.

The manuscripts from Klosterneuburg, on the other hand, stand out for their sheer bulk. Nearly three hundred fifty liturgical manuscripts and fragments from Klosterneuburg and elsewhere survive in the Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek alone, with more fragments coming to light as this is going to press.⁷ Built on a bluff overlooking the Danube just north-west of Vienna, Klosterneuburg was founded as a proprietary church in 1114 by the Austrian margrave Leopold III (now St Leopold), who turned it over to Augustinian canons in 1133. As was customary for Augustinian foundations in the region, Klosterneuburg was founded as double, with the canons and canonesses housed in separate, but adjacent, precincts.⁸ A late seventeenth-century engraving shows the relative locations for the two parts of the foundation (see Fig. 1): the canons' precincts on the right and the smaller precincts of the canonesses on the left.

here, so I offer the following by way of introduction. On issues related to literacy and learning among the female religious of medieval Germany writ large, see Kruckenberg 2021. Especially notable for the nuns of the Hirsau reforms are Küsters 1991, Hotchin 2002, and the several studies of Alison Beach (for example, Beach 2004, (ed.) 2007 and 2013). Aspects of the Hirsau liturgy are treated by Felix Heinzer (Heinzer 1992, 2001 and 2004, among others). On the women in Austrian double monasteries within the diocese of Passau, see Christiane Ulrike Kurz's 2010 University of Vienna dissertation (published as Kurz 2015). Some older studies remain useful. For the nuns of Admont see Wichner 1881. For the canonesses of St Florian, see Czerny 1878, 278–282. Despite the recent interest in – and proliferation of studies on – the nuns and canonesses of the region, the liturgical and musical lives of these women remain largely unexplored. This will likely be rectified in Hanna Zühlke's Habilitationsschrift on the Hirsau liturgy, currently in progress, which includes a chapter devoted to the liturgy of the nuns (personal correspondence from Hanna Zühlke, 2 July 2023).

⁷ The website *Cantus Planus: Musikhandschriften des Mittelalters, Erschließung von Choralhandschriften, mehrstimmiger Musik und Fragmenten aus Österreich*, under the heading 'Austriaca: Liturgische Handschriften in österreichischen Bibliotheken', lists 349 liturgical manuscripts and fragments of various sorts held by the Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek. These include liturgical fragments preserved in non-liturgical manuscripts. See <<https://www.cantusplanus.at/de-at/austriaca/HssAustria/index.php>> (accessed on 11 June 2023). Additional liturgical fragments are currently being catalogued by Eva Veselovska of the Institute of Musicology, Slovak Academy of Sciences. These can be found at <<https://www.austriamanus.org>> (accessed on 11 June 2023). Eva Veselovska is currently preparing an article on these fragments for the *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*.

⁸ On the dual-sex foundations associated with the twelfth-century Augustinian reforms, see Weinfurter 1975, 290–292.



Fig. 1: Bird's eye view of Klosterneuburg; engraving by Johann Martin Lerch between 1687 and 1693; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum, DG 414; © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum.

The church of the canonesses was built in the thirteenth or fourteenth century as an expansion of an earlier twelfth-century building and still stands.⁹ Known as the church of Mary Magdalene in the modern literature, the association of the women's precincts with the saint has recently been challenged by Sarah Deichstetter, who traces the affiliation only to 1687.¹⁰ However, liturgical evidence suggests that the

⁹ The church of the canonesses is treated in Kovarik 2011. A more thorough investigation by Barbara Schedl is in progress.

¹⁰ Deichstetter 2023 shows that the documentary evidence preserved in the Klosterneuburg Stiftsarchiv supports the notion that the foundation as a whole (including both men's and women's precincts) was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. She notes that the earliest unambiguous connection between Mary Magdalene and the church of the canonesses is found in the 1687 engraving by Johann Martin Lerch (see Fig. 1), where the church is known as the 'Sacellum S. Maria Magdalene'.

church itself had an association with Mary Magdalene since at least the early fourteenth century, if not earlier.¹¹ The community appears to have been well attended and was populated largely by the daughters and widows of the lesser nobility and *ministeriales*.¹² The canonesses were organised separately, headed by a *magistra* or *Maisterin*, and placed under the spiritual and temporal control of a *custos dominarum* appointed by the provost.

By the mid thirteenth century, the number of women entering the cloister had grown large enough that the *magistra* petitioned the pope to limit the number of women entering the religious life at Klosterneuburg, and the pope complied, directing that the population should not exceed the means available to support it.¹³ In an early application of Pope Boniface VIII's pronouncement requiring the strict enclosure of nuns, a visitation order in 1301, confirmed by Passau's bishop six years later, restricted access by the canonesses to the outside world, restrictions that would prove porous at best.¹⁴ In 1330, the bishop further ordered that the number of canonesses not exceed thirty-two.¹⁵

Over time the number of canonesses decreased. Documents from the late fourteenth century show numbers in the twenties.¹⁶ During the sixteenth century, the combined effects of the plague, the Turkish invasion, and the Protestant Reformation further diminished the ranks of Klosterneuburg canonesses. By the middle third of the sixteenth century, the number had dwindled to twelve.¹⁷ In 1565, three

11 See Section 2.2 'The limits of enclosure' below on the canons' processions to the church of the canonesses and Norton and Carr 2011, 128–129 and n. 219. Three late-sixteenth-century sacristan's handbooks also identify this as the church of Mary Magdalene. See below, n. 55.

12 Dienst 1990, 174–187.

13 StiAK Urkunde 1253.VII.01 <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAK/KlosterneuburgCanReg/1253_VII_11/charter> (accessed on 11 June 2023). Edition in Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 1, 6–7.

14 The 1301 statute is preserved in StiAK Urkunde 1301.V.26.1 <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAK/KlosterneuburgCanReg/1301_V_26.1/charter> (accessed on 11 June 2023). Edition in Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 1, 68–72. The 1307 statute is preserved in StiAK Urkunde 1307.VII.01 <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAK/KlosterneuburgCanReg/1307_VII_01/charter> (accessed on 11 June 2023). Edition in Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 1, 106–107. On the porous nature of enclosure at Klosterneuburg, see Section 2.2 'The limits of enclosure' below.

15 StiAK Urkunde 1330.II.27 <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAK/KlosterneuburgCanReg/1330_II_27/charter> (accessed on 11 June 2023). Edition in Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 1, 233–234.

16 Documents from 1396, for example, indicate twenty-three and twenty-four canonesses respectively. See Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 2, 286 and 288.

17 Twelve canonesses participated in the election of the new *magistra* in 1535. A tied vote resulted in the intervention of the provost, who appointed Magdalena Münsterinn instead to the post, even though she was of advanced years and not yet professed. See Davy 1995, 38. The original document is contained in StiAK MS 6, fol. 99.

canonesses remained, and, in March of 1568, the last canoness died.¹⁸ The church remained empty for the next century and a half yet continued to serve as a station for liturgical processions.¹⁹ In 1722, the church was deconsecrated, and its bell tower removed. The lower level was converted into a wine press, a function that it continues to fulfil, while the upper level was used to store grain.²⁰

2.1 Women's liturgy at Klosterneuburg

When art historian, Amelia Carr, and I began our study of Klosterneuburg's Holy Week rites in the late 1980s, we did not intend to uncover the liturgical practice for Klosterneuburg's canonesses. Our intent rather was to outline how perceptions of the so-called sepulchre rites, rites that marked the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, changed as the interior of the church was recast over the four centuries that separated the church's dedication in 1136 from our lapse in manuscript evidence at the turn of the sixteenth century.²¹ We were aware that there were cloistered women at Klosterneuburg, but our focus was on the liturgical practice and the church of the canons. It pains me to admit now, but I had fully absorbed the attitude expressed nearly two centuries earlier by Klosterneuburg's librarian and archivist, Maximillian Fischer, who observed in 1815 that 'Die Begebenheiten dieses Klosters sind so einförmig, als es die natürliche Beschaffenheit eines Frauenklosters mit sich bringt' ('The story of this cloister is as monotonous as the natural condition of a woman's monastery implies', all translations are mine).²²

We knew then of seventeen manuscripts preserving the *Visitatio sepulchri*, a liturgical re-enactment of the discovery by the Marys of the empty tomb of Christ that concluded the Office of Matins on Easter morning.²³ This ceremony culminated the so-called sepulchre rites of Holy Week that had drawn our attention, rites that began with the ritual burial of the cross on Good Friday (*Depositio crucis*) and its

18 Appolonia Khatzler, the last canoness at Klosterneuburg, died on 20 March 1568. On the final years for the women at Klosterneuburg, see Davy 1995, 75–77.

19 These are noted in StIAK MS 191 (copied in 1573), CCL 1026A (copied in 1576), and Vienna lat. 15078 (copied in 1594). See Norton and Carr 2011, 74, n. 34.

20 Černík 1914, 38.

21 Our initial findings were reported in a series of presentations given at the International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, MI) between 1989 and 1994 and at the symposium 'Drame liturgique: Sens et représentations', sponsored by the Société française de musicologie in Fontévraud, France (April 1996).

22 Fischer 1815, vol. 1, 333.

23 These are given in Lipphardt 1976–1990, vol. 2, 286–287 (LOO 225) and 3, 981–1022 (LOO 593, 594, 595, 596, 596a, 597, 598, 599, 599a, 600, 600a, 601, 602, 602a, 602b, and 602c).

removal prior to Matins on Easter Sunday (*Elevatio crucis*).²⁴ Over the next several years, we were able to extend this number to forty-two.²⁵ As our sources grew in both quantity and quality, we found that we could separate the settings of this rite into two groups based on variations in the forms of musical notation used, in their melodic structures, and in their implied distribution of singing assignments, and this suggested to us a gendered separation in liturgical practice for this ceremony.

One of our newly discovered manuscripts, CCl 1022B, was a fourteenth-century ritual that contained blessings of various sorts along with the rites for the sick and several special rites for the liturgical year, including the blessings and processions for the Purification of Mary (2 February), Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and the rites for Holy Week. We assumed that this would be yet another ritual that would likely not enhance our understanding of Klosterneuburg's Holy Week celebration.²⁶ But on closer examination we realized that this manuscript appeared to have been configured to be used by a priest on behalf of the canonesses.

The manuscript included marginal additions that showed the book to have been used on behalf of women. In the rites for the sick, feminine endings were added interlineally as alternatives for the masculine endings provided in the text, thus rendering *famulam* for *famulum*, *tuam* for *tuum*, *fessam* for *fessum*, *ista* for *iste*, and so on.²⁷ In both the Palm Sunday procession and the rite for the Adoration of the Cross of Good Friday, marginal notes optionally assigned chants normally sung by boys to *sorores*, or sisters.²⁸ While these additions may have been added to

24 Treatments of the *Depositio crucis* of Good Friday are given in Corbin 1960 and Gschwend 1965. See also Chaguinian 2022. Christophe Chaguinian is currently preparing a book length treatment as well.

25 Norton and Carr 1993.

26 The rituals given in Lipphardt 1976–1990 include CCl 629 (LOO 595) and CCl 1021 (LOO 596). Another ritual, CCl 628, was among our newly discovered sources. See Norton and Carr 1993.

27 CCl 1022B, fols 69^v–73^v. Hild 2018 offers a thorough accounting for the rites for the sick and dying as described in manuscripts from Klosterneuburg. Such gendered emendations are found also in the rituals: CCl 1022A, fols 33^v–37^r, where they modify the rites at the bedside of a sick or dying canon or canoness, and CCl 629, fols 140^r–145^v, where they modify the post-mortem rites. See Hild 2018, 16–17.

28 On fol. 26^r, the following direction is found before the hymn ‘Gloria laus et honor’ during the Palm Sunday procession: ‘Deinde veniant duo pueri ante ecclesie stantes et cantantes hunc hymnum: Gloria laus’ (‘Then come two boys standing in front of the church and singing the hymn “Gloria laus”’). Following the word ‘veniant’ in the right margin are the words: ‘duo sorores a[ut],’ the last word broken off due to cropping. With the interpolation, this would read: ‘Deinde veniant duo sorores aut duo pueri’ (‘Then come two sisters or two boys’). A similar interpolation is found on fol. 40^r in the rite for the Adoration of the Cross. The rubric directs boys to sing ‘Agyos o theos’. A marginal note adds ‘aut duo sorores’ (‘or two sisters’).

tailor the manuscript for use in either church as needed,²⁹ the manuscript's directions for the rites for Holy Week along with its setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri* for Easter morning suggest that it was intended for use on behalf of the canonesses. In the rituals of the canons, the participation of the provost is required for the Palm Sunday procession, the rites of Holy Thursday and Good Friday, and the Elevation of the Cross on Easter morning, while in CCI 1022B, the provost is required only for the Blessing of the New Fire on Holy Saturday.³⁰ There is no overlap between the two sets of ceremonies. Further support for the ritual's association with the canonesses is given in the rite for the blessing in the principal chapter. In the canons' rituals, this reads: 'Benedictio super fratres in principalibus capitulis idest in pascha domini, in pentecostes, et in nativitate domini' ('Blessing over the brothers in the principal chapters, that is on Easter, on Pentecost, and on Christmas').³¹ In CCI 1022B, the word 'fratres' is erased and replaced with the word 'sorores' and the list of feasts at which the blessings occur is altered: 'Benedictio super sorores in principalibus capitulis idest in cena domini et aliis' ('Blessing over the sisters in the principal chapters, that is at the Lord's Supper (i.e. Maundy Thursday) and others').³² Moreover, the opening prayer in the canonesses' ritual reads: 'Salvas fac famulas tuas' ('Save your servants (fem.)'), while in canons' rituals, this reads: 'Salvos fac servos tuos' ('Save your servants (masc.)').

The setting for the *Visitatio sepulchri* is particularly revealing (see Fig. 2). Settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* in female houses commonly assign the chants for the chorus and the Marys to the nuns or canonesses, although this is by no means universal.³³ If we assume a similar procedure here – and remembering that this book was intended for use by a priest – we can see that the chants assigned to the chorus and the Marys (*mulieres*) are given here in block text, while the chants likely sung by the priest or his attendants are given in full with musical notation.³⁴

²⁹ Hild 2018, 16–17.

³⁰ Norton and Carr 2011, 118.

³¹ CCI 629 and CCI 1021, fol. 24^r in both manuscripts.

³² CCI 1022B, fol. 33^r.

³³ For example, settings of this rite from the convents at Essen and Origny-Sainte-Benoît assign all lines to male clerics. See Norton and Carr 2011, 104, n. 142–143.

³⁴ An inverse corollary is found in a twelfth-century antiphoner, CCI 1013, fol. 145^r. Here, music is absent for the chants assigned to the angel, thus complementing the assignments provided in the ritual. A similar omission is seen in an early-fourteenth-century processional from the convent of St George in Prague, where the angel's lines are omitted altogether (Prague MS XIII.C.3c, fol. 108^v). For an alternative view on the missing melodies in CCI 1013, see Evers and Janota 2013, vol. 1/2, 461.

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Requiem i vespis pasceue. v. Surrex. do. de sepl.
Deus q̄ hodie die p̄ *Dño. Calla*
 unigenitū tuū eternitatis nob̄
 aditū deuicta morte reserasti. nota
 nr̄a que p̄ueniēdo aspiras etiā ad
 uiuādo proseguere. Deinde dñm.
Qñ delect scđo uisitari seplch cāf. h̄m.
Dum transisset sabbatū maria magdale
 na et maria iacobi et salome emerūt aro
 mata. vt ueniētes ungerēt ihm. *v. Et ualde*
 mane una sabbatoꝝ ueniūt ad monumētū
 orto iā sole. vt. *ā. Maria magdalena et*
alia maria ferebat diluculo aromata dñm
querētes in monumēto. Mulieres. Quis
 reuoluet nobis ab hostio lapidem quem
 tegere sanctū cernim⁹ sepulchrū. *Angelus*
Quem queritis o tremule mulieres in
Mulieres. Ihm naza
 rēth tūmulo geniētes. renū cāfexū querim⁹.

Fig. 2: *Visitatio sepulchri*; CCL 1022B, fol. 64r (fourteenth-century ritual); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

With our expanded repertory of liturgical manuscripts, we noticed differences in the musical settings provided for the *Visitatio sepulchri* among our two groups of manuscripts as well (see Figs 3a–b). Some distinctions are evident at first sight. The canons' ritual on the left provides full rubrics for the performance of the rite, while the antiphoner on the right provides cues only. The forms of musical notation also differ. The canons' ritual uses a four-line staff with lines clearly drawn and with both C and F clefs along with Bohemian rhomboid note heads, while the contemporary antiphoner uses an older form of notation found in Klosterneuburg antiphoners from two centuries earlier. This form of notation, called 'Klosterneuburg notation' in the musicological literature, is one of the earliest forms of staff notation known in the southern regions of German-speaking Europe. Notational signs (or neumes) originating in the German north-west (Metz neumes) are combined with others common to the German south-east (German neumes), with the neumes arranged on drypoint lines etched into the parchment and with the line representing F overlayed in red ink and that representing C overlayed in yellow. In addition, key letters are placed at the beginning of each line.³⁵

Looking at the melodies themselves, further differences are evident (see Figs 4a–b). The melodies for 'Quem queritis' ('Whom do you seek'), 'Jesum nazarenum' ('Jesus of Nazareth'), and 'Non est hic' ('He is not here') in the antiphoner are set a fourth higher than the corresponding melodies in the canons' ritual. There are melodic differences as well, as can be seen in the notes in the shaded areas, differences that are consistent among the two groups of manuscripts throughout the repertory.

While these distinctions were suggestive of a distinct liturgical practice for the canonesses of Klosterneuburg, they were by no means definitive, and we set out to locate a firmer foundation for our suspicions. To be sure, some manuscripts had always been associated with the canonesses. An explicit in CCL 1000, a hymnal copied in 1336, identified its owner or scribe as the canoness, Geisle Ruedwein.³⁶ A fourteenth-century breviary, CCL 982, while never eliciting much interest from liturgical

³⁵ The emergence of the distinctive notational form found in the manuscripts of Klosterneuburg's canonesses is treated most recently in Klugseder 2023, which supplements and to some extent supersedes the earlier studies by Janka Szendrei (Szendrei 1992 and 1998) as well as his own earlier studies (Klugseder 2007, 2008a, and 2008b). I offer an alternative speculation on these new notational forms in Section 3.4 'Early staff notation in southern German-speaking Europe', below.

³⁶ Fol. 123^v: 'Explicit liber domine Geisle Ruedweininne. Anno domini M.CCC.XXXVI' ('Here ends the book of Lady Geisle Ruedwein. The year of Our Lord 1336'). The opening flyleaf also

scholars, contained a colophon that identified the women's house at Klosterneuburg as its destination.³⁷ Perhaps most revealing was the inhabited initial that opened a fourteenth-century gradual, CCl 588, which shows a canoness praying to the Virgin and Child (see Fig. 5).³⁸

Regrettably, there was still too little to warrant any claims for a distinct liturgical practice for the women of Klosterneuburg. Our cache of forty-two manuscripts was insufficient, and we set out to expand our understanding of Klosterneuburg's liturgical holdings. Whether any additional manuscripts might have been intended for the canons or for the canonesses (or both), and whether these might reveal an independent liturgical practice for the canonesses, we did not yet know.

Ultimately, we were able to identify twenty-seven manuscripts that reflected the liturgical use of Klosterneuburg's canonesses (see Table 1).³⁹ These included seven hymnals, nine antiphoners, and three breviaries containing the texts and music for the Divine Office, three processional and two graduals with music for the Mass and its processions, two rituals used by priests on behalf of the canonesses, and a single miscellany with a uniquely configured setting for the Office of the Dead.

includes an inscription in a fifteenth-century hand: 'Das puech ist unser lieben Frauen Gotshaus zu Klosterneuburgk und gehort in das Frauen Kloster' ('The book is <in> our blessed Lady's church at Klosterneuburgk and belongs to the women's cloister'), which is repeated on the verso, albeit inverted. The verso also contains a fifteenth-century ownership mark: 'Liber beate Marie virginis In Newenburga claustrali', which is repeated on fol. 125^v, suggesting that the manuscript was in possession of the canons at that time. The manuscript is available online at <<https://manuscripta.at/>>. For the explicit, see <<https://manuscripta.at/diglit/AT5000-1000/0249>> (accessed on 11 June 2023).

37 Fol. 275^r: 'Das puech ist der vrawen von Czelking in dem vrawen Chloster das Newnburch' ('This book is <for> the women of Zelking in the women's cloister at Klosterneuburg'). This manuscript is the second in a pair of manuscripts that resulted from the division of the manuscript originally presented to the women of Zelking (Lower Austria). See Norton and Carr 2011, 105–108 and below.

38 Another praying canoness is found in an addition to the fourteenth-century hymnal, CCl 1004, fol. 109^r, where it introduces a series of offices beginning with the office for the Finding of St Stephan (3 August).

39 The details for this are laid out in Norton and Carr 2011 and Norton 2016.

Sicq; ut mos habet sepulchre uisitat. ibiq;
clero in duos ordines diuiso. ut fieri solet
in choro cantores imponant hanc anth.

Maria magdalena et alia maria ferebant
diluculo a romata dominum querentes in
Tunc tres pbr̃i ad hoc offm̃ dispositi
portantes tumbas & iessu & iessu ad
monumento sepulchre i psona mulier ad iuicem
cantet hanc
Quis reuoluet nobis ad offio lapidem anth.
quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchru.
Et dyacon' sollempni ac alba ue
ste uestit' int' sepulch' resides i per
sona angeli humili respondet. **Q**uem queritis
o tremule mulieres in hoc tumulto gemetes.
Ihm̃ pbr̃i i psona
mulieru aroma
ta ferentiu hndat. **I**hesum nazarenu crucifixum
Et an
gelus
que rimus. **A**ndat. **N**on est hic que queritis

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Fig. 3a: Diverging settings of the *Visatio sepulchri*; CCI 629, fol. 103^v (fourteenth-century ritual, canons); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

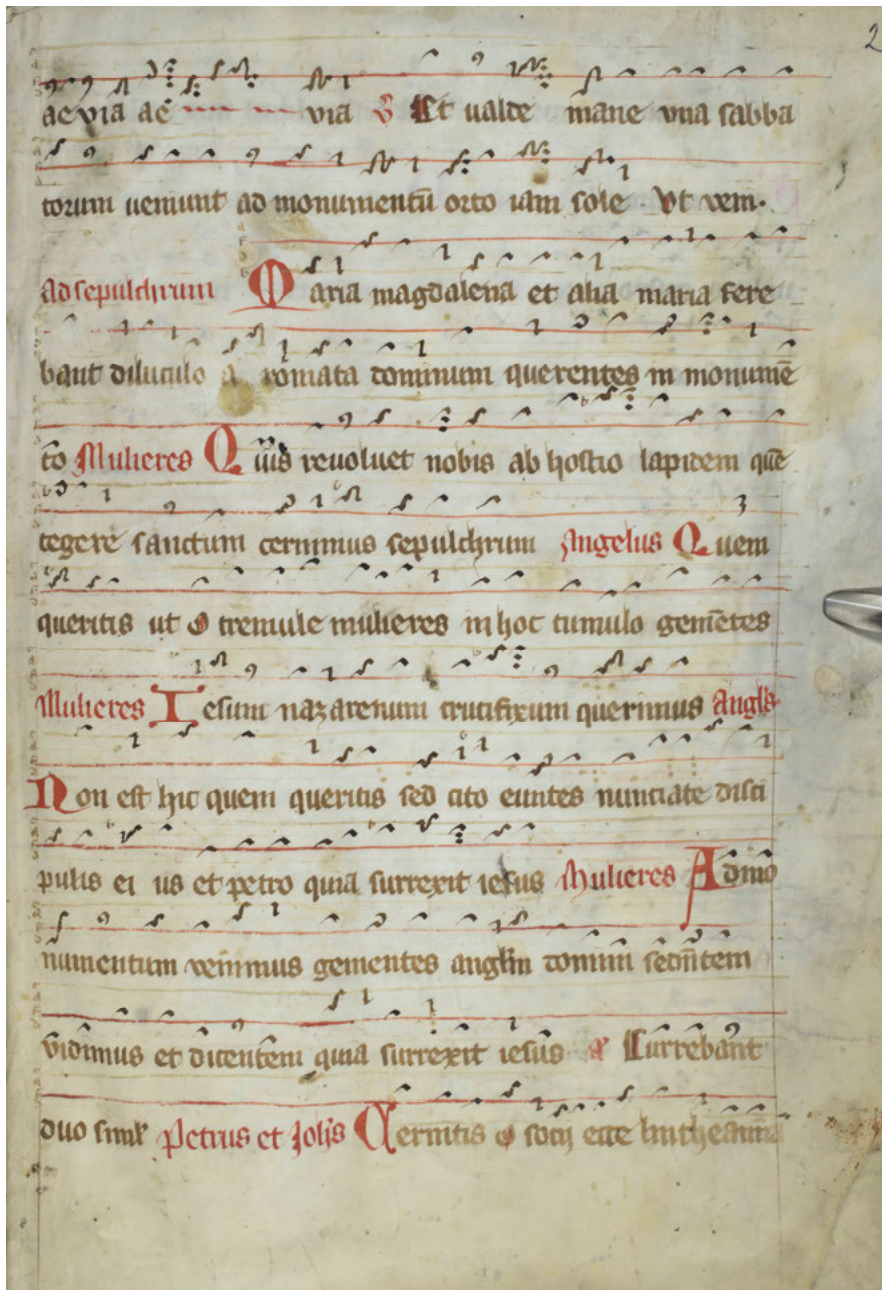


Fig. 3b: Diverging settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri*; CCI 589, fol. 2' (fourteenth-century antiphoner);
 © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

Quis re-vol - vet no - bis ab hos - ti - o la - pi - dem
 quem te - ge - re sane - tum cer - ni - mus se - pul - chrum -

Quem que - ri - tis o tre - mu - le mu - li - e - res in hoc
 tu - mu - lo ge - men - tes.

le - sum Na - za - re - num cru - ci - fi - xum que - ri - mus.

Non est hic quem que - ri - tis sed ci - to e - un - tes mun - ci - a - te
 di - sci - pu - lis e - ius et Pe - tro qui - a sur - re - xit le - sus.

a

Quis re-vol - vet no - bis ab hos - ti - o la - pi - dem
 quem te - ge - re sanc - tum cer - ni - mus se - pul - chrum

Quem que - ri - tis o tre - mu - le mu - li - e - res in hoc
 tu - mu - lo ge - men - tes.

le - sum Na - za - re - num cru - ci - fi - xum que - ri - mus.

Non est hic quem que - ri - tis sed ci - to e - un - tes mun - ci - a - te
 di - sci - pu - lis e - ius et Pe - tro qui - a sur - re - xit le - sus.

b

Figs 4a–b: (a) Melodic settings for canons and canonesses' *Visitatio sepulchri*; CCI 629, fols 103^v–104^r (fourteenth-century ritual, canons); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek. (b) Melodic settings for canons and canonesses' *Visitatio sepulchri*; CCI 589, fol. 2^r (fourteenth-century antiphoner); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.



Fig. 5: Canoness praying to Virgin and Child; CCI 588, fol. 4^r (detail, fourteenth-century gradual); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

Table 1: Klosterneuburg canonesses' liturgical manuscripts.

Manuscript	Date	Notes
Hymnals		
CCI 1000	1336	Colophon indicating scribe/owner as Geisle Ruedwein (1336)
CCI 996	14th c.	
CCI 997	14th c.	German rubrics
CCI 1001	14th c.	Office of the Dead added
CCI 1003	14th c.	St Catherine, Mass and Office for Corpus Christi, St Margaret, St Ursula added with German rubrics
CCI 1004	14th c.	Office of the Dead, Finding of St Stephen, St Catherine, Corpus Christi, and St Acacius added, German rubrics
CCI 999	15th c.	Office of the Dead, Mass and Office for Corpus Christi, St Stephen, and St Dorothy added
Antiphoners		
CCI 1010	12th c.	Winter part – Advent to Holy Saturday, Office of the Dead added
CCI 1012	12th c.	Summer part – Pentecost to octave of St Andrew and Sundays after Pentecost, St Catherine added
CCI 1013	12th c.	Winter part – Advent to Monday after Ascension. Unique <i>Visitatio sepulchri</i>
CCI 1011	14th c.	Winter part – Advent to Holy Saturday, Office of the Dead and St Catherine added
CCI 1015	14th c.	Winter part – Advent to Holy Saturday, Office of the Dead, Corpus Christi, St Catherine added
CCI 1017	14th c.	Winter part – St Nicholas to Holy Saturday
CCI 1018	14th c.	Summer part – Easter to St Andrew and Sundays after Pentecost, St Ursula, Office of the Dead added
CCI 589	14th c.	Summer part – Easter to St Catherine and Sundays after Pentecost, Office of the Dead added
CCI 1007	14th c.	New feasts for Visitation, St Anna, and St Dorothy
Breviaries		
CCI 1200	14th c.	Composite MS. German rubrics in psalter, feasts follow antiphoners
CCI 991	14th c.	Originally joined with MS 982, adapted for canonesses
CCI 982	14th c.	Originally joined with MS 991, adapted for canonesses
Processionals		
CCI 995	14th–15th c.	German rubrics, dedication of the church before St Afra
CCI 1006	15th c.	Copy of MS 995
CCI 1005	15th c.	Corrected copy of MS 995

Manuscript	Date	Notes
Graduals		
Graz 807	12th c.	Possibly gift to canonesses at Seckau
CCI 588	14th c.	Inhabited initial with canoness praying to the Virgin and Child
Rituals		
CCI 1022A	14th c.	Gender changes in prayers for the sick and dying
CCI 1022B	c. 1330	Gender changes in prayers for the sick, <i>sorores</i> in margin, <i>Visitatio sepulchri</i> with block text for nuns. Musical notator likely same as CCI 629
Miscellany		
CCI 1190	14th c.	Contains Office of the Dead corresponding to antiphoners

Our process for discovery followed a spiral path. We began with the hymnal, CCI 1000, which was tied to the canonesses through its explicit, and we expanded the list to include six hymnals that shared the same repertory of texts and melodies and the same form of musical notation. The attribution of the hymnals to Klosterneuburg's canonesses was of long standing. The hymnals had been assigned to the canonesses by the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* in 1903,⁴⁰ and this assignment was confirmed by musicologist Bruno Stäblein in his 1956 edition of medieval hymns.⁴¹ So far as we knew, though, no attempts had been made to compare the content of these hymnals with that of the canons. The hymn texts for the canons were preserved in numerous breviaries and ordinals. Hymn melodies were given in two manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century.⁴²

Comparing the hymns from the two groups of manuscripts revealed several points of divergence. Hymns for the feasts of Holy Innocents and its octave, the octave for St Stephan, the feasts of Mary Magdalene, St Augustine, St Matthew, St Luke, and the Conception of Mary varied among the manuscripts of canons and canonesses (see Table 2).⁴³

⁴⁰ See, for example, Blume and Dreves 1903, 29 and 236.

⁴¹ Stäblein 1956, viii (introduction), 209–247 (edition), and 565–578 (commentary).

⁴² Melodies are contained in CCI 599 and CCI 600.

⁴³ The manuscripts consulted are the following: Canons: CCI 590, CCI 599, CCI 600, CCI 601, CCI 602, CCI 1199; Canonesses: CCI 996, CCI 997, CCI 999, CCI 1000, CCI 1001, CCI 1003, CCI 1004. These are given also in Norton and Carr 2011, 144. The hymns indicated in bold and italic are found in hymnals and service books; those in italic in service books; those that are underscored in hymnals only.

Table 2: Variations between canons and canonesses' hymnals

Feast	Date	Office	Canons	Canonesses
Holy Innocents	28 Dec.	Matins	<i>Aeterna Christi munera (CMM)</i>	<i>Salvete flores martyrum</i>
Stephan, octave	2 Jan.	Matins	<i>Deus tuorum (FST)</i>	<i>Stephano primo martyri</i>
Holy Innocents, octave	4 Jan.	Matins	<i>Aeterna Christi munera (CMM)</i>	<i>Salvete flores martyrum</i>
Pentecost	--	Several	<i>Veni creator spiritus</i>	<i>Aeterna sapientia</i>
Mary Magdalene	22 Jul.	Matins	<i>Votiva cunctis</i>	<i>Deus qui quosvis eligis</i>
Augustine	28 Aug.	Matins	<i>Magne pater Augustine</i>	<i>Festa patris Augustini</i>
		Lauds	<i>Celi cives applaudite</i>	<i>Exultemus Deo celi</i>
Matthew	21 Sep	Matins	<i>Ortu phebi (CA)</i>	<i>Matthee sancta</i>
		Vespers	<i>Exultet celum (CA)</i>	<i>O verbum fidelissimus</i>
Luke	18 Oct	Vespers	<i>Exultet celum (CA)</i>	<i>Luca fidelis</i>
Conception of Mary	8 Dec	Vespers	<i>Gaude visceribus (NM)</i>	<i>Virga de Jesse generata</i>

Key for Table 2:

CA = Common of Apostles

CMM = Common of Many Martyrs

FST = Finding of St Stephan (3 August)

NM = Nativity of Mary (8 September)

The hymn texts 'Aeterna sapientia' for Pentecost, 'Deus qui quosvis eligis' for the feast of Mary Magdalene, and 'Festa Patris Augustini', for St Augustine, moreover, were unique to these hymnals and may have been composed by the canonesses themselves.⁴⁴ The hymn 'Deus creator omnium', typically given first in the canons' manuscripts but embedded within those of the canonesses, was given different melodies in the two sets of hymnals as well. Further distinctions were also evident.

⁴⁴ The listings in the editions of the *Analecta Hymnica*, Dreves 1888, 94 ('Festa patris Augustini') and Blume and Dreves 1903, 29 ('Aeterna sapientia') and 235–236 ('Deus qui quosvis elegis'), indicate the Klosterneuburg manuscripts as the sole source for these hymns. On the hymns 'Stephano primo martyri' and 'Salvete flores martyrum', found in the hymnals of the canonesses but not in those of the canons, see also Szendrei 2004, 55–58.

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dar uelpe quo vita nūsc̃ ceridat sed
 p̃mum mortis acie phem̃is instet
 gloria **P**ia p̃r pussime **Ad uespas.**

Lux creator optime lucē die r
 10
 proferens primordys lucis noue
 mundi parans originem **Qui**
 mane iunctū vesp̃i diē vocari p̃cipis
 tetrū chaos illabit̃ audi p̃ces cū fle
 tibz **D**e mēs gūata cūte vite sit exul
 murē dū nil phēne cogitat seseqz cū
 pis illigat **C**eloz pliet ītinū vitale
 tollat p̃mū vitem̃ om̃e noxiū pur
 gem̃ om̃e pestmū **O**ro p̃ri **Ad vs.**

O lux beata trinitas ī principē

14

Fig. 6a: Hymn 'Lucis creator optime'; CCI 600, fol. 152' (fifteenth-century hymnal, canons);
 © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

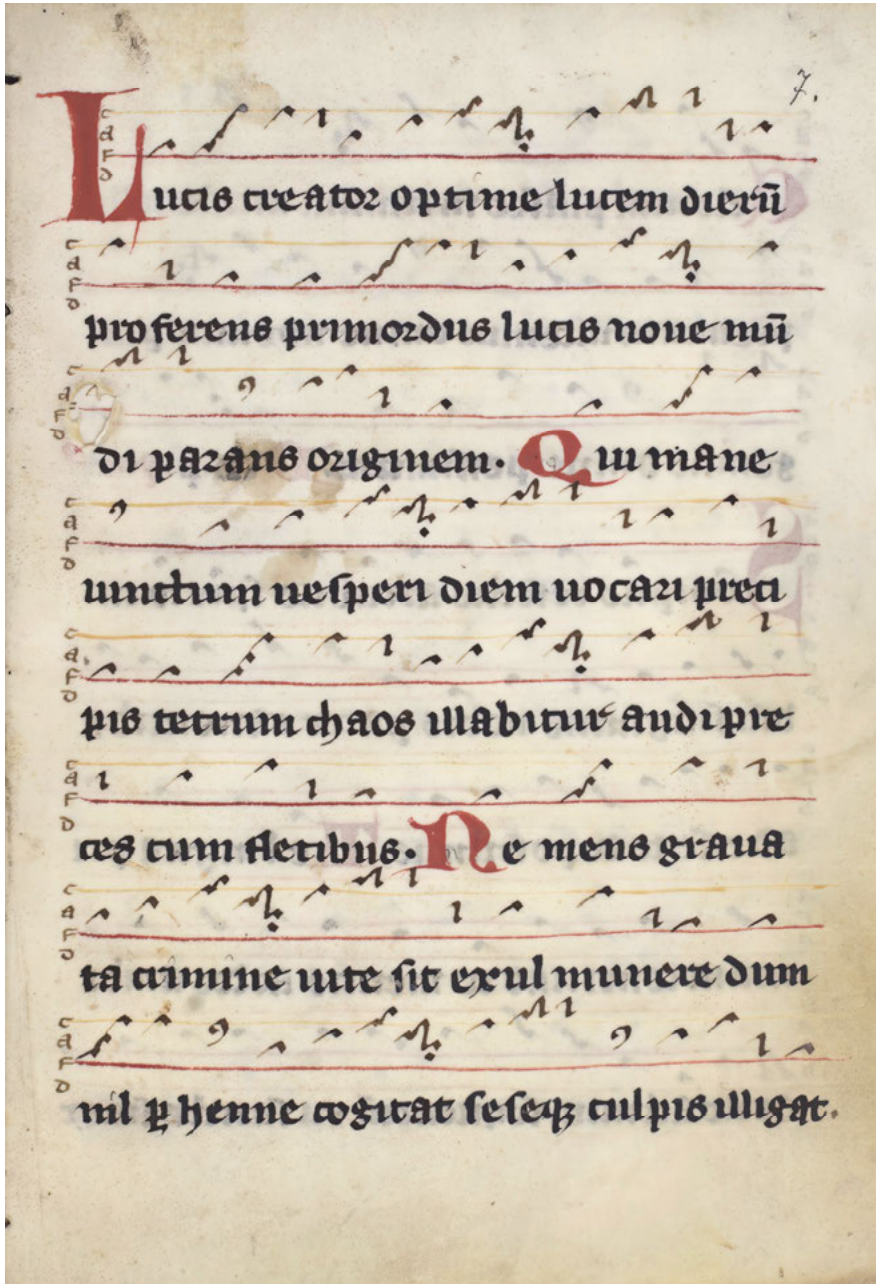


Fig. 6b: Hymn 'Lucis creator optime'; CCI 1000, fol. 7' (fourteenth-century hymnal, canonesses); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

Figs 6a–b shows settings for the hymn ‘Lucis creator optime’ from the hymnals of the canons and canonesses respectively. The canons’ hymn, like the rituals shown earlier, is set with Bohemian rhomboid note forms (see Figs 2 and 3a–b), while the canonesses’ manuscript adopts the older staff notation seen in the antiphoners (see Figs 3a–b and the discussion below in Section 3.3 ‘Early Staff Notation in Klosterneuburg’). Also noteworthy is the handling of stanzas. While CCl 599 includes music for all stanzas, CCl 600 provides notation for the first stanza only, with the remaining stanzas given in block text. All of the canonesses’ hymnals, on the other hand, repeat the music for each stanza.

Next, we examined a group of eight antiphoners, three from the twelfth century and five from the fourteenth, that shared the style of musical notation preserved in the hymnals.⁴⁵ It was the specific form of staff notation common to these manuscripts that led Franz Karl Praßl to associate the antiphoners with the canonesses in his 1987 Graz dissertation.⁴⁶ This association was not universally accepted, however, and several scholars continued to assign the antiphoners to the canons, if not those of Klosterneuburg itself, then possibly those of Reichersberg am Inn or Sankt Nikola bei Passau.⁴⁷ However, the inclusion within the antiphoners of hymns that were specific to the hymnals of the canonesses allowed us to confirm Prassl’s insight. The hymns given in bold/italic in the right-hand column of Table 2 are recorded in both the hymnals and the antiphoners. Even stronger confirmation was offered by the distinct liturgical ordering exhibited in the antiphoners for several feasts. This distinct ordering was first observed by Robert Klugseder in a study published as ours was nearing completion.⁴⁸ In particular, the offices for St Benedict, the Conversion of St Paul, Mary Magdalene, St Catherine, and the Office of the Dead were uniquely configured in these antiphoners. We found other features that were similarly distinctive,⁴⁹ particularly, as I noted earlier, the musical setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri*.

⁴⁵ Lacoste 2000 provides the most thorough treatment of the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners.

⁴⁶ Praßl 1987, 11: ‘Im Stift Klosterneuburg gab es nebeneinander zwei Notationstraditionen: die Chorherren verwendet linienlose deutsche Neumen, die Chorfrauen jedoch die “Metzer Notation” auf Linien, die eigentlich einen Mischtypus zwischen Deutschen (z.B. Strophici) und Metzern (z.B. Uncinus) Neumen darstellt’ (‘At Klosterneuburg, two traditions of [musical] notation existed side by side: the canons used staffless German neumes, while the canonesses used “Metz notation” on lines, which is actually a mixture of German (e.g. Strophici) and Metz (e.g. Uncinus) neumes’).

⁴⁷ Schmidt 1983 suggested Reichersberg am Inn, while Flotzinger 1989 argued in favour of St Nikola bei Passau. Engels 1996 did not point to any particular location but noted that the antiphoners did not reflect the liturgical order of Klosterneuburg.

⁴⁸ Klugseder 2008b offers a thorough accounting of the manuscripts for the Mass as well as for the Divine Office. Klugseder’s findings for the Divine Office are supplemented in Norton and Carr 2011.

⁴⁹ The Klosterneuburg antiphoners contain additional responsories attached to Matins for the Office of the Assumption of Mary (15 August), a unique arrangement of antiphons for the days following the Assumption, as well as additional responsories attached to the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July) and other feasts. See Norton and Carr 2011, 86–91.

The feast for Mary Magdalene (22 July) illustrates the differences existing between the manuscripts of canons and canonesses Table 3 provides a listing of the antiphons, responsories, and hymns for the Office of Matins included in the manuscripts of the canonesses from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and from the manuscripts of the canons and the cathedral of Passau.⁵⁰ The sequence of musical items for the canons follows that of the diocese, while that of the canonesses is independent.⁵¹ Note the items specific to the canonesses rendered in bold. The liturgy for the canonesses did not remain static moreover, as changes are evident between the twelfth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts.

Table 3: Matins for the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July).

Item	Genre	Canonesses (12th c.)	Canonesses (14th c.)	Canons (14th–15th c.)	Passau (13th–14th c.)
Invitatory	A	<i>Ploremus coram domino</i>		<i>Stellam Christum</i>	<i>Stellam Christum</i>
	H	<i>Deus qui quosvis</i>	---	<i>Votiva cunctis</i>	---
Nocturn 1	A	<i>Rogabat Iesum quidam</i>		<i>Ingressus Jesus</i>	<i>Ingressus Jesus</i>
	A	<i>Stans retro Maria secus</i>		<i>Quae dum lacrimosa</i>	<i>Quae dum lacrimosa</i>
	A	<i>Videns autem pharisaeus</i>		<i>Incendit plene</i>	<i>Incendit plene</i>
	R	<i>Soror Marthe Maria stabat</i>		<i>Septem ergo Maria</i>	<i>Septem ergo Maria</i>
	R	<i>Martha stetit et ait Domine</i>		<i>Accessit ad pedes</i>	<i>Accessit ad pedes</i>
	R	<i>Respondens Jesus dixit Martha</i>		<i>Caelistis medicus</i>	<i>Caelistis medicus</i>

⁵⁰ The manuscripts consulted are the following: Canonesses (twelfth century): CCl 1012, fols 22^v–25^v; Canonesses (fourteenth century): CCl 589, fols 48^v–51^v; CCl 1018, fols 79^r–84^r; Canons (fourteenth–fifteenth century): CCl 67, fols 120^v–134^r; CCl 590, fols 364^v–367^r; CCl 635, fol. 81^r; Passau (thirteenth–fourteenth century): Clm 16141, fols 106^r–108^r; CCl 1194, fol. 102^r.

⁵¹ Kalechyts 2023 offers an in-depth analysis for the music of the canonesses' office for Mary Magdalene (22 July) along with discussions of parallel versions of items found elsewhere.

Item	Genre	Canonesses (12th c.)	Canonesses (14th c.)	Canons (14th–15th c.)	Passau (13th–14 th c.)
Nocturn 2	A	<i>Ungentum quod sibi Maria</i>		<i>Intendens porro</i>	<i>Intendens porro</i>
	A	<i>Capillos ad compositionem</i>		<i>Jesus dum vocat</i>	<i>Jesus dum vocat</i>
	A	<i>Fundans Sion in Saphiris</i>	---	<i>Fundans Sion in Saphiris</i>	<i>Fundans Sion in Saphiris</i>
	A	<i>Quod ergo in se habuit</i>	<i>Quod ergo in se abluit***</i>	---	---
	R	<i>Conversus Jesus ad Mariam</i>	<i>Caelestis medicus egram</i>	<i>Umbrosum tunc revera</i>	<i>Umbrosum tunc revera</i>
	R	<i>Cum venisset Maria ubi erat</i>	<i>Septem ergo Maria daemonia</i>	<i>Vidit Maria duos angelos</i>	<i>Vidit Maria duos angelos</i>
	R	<i>Maria plorans ad monumentum</i>			
Nocturn 3	A	<i>Pius ergo poenitens mulier</i>		<i>Maria ergo accepit libram</i>	<i>Maria ergo accepit libram</i>
	A	<i>Maria ergo accepit libram</i>		<i>Cum esset Bethanie Jesus</i>	<i>Cum esset Bethanie Jesus</i>
	A	<i>Cum esset Bethaniae Jesu</i>		<i>Amen dico vobis</i>	<i>Amen dico vobis</i>
	A	---	<i>Fundans Sion in saphiris rex</i>	---	---
	R	<i>Accepit Maria libram</i>	<i>Maria Magdalena quae fuerat*** [1]</i>	<i>Post haec conversa est</i>	<i>Post haec conversa est</i>
	R	<i>Fregit Maria super caput Jesu</i>	<i>Umbrosum tunc revera** [1]</i>	<i>Adest testes divine</i>	<i>Adest testis divine</i>
	R	<i>Vidit Maria duos angelos</i>	<i>Adest testis divinae***</i>	<i>Summe propitiator Christe</i>	<i>Summe propitiator Christe</i>

Key for Table 3:

--- = Not present

** = Text only in CCI 1018

*** = Text only in both CCI 589 and CCI 1018

A = Antiphon

H = Hymn

R= Responsory

[1] = Order reversed in CCI 589

This distinct version of the office for Mary Magdalene is evident in the earliest of the canonesses' antiphoners, CCl 1012, which was copied shortly after Klosterneuburg's Augustinian foundation (see Fig. 7). Note the invitatory antiphon given at the bottom quarter of the folio, 'Ploremus coram domino cum Maria ut veniam mereamur cum illa' ('Let us cry before the Lord with Mary so that we may earn forgiveness with her'), that marks the canonesses' use at Klosterneuburg as well as the hymn 'Deus qui quosvis elegis' ('God, who chooses anyone'), given here as an incipit, which was specific to the canonesses as well. The differences in practice evident in the Office of Mary Magdalene carry forth to the other uniquely configured offices as well.⁵²

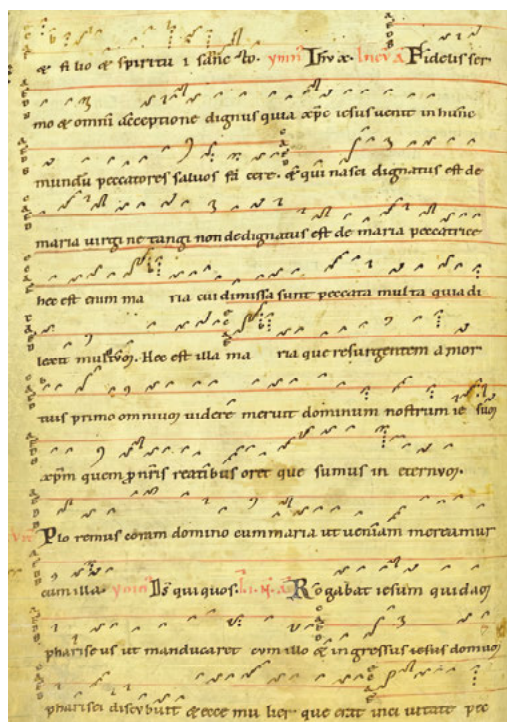


Fig. 7: Matins for the feast of Mary Magdalene; CCl 1012, fol. 22^r (twelfth-century antiphoner, canonesses); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

⁵² See the discussions for the Conversion of St Paul (25 January), the Assumption of Mary (15 August), Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne (21 October), St Catherine (25 November), and the Office of the Dead in Norton and Carr 2011, 86–96 and Tables 7, 8, and 9b (148–152 and 154–155).

The fourteenth-century breviary, CCI 982, whose colophon tied it to the women of Klosterneuburg, turned out on closer examination to be the second in a pair of manuscripts containing inserts that reflected the usage of the canonesses. The single manuscript given to the women of Zelking did not express the use of Klosterneuburg as presented, but was subdivided to form what are now CCI 991 and CCI 982 and supplemented with liturgical offices and hymns reflecting the use of the canonesses.⁵³ CCI 1200, a composite breviary from the fourteenth century, conversely, was intended specifically for the use of Klosterneuburg's canonesses.⁵⁴ Fig. 8 shows the opening of the Office of Matins for the feast of Mary Magdalene from this manuscript. Note the invitational antiphon, 'Ploremus coram domino', that introduced the office in the antiphoners.

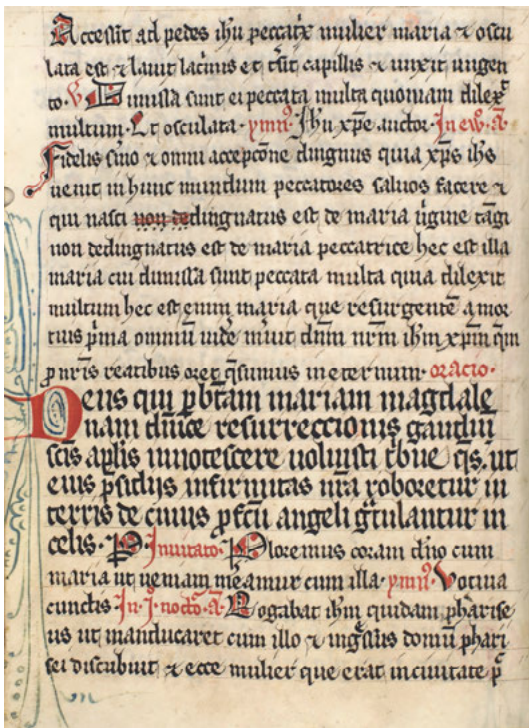


Fig. 8: Matins for the feast of Mary Magdalene; CCI 1200, fol. 202^v (fourteenth-century breviary, canonesses); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

53 Norton and Carr 2011, 105–108. On the colophon, see n. 37.

54 Norton and Carr 2011, 108–109.

Three processions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could also be associated with the canonesses due to the distinctive form of musical notation shared with the hymnals and antiphoners in the earliest of these. Like the hymnals and antiphoners, the processions contained a unified repertory that was uniquely configured when compared to the processions found in the manuscripts of the canons (see Table 4).⁵⁵ Note the items in bold in the right-most column, which are specific to the three processions. Note also the extended series of antiphons given for the Rogationtide processions. The association of these manuscripts with the canonesses is further supported by their placement of the procession for the Mass of the dedication of the church.

Table 4: Uniquely configured processions of the canons and canonesses.

Feast	Date	Destination	Canons	Genre	Canonesses
		(Canons)			
Advent 3		Nicholas altar	<i>Suscipe verbum</i>	R	<i>Suscipe verbum</i>
			<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i>	R	
				R	<i>Ecce radix Jesse</i>
Advent 4		Nicholas altar		R	<i>Nascetur nobis</i>
			<i>Missus est Gabriel</i>	R	
			<i>Ecce dies veniunt</i>	R	
				R	<i>Ecce Dominus veniet</i>
Rogation Days	Cemetery		<i>Exurge domine ad viva</i>	R	<i>Exurge domine ad viva</i>
			<i>Surgite sancte de mansionibus</i>	A	<i>Surgite sancte de mansionibus</i>
			<i>De Jerusalem exeunt reliquie</i>	A	<i>De Jerusalem exeunt reliquie</i>
			<i>Cum jucundate exhibitis</i>	A	<i>De Jerusalem exeunt</i>
			<i>Ego sum Deus patrum</i>	A	<i>reliquie</i>
			<i>Populus Syon</i>	A	<i>Cum jucundate exhibitis</i>
			<i>Domine deus noster qui</i>	A	<i>Ego sum Deus patrum</i>
			<i>Confitemini domino filii Israel</i>	A	<i>Populus Syon</i>
			<i>Exclemus omnes ad Dominum</i>	A	<i>Domine deus noster qui</i>
			<i>Parce Domino parce populo</i>	A	<i>Confitemini domino filii</i>
				A	<i>Israel</i>

⁵⁵ Manuscripts consulted: Canons: CCl 590, CCl 629 (Rogation only), CCl 635, CCl 983, CCl 1014, CCl 1199, CCl 1213; Canonesses: CCl 995, CCl 1005, CCl 1006. Norton and Carr 2011, 110–114 and 165–169 (Tables 13a–13c). In addition, the canonesses observed processions for the Conversion of St Paul (25 January) and Corpus Christi that are not documented in the canons' fourteenth-century manuscripts. A procession for Corpus Christi by the canons first appears at turn of the sixteenth century (CCl 1014, fols 96^r–96^v, c. 1500 ordinal), and this is independent of that observed by the canonesses.

Feast	Date	Destination (Canons)	Canons	Genre	Canonesses
			<i>Domine imminuti summus</i>	A	<i>Exclermus omnes od</i>
			<i>propter</i>	A	<i>Dominum</i>
			<i>Iniquitates nostre</i>	A	<i>Parce Domino parce</i>
			<i>Dimitte nobis Domine debita</i>	A	<i>populo</i>
			---	A	<i>Domine imminuti summus</i>
			---	A	<i>propter</i>
			---	A	<i>Iniquitates nostre</i>
			---	A	<i>Domine non est alius</i>
			<i>Domine rex Deus Abraham</i>	A	<i>Miserere Domine</i>
			<i>Numquid est in idolis gentium</i>		<i>plebi tue</i>
			<i>Omnipotens Deus mestorum</i>		<i>Exaudi Deus</i>
			<i>consolatio</i>		<i>deprecationem</i>
					<i>Deprecamur te Domine</i>
					<i>Multa sunt Domine</i>
					<i>Domine rex Deus</i>
					<i>Abraham</i>
					<i>Numquid est in idolis</i>
					<i>gentium</i>
					<i>Omnipotens Deus</i>
					<i>mestorum</i>
Dedication of the church (women)	4–10 Aug.		See below	R	<i>In dedicatione templi</i>
				R	<i>Vidi civitatem sanctam</i>
Augustine	28 Aug.	Augustine altar	<i>Invenit se Augustinus</i>	R	<i>Invenit se Augustinus</i>
			<i>Sensit igitur et expertus</i>	R	
			<i>Verbum Dei usque ad ipsam</i>	R	<i>Verbum Dei usque</i>
				R	<i>Volebat enim conferenti</i>
					<i>Sensit igitur et expertus</i>
Dedication of the church (men)	29 Sep.	<i>per ambitu et cymeterium</i>	<i>Asperges me Domine</i>	A	
			<i>In dedicatione templi</i>	R	
			<i>Benedic Domine (AS)</i>	R	See above
			<i>Fundata est</i>	R	
			<i>Te sanctum Dominum (MI)</i>	R	

Key for Table 4:

AS = From the feast of All Saints (1 November)

MI = From the feast of St Michael (29 September)

A = Antiphon

H = Hymn

R = Responsory

The date celebrated by the canonesses for the dedication of their church had long eluded scholars. While a dedication ceremony is documented for the church on 23 September 1324,⁵⁶ this date had never been marked as the date for the liturgical feast. A group of sacristan's handbooks from the late sixteenth century, though, specify that the feast was to be celebrated on the Sunday following the Finding of St Stephan, thus between 4 and 10 August.⁵⁷ While this designation may be suspect, having been written down five years following the death of the last canoness, the assignment is supported by the dates given in a series of sermons recorded over a century earlier. CCI 880 includes four sermons for the dedication of the canonesses' church that are grouped between sermons for the Finding of St Stephan (3 August) and those for the Nativity of Mary (8 September).⁵⁸ The first in the group specifically identifies the occasion and the date: 'Sermo de dedicatio ecclesie factus in claustro dominarum in vigilia s. Laurenti anno domini M^o CCCC^o L^o 5^{to}' ('Sermon for the dedication of the church given in the church of the sisters at the vigil for the St Lawrence (9 August) in the year of Our Lord 1455').⁵⁹ The second gives the date as an explicit (fol. 271^v): 'Anno domini M^o CCCC^o L^o 6^{to} in die s. Afre martyris, quod fuit eodem anno in uno Sabbato die' ('The year of Our Lord, 1456 on the day of St Afra (7 August), martyr, which was on a Saturday').⁶⁰ The processions support this assignment with their placement of the procession for the Mass of the dedication between the processions for the Finding of St Stephan (3 August) and St Afra (7 August).⁶¹

Finally, two graduals, one copied in the twelfth century and the other in the fourteenth, can be tied to the canonesses.⁶² Both employ the older staff notation found in the hymnals, antiphoners, and processional, and the more recent of these opens with an inhabited initial showing a canoness praying to the Virgin and Child (see Fig. 5). More significantly, both include a series of processional antiphons for Rogationtide that corresponds to the list given in the processionals (see Table 5). The items in the shaded portions are specific to the canonesses' manuscripts. Note

56 This was originally cited by Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 2, 207. The notice appears in StIAK Rechnungsbuch 6/1a, fol. 2^r, cited by Röhrig 1966, 147.

57 StIAK MS 191, fols 90^v–91^r (copied 1573), CCI 1026A (copied 1576), fol. 55^r, Vienna lat. 15078, fol. 43^v (copied 1594): 'Dominica postquam fest. S. Stephani habetur dedication monasterii monialium ad S. Maria Magdalena' ('The Sunday following the feast of St Stephan is considered the dedication of the church for the sisters at Mary Magdalene').

58 CCI 880, fols 264^r–279^v.

59 CCI 880, fol. 264^r.

60 CCI 880, fol. 271^v.

61 CCI 995, fols 39^r–39^v; CCI 1005, fols 66^r–67^v; and CCI 1006, fols 59^v–62^r.

62 Graz 807 (twelfth century) and CCI 588 (fourteenth century). On the provenance of Graz 807, see Froger 1974, 19*–23*; Praßl 1987, 457; and Norton 2016, 73–80.

the change in ordering in the first set of antiphons along with the omission of the second set in the fourteenth-century manuscripts listed in the right-most columns.

Table 5: Rogationtide procession in Klosterneuburg graduals and processional.

Graz 807, fols 114^v–120^v (12th c. gradual)	CCI 588, fols 102^v–106^r (14th c. gradual)	CCI 995, fols 26^v–31^v (14th c. processional)
<i>Exurge Domine</i>	<i>Exurge Domine</i>	<i>Exurge Domine</i>
<i>Surgite sancti</i>	<i>Surgite sancti</i>	<i>Surgite sancti</i>
<i>De Jerusalem exeunt</i>	<i>De Jerusalem exeunt</i>	<i>De Jerusalem exeunt</i>
<i>Cum iocunditate</i>	<i>Cum iocunditate</i>	<i>Cum iocunditate</i>
<i>Ego sum Deus patrum</i>	<i>Ego sum Deus patrum</i>	<i>Ego sum Deus patrum</i>
<i>Populus Sion</i>	<i>Populus Sion</i>	<i>Populus Sion</i>
<i>Domine Deus noster</i>	<i>Domine Deus noster</i>	<i>Domine Deus noster</i>
<i>Confitemini domino</i>	<i>Confitemini domino</i>	<i>Confitemini domino</i>
<i>Exclamemus omnes</i>	<i>Exclamemus omnes</i>	<i>Exclamemus omnes</i>
<i>Parce Domine parce</i>	<i>Parce Domine parce</i>	<i>Parce Domine parce</i>
<i>Domine imminuti</i>	<i>Domine imminuti</i>	<i>Domine imminuti</i>
<i>Iniquitates nostre</i>	<i>Iniquitates nostre</i>	<i>Iniquitates nostre</i>
<i>Domine non est alius</i>	<i>Domine non est alius</i>	<i>Domine non est alius</i>
<i>Deprecamur te Domine</i>	<i>Miserere Domine plebi</i>	<i>Miserere Domine plebi</i>
<i>Miserere Domine plebi</i>	<i>Exaudi Deus</i>	<i>Exaudi Deus</i>
<i>Dimitte Domine peccata</i>	---	---
<i>Exaudi Deus</i>	<i>Deprecamur te Domine</i>	<i>Deprecamur te Domine</i>
<i>Multa sunt Domine</i>	<i>Multa sunt Domine</i>	<i>Multa sunt Domine</i>
<i>Domine rex Deus Abraham</i>	--	--
<i>Nunquid est in ydolis</i>	--	--
<i>Dimitte nobis Domine</i>	<i>Domine rex Deus Abraham</i>	<i>Domine rex Deus Abraham</i>
<i>Omnipotens Deus mestorum</i>	<i>Nunquid est in ydolis</i>	<i>Nunquid est in ydolis</i>
<i>Christe qui regnas</i>	----	----
<i>Omnipotens Deus supplices</i>	---	---
<i>Benedicat nos una</i>	---	---
<i>Benedicat nos Deus</i>	----	----
<i>Timor et tremor</i>	---	---
<i>Oremus dilectissimi</i>	<i>Omnipotens Deus mestorum</i>	<i>Omnipotens Deus mestorum</i>
---	---	---
<i>Sancta virgo Maria</i>	<i>Sancta virgo Maria</i>	<i>Sancta virgo Maria</i>

2.2 The limits of enclosure

In lifting the veil from Klosterneuburg's canonesses, we learned that the canonesses of Klosterneuburg maintained a liturgical *cursus* that was independent from those of the canons and the diocese and that they expressed this *cursus* with a form of musical notation they could also call their own. What was invisible became obvious, and this exposed a new set of questions. How, for example, did the ostensibly cloistered canonesses interact with the less constrained canons, and how did the canonesses interact with the world beyond?⁶³

Interactions between canons and canonesses were by no means rare. Rubrics in manuscripts from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries identify the church of the canonesses as the destination for the canons' procession before Mass on Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and the feasts of the Assumption and Nativity of Mary.⁶⁴ CCI 590, a breviary copied in the fourteenth century, offers a glimpse as to how this worked in practice. Prior to Mass on Easter Sunday, the canons processed from their church to that of the canonesses, where they chanted a responsory from the feast of Mary Magdalene at the entrance to women's church:⁶⁵

Vidit Maria duos angelos in albis sedentes, unum ad caput et unum ad pedes, ubi positum fuerat corpus Jesu, dicunt ei illi: mulier, quid ploras?⁶⁶ (John 20:12–13)

Mary saw two angels in white sitting, one at the head and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been laid and they said to her: woman, why do you weep?

The canonesses then responded with the verse:

Dicit eis quia tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum. (John 20:13)

She tells them that they have taken away my master, and I do not know where they have laid him.

⁶³ Two doctoral dissertations currently in progress at the University of Vienna that should offer greater insight into these questions: Peka forthcoming and Deichstetter forthcoming.

⁶⁴ Norton and Carr 2011, 128–129. The canons' processions to Mass are documented in the ordinals CCI 1213, fols 171^v–177^r (1325); CCI 635, fols 108^r–111^r (mid fourteenth century); CCI 983, fols 132^r–136^r (1383); and CCI 1014, *passim* (c. 1500) and in the breviary CCI 590, *passim* (fourteenth century).

⁶⁵ CCI 590, fol. 301^v.

⁶⁶ 'Vidit Maria' (CAO 7885) was the third responsory of the third Nocturn in the Office of Matins for the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July) in the twelfth-century manuscripts of the canonesses and is given among the additional responsories in the fourteenth-century manuscripts. In the manuscripts of the canons, this responsory is given as the second responsory for the third Nocturn. See Table 4. This is detailed in Norton and Carr 2011, 148–149 (Table 7). See also Kalechtyts 2023, 86–87.

The provost then chanted a verse drawn from a different Magdalene responsory before leading the procession back to the canons' church for Mass.

*Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa quoniam dilexit multum.*⁶⁷ (Luke 7:47)

Her many sins were forgiven, for she loved much.

This pattern likely held for the other processions as well. In each, a responsory from the feast of Mary Magdalene was sung by the canons upon their arrival at the entrance to the church of the canonesses, and in most instances the provost sang the responsory verse 'Dimissa sunt' before returning to the canons' church.⁶⁸

The processions went in both directions, moreover. Among the complaints cited in the 1301 visitation was a reference to processions that the canonesses were joining outside of their church, which the visitors prohibited.⁶⁹ This prohibition had little effect, though. In a letter addressed to Klosterneuburg's provost a century and

67 'Dimissa sunt' is the verse for the responsory 'Accessit ad pedes' (CAO 6016), which is sung at First Vespers for the feast of Mary Magdalene in the manuscripts for both the canonesses and canons. It is used also as the second responsory for the first Nocturn in the manuscripts of the canons. See Table 4. Full details are given in Norton and Carr 2011, 148–149 (Table 7). See also Kalechyts 2023, 37–39.

68 For the feast of the Ascension, the canons sang the responsory 'Umbrosum tunc revera' (CAO 7806) at the entrance to the church of the canonesses. This responsory is given in the twelfth-century manuscript of the canonesses as an extra responsory for the feast of Mary Magdalene and in the fourteenth-century manuscripts as either the first or second responsory of the third Nocturn. The canons sang this as the first responsory of the third Nocturn. For Pentecost, the canons sang the responsory 'Summe propitiator Christe' (CAO 7720), given in the canonesses' manuscripts as an extra responsory for Matins and as the third responsory of the third Nocturn in the manuscripts of the canons. For the feast of the Assumption of Mary (15 August), the canons sang the responsory 'Adest testis divine' (CAO 6034), which the canonesses sang on the octave of the feast of Mary Magdalene (29 July) and which the canons sang as the second responsory of the third Nocturn on the feast itself. See Kalechyts 2023, 16–17 and 106–108, for a discussion of the two musical settings for this text in the manuscripts of the canonesses. For the feast of the Nativity of Mary (8 September), the canons sang 'Maria plorans' (CAO 7129), which is found in both the canons and canonesses' manuscripts as the third responsory of the second Nocturn. The use of 'Dimissa sunt' is documented in CCI 590 for the processions to Mass on Easter (fol. 301^v), Ascension (fol. 330^v), and Pentecost (fol. 335^v), but not for the Assumption or Nativity of Mary. In CCI 1014, the verse is listed for the procession to Easter Mass only (fol. 69^r). For the procession before the Mass for the Nativity of Mary (8 September), the canons are given the option of processing to the nearby *capella speciosa*, dedicated to John the Baptist. When arriving at the *capella*, they are instructed to sing 'Inter natos mulierum', which is the third responsory of the third Nocturn of Matins for the feast of John the Baptist (24 June).

69 See above, n. 15.

a half later, the writer noted with obvious disapproval that not only were the canons still processing to the canons' church for the feast of the Nativity of Mary, they also participated in the liturgy there:

Thema tale est: quedam domus sanctimonialium ord. s. Augustini Canonicorum regularium sita penes Monasterium virorum dicti ordinis ex antiqua consuetudine introduxit, vt in festo nativitatis gloriöse virginis Marie dicti monasterii virorum (nostri videlicet) patrone liceat monialibus dicte domus processionaliter ire ad ecclesiam virorum ordinis ejusdem, et ibi divinum officium decantare, nunc queritur.⁷⁰

The issue is this: there is a certain house of holy nuns of the order of St Augustine situated close to the men of said order, introduced there according to ancient custom, that on the feast of the birth of the glorious Virgin Mary, the patron of the said monastery of men (namely ours), the nuns of said house are permitted to go in procession to the church of the men, and there sing the Divine Office, for which I now offer this complaint.

Canons and canonesses interacted directly in the rites for sick and dying and during funeral rites.⁷¹ We learn from fourteenth-century rituals that the body of the deceased canon or canoness was carried from the canons' church to the church of the canonesses, where 'a *missa pro defunctis* was heard'.⁷² The body was then returned to the canons' church for the funeral Mass. Other interactions took place during Holy Week. Both the Palm Sunday procession and the Adoration of the Cross required the women's participation.⁷³ Women also participated in the *Visitatio sepulchri*, where the angel's query, 'Quem queritis?' ('Whom do you seek?'), and the Marys' response, 'Jesum Nazarenum' ('Jesus of Nazareth'), would have taken on a particular poignancy – from their enclosure, the canonesses might have been able to gaze into the empty tomb, but, like Mary Magdalene herself, they were unable to touch the risen Christ.

While requirements for enclosure were observed in the main, practical considerations allowed for flexibility. Indeed, exceptions to the strict separation from the world, and especially from men, were not infrequent. Early-fifteenth-century account books document payments to the *Orgelmeister* for repairs and upgrades to

⁷⁰ Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 1, 73. The letter is preserved in StIAK K230 no. 56, fol. 272^v.

⁷¹ A thorough analysis of the rites for the sick and dying and the funeral rites at Klosterneuburg is given by Hild 2018.

⁷² 'Mane facto post Salve Regina cum funere ad dominas vadant, missam pro defuncto audiant' ('In the morning, after the "Salve Regina", they go with the funeral to the church of the canonesses to hear the Mass for the deceased'): CCI 629, fol. 135^v; CCI 1021, fol. 86^r; and CCI 635, fol. 113^r.

⁷³ See the discussion above.

one or more organs in the church of the canonesses,⁷⁴ and other entries show payments for a new organist and his servants.⁷⁵ Numerous payments for craftsmen of various sorts are also recorded in the account books, putting men within the church and the living spaces of the canonesses.⁷⁶ In 1322, canonesses were given the right to testate,⁷⁷ which would have put them in proximity to male witnesses, and records from the mid fourteenth century onward show canonesses serving as witnesses to documents of various sorts.⁷⁸ Canonesses also had access to a bather, who would handle bloodletting and cupping, along with prescribing medicines and ointments, cutting hair, and even pulling teeth.⁷⁹ Canonesses with more serious ailments could be attended by a physician or wound doctor, either within their own precincts, at the home of a family member or relative, or in nearby Vienna.⁸⁰ The canonesses maintained a school for girls, prepared liturgical vestments, and managed several vineyards. Presumably interaction with outsiders would have been required here as well.

3 Klosterneuburg and beyond

To my knowledge, Klosterneuburg is the only double monastery where such a gendered liturgical and notational dichotomy is so clearly expressed. But was this an anomaly? Can it be that Amelia Carr and I accidentally stumbled upon the only dual-sex religious community in the south of German-speaking Europe where the women charted their own liturgical course? This I find incomprehensible. Yet, despite the abundance of research into the scribal and literary activities of similarly constituted nuns, the liturgies celebrated by these women remain invisible.⁸¹ While the dearth of manuscript evidence may hinder strictly liturgical investigations, other avenues might prove fruitful. We

74 StiAK Rechnungsbuch 1/1, fol. 313^r. Cited by Röhrig 1966, 150.

75 StiAK Rechnungsbuch 7/1, fol. 4^v. Cited by Röhrig 1966, 152.

76 Röhrig 1966.

77 StiAK Urkunde 1322.VI.10 <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/AT-StiAK/KlosterneuburgCanReg/1322_VI_10/charter> (accessed on 11 June 2023). Edition in Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 2, 184–187.

78 Zeibig 1857–1868, vol. 1, 293–297.

79 On the practice of bloodletting at Klosterneuburg, see Jaritz 1975 and 1996.

80 The functions of the bather (bloodletter), wound doctor, and physician are treated by Unterbrunner 2018, esp. 16–21. She focuses particularly on the tension emanating from the requirement for strict enclosure and the need for health care providers both on and off site. While the edicts from 1301 and 1307 bound the canonesses to their precincts, these restrictions were relaxed in 1322 by the bishop of Passau to allow a canoness to visit physicians in Vienna or to move in with parents or other relatives should her condition require such care. The 1322 document is preserved as StiAK Urkunde 1322.VI.10 (see above n. 77).

81 See n. 6 above.

know, for example, that women in double monasteries used their skills in embroidery to repair parchment both before and after given over to scribes, and we know that women similarly situated served as scribes and as illuminators. The evidence for early staff notation, moreover, extends beyond Klosterneuburg into many of the same double monasteries, and may well reflect female use, at least in part. To be sure, the evidence is fragmentary and inconclusive, but enough has survived to suggest that women enclosed within the double monasteries of Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria might have held greater sway over their liturgical customs than the meagre evidence allows.

3.1 Embroidered parchment repair

Nuns and canonesses collaborated with their male counterparts in the preparation and repair of parchment. While many repairs were made in the parchment making process, other repairs were made later, and these range from rather pedestrian to quite elaborate. In her chapter on 'Stitches, Sutures, and Seams', Christine Sciacca noted numerous examples of embroidered parchment repair from manuscripts stemming from the double monasteries at Engelberg, Weingarten, and Interlaken,⁸² and more recent studies show these kinds of repairs spreading throughout Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria by way of the double monasteries of the Hirsau and Augustinian reforms.⁸³

The variety of embroidery techniques found in these manuscripts is wide.⁸⁴ Some embroidered repairs were made prior to writing, while others were made later. Figs 9a–b shows two examples of pre-scribal repair from a twelfth-century manuscript from Klosterneuburg. The sacramentary of the so-called nuns' missal from Zwiefalten (Stuttgart Cod. Brev.123) contains several examples of such artistic repairs as well.⁸⁵ Most were done before scribes set quill to page. Others, though, were clearly added later (see Fig. 10).⁸⁶ Fig. 11 shows a beautiful example of a hole repair, although a second hole in the margin is left as it is.⁸⁷

⁸² Sciacca 2010.

⁸³ Jakobi-Mirwald, Breith and Csanády 2021.

⁸⁴ A sampling of such techniques is provided by Christine Jakobi-Mirwald in Jakobi-Mirwald, Breith and Csanády 2021, 252.

⁸⁵ Beach 2013, 42–45.

⁸⁶ Felix Heinzer suggests that some of the embroidered repairs made in the thirteenth-century Sacramentary of Abbot Berthold of Weingarten (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.710) might have resulted from deliberate cuts on certain luxury display-pages in order to give the manuscript a more venerable antique look. Heinzer 1999, 252–253.

⁸⁷ Additional examples of such hole repairs are given by Sciacca 2010 for Engelberg: Figs 3.6, 3.7, 3.9, 3.10, and 3.11 (pp. 66–69); Weingarten: Figs. 3.17 and 3.18 (pp. 78–79) ; and Interlaken: Fig. 3.20 (p. 83) and by Jakobi-Mirwald, Breith and Csanády 2021: Abb. 4 and 5 (p. 253) and Abb. 7 and 9 (p. 261). See also the samples referenced above in n. 82.

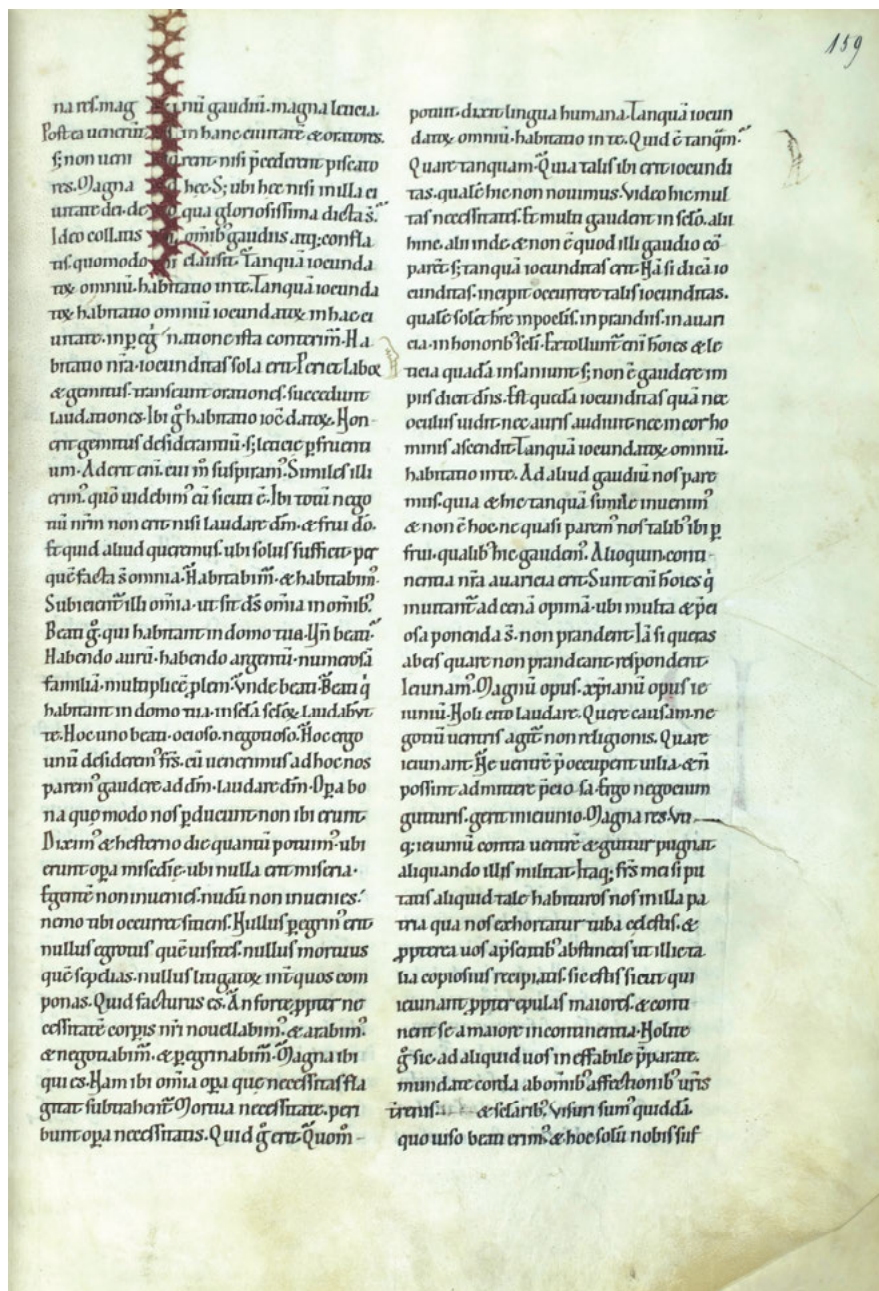


Fig. 9b: Pre-scribal embroidered repairs; CCI 21, fol. 159^r (third quarter of the twelfth century, Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalms*); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

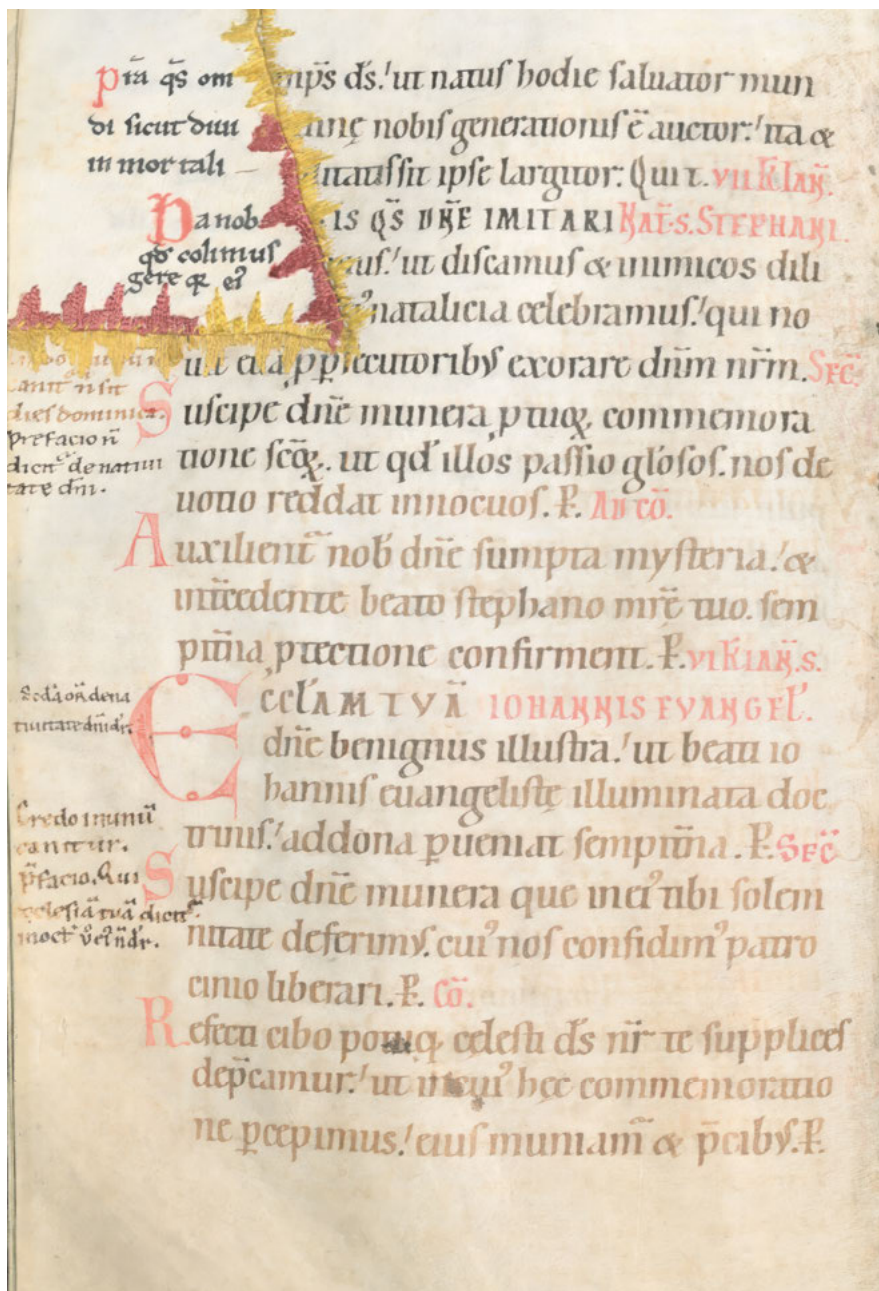


Fig. 10: Post-scribal embroidered repairs; Stuttgart Cod. Brev. 123, fol. 86^v (first half of the twelfth century, missal, Zwiefalten nuns?); © Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

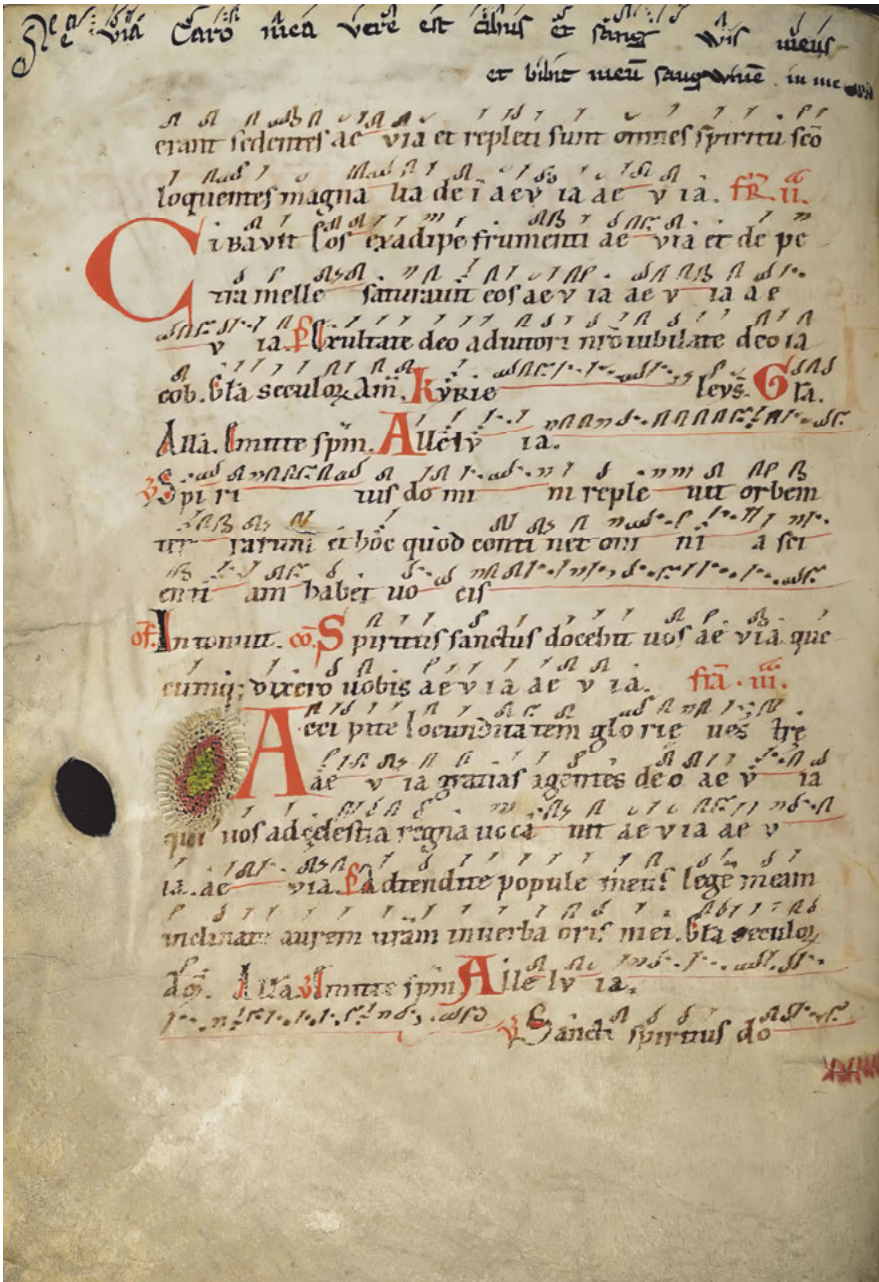


Fig. 11: Pre-scribal embroidered hole repair; Graz 769, fol. 62^v (c. 1200 missal, Seckau); © Graz, Universitätsbibliothek.

3.2 Nuns as scribes

Nuns and canonesses also served as scribes. In her book, *Women as Scribes*, Alison Beach noted the scribal activity of the *inclusa*, Dietmut, whose cell adjoined the monastery of Wessobrunn during the early years of the twelfth century.⁸⁸ A manuscript inventory, compiled by a later nun-scribe, listed forty-seven manuscripts copied by Dietmut, including liturgical books, Bibles, and theological works.⁸⁹ In the same study, Beach identified two nun-scribes, Irmengart and Regilind, from the double Hirsau monastery at Admont,⁹⁰ along with three scribes, Adelheid, Sophia, and Irmingart, from the double Premonstratensian monastery at Schläftlarn.⁹¹

In a later study, Beach treated the twelfth-century nun-scribe Mathilde von Neuffen, who was active at the double Hirsau monastery at Zwiefalten during the first half of the twelfth century.⁹² A thirteenth-century necrology contains an entry for ‘Mathilde conversa’ with a marginal addition identifying her as the scribe for many books.⁹³ In his catalogue of the Zwiefalten manuscripts now in Stuttgart, Karl Löffler identified a group of liturgical manuscripts from the first half of the twelfth century that shared a distinctive style of illumination as well as similar scribal tendencies that he associated with Zwiefalten’s nuns.⁹⁴ While Beach discounted Löffler’s assignment on the palaeographic grounds he cited, she did find compelling the use in these manuscripts of artistically embroidered repairs, such as that shown in Fig. 10, and in one case, beautiful silk covers (see Figs 12a–b).

She follows earlier scholars in assigning the twelfth-century gradual/missal, Stuttgart Cod. Brev.123, to the nuns’ church due to necrological entries for several women in the calendar, marginal notes on the dedication of altars in the women’s

⁸⁸ Beach 2004, 32–64.

⁸⁹ Cln 22001. A listing is given by Beach 2004, 40–42.

⁹⁰ Beach 2004, 65–103.

⁹¹ Beach 2004, 104–127.

⁹² Beach 2013.

⁹³ Stuttgart Cod. Hist.fol.420, fol. 4^v. Facsimile in Beach 2013, 35.

⁹⁴ Löffler 1931, 15. Beach identifies four manuscripts as likely products of nun-scribes, if not of Mathilde herself. Among these are Stuttgart Cod. Brev.121 (twelfth-century epistolary), Cod. Brev.123 (twelfth-century gradual/sacramentary – the so-called nuns’ missal), Cod. Brev.126 (twelfth-century evangeliary), and Cod. Brev.128 (twelfth-century collectary). See Beach 2013, esp. 42–50 for a more thorough analysis along with more recent research.

church, and two lists of nuns.⁹⁵ Given that this was a priest's book, she suggests that this manuscript, and perhaps the others of this group, was kept in the sacristy of the nun's church.⁹⁶

Another nun-scribe known to have been active during the twelfth century was Mechthild (d. 1160), canoness at the Augustinian double monastery at Dießen, south of Augsburg.⁹⁷ In the *vita* written forty years after her death by Engelhard of Langheim, Mechthild is reported to have copied missals and psalters,⁹⁸ and in another entry, Mechthild is said to have restored the sight of a sister 'practiced in writing on parchment', whose eye had been punctured by an awl.⁹⁹ Scribal activity appears to have been commonplace among the canonesses of Dießen.

Whether the manuscripts copied by – or repaired by – the nuns of these houses were destined for use within the female side of the foundations is unclear. However, given the volume of books produced, the nuns likely had a space set aside for copying along with whatever tools they would have required, if not a scriptorium proper. While there is no direct evidence for such, the canonesses of Klosterneuburg may have had their own scriptorium as well. Indeed, the distinct liturgical cursus that they expressed with a distinct form of musical notation speaks strongly for such a facility. The account books, moreover, include payments for the cinnabar needed to make red ink, a necessary component for any scribal workshop.¹⁰⁰ Most intriguing, though, is the explicit that concluded the hymnal, CCl 1000, that identifies the canoness Geisle Ruedwein as its scribe or owner.¹⁰¹

95 Beach 2013, 47–48. These additions are found in the calendar that opens the manuscript, which was put together from several parts that were created at the same time around the middle of the twelfth century. See Fiala and Irtenkauf 1977, 159.

96 Beach 2013, 48.

97 On the origin of the Augustinian monastery at Dießen, see Weinfurter 1975, 100–101. On Dießen's relationship to the counts of Andechs, see Newman 2020, 32–35.

98 Newman 2020, 144–145.

99 Lyon 2018, 210–211.

100 An entry in an account book from 1490, for example, specifies the purchase by the canonesses of 'zynobar und galles und gumi' ('cinnabar, gall, and gum'). StAK Rechnungsbuch 31/2, fol. 576r. I thank Sarah Deichstetter for bringing this to my attention.

101 See above, n. 36.



Fig. 12a: Silk covers removed from the Zwiefalten epistolary; Stuttgart Cod. Brev.121 (first half of the twelfth century); © Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.



Fig. 12b: Silk covers removed from the Zwiefalten epistolary; Stuttgart Cod. Brev.121 (first half of the twelfth century); © Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek.

3.3 Early staff notation at Klosterneuburg

Applying skills at embroidery in the repair of parchment along with applying quill to parchment in the production of manuscripts were likely commonplace activities among the women enclosed within the double monasteries of Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria. Double monasteries also loom large in the use of early staff notation. The early use of staff notation by the canonesses at Klosterneuburg is well documented, and its divergence from the notational practices of Klosterneuburg's canons offers a useful scaffold for understanding how staff notation might have been employed elsewhere during the twelfth century.

As shown earlier (see Figs 2, 3a–b, and 6a–b), the canons of Klosterneuburg used Bohemian (and to a lesser extent, Gothic) notation on four lines in their liturgical manuscripts from the middle third of the fourteenth century onward. Prior to this, the canons used unheighted German neumes, an older style of notation that did not indicate pitch. Fig. 13 offers an example from a thirteenth century gradual/missal reflecting the use of the canons.

Each sign, or neume, indicates a single note or a grouping of notes. If more than a single note, the neume tells us whether the pitches are ascending, descending, or a combination of these.¹⁰² As was typical for much of German-speaking Europe, this use of staffless neumes prevailed until the middle third of the fourteenth century. While a few twelfth-century fragments in the Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek show attempts to arrange German neumes on a drypoint staff,¹⁰³ this practice does not appear to have taken hold among Klosterneuburg's canons, at least not for long. When notational change did come for the canons, it came rapidly. Figs 14a–b offer excerpts from two rituals, each copied around 1330.¹⁰⁴ The ritual on the left uses the older staffless neumes, while that on the right uses Bohemian notation on four lines.

Klosterneuburg's canonesses, on the other hand, followed their own notational muse, adopting an early form of staff notation that blended Metz and German neumes from the start. While the practice of placing neumes on drypoint lines was already becoming old-fashioned west of the Rhine, the canonesses maintained this practice through much of the fourteenth century. Figs 15a–b show examples from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries respectively.

¹⁰² A discussion of medieval chant notations is beyond the scope of the current essay. A good general introduction for non-specialists can be found in Kelly 2014, esp. 41–69.

¹⁰³ See n. 7. These fragments can be consulted at <<https://austriamanus.org/notation/8>> (accessed on 11 June 2023).

¹⁰⁴ Manuscript dating by Haidinger 1983, 133.

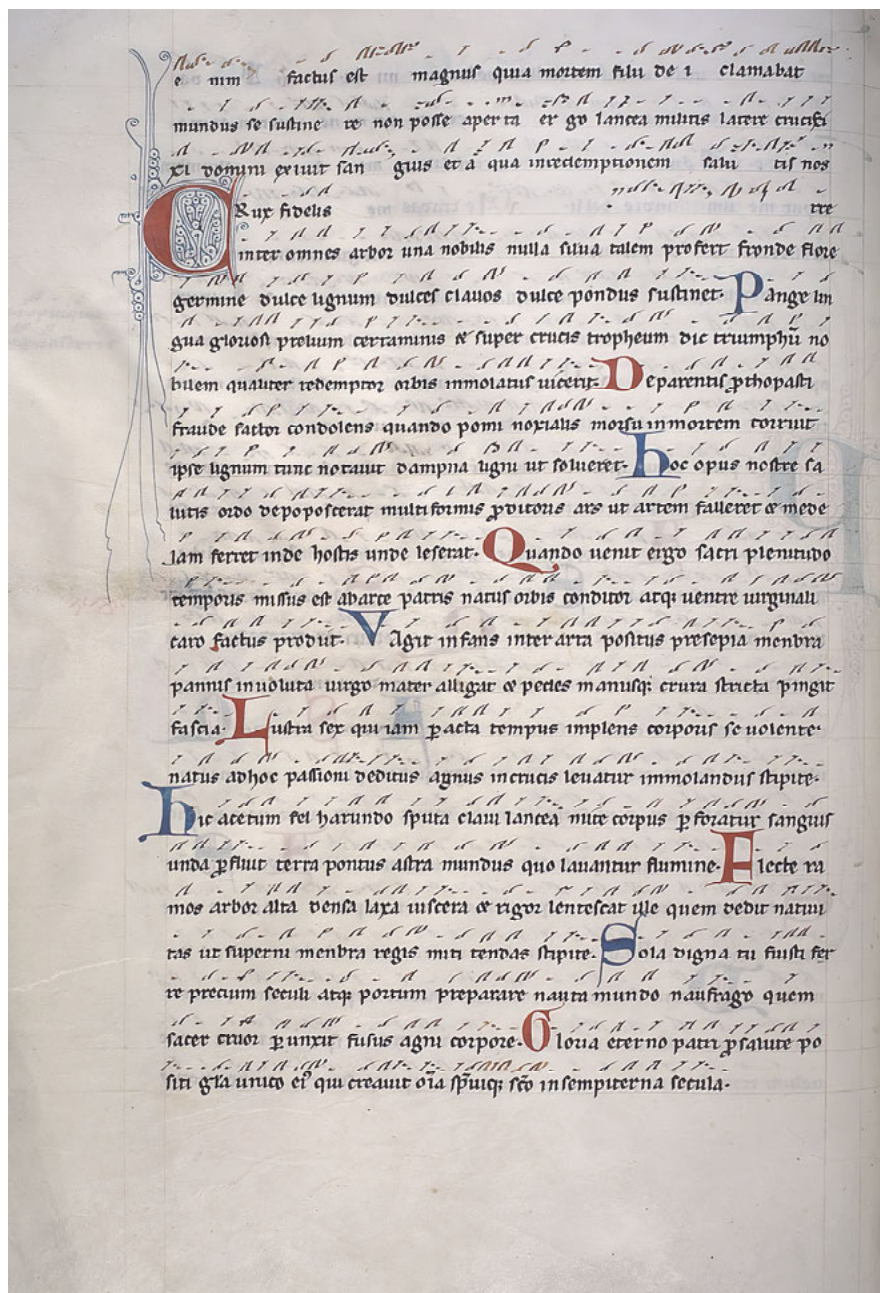


Fig. 13: Unheighted German neumes; CCI 73, fol. 34^v (thirteenth-century gradual/missal, canons); © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

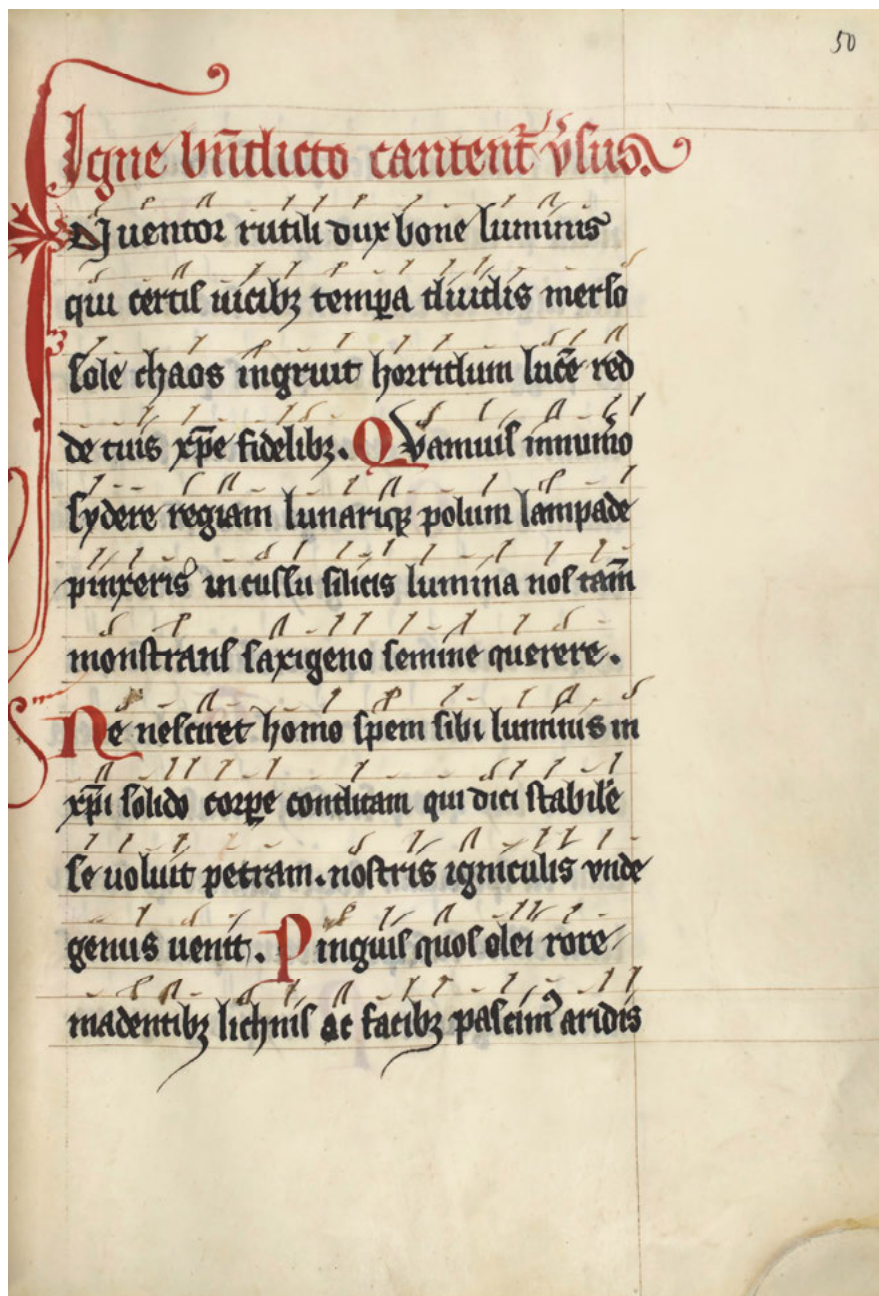


Fig. 14a: Notational change for Klosterneuburg canons; CCI 628, fol. 50r; c. 1330 ritual, canons;
 © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

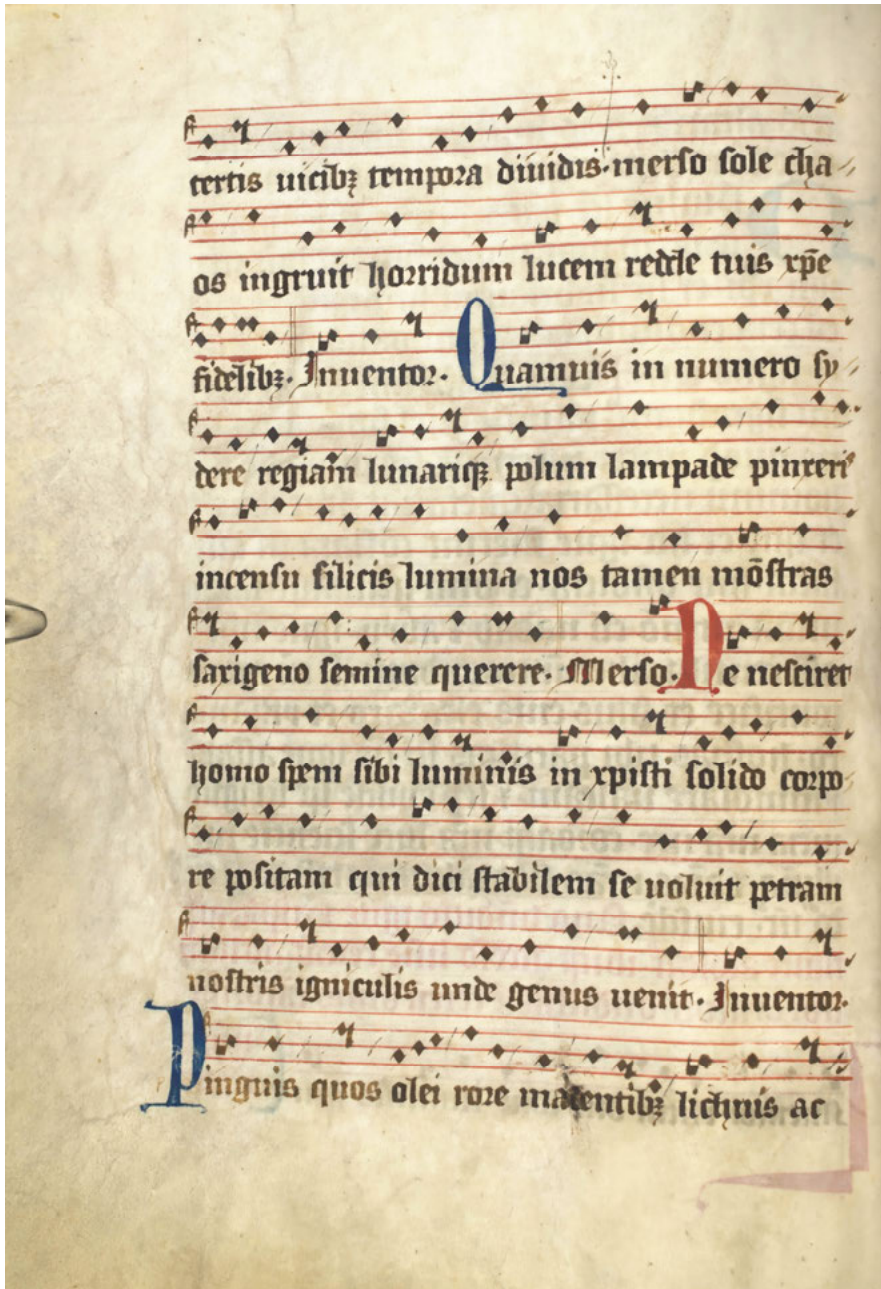


Fig. 14b: Notational change for Klosterneuburg canons; CCI 629, fol. 74v; c. 1330 ritual, canons;
 © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

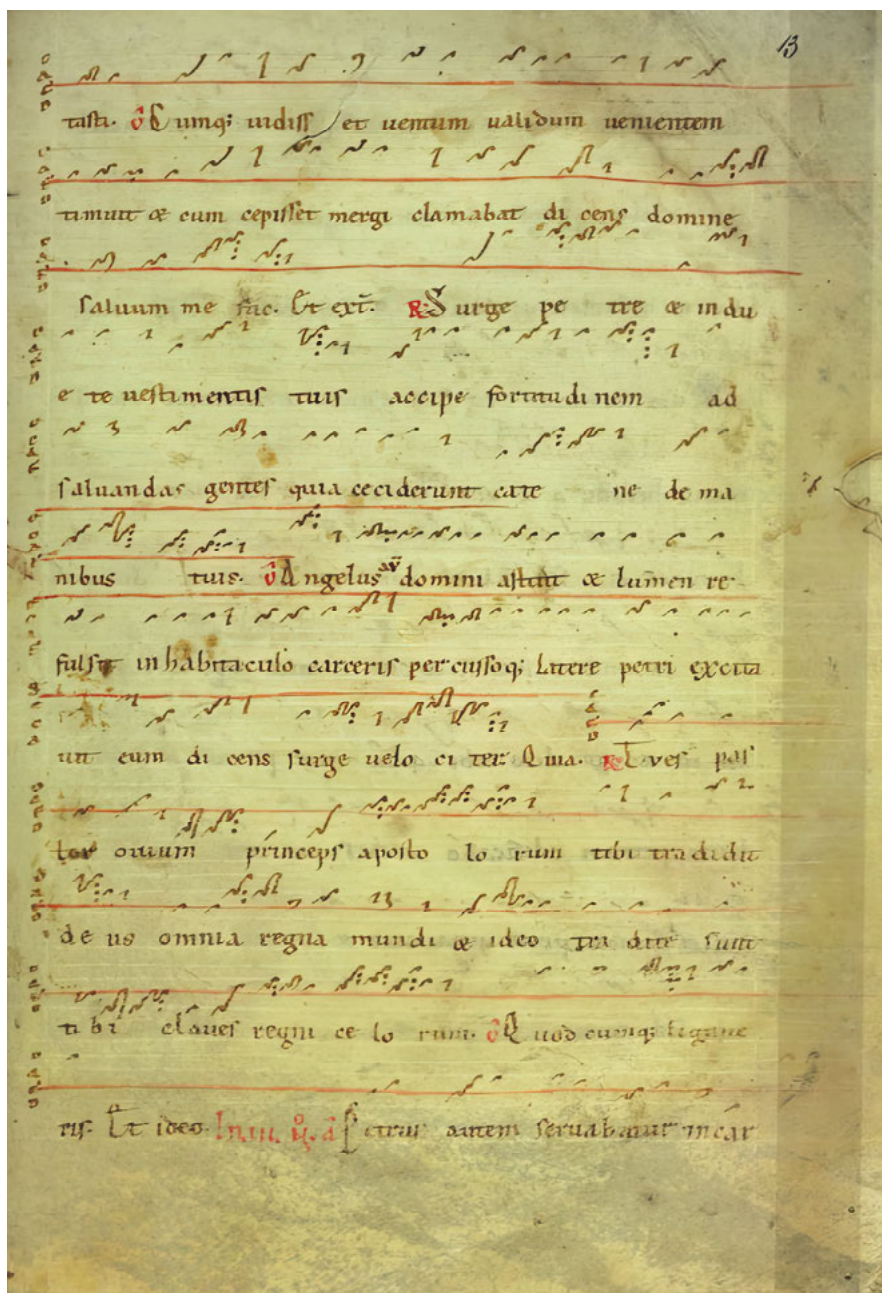


Fig. 15a: Early staff notation, Klosterneuburg canonesses; CCI 1012, fol. 13r; twelfth-century antiphoner, canonesses; © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

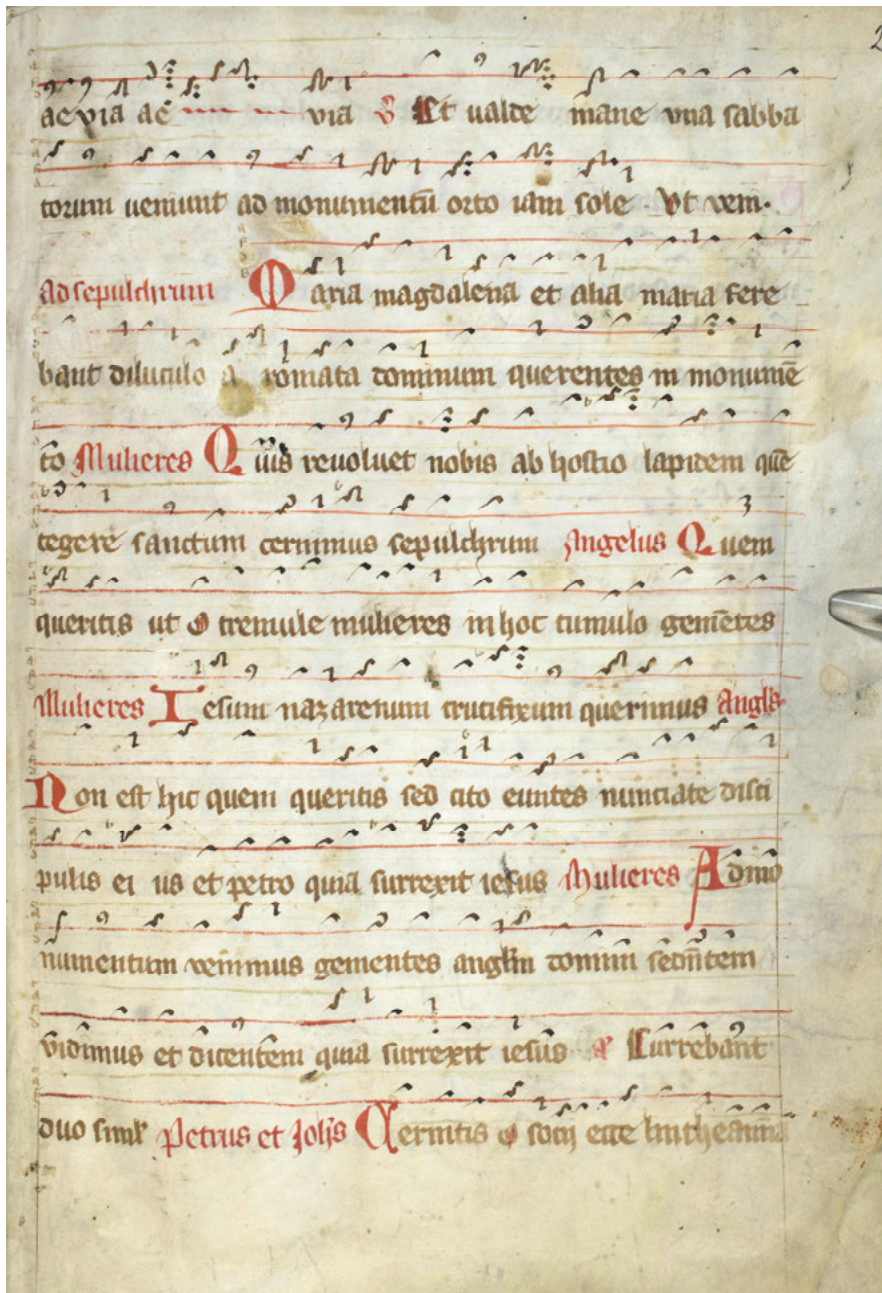


Fig. 15b: Early staff notation, Klosterneuburg canonesses; CCI 589, fol. 2r; fourteenth-century antiphoner, canonesses; © Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek.

3.4 Early staff notation in southern German-speaking Europe

The canonesses of Klosterneuburg were not alone in the early use of staff notation. Scattered evidence preserved in manuscripts and manuscript fragments throughout the German-speaking south testifies to the use of staff notation within other double monasteries. The introduction of staff notation into the region was first highlighted by Janka Szendrei in the 1990s.¹⁰⁵ She divided the manuscripts and fragments that placed neumes onto staves into two groups. Her first group included sources that adopted the mixed Metz/German notational scheme used by the canonesses at Klosterneuburg and within several Benedictine monasteries in Swabia and Bavaria. Her second group included sources that applied German neumes directly onto a staff, with most of these originating in Benedictine monasteries associated with the Hirsau reforms.

In a series of studies a decade later, Robert Klugseder expanded Szendrei's list,¹⁰⁶ and in a study just published, he drilled down into the origins for the two notational systems and the extent to which these did and did not endure.¹⁰⁷ He argued that what has typically been called Klosterneuburg notation originated at the Benedictine abbey of St Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg, and he identified as its inventor the monk and music theorist, Udalkalk von Maisach, who would become abbot of that house in 1127. Klugseder argued that this new form of notation spread from Augsburg to other Benedictine houses, such as Ottobeuren, Wessobrunn, and Tegernsee, and to Augustinian houses such as Klosterneuburg and Reichersberg by way of Rottenbuch. While several instances of the new notation were used to illustrate music-theoretical principals among the Benedictines,¹⁰⁸ most are preserved in liturgical manuscripts from both Benedictine and Augustinian houses. Klugseder credits the Augustinian branch of the dissemination to Gerhoh von Reichersberg, who had served as *scholasticus* at the Augsburg cathedral contemporaneously with Udalkalk's years at the nearby monastery. Gerhoh later served as canon at Rottenbuch, and then provost at Reichersberg. His two brothers, moreover, were among the earliest canons at Klosterneuburg, and each would later serve there as provost. Klugseder offered two examples of the close liturgical and notational connections that likely existed among the several Augustinian houses, citing a frag-

¹⁰⁵ Szendrei 1992 and 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Klugseder 2007, 2008a and 2008a.

¹⁰⁷ Klugseder 2023.

¹⁰⁸ Vienna lat. 573 and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf.334 Gud.lat. (St Ulrich und Afra, Augsburg); Rochester, Sibley Music Library, ML92.1200 (Admont); and Clm 9921 (Ottobeuren).

ment from Rottenbuch and another of unknown provenance that were nearly identical in their melodic settings and opening initials with the same items in Graz 807, the twelfth-century gradual written for the canonesses at Klosterneuburg.¹⁰⁹

The sources of the Hirsau group do not exhibit the same degree of uniformity seen among those of the Klosterneuburg group. The earliest Hirsau fragment, Stuttgart Cod.Frag.53 (from a twelfth-century antiphoner), uses key letters as at Klosterneuburg but with either two or three coloured lines – F in red, A in blue, and D in a darker blue or black. A Prüfening antiphoner, Clm 23037, copied around 1140, uses unheighted German neumes in most of the manuscript, but for the new feast of St Afra by Hermannus Contractus (fols 240^r–242^v), German neumes are arranged on a staff. Key letters are used for each line, but all lines are coloured red.¹¹⁰ A partial gradual from Prüfening, Clm 10086, copied around 1180, reverts to drypoint with one or two coloured lines and key letters for those lines only. The colours, though, are used inconsistently. Red is usually F, but sometimes C. Yellow is C when above the F, but B if below. An antiphoner from Zwiefalten copied between 1165 and 1170, Karlsruhe Aug.perg.60, retains the original twelfth-century notation in a few spots, but most has been erased and replaced with varying Gothic forms. The twelfth-century portions that remain, from the Palm Sunday procession, the Mandatum, and the Office of the Dead, use German neumes on drypoint lines with red F and yellow C but with dots in place of the key letters.¹¹¹

The use of staff notation in the German south over the course of the twelfth century was thus associated with houses affiliated with the Gregorian reforms, and most of these were allied with the Hirsau and Augustinian reform movements. Most were also dual-sex institutions. A case can easily be made for the use of Klosterneuburg notation among the canonesses of the several Augustinian houses from which such survive. Klugseder's argument for the transmission from Rottenbuch to Klosterneuburg and Reichersberg is strong in my view, particularly given the close association seen in the examples he cited from Rottenbuch, Klosterneuburg, and beyond, and it would be reasonable to suspect, as Klugseder seems to imply, that this transmission was directed toward the female side of these institutions, given what we know about Klosterneuburg.

The Hirsau side is less clear. Klugseder argued that the use of staff notation was a short-lived phenomenon, that even among those Benedictine monasteries where Klosterneuburg notation was invented and used, music scribes reverted to staffless

¹⁰⁹ Klugseder 2023, 138 and 152.

¹¹⁰ Schlager 1984.

¹¹¹ Metzinger et al. 1996. See especially the introduction by Hartmut Möller, in Metzinger et al. 1996, vii–xxxiv.

neumes in later years.¹¹² This appears certainly to be the case among the canons at Klosterneuburg, whose twelfth-century flirtation with German neumes on a staff was fleeting. While this may have been the case generally, other possibilities are available.

The liturgical sources from Zwiefalten are illustrative. The Zwiefalten antiphoner, Karlsruhe Aug. perg. 60, is the oldest preserved Benedictine antiphoner from the German south-west with diastematic notation. Written between 1165 and 1170, the manuscript was copied with German neumes on drypoint lines throughout, although much was later erased and replaced. The very act of erasure and replacement testifies to the value that the community placed on this manuscript in their efforts to maintain the currency of their liturgical and musical practice over the three and a half centuries that it remained *in situ*.¹¹³ With the marginal notations that were added to identify the textual sources for the liturgical items,¹¹⁴ this has the hallmark of a manuscript intended more for reference than for liturgical use and would not have been out of place in either the male or female sides of the house. An early thirteenth-century bifolium inserted at the beginning of the Zwiefalten epistolary, Stuttgart Cod. Brev. 121, a manuscript attributed to female scribes by both Löffler and Beach and the manuscript to which the embroidered silk covers shown in Figs 12a–b were attached, contains epistle tropes for St Stephan copied with German neumes on four red lines, with a key letter for C and a dot for F. Liturgical manuscripts from earlier in the century, including the so-called nuns' missal, use unheighted German neumes.¹¹⁵ Given the proximity in date for the antiphoner and the epistle tropes, and the years separating these from the unheighted sources, the divergence in notational practice might indicate a temporary change in scribal habits, as we saw with the canons at Klosterneuburg. It might also reflect a distinct usage by the nuns.

A similar scenario is found among manuscripts copied for the abbey of Prüfening. In the Prüfening antiphoner, Clm 23037, copied around 1140, most chants are

¹¹² Klugseder 2007, 131 and Klugseder 2023, 164.

¹¹³ The manuscript was carried to the abbey of Reichenau by a group of Zwiefalten monks led by Abbot Georg Fischer in 1516. Heinzer 1995, 177–178 identifies the initials G. D. that follow chants for St Mark in the Reichenau supplement (fol. 142^v) as belonging to Gregor Dietz, who was among the Zwiefalten monks who relocated to Reichenau. Dietz would later serve as Reichenau's abbot (1540–1548). See also Möller's introduction to Metzinger et al. 1996, xii.

¹¹⁴ The notations in the margin that identified the textual sources for the chants were entered in the third quarter of the twelfth century by Reinhard von Munderkingen, who would later serve as abbot of Zwiefalten. See Spilling 1989 and Möller's introduction to Metzinger et al. 1996, x–xii.

¹¹⁵ Stuttgart Cod. Bibl. qt. 36 (Zwiefalten gradual, second quarter twelfth century) and Stuttgart Cod. Brev. 123 (Zwiefalten gradual/sacramentary, mid twelfth century – the so-called nuns' missal).

entered with unheighted German neumes. Only the new, and presumably unfamiliar, Office of St Afra uses staff notation, with the lines traced in red rather than etched into the parchment and with key letters for all lines. In manuscripts copied at the end of the century, though, the scribes revert to the use of drypoint. In the Prüfening gradual, Clm 10086, red lines are used to indicate F – and yellow, as I noted earlier – is used for either B or C. In the antiphoner fragment contained in Clm 12027, coloured lines are absent. Key letters are used, although inconsistently (sometimes F, sometimes C, sometimes A). As was the case at Zwiefalten, the consistent use of German neumes on drypoint lines is found in manuscripts from the end of the twelfth century, while unheighted neumes prevailed before. Again, this might indicate a temporary change in scribal habits. And again, it might also reflect a distinct usage by the nuns.

We know that the canonesses of Klosterneuburg used staff notation from the start, and there is reason to believe that women in other Augustinian houses did so as well. Beyond these, the strength of the evidence weakens. My suggestion that the later twelfth-century instances of staff notation might reflect the use of Zwiefalten and Prüfening's nuns is mitigated by the variety of techniques used for entering staves and identifying pitch levels among these sources, and I know of nothing further that ties these scattered manuscripts and fragments to any of the women enclosed within any of the houses. But, given the independence shown by the canonesses of Klosterneuburg in both their liturgical and musical practices, we might be cautiously optimistic that the shadows cast by these scattered notational remnants may reveal similar practices elsewhere. Indeed, staff notation may have been but a notational experiment that the monks and canons found no compelling reasons to retain, useful perhaps for describing music theoretical principles or for introducing new music. But placing neumes on staves for liturgical use was expensive, and for the monks and canons of the region, efficiency may have won out over clarity. Women housed within double monasteries, though, might have seen this differently. Many women turned to the religious life as adults and may not have benefited from the training in liturgy and chant offered to young male novices. For these women, reading neumes on a staff could provide a means for gaining rapid proficiency in liturgical performance, thus opting for practicality over efficiency and tradition.¹¹⁶ We can see one instance of such practicality in what I might call the 'user-friendly' hymnals produced by the canonesses at Klosterneuburg, where much parchment was wasted in the repetition of melodies for each verse (see Figs 6a–b).

¹¹⁶ Similar arguments are offered in Norton and Carr 2011, 125–126 and Klugseder 2023, 163.

4 Conclusion

In recovering the liturgy of the canonesses of Klosterneuburg, we learned not only that the canonesses charted their own course in their celebration of the liturgical year, but that their liturgical celebration was dynamic, changing over time to meet new requirements and to adapt to new sensibilities. We learned also that the liturgy of the canonesses was rendered with a form of musical notation that set their liturgical expression apart from that of the canons next door. There were likely poets among the canonesses as well, the authors of three hymns and perhaps more. Given the distinct character of both textual and musical palaeography, we might suspect that canonesses served also as scribes for their liturgical texts and music.

While the means adopted at Klosterneuburg to circumvent strict claustration were surely replicated elsewhere, the extent to which other cloistered women maintained their liturgical independence remains unsettled. We know that cloistered women were actively involved in the preparation and creation of manuscripts, and we know that some manuscripts were destined for liturgical use on their behalf. But outside of Klosterneuburg, evidence that liturgical manuscripts were used by the nuns and canonesses themselves is scanty.¹¹⁷ Yet, it seems inconceivable that the women enclosed within the double monasteries of the German-speaking south would not have found ways to assert their voices in whatever ways they could, whether in their liturgy, in their musical notation, or otherwise. I suggested earlier that our inability to discern such liturgical independence was driven by a lack of manuscript evidence. But it may also be that the deficiencies lie within ourselves and in the boundaries that we construct to constrain our inquiries. While the dots we have before us may ultimately confirm that the nuns and canonesses of the German-speaking south asserted little control over their liturgical and notational practices, the missing dots, the invisible dots, should they ever come into view, might paint an altogether different picture. There are surely other institutions yet to consider, other facets yet to explore, and other repositories yet to plough. If

¹¹⁷ In her presentation, 'Chant Tradition in Women's Monasteries of the Hirsau Reforms', given at the symposium *Women's Voices in the Era of Monastic Reforms: Liturgy and Chant in Female Religious Communities in Medieval Germany* (Universität Würzburg, 30 June 2023), Hanna Zühlke listed the following manuscripts that were associated with the nuns of Hirsau double monasteries: Stuttgart Cod. Brev.123 (Zwiefalten); Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 18 and Klagenfurt, Landesarchiv, Cod. GV 6/7 (Admont); Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a V 24 and a IX 11 (Salzburg, Petersfrauen); and London, British Library, Arundel 340 (Göttweig). I thank Hanna Zühlke for allowing me access to her unpublished presentation.

there is one lesson that I take from this endeavour, it is the importance of assuming nothing and looking at everything – to welcome the unexpected and to embrace the invisible obvious.

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Abbreviations

CAO = Catalogue numbers given in Hesbert 1963–1979.

CCI = *Codex Claustroneoburgensis*, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek (A-KN).

Clm = *Codices latini monacenses*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs).

Graz = Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (A-Gu).

Karlsruhe = Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek (D-KA).

LOO = Catalogue numbers given in Lipphardt 1976–1990.

Prague = Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (CZ-Pu).

StiAK = Klosterneuburg, Stiftsarchiv.

Stuttgart = Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (D-SI).

Vienna = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn).

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