

# LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS, LITURGICAL PRACTICE, AND THE WOMEN OF KLOSTERNEUBURG

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## INTRODUCTION

### *The Problem*

For over a century, liturgical manuscripts from the Augustinian priory at Klosterneuburg have tended toward a misleading androgyny.<sup>1</sup> While scholars have long known that Klosterneuburg was a double house, with separate precincts for men and for women,<sup>2</sup> many have been content to

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<sup>1</sup> A project such as this would not be possible without the contributions of a great many people. We would first like to acknowledge funding for our research provided by Allegheny College and James Madison University. We are particularly indebted to Dr. Floridus Röhrig, Dr. Heinz Ristory, and Dr. Karl Holubar of the Stiftsbibliothek and Stiftsarchiv of Klosterneuburg for their assistance and gracious hospitality during our several visits. We would like to thank also the staff of the Handschriftenabteilung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna for access to their collection of liturgical manuscripts and early printed liturgical books. Much of our research was conducted in the carrels of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library at St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, and we cannot begin to thank the several generations of directors and staff who have assisted us as we pored through the several hundred microfilms we requested. Finally we would like to thank Dr. Susan Boynton for her encouragement during the latter stages of this project, Dr. Bob Michel for assistance in Latin translation, and our anonymous reviewers, who offered many helpful comments and suggestions that made this study much better than it might otherwise have been.

<sup>2</sup> As early as the late eighteenth century, the Klosterneuburg archivist Willibald Leyrer produced a manuscript history of the canonesses of Klosterneuburg based on documents preserved within the Stiftsarchiv. Leyrer's study, entitled "De Monialibus Nostris paenes Canoniam ad Sanctam Magdalenam," is now contained in A-KNa HS 91, fols. 128r–150v. Much of Leyrer's compilation found its way into later studies, including Maximilian Fischer, *Merkwürdigere Schicksale des Stiftes und der Stadt Klosterneuburg aus Urkunden gezogen*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1815), 1:333–42 and Hartmann Zeibig, *Urkundenbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg bis zum Ende des Vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., *Fontes Rerum Oesterreichische Geschichts-Quellen* 10 and 28 (Vienna, 1857–68), 1:lxiv–lxv and passim. What was known of Klosterneuburg's women at the turn of the twentieth century was summarized in Albert Starzer, *Geschichte der landesfürstlichen Stadt Klosterneuburg* (Klosterneuburg, 1900), 388–93. The most recent study of the canonesses of Klosterneuburg is the dissertation by Gerda Davy, "Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen von Klosterneuburg und ihre Zeit" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1995), which is based in part on Leyrer's study. A biography of Willibald Leyrer, along with a bibliography of his remarkable output, all of which remains in manuscript form in the Klosterneuburg Stiftsarchiv, is provided by

regard the liturgical manuscripts preserved there as reflecting the institution as a whole, or of the men in particular. To be sure, some manuscripts have always been recognized as women's books.<sup>3</sup> For other manuscripts, though, such gendered associations have proven elusive. Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in discussions of Klosterneuburg's twelfth-century antiphoners (A-KN 1010, A-KN 1012, and A-KN 1013). Among the earliest musical manuscripts in German-speaking Europe to show pitches on a staff,<sup>4</sup> these manuscripts have been seen by many scholars as reflecting the use of Klosterneuburg generally, if at all, while a few scholars have associated them with the women of Klosterneuburg specifically.<sup>5</sup> Whether the result of an unusual placement for the feast of the Dedication of the Church or the conformance of the musical notation with that of manuscripts known to be associated with the women, the occasional assignments of the twelfth-century antiphoners to Klosterneuburg's women were more a consequence of what was *not* known about the women and their liturgical practice (the date for their church's dedication, for example) than of what was known. The very lack of information about the liturgical practice of Klosterneuburg's women, moreover, has cloaked an even larger obstacle to understanding the liturgical manuscripts used by the women and the liturgy that was expressed within them. For all the attention given these manuscripts, and for all the consideration given to the possible connection between these manuscripts and the canonesses, few scholars have considered the possibility that the liturgy celebrated by Klosterneuburg's women might have been independent from that of the men.

The extent to which the canonesses of Klosterneuburg held sway over their liturgical practice has only recently begun to attract scholarly attention. A decade ago, we noted differences among the musical settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* in manuscripts known to have been used by the men and manuscripts that we suspected were used by the women.<sup>6</sup> More

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Berthold Černik, *Die Schriftsteller der noch bestehenden Augustiner-Chorherrenstifte Österreichs von 1600 bis auf den heutigen Tag* (Vienna, 1905), 216–23.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion of "Reclaiming Women's Liturgical History: First Attempts" below, pp. 74–78.

<sup>4</sup> The twelfth-century antiphoners are described in detail by Debra Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners" (PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 2000), 48–64. See also the descriptions by Jacques Froger, *Le Graduel de Klosterneuburg*, *Paléographie Musicale* 19 (Bern, 1974), 33\*–34\* and Stefan Engels, "Die Notation der liturgischen Handschriften aus Klosterneuburg," *Musica Austriaca* 14/15 (1996): 40–48, esp. 45.

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion of the antiphoners below, p. 82.

<sup>6</sup> Amelia Carr and Michael Norton, "Women's Liturgical Manuscripts from Klosterneuburg," *Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 22 (2000): 90–104, repr. in *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, ed. Clifford Davidson (New York, 2005), 1–15. This short essay was drawn from a presentation at the Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo in 1998

recently, Robert Klugseder has made a first attempt at disambiguating the liturgical content of manuscripts known to have been used by the men of Klosterneuburg from those he assigned to the women.<sup>7</sup> His meticulous analysis of manuscripts supposedly used by the women and his comparison of the liturgical content of these manuscripts with those used by the men, as well as others representing the usage for the diocese of Passau, show a number of clear distinctions between the two groups of manuscripts and between these two groups and the use of Passau. Despite the clarity of the differences revealed, however, one problem remained. Neither Klugseder nor we offered proof or argument that the manuscripts we had assigned to the women were used by the women in the first place. For both studies, the assignment was more assertion than argument.<sup>8</sup>

In the following discussion, we will outline a corpus of twenty-five liturgical manuscripts used by the women of Klosterneuburg for the celebration of the Divine Office and for their processions to Mass and other rites, and we will place the details of the liturgical practice revealed by these manuscripts into a broader perspective.<sup>9</sup> Our focus on the Office and on the processions results from the centrality of these rites in the liturgical life of Klosterneuburg's female religious, as these were the rites over which religious women in general, and the women of Klosterneuburg in particular, had the greatest degree of control.<sup>10</sup> While the result of this survey will

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and represented the state of our understanding very early in our investigation. While our overall claim still holds, several of our assignments and speculations have turned out to be untrue. The current study supercedes the findings of this earlier essay.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Klugseder, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen liturgischen Tradition der Klosterneuburger Augustinerklöster St. Maria und St. Magdalena," *Musica Austriaca* 27 (2008): 11–42. We are deeply grateful to Dr. Klugseder for providing both an advance copy of his article and a spreadsheet that provides the details on which he based his study. Dr. Klugseder is currently compiling a synopsis of the chants for the Office at Klosterneuburg, a synopsis that should greatly enhance our understanding of the liturgical practices of both the men and the women at Klosterneuburg.

<sup>8</sup> Both Klugseder's and our assignments were based on notational grounds. Klugseder's assignment of the antiphoners to the women was drawn from the assertion offered by Franz Karl Praßl, "Psallat Ecclesia Mater: Studien zu Repertoire und Verwendung von Sequenzen in der Liturgie österreichischer Augustinerchorherren vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert" (PhD diss., University of Graz, 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 Metzger (z.B. Unicus) Neumen darstellt." See Klugseder, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen liturgischen Tradition," 14 n. 14.

<sup>9</sup> A listing of the liturgical manuscripts used by or on behalf of the canonesses is given as Table 2.

<sup>10</sup> General aspects of women's liturgy are covered in Gisela Muschiol, "Time and Space: Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil: Female*

confirm and supplement much of what Klugseder's invaluable study has offered, we proceed by a different route, which connects the manuscripts considered directly to the women themselves. We will show not only that the holdings of the Klosterneuburg library were more substantial than previously suspected with respect to the women of Klosterneuburg, but also that the liturgical practice revealed by these manuscripts shows the women to have charted their own course in their celebration of the Divine Office and their processions to Mass.

### *The Augustinian Priory at Klosterneuburg*

The foundation for the church at Klosterneuburg was laid in 1114 by Leopold III, the Babenberg margrave and future patron saint of Austria.<sup>11</sup> Built adjacent to Leopold's residence on the banks of the Danube just north of Vienna, the originally secular chapter was richly endowed to serve as *Eigenkirche* for the margrave and his wife Agnes, daughter of Emperor Heinrich IV and widow of Friedrich of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia.<sup>12</sup> Before the church was completed, however, Leopold handed it over to the reform-minded Augustinian canons, whose foundations were then spreading rapidly throughout southern Germany and Austria under the leadership of Archbishop Konrad of Salzburg.<sup>13</sup> The liturgy of the reorganized priory

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*Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Jeffrey C. Hamburger, Susan Marti, and Deitlinde Hamburger (New York, 2008), 191–206. For the liturgy of female religious in England, see especially Ann Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> After a century and a half of effort, Leopold III was canonized in 1485. As the patron saint of Austria, he has been the subject of countless treatments. Most easily accessible are Floridus Röhrig, *Leopold III. der Heilige, Markgraf von Österreich* (Vienna, 1985) and Karl Brunner, *Leopold der Heilige: Ein Portrait aus dem Frühling des Mittelalters* (Vienna, 2009). On the music for Leopold's feast, see Franz Zabiga, *Die ältesten musikalischen Denkmäler zu Ehren des Heiligen Leopold, Herzog und Patron von Österreich* (Zurich, 1954). A survey of music composed in honor of St. Leopold since 1485 is given in Bernhard Paul, "Musik zu Ehren des hl. Leopold" (PhD diss., Vienna University of Music and Performing Arts, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Through her first marriage, Agnes was the mother of Duke Friedrich II of Swabia and King Konrad of Germany and grandmother of the emperor, Friedrich Barbarossa. Through her marriage to Leopold, she was the mother of both Konrad, bishop of Passau and later archbishop of Salzburg, and Otto, bishop of Freising. Klosterneuburg tradition holds that Agnes was cofounder with Leopold of Klosterneuburg. Later depictions show Agnes associated specifically with the women's house. The life of Agnes and her role in the foundation of the church at Klosterneuburg is treated by Heide Dienst, *Agnes: Herzogin, Markgräfin, Landesmutter* (Vienna, 1985).

<sup>13</sup> On Konrad, bishop of Salzburg, see Kurt Zeillinger, *Erzbischof Konrad I. von Salzburg 1106–1147* (Vienna, 1968) and Stefan Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert: Der Erzbischof Konrad I. von Salzburg (1106–1147)*



was likely consolidated under the first Augustinian prior, Hartmann, the former prior at Chiemsee and before that, dean of the Salzburg cathedral.<sup>14</sup> On 29 September 1136, the church was dedicated, and six weeks later, Leopold died.

When the priory became double is not precisely known. Klosterneuburg tradition holds that the women arrived in 1133 along with the canons who formed the core of the new Augustinian priory.<sup>15</sup> Such a view is certainly reasonable, given that such double houses were common not only among churches founded or reformed by the Augustinians, but also among most monastic institutions founded within the archdiocese during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>16</sup> While canonesses are documented at Klosterneuburg only since the 1160s,<sup>17</sup> the *vita* for Klosterneuburg's first prior, Hartmann, the later bishop of Brixen, explicitly refers to the

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*und die Regularkanoniker*, Kölner historische Abhandlung 24 (Cologne, 1975). A summary of the reforms promoted by Archbishop Konrad is provided in Stefan Weinfurter, "Die Kanonikerreform des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," in *900 Jahre Stift Reichenberg: Augustiner Chorherren zwischen Passau und Salzburg*, ed. Dietmar Straub (Linz, 1984), 23–32. On the musical and liturgical practice of the canons, see Walther Lipphardt, "Studien zur Musikpflege in den mittelalterlichen Augustiner-Chorherrenstiften des deutschen Sprachgebietes," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 7 (1971): 7–101 and Walther Lipphardt, "Musik in den österreichischen Klöstern der Babenbergerzeit," *Musica Austriaca* 2 (1979): 48–68. An alternate interpretation for the dissemination of the Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri* among the Augustinian canons is provided by Michael Norton, "The Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*: A Repertorial Study" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1983), 140–88.

<sup>14</sup> The life of Hartmann is treated by Anselm Sparber, *Leben und Wirken des seligen Hartmann, Bischofs von Brixen, 1140–1164* (Vienna, 1957).

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Fischer, *Merkwürdigere Schicksale* (n. 2 above), 1:333–34.

<sup>16</sup> The problems of defining a "double house" are discussed by Stephanie Haarländer, "Doppelklöster und ihre Forschungsgeschichte," in *Fromme Frauen — unbequeme Frauen? Weibliches Religiosentum im Mittelalter*, ed. Edeltraud Klüeting (Hildesheim, 2006), 27–44. On double monasteries in lower Austria, see Friedrich Schragl, "Niederösterreichische Doppelklöster im Spätmittelalter," in *Abgekommene Stifte und Klöster in Niederösterreich*, Thomas Aigner and Ralph Andraschek-Holzer, eds., Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Niederösterreichs 6 (St. Pölten, 2001), 25–31. On double monasteries in twelfth-century Bavaria, see Alison Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (New York, 2003). On the women at the double monastery of Admont, see Jakob Wichner, "Die ehemalige Nonnenkloster O.S.B. zu Admont in Steiermark," *Studien und Mitteilungen des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 2 (1881): 75–84 and 288–319. The women at the double priory at St. Florian are treated in Albin Czerny, "Das älteste Tottenbuch des Stiftes St. Florian," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 56 (1878): 257–367, esp. 278–82. The women of Klosterneuburg are treated by Davy, "Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen" (n. 2 above).

<sup>17</sup> Berthold Černik, *Das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Klosterneuburg: Statistische und Geschichtliche Daten* (Klosterneuburg, 1936), 140.

presence of canonesses at Klosterneuburg during his tenure there (1133–40).<sup>18</sup>

The church and church precincts for the canonesses lay just to the west of, and adjacent to, those of the canons (see Plate — the women's church is located at left-center, behind and slightly below the main church). Little remains of the canonesses' twelfth-century church, but a new church was dedicated in September of 1324<sup>19</sup> and still stands, although its original purpose has been obscured by the more recent uses to which it has been put.<sup>20</sup> It is unclear what damage might have been done to the women's cloister in fires documented in 1330 (or earlier)<sup>21</sup> and in

<sup>18</sup> The *Vita Hartmanni* was likely compiled ca. 1200 and credits Hartmann with keeping the greetings and conversations between men and women to an absolute minimum, only when necessary and then under supervision (*Vita*, chap. 6, cited in Sparber, *Leben und Wirken*, 34 n. 68): "Rara erant fratribus cum sororibus salutationes et colloquia, nisi pro rationabili necessitate et cum probabili testimonio." Both canons and canonesses were joyful when Hartmann was made bishop of Brixen in 1140, and then sad as he departed Klosterneuburg (*Vita*, chap. 9, cited in Sparber, *Leben und Wirken*, 39 n. 72): "Et ecce, subito molesto rumore turbata sunt gaudia fratribus et sororibus suis contristatis pro ista insperata mutatione."

<sup>19</sup> The original citation for the dedication of 1324 was given in 1868 by Zeibig (*Urkundenbuch* [n. 2 above], 2:207) but was overlooked by most subsequent scholars. The following citation from A-KNa Rechnungsbuch 6/1a, fol. 2r is provided by Floridus Röhrig, "Das kunstgeschichtliche Material aus dem Klosterneuburger Rechnungsbüchern des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 6 (1966): 147: "Iste die (23. IX) consecrata est ecclesia dominarum. Hospites: Episcopus et dux Henricus et dux Ot et regina, magister Laurentius, magister Petrus et Chreuzperch." On the guests at Klosterneuburg, see also Susanne Fritsch, "Die Küchenrechnungsbücher des Stiftes Klosterneuburg aus den Jahren 1324 bis 1336," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 17 (1999): 173–202, esp. 182–87 and 191–202, and Karl Holuber, "Besucher im Stift Klosterneuburg," in *Die Krone des Landes: Klosterneuburg und Österreich*, ed. Karl Holubar and Wolfgang Christian Huber (Klosterneuburg, 1996), 33–41. Despite the consecration of 23 September 1324, the canonesses celebrated the feast of the Dedication of the Church on the Sunday following the feast of the Finding of St. Stephen (between 4 and 10 August). See the discussion of the processions below, pp. 110–14.

<sup>20</sup> On the fate of the women's church, see p. 74 below.

<sup>21</sup> The great fire of the fourteenth century is variously reported in the medieval documents. The Klosterneuburg annals preserved in A-Wn lat. 364, entered by various hands during the fourteenth century, gives the date as 1330 (fol. 144v). This date is confirmed in a note at the bottom margin of fol. 41v in A-KN 963, a breviary copied by one Leuthold, although the note is retrospective, having likely been entered after the manuscript was completed in 1338. The *Kleine Klosterneuburg Chronik*, on the other hand, which survives in two sixteenth-century copies (A-KN 1235 and A-KN 1235a), gives the year as 1322 (fol. 1r–v). The Klosterneuburg annals are provided as *Continuo Claustroneuburgensis VII* in Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Annales Austriae," MGH, SS 9:755–57. The notice for the fire is given on pages 755–56. The *Kleine Klosterneuburg Chronik* is provided by Hermann Maschek, *Deutsche Chroniken* (Leipzig, 1936), 286–316. The notice for the fire is given on pages 286–87.

1410.<sup>22</sup> The space was a double-aisled hall with a flat choir<sup>23</sup> and contained probably five altars, whose arrangement is known only from sixteenth-century documents and which will be discussed later. Inventories from 1568 and 1578 mention upper and lower sacristies.<sup>24</sup> Payment records from 1415 and 1418 reveal the existence of at least one organ in the women's church as well.<sup>25</sup> Records exist also for payments for an organist and his assistants.<sup>26</sup>

The women's cloister appears to have been well attended and was populated largely by the daughters and widows of the lesser nobility and the ministeriales.<sup>27</sup> The women were organized separately, headed by a *magistra* or *Maisterin*, and placed under the spiritual and temporal control of a *custos dominarum* appointed by the prior. By the mid-thirteenth century, the number of women entering the cloister had grown large enough that the *magistra* petitioned Pope Innocent IV to limit the number of women entering the religious life at Klosterneuburg, and the pope complied by directing the prior to ensure that the population did not expand beyond the means available to support it.<sup>28</sup> In 1330, Bishop Albert of Passau ordered specifically that the number of canonesses not exceed thirty-two.<sup>29</sup>

Over time the number of women decreased. Documents from the late fourteenth century show numbers in the twenties.<sup>30</sup> During the sixteenth century, the combined effects of the plague (1521), the Turkish invasion (1529), and the Protestant Reformation (ca. 1541–77 at Klosters-

<sup>22</sup> Reported in the *Kleine Klosterneuburg Chronik*, ed. Maschek, 301.

<sup>23</sup> Karl Drexler, *Das Stift Klosterneuburg: Eine kunsthistorische Skizze* (Vienna, 1894), 136.

<sup>24</sup> Two inventories were made of the items remaining in the women's precincts, one in 1568, days following the death of the last canoness, and the other in 1578. The inventories, which remain unpublished, are preserved in A-KNa K230 no. 56, fol. 272v N. R.

<sup>25</sup> Röhrig, "Das kunstgeschichtliche Material," 150–51. Included among the receipts for 1415 is an entry for "Item von zwain positifen und pedal zu renoveren und ain positif new im frauen kloster" (A-KNa Rechnungsbuch 1/1, fol. 313r). An entry for 1418/1419, furthermore, shows "Item pro organo primo in clauastro monialium" (A-KNa Rechnungsbuch 1/1, fol. 203v).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 152. An entry for 1420/21 under the heading "Generalia ad claustrum dominarum" includes the following: "Item zu dem newen organisten und den diennern" (A-KNa Rechnungsbuch 1/7, fol. 4v).

<sup>27</sup> The twelfth-century canonesses are treated by Heide Dienst, *Regionalgeschichte und Gesellschaft im Hochmittelalter am Beispiel Österreichs*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsbände 27 (Vienna, 1990), 174–87.

<sup>28</sup> Zeibig, *Urkundenbuch*, 1:6–7; A-KNa Urkunde 1253.VII.01.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:233–34; A-KNa Urkunde 1330.II.27.

<sup>30</sup> Documents from 1396, for example, indicate twenty-three and twenty-four canonesses respectively (*ibid.*, 2:286 and 288).

euburg) further diminished the ranks of Klosterneuburg canonesses.<sup>31</sup> By the middle third of the sixteenth century, the number had dwindled to twelve professed canonesses.<sup>32</sup> By 1565, there were only three canonesses left, and in March of 1568, the last canoness died.<sup>33</sup> Even though there were no longer cloistered women at Klosterneuburg, the women's church remained part of the sacred topography of the monastery. It served as the destination for processions by the canons through at least the end of the sixteenth century, through the Protestant period and beyond.<sup>34</sup> In Johann Martin Lerch's engraved view of Klosterneuburg dating from 1687–93, the building appears to function as a separate chapel, labeled as the Sacellum S. Maria Magdalene (see Plate). The church was deconsecrated only in 1722. Its tower was removed, and the church building was subdivided through a vault into two levels, the upper level serving as a granary and the lower level housing a wine press.<sup>35</sup>

### *Reclaiming Women's Liturgical History: First Attempts*

It is difficult to know when the manuscripts once held by the women of Klosterneuburg made their way into the library of the men, but clear identification of female ownership was lost after their holdings were consolidated.<sup>36</sup> While the institutional knowledge of the women's church at Klos-

<sup>31</sup> This tumultuous period is covered in Floridus Röhrig, "Protestantismus und Gegenreformation im Stift Klosterneuburg und seinen Pfarren," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 1 (1961): 105–70. For a medical perspective on the plagues that afflicted Vienna during the late medieval and early modern eras, see Boris Velimirovic and Helga Velimirovic, "Plague in Vienna," *Reviews of Infectious Diseases* 11 (1989): 808–26.

<sup>32</sup> Twelve canonesses participated in the election of the new *magistra* in 1535. A tied vote resulted in the intervention of the prior, who appointed instead one Magdalena Münsterinn to the post, even though she was of advanced years and not yet professed (Davy, "Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen" [n. 2 above], 38 [after Leyrer, "De Monialibus" (n. 2 above), fols. 142v–143r. The original document is contained in A-KNa HS 6, fol. 99.]).

<sup>33</sup> Appolonia Khatzler, the last canoness at Klosterneuburg, died 20 March 1568. On the final years for the women at Klosterneuburg, see Davy, "Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen," 75–77.

<sup>34</sup> Three ordinals from the late sixteenth century, A-KNa HS 191 (copied 1573), A-KN 1026A (copied 1576), and A-Wn lat. 15078 (copied 1594), show that the traditional processions to the women's church continued long after the church was actively used. See the discussion on processions below, pp. 110–14. A-KNa HS 191 is the manuscript 1026 referenced by Leo Schabes, *Alle liturgische Gebräuche und Zeremonien an der Stiftkirche zur Klosterneuburg* (Klosterneuburg, 1930), 11–12. It is likely also the same as the codex 1026 cataloged by Maximilian Fischer in 1808. See n. 38 below.

<sup>35</sup> Berthold Černik, *Das Stift Klosterneuburg und seine Pfarren* (Vienna, 1914), 38.

<sup>36</sup> Neither the 1568 nor the 1578 inventory mentions books of any sort. Whatever manuscripts may have been left behind likely went directly to the men's library, if they

terneuburg might have held for some years following the church's deconsecration in 1722, specific knowledge of the women's distinct liturgical practice had long since disappeared. Based on documents preserved within the Stiftsarchiv, the Klosterneuburg archivist Willibald Leyrer (1737–1814) was able to recapture at least a part of the history of the canoneses, and this work would serve as the basis for many subsequent studies.<sup>37</sup> But neither he nor his successors were able to contribute anything with respect to the women's liturgical life. The first modern cataloguers of the Klosterneuburg library were thus quite cautious in identifying the women's books. The manuscripts ascribed to the canoneses of Klosterneuburg or to women religious in general in the catalog of Maximilian Fischer, completed in 1808, and the later *Zettelkatalog* from the early twentieth century are given in Tables 3a and 3b.<sup>38</sup>

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were not already there. At Admont, for example, the monks transferred all of the manuscripts from the attached convent immediately upon the death of the last nun in 1570. See Beach, *Women as Scribes* (n. 16 above), 65. On the inventories, see n. 24 above.

<sup>37</sup> See n. 2 above.

<sup>38</sup> A history of the library at Klosterneuburg is provided by Vinzenz Oskar Ludwig, *Klosterneuburg: Kulturgeschichte eines österreichischen Stiftes* (Vienna, 1951), 95–178. A more recent history, including a description of the library's extensive holdings, is found in Bernhard Fabian, ed., *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland: Digitalisiert von Günter Kükenshöner* (Hildesheim, 2003), [http://134.76.163.162/cgi-bin/wiki.pl?Augustiner-Chorherrenstift\\_\(Klosterneuburg\)](http://134.76.163.162/cgi-bin/wiki.pl?Augustiner-Chorherrenstift_(Klosterneuburg)). The medieval library catalogs were treated first by Hartmann Zeibig, "Die Bibliothek des Stiftes Klosterneuburg: Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Literaturgeschichte," *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen* (1850) 3:261–316 and later by Theodor Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs: Niederösterreich*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1915), 1:83–120. During the Middle Ages, several manuscript lists were produced, the largest being that of Magister Martin in 1330. Another list, finished in 1513, is now lost. In addition to these, librarians inscribed the books belonging to the library at various points during the history of the priory. The earliest were the inscriptions by librarian and *custos dominarum* Alberto Saxo in the late thirteenth century. Similar efforts were made in the late fifteenth century and during the mid-seventeenth century by unnamed librarians. The first modern catalog was completed in 1808 by Maximilian Fischer, canon and later librarian at Klosterneuburg. This manuscript, entitled "Catalogus Bibliothecae Claustroeburgensis" and preserved in the Klosterneuburg Stiftsbibliothek without shelf number, was superseded by a card catalog of manuscripts prepared during the early decades of the twentieth century. The entries for manuscripts 1 through 452 were published as Hermann Pfeiffer and Berthold Černik, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in bibliotheca Canonorum Regularium S. Augustini Claustroeburgi asservantur*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1922–31). The remainder of the *Zettelkatalog* is available through University Microfilms (vol. 3, Cod. 453–636; vol. 4, Cod. 637–830, vol. 5, Cod. 831–999, vol. 6, Cod. 1000–1256, vol. 7, *Autorenregister*, vol. 8, *Incipitregister*). A new catalog is currently in progress. Codices 1–200 are covered in Alois Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, Teil 1, *Cod. 1–100* (Vienna, 1983) and Teil 2, *Cod. 101–200* (Vienna, 1992). Volumes three and four are currently in preparation: Franz Lackner, *Katalog der Handschriften des*

Explicit inscriptions suggesting female use were all that allowed Fischer to associate two liturgical manuscripts with the women in his catalog of 1808. His original entry for A-KN 1000, a hymnal copied in 1336, is a case in point: “Codex membranaceus saeculi XV. Ab initio et in fine haec notantur: Das puech ist unser lieben Frauen Gotshaus zu Closterneuburg und gehört in das Frauen Closter.”<sup>39</sup> This manuscript also included a colophon not mentioned by Fischer: “Explicit liber domine Geisle Ruedweinnine. Anno domini M° CCC° XXXVI°” (fol. 123r).<sup>40</sup>

For A-KN 982, a breviary copied in the fourteenth century, Fischer noted the following: “Codice hoc membranaceo saeculi XIV habetur Breviarium cujus rubricae germanicae moniales possessores enunciant [sic].”<sup>41</sup> Like A-KN 1000, this manuscript also included a colophon not specifically noted in Fischer’s catalog: “Das puech ist der vrawen von Czelking in dem vrawen Chloster das Newnburch” (fol. 275r).<sup>42</sup>

Fischer also identified three liturgical books from the fifteenth century which, while not specifically assigned to the women, included anathemas

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*Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, Teil 3, *Cod. 201–300* (Vienna, forthcoming) and Alois Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*, Teil 4, *Cod. 301–400* (Vienna, forthcoming).

<sup>39</sup> Fischer, “Catalogus,” 272.

<sup>40</sup> This colophon was added by a later hand to Fischer’s catalog entry for this manuscript. An entry for Geisle Ruedwein is present in the additions to the necrology found in A-KN 79 (fol. 80r), whose main body dates from the late thirteenth century. Unlike entries for other women, this entry does not indicate her status with the convent, although the entry is included in the column for *Fratres et sorores* (12 February). See MGH, *Necr.* 5:13. A-KN 625, however, which contains a list of gifts and anniversaries, mentions both Geisla and Petrisa Ruedwein as sisters in the convent (fol. 3v): “D(omine) Petrisse et Geysle sor(or)is n(ostr)e dicte Ruedweinnin dederunt red(ditus) 10 sol.” (MGH, *Necr.* 5:81). An earlier entry in A-KN 79 indicates also a “Katherina Rudweinnin in claustru d(omin)arum” (*ibid.*, 5:84).

<sup>41</sup> Fischer, “Catalogus,” 266.

<sup>42</sup> Who the “vrawen von Czelking” (Zelking) may have been is unclear. There is no mention in the necrologies of any women from this place. Nor is there any mention of the von Czelking family at large in the documents published during the nineteenth century. The Klosterneuburg necrologies are published in MGH, *Necr.* 5:3–105. For the published documents from the Klosterneuburg Stiftsarchiv, see Maximilian Fischer, *Merkwürdiger Schicksale* (n. 2 above); *idem*, ed., *Codex Traditionum Ecclesiae Collegiatae Claustro-neuburgensis*, *Fontes Rerum Austriaca*, Zweite Abtheilung: Diplomataria et Acta 4 (Vienna, 1851); and Zeibig, *Urkundenbuch* (n. 2 above). While not referring to this specific manuscript, the following notice from the bequest of Kaspar Waldner (2 November 1456) testifies to the circulation of liturgical manuscripts among women religious in the region: “Item seiner frau zu Closterneuburg ein puch genant ein epistler und ain neuen fuchsein rokh. . . . Item ain mettenpuch und ein diurnal derselben frau sun” (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, Nachtrag zu Band 1, *Niederösterreich*, ed. Paul Uiblein [Vienna, 1969], 24–25).



indicating their preparation by the *custos dominarum*, Johannes Volkra.<sup>43</sup> The anathema for A-KN 961, for example, reads: “Istud libellum comparavit dominus Johannes Volkra in Neuenburga claustrali, custos dominarum. Si quis furatus fuerit, anathema sit.”<sup>44</sup>

In the years between the First and Second World Wars, a new catalog was prepared in notecard form.<sup>45</sup> Along with the manuscripts identified by Fischer during the prior century, several additional liturgical manuscripts came to be associated with women religious.<sup>46</sup> These assignments, though, lacked both specificity — the particular house of women religious was not identified — and the rationale for such an assignment. For the latter, the presence of German rubrics seems to have been the major determinant. The entry for A-KN 595, a breviary from the fourteenth century, offered the following title: “Partes breviarii ad usum monialium cum rubricis germ.” The entry for A-KN 596, another fourteenth-century breviary, was only slightly more descriptive: “Partes breviarii ad usum monialium cum pluribus rubricis germ.” More descriptive yet was the entry for A-KN 991, yet another breviary from the fourteenth century: “Breviarii aliquot partes ad usum monialium cum titulis germ.”

Piecing together a framework for the liturgy celebrated by the women of Klosterneuburg based on this fragmentary list would be a difficult, if not impossible, task. Of the liturgical manuscripts ascribed to the women by the librarians from the early nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only the two identified by Fischer, A-KN 1000 and A-KN 982, can be associated with the women of Klosterneuburg with any degree of assurance; and even then, to assert that these manuscripts reflected the liturgical practice of the women without further corroboration would be imprudent at best. The liturgical manuscripts identified in the later *Zettelkatalog*, moreover,

<sup>43</sup> A-KN 957 (Fischer, “Catalogus,” 263), A-KN 961 (*ibid.*, 263–64), and A-KN 973 (*ibid.*, 265). Johannes Volkra does not appear in the Klosterneuburg necrologies, nor does he appear in the medieval documents published during the nineteenth century (see n. 42 above). His name does appear in the list of canons affirming the election of Simon Heyndl as prior in 1451 (A-KNa Urkunde 1451-VII-28). Non-liturgical manuscripts assigned by Fischer to the women include A-KN 845, which contains sermons by Peter Eckl von Haselback copied in the late fifteenth century, and A-KN 954, which contains the *Regel der Closterfrauen* copied in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. See Table 3b for further details.

<sup>44</sup> A-KN 961, fol. 9r. This anathema is found also in A-KN 957, fol. 214v and in A-KN 973, fol. 351r.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 38 above.

<sup>46</sup> Additional non-liturgical manuscripts attributed to the women of Klosterneuburg in the *Zettelkatalog* include A-KN 859, a sixteenth-century copy of A-KN 845, and A-KN 955, which contains a German *Rule of St. Augustine* and the statutes for the canonesses of Klosterneuburg copied in 1458. See Table 3b for further details.

have only the most tenuous connection to the women of Klosterneuburg. The two breviaries, A-KN 595 and A-KN 596, while including German rubrics and quite possibly intended for female use, show no evidence of having been used by the women of Klosterneuburg specifically. The lists of hymns contained within the two manuscripts do not correspond with each other, nor do they correspond to that of A-KN 1000 or to the lists provided in the breviaries and hymnals of the Klosterneuburg men.<sup>47</sup> Of dubious connection also are the three manuscripts of Johannes Volkra (A-KN 957, A-KN 961, and A-KN 973). Volkra's role as *custos dominarum* does not necessarily imply that these manuscripts were intended for use by the women under his charge or for his own use on their behalf. Indeed, their content follows more closely the established usage of the men.

#### WOMEN'S LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS

##### *A New Approach*

If the external evidence reveals only two manuscripts with connections to the women of Klosterneuburg, an examination of the internal evidence — the liturgy expressed within these manuscripts — broadens the field considerably. In the pages that follow, we reclaim a cache of twenty-five liturgical manuscripts that were once used by or for the women of Klosterneuburg in their celebration of the Divine Office and in their processions. These manuscripts are listed in Table 2.<sup>48</sup> While many of the individual manuscripts have been associated with Klosterneuburg's women at one time or another, the full complement has not before been regarded as a cohesive group.

We begin with a consideration of the hymnal, A-KN 1000, whose inscription and colophon attest to its association with the women of Klosterneuburg, along with six additional hymnals whose content and musical notation bind them to A-KN 1000 and to one another. We show that the repertory of hymns contained in these manuscripts is both consistent among the several manuscripts and distinct from the repertory found in the hymnals and breviaries of the men. We add to this group eight antiphons that share this unique repertory of hymns and that offer settings for several liturgical Offices that vary both from those of the men and from those of the diocese. We join to this collection three breviaries, one of which is

<sup>47</sup> See nn. 55 and 56 below.

<sup>48</sup> One additional manuscript containing the music for Mass can also be associated with Klosterneuburg's women: A-KN 588, a fourteenth-century gradual, includes an inhabited initial showing a canoness praying to the Virgin and Child. See the discussion of "Other Evidence of Women's Usage," pp. 119–20.

tied to the women by its colophon, whose content and adaptations connect them to the liturgical practice expressed in the hymnals and the antiphoners. We conclude with a discussion of three processions, which can be tied to the women on the basis of their placement for the procession of the Dedication of the Church, and two rituales, whose marginal additions and corrections point to their use by a priest on behalf of the women.

### *Hymnals*

The hymnal A-KN 1000 is one of seven such manuscripts in the Klosterneuburg library that share a consistent repertory of hymns and a distinctive form of musical notation, traits that set them apart from other hymnals stemming from Klosterneuburg and from the region.<sup>49</sup> As early as 1903, the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* identified the five manuscripts known to them as having originated with the women at Klosterneuburg.<sup>50</sup> A more thorough study of these manuscripts, included in Bruno Stäblein's 1956 examination of the melodies of the medieval hymn repertory, assigned all seven manuscripts to the women.<sup>51</sup>

The seven hymnals treated by Stäblein form a cohesive group. The repertory of hymns preserved within these manuscripts is largely consistent, with only minor variations in the ordering and the selection of hymns.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> In addition to A-KN 1000 are A-KN 996, A-KN 997, A-KN 999, A-KN 1001, A-KN 1003, and A-KN 1004.

<sup>50</sup> AH 43 (Leipzig, 1903). An earlier volume, AH 4 (Leipzig, 1888), includes hymns from both A-KN 1000 and A-KN 996, although without assignment to the women of Klosterneuburg. Volume 43 adds to this list A-KN 997, 999, and 1001. All are cited here as "Hymn. ms. S. Mariae Magdal. Claustroneoburgen. saec. 13/14. Cod. Claustroneoburgen." (see, for example, AH 43:29 and 236). The reason for the attribution to the women is not given. Neither A-KN 1003 nor A-KN 1004 is included among the manuscripts known to the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica*.

<sup>51</sup> Bruno Stäblein, *Hymnen (I): Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 1 (Kassel, 1956). The Klosterneuburg manuscripts are treated in pages 565–78. A musical edition of the hymn melodies found in A-KN 1000 is provided in pages 209–247. Four decades later, Stefan Engels could credit only two of the hymnals (A-KN 1000 and A-KN 999) to the use of Klosterneuburg. In a footnote, he mentions only that the additions in A-KN 999 were written by the same scribe as the additions in A-KN 1000, which belonged to the women. See Stefan Engels, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen Liturgie im Stift Klosterneuburg," *Heiliger Dienst* 50 (1996): 192 n. 24.

<sup>52</sup> A-KN 996 and A-KN 1000, for example, begin with the hymns *per annum* followed by the hymns for Advent and Christmas, whereas A-KN 997, A-KN 999, A-KN 1001, A-KN 1003, and A-KN 1004 reverse this order. The manuscripts are largely consistent in the hymns contained, although not all manuscripts contain all hymns. A-KN 1003 ends during the hymns for the feast of St. Augustine and is missing the hymns for the remainder of the liturgical year, including those for the commons.

Also consistent is the style of musical notation employed, a notational style that is characteristic of the liturgical manuscripts of the women as a whole. The melodies for the hymns are also consistently assigned, although, as Stäblein notes,<sup>53</sup> some variations exist among the manuscripts with respect to their preference for the interval re – fa over re – mi ([a – c] or [d – f] as opposed to [a – b] or [d – e]).<sup>54</sup>

One aspect of these hymnals that has escaped notice is the distinctive composition of their repertory compared to that found in manuscripts known to have been used by Klosterneuburg's canons.<sup>55</sup> While the specific feasts represented in the two sets of manuscripts are largely the same, the repertories diverge in their selection of hymns for several feasts. Table 4 lists hymns that are unique to the hymnals of the women and men respectively, along with indications of how these hymns were — or were not — used within the service books.<sup>56</sup> Some hymns included in the hymnals show no evidence of having been used in the Offices to which they are assigned (indicated with underscore).<sup>57</sup> Others, conversely, are indicated

<sup>53</sup> Stäblein, *Hymnen*, 566. Details are provided in his discussion of the individual melodies (ibid., 566–78).

<sup>54</sup> Most of the Klosterneuburg hymnals show this preference. Only A-KN 996 and A-KN 1003 show a preference for 'e' over 'f' and 'b' over 'c'. For A-KN 996, Stäblein (ibid., 566) notes: "Die Melodiefassungen unterscheiden sich von 1000 durch Bevorzugung von E (h) statt F (c), besonders in Verbindungen wie EF und ähnlichen." Some scholars have attached deeper significance to these melodic differences, seeing such differences as indicative of differing traditions. Stefan Engels ("Die Notation" [n. 4 above], 46), for example, wonders: "[w]arum aber sollten für ein einziges Kloster so viele Hymnare geschrieben worden sein, und noch dazu in verschiedenen melodischen Fassungen?" Given the overall similarity in the repertories of these manuscripts and the differences between this repertory and those of the men and of the diocese, these melodic disagreements appear not to indicate differences in provenance and/or usage.

<sup>55</sup> Included among the manuscripts listing the hymns for the men of Klosterneuburg are three psalter/hymnals that provide music and the hymnal sections of the Klosterneuburg breviaries. A-KN 601 is a fifteenth-century psalter/hymnal that, along with A-KN 600, a psalter/hymnal copied around 1400, contains the complete cycle of Klosterneuburg hymns. A-KN 599, copied in the fourteenth century, is also a psalter/hymnal but contains the hymns for Vespers only. Among the breviaries containing independent hymn sections are A-KN 590, copied in the early fourteenth century, A-KN 602 and A-KN 1199, both copied also during the fourteenth century, and A-KN 1189, A-KN 1192, A-KN 1193, and A-KN 1195, all copied in the late fifteenth-century. Hymns are also indicated in situ both in the breviaries and in the ordinals.

<sup>56</sup> The usage for the men is drawn from the breviaries listed in n. 55 above and A-KN 61, a breviary copied between 1451 and 1467 (see n. 98 below), as well as the ordinals, A-KN 635, A-KN 983, A-KN 1014, and A-KN 1213. The usage for the women is drawn from the eight antiphoners discussed below. See Tables 4 and 5 for additional details.

<sup>57</sup> Hymns of St. Agnes ("Agnētis beate virginis") and St. Margaret ("O rex benigne"), for example, are included in the hymnals, while the antiphoners call for "Virginis proles" from the Common of Virgins. See Table 4.

in the service books but are not included in the hymnals (indicated in italics).<sup>58</sup>

Most significant for this discussion are those hymns that are unique to the seven hymnals and whose usage is attested in the antiphoners discussed below (see Table 5). These include “Stephano primo martyri” (St. Stephen),<sup>59</sup> “Salvete flores martyrum” (Holy Innocents and its octave),<sup>60</sup> “O nimis felix meritque” (John the Baptist),<sup>61</sup> “Doctor egredie Paule” (St. Paul),<sup>62</sup> “Deus qui quosvis eligis” (St. Mary Magdalene),<sup>63</sup> “Matthee sancte”<sup>64</sup> and “O verbum fidissimus” (St. Matthew),<sup>65</sup> “Luca fidelis” (St. Luke),<sup>66</sup> and “Virga de Jesse” (Conception of Mary).<sup>67</sup> Several of the hymns that are unique to the seven hymnals were also unknown outside of Klosterneuburg to the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica*. These include “Deus qui quosvis” (St. Mary Magdalene),<sup>68</sup> “Festis Patris Augustini” and “Exultemus Deo celi” (St. Augustine),<sup>69</sup> and “Eterna sapientia” (Pentecost).<sup>70</sup>

While the melodies used for the hymns held in common are largely the same, they diverge for the hymn for Saturday Vespers, “Deus creator omnium” (the first hymn in the men’s hymnals). Example 1 shows the melody found in A-KN 1000 (representing the women). Example 2 shows the melody found in A-KN 600 (representing the men). Why these melodies diverge is difficult to say. The manuscripts were copied roughly a century apart, so it is impossible to discern whether these melodies represent a long-standing practice for the men and the women or whether one or the other (or both) may have been recast at some point prior to having been copied into the manuscripts that have come down to us.

<sup>58</sup> The hymn “Salvete flores martyrum” is listed in the hymnals for the Octave of Holy Innocents but is used in the antiphoners for the Office of the Holy Innocents itself. See Table 4.

<sup>59</sup> Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 3 vols (Louvain, 1892–1904), 2:604, no. 19487.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:531, no. 18233.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:214, no. 13311.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:288, no. 4791.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:100, no. 36683.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:96, no. 11385.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:249, no. 13874.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:48, no. 10658.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:732, no. 21608.

<sup>68</sup> AH 43:235–36, no. 392.

<sup>69</sup> AH 4:94–95, no. 163 and 165.

<sup>70</sup> AH 43:29, no. 41.

De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um po - li - que rec - tor ves - ti - ens  
di - em de - cor - o lu - mi - ne noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.

**Example 1.** *Deus creator omnium*, A-KN 1000, fol. 20r

De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um po - li - que rec - tor ves - ti - ens  
di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.

**Example 2.** *Deus creator omnium*, A-KN 600, fol. 158v

### Antiphoners

*Overview.* Allied with the seven hymnals are eight antiphoners that range in date from the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteenth centuries and that share with the hymnals the same distinctive form of musical notation.<sup>71</sup> Disagreements over the home for these antiphoners, particularly those of the twelfth century, have been ongoing for some time. While several scholars have placed these manuscripts among Klosterneuburg's women,<sup>72</sup> others

<sup>71</sup> These include A-KN 1010, A-KN 1012, and A-KN 1013 from the mid-twelfth century and A-KN 589, A-KN 1011, A-KN 1015, A-KN 1017, and A-KN 1018 from the fourteenth century. See also Table 2. The most thorough discussion of these antiphoners is provided by Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners" (n. 4 above). The contents of these antiphoners are indexed and are available at CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant (<http://cantus.gregorian-chant.org>). The index for four of these manuscripts was published as Debra Lacoste, *Four Klosterneuburg Antiphoners: Augustiner-Chorherren Stiftsbibliothek, 1013, 1012, 1017, and 1018. Printouts from an Index in Machine-Readable Form. A CANTUS Index* (Ottawa, 1998). Also containing the same form of musical notation is a short fifteenth-century antiphoner, A-KN 1007, which contains the music for the Offices of the late medieval feasts of the Visitation of Mary, St. Anna, and St. Dorothy. These Offices are added also to the fifteenth-century processional A-KN 1005. See the discussion of the processionals below, pp. 110–14.

<sup>72</sup> Among others, Froger, *Le Graduel* (n. 4 above), 33\*; Michel Huglo, "Bilan de 50 années de recherches (1939–1989) sur les notations musicales de 850 à 1300," *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990): 224–59, esp. 241–42; PraBl, "Psallat Ecclesia Mater" (n. 8 above), 11; and Klugseder, "Studien" (n. 7 above), 14.



have sought their home elsewhere<sup>73</sup> or have remained neutral.<sup>74</sup> For those who saw these as women's manuscripts, it was the connection of the antiphoners' notation to that of the hymnals that provided the most compelling evidence. As Robert Klugseder suggested, moreover, these manuscripts can be distinguished from those of the men based on their distinct settings for the Offices of the Conversion of St. Paul, St. Benedict, St. Mary Magdalene, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, St. Catherine, and the Office of the Dead.<sup>75</sup> They are marked also by a set of additional responsories appended to Matins for the Office of the Assumption, a unique arrangement of antiphons for the days following the Assumption, and by a distinct musical setting for the *Visitatio sepulchri* of Easter Sunday. These manuscripts can be connected to Klosterneuburg in general in their shared textual setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, and they can be tied to the women of Klosterneuburg specifically in the hymns that they share with the hymnals and the inclusion among both the antiphoners and hymnals of a common set of manuscript additions (see the discussion on interlocking appendices below, p. 105).

The antiphoners fall into two groups. The first group includes A-KN 1010, A-KN 1012, and A-KN 1013, all copied in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>76</sup> A-KN 1013 and A-KN 1012 are complementary volumes that together cover the full liturgical year.<sup>77</sup> A-KN 1010 contains the winter part only and ends with Holy Saturday.

The second group includes A-KN 589, A-KN 1011, A-KN 1015, A-KN 1017, and A-KN 1018.<sup>78</sup> Of these, A-KN 1017 and A-KN 1018 are comple-

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<sup>73</sup> Rudolf Wolfgang Schmidt ("Die Frage nach der Herkunft des Cod. Vindob. palat. 13314 und die Problematik seines Sequenzrepertoires," *Jahrbuch des Stifles Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 12 [1983]: 43–62) suggested the Augustinian priory at Reichersberg am Inn as the intended destination for these manuscripts. Rudolph Flotzinger ("Zu Herkunft und Datierung der Gradualien A-Gu 807 und Wien 13314," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 [1989]: 57–80), on the other hand, argued in favor of the priory of St. Nikola bei Passau as both the point of origin and the destination. Stefan Engels ("Die Notation" [n. 4 above], 44–46), posited no particular location but asserted nonetheless that the antiphoners did not reflect the liturgical order of Klosterneuburg.

<sup>74</sup> E.g., Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners," 118–26.

<sup>75</sup> Klugseder, "Studien," 30–39.

<sup>76</sup> See n. 4 above.

<sup>77</sup> A-KN 1013 contains the liturgy from Advent to Ascension. A-KN 1012 covers the summer cycle, beginning with Pentecost and including the Sundays after Pentecost, the Common of the Saints, and the chants from the Old Testament books used during the summer months. Added to the manuscript is a partial Office of St. Catherine (Vespers only).

<sup>78</sup> The fourteenth-century antiphoners are described in detail by Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners," 65–94.

mentary volumes that cover the liturgical year.<sup>79</sup> A-KN 589, like A-KN 1018, covers the summer cycle, beginning with Easter, while A-KN 1011 and A-KN 1015 cover the winter cycle, from Advent through Holy Saturday. A-KN 589, like both A-KN 1017 and A-KN 1018, concludes with a series of Invitatory tones, although the series for A-KN 589 is incomplete. A-KN 589 is the only antiphoner to include both the Office of St. Catherine and that of Corpus Christi within the main body of the manuscript.<sup>80</sup> These Offices, together with the Office of the Dead, are found elsewhere only as appendices: to the antiphoners, A-KN 1011, A-KN 1012, and A-KN 1015,<sup>81</sup> and to the hymnals, A-KN 999, A-KN 1003, and A-KN 1004.<sup>82</sup>

In her analysis of the contents of these antiphoners, Debra Lacoste noted that A-KN 1013 appeared to be an outlier among those manuscripts containing the liturgy for the winter months: "The most striking feature among the Klosterneuburg antiphoners that record the chants for the *pars hiemalis* (i.e., CCl. 1010, 1011, 1013, 1015, and 1017) is a certain uniqueness in the contents of CCl. 1013, as opposed to a relative uniformity in the other four antiphoners."<sup>83</sup>

She cites the unique form for its *Visitatio sepulchri*, the full form of Lauds provided for ferial Tuesdays (as opposed to the *Benedictus* antiphon alone), and differences in the melodic versions and liturgical ordering of certain chants as marking the uniqueness of this manuscript. On the other hand, she notes that the first part of the fourteenth-century antiphoner, A-KN 1011, corresponds more closely to A-KN 1013 than it does to its contemporary companion, A-KN 1015.<sup>84</sup> Whether such differences are enough to conclude an alternate home for A-KN 1013, as Stefan Engels

<sup>79</sup> A-KN 1017 contains the liturgy from St. Nicholas to Holy Saturday. A-KN 1018 covers the summer cycle, beginning with Easter and including the Sundays after Pentecost and the chants from the Old Testament books used during the summer months. Also included are the Common of the Evangelists and the Common of the Saints, as well as a funeral Office and appended Offices of the Eleven Thousand Virgins and St. Acacius. Both A-KN 1017 and A-KN 1018 conclude with a series of Invitatory tones. Lacoste ("The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners," 73) notes that the two manuscripts, while complementary, were written by two distinct groups of scribes.

<sup>80</sup> The Office of St. Catherine is misplaced here and appears in the middle of the commons. See Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners," 148.

<sup>81</sup> These additions are curious in that the dates for these appended feasts do not fall within range of dates for the feasts covered by these manuscripts. For a full listing of the additions to these manuscripts, see n. 144 below.

<sup>82</sup> The Major Vigil is found in A-KN 1003 and the Minor Vigil in A-KN 1004. Both are contained in A-KN 1001. A-KN 999 does not include the Office of the Dead but adds the Office of the Finding of St. Stephen and the Office of St. Dorothy. A-KN 1004 includes the Office of the Finding of St. Stephen as well. See n. 144 below.

<sup>83</sup> Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners," 126.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 126–40.

argued,<sup>85</sup> is debatable. The *Visitatio sepulchri* of A-KN 1013, while clearly drawn from a different tradition than that found in the later manuscripts (A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589), was, as we suggest below, likely intended for use in a women's house. This, combined with its partial correspondence to the *Visitatio sepulchri* in a manuscript two centuries younger, as well as the correspondence of the manuscript's Offices of St. Benedict and the Conversion of St. Paul with those found in later manuscripts (see p. 104 below), argues in favor of its association with Klosterneuburg's women.

While antiphoners do not typically provide the music for the hymns of the Office, many, including the eight Klosterneuburg antiphoners considered here, do include textual, and in some cases musical, incipits of the hymns for many Offices. While not all hymns are included, the hymns that are indicated in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners correspond to the hymns of the seven hymnals discussed above. A listing of the unique Klosterneuburg hymns (see Table 4) and their placement in the antiphoners and in three breviaries likely used by or for the women is included in Table 5.<sup>86</sup>

Like the hymnals, these antiphoners conform in large part to the liturgical structure found in the ordinals, breviaries, and antiphoner of the men.<sup>87</sup> Like the hymnals also, the correspondence is not complete. Robert Klugseder noted several liturgical distinctions among the antiphoners themselves. Included in the antiphoner of the canons but missing from the eight considered here are Offices of the Chair of St. Peter (22 February) and the common Offices of the Passau saints Severin (5 January) and Valentine (7 January).<sup>88</sup> Conversely, the rhymed Office of St. Benedict (21 March) is included among the eight antiphoners but is missing from the antiphoner of the canons.<sup>89</sup> While the list of Offices covered within the eight antiphon-

<sup>85</sup> Engels, "Die Notation" (n. 4 above), 45.

<sup>86</sup> A discussion of the three breviaries reflecting aspects of the women's liturgy is given below.

<sup>87</sup> While fragments from earlier antiphoners have survived along with several manuscripts preserving only a select group of Offices, only one complete antiphoner reflecting the men's use survives. This antiphoner, copied between 1420 and 1424 with additions from around 1450, is contained in four volumes, A-KN 65–68. See Haidinger, *Katalog* (n. 38 above), 1:114–26.

<sup>88</sup> Klugseder notes that the complete Office of the Finding of St. Stephen is missing in the antiphoners as well. While A-KN 1018 includes but three antiphons for the Office (fol. 88r), the complete Office is found in A-KN 589, fols. 54v–58r and in the additions to the hymnals A-KN 999, fols. 122r–133v and A-KN 1004, fols. 109r–117v. The opening initial for the Vespers antiphon "Ostendit Sanctus Gamaliel" in A-KN 1004 is inhabited by a praying nun flanked by dragons (fol. 109r). The Office in both A-KN 999 and A-KN 1004 includes German rubrics. See Klugseder, "Studien" (n. 7 above), 39.

<sup>89</sup> Klugseder, "Studien," 38. The Office of St. Benedict ("Praelarum") is included in the twelfth-century antiphoners A-KN 1010, fols. 81v–84r and A-KN 1013, fols. 90v–94r, and in the fourteenth-century antiphoners A-KN 1011, fols. 138v–143v; A-KN 1015,

ers is otherwise consistent with that of the sole surviving men's antiphoner, the structures of individual Offices show varying degrees of independence.

*Office of the Conversion of St. Paul.* The Office of the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January) is present in A-KN 1010 and A-KN 1013, both from the twelfth century, and in A-KN 1011, A-KN 1015, and A-KN 1017, from the fourteenth century. In the manuscripts of the canons, the Office of the Conversion of St. Paul follows the order for that of the Commemoration of St. Paul (30 June),<sup>90</sup> as do those of the cathedral of Passau.<sup>91</sup> The Office as found in the antiphoners is uniquely configured and contains several items that are unique to these manuscripts.<sup>92</sup> A comparison of the Office of the Conversion of St. Paul from the antiphoners with that of the manuscripts of the canons and elsewhere is presented in Table 6. The unique items are marked in bold, italic. The settings preserved in the antiphoners divide into two groups. A-KN 1015 begins Vespers with the antiphon "Magnus sanctus Paulus" (CAO 3683), while A-KN 1010, A-KN 1013, A-KN 1011, and A-KN 1017 begin with "Tu es vas electionis" (CANTUS 204983). The settings among the antiphoners are otherwise consistent and distinct from those of the canons and the diocese.

*Office of St. Mary Magdalene.* The Office of St. Mary Magdalene (22 July) is present in A-KN 1012, from the mid-twelfth century, and in A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589, from the fourteenth century. A comparison of the Office from these manuscripts with that of the canons and elsewhere is presented in Table 7. While there are distinctions between the early and the later antiphoners, particularly in the second and third Nocturns of Matins, the structure of the Office is otherwise consistent among the three antiphoners and distinct from that of the canons' manuscripts and that

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fols. 112r–116r; and A-KN 1017, fols. 106r–110v. The Office of St. Benedict given in the ordinals of the canons is drawn from the Common of Confessors (A-KN 1213, fol. 55r; A-KN 635, fol. 40v; A-KN 983, fol. 44v; and A-KN 1014, fol. 43v).

<sup>90</sup> Compare, for example, A-KN 1213, fols. 47v–48r (Conversion of St Paul) and fols. 118v–119v (Commemoration of St. Paul).

<sup>91</sup> *Psalterium et Breviarium iuxta choram ecclesiae Pataviensis* (Augsburg, 1490), 1, fols. 155v–157v (D-Mbs Ink B-878 [olim L.impr.membr.18-1,1/7, GW 5425]). See n. 174 below for additional details.

<sup>92</sup> This was first noted by Klugseder, "Studien," 36–37. Aside from the unique pattern of liturgical items composing the Office, Klugseder observes also that the invitatory antiphon and the responsories for Matins are themselves unique to these antiphoners. The Office of the Commemoration of St. Paul (30 June) is found also in A-KN 1012 and A-KN 1018, from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries respectively. These settings correspond to those of the canons' manuscripts and to the canons' settings of the Conversion of St. Paul.

found in manuscripts from the diocese of Passau.<sup>93</sup> Particularly interesting in the antiphoners, especially given the later association of the church of the women with Mary Magdalene, is the list of additional responsories found at the end of Matins, as well as the hymn for Matins, “Deus qui quosvis,” which is unique to the use of Klosterneuburg’s women among the manuscripts surveyed by the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica*. While the structure of the Office in the manuscripts of the canons is largely consistent with that of the diocese (Passau), the structure found in both the early (Table 7, “Women 1”) and late (Table 7, “Women 2”) antiphoners is again unique. A slightly modified form of the Office presented in the antiphoners is found also in the fourteenth-century breviary, A-KN 1200 (Table 7, “Women 3”). The form of the Office in the breviary follows that of the fourteenth-century antiphoners in the main, including the several antiphons and responsories that are unique to these manuscripts. However, there are some minor differences in Matins, including the use of the hymn “Votiva cunctis” common to the men’s usage. Second Vespers also appears to correspond to the men’s setting for this Office, but an additional series of antiphons, beginning with what is designated as the *Magnificat* antiphon (“Ingressus Jesus domum”), follows the order found in the women’s antiphoners. Whether this series deliberately combines the men’s and women’s Office or represents alternate versions is not clear.

The Office of St. Mary Magdalene is not the only Office to have been assigned extra responsories within the antiphoners. Indeed, Robert Klugseder noted a number of Offices for which extra responsories were included in the antiphoners from both the Proper of the Time and of the Saints.<sup>94</sup> A list of the Offices from the Proper of the Saints that provide supplementary responsories for Matins is given in Table 8. In addition to these, Klugseder also noted additional responsories for Septuagesima Sunday, the third through fifth Sundays in Lent, Holy Thursday, the Easter Octave, and the fourth Sunday after Easter.<sup>95</sup>

*Office of the Assumption of Mary.* The Office of the Assumption of Mary (15 August) is present in A-KN 1012 from the mid-twelfth century and in

<sup>93</sup> See David Hiley, “Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts, Paleography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot, 2004), 369–99, esp. 390–97. The version of the Office found in the manuscripts of the men and of Passau cathedral is consistent with the version found throughout south Germany and Austria (Hiley’s Series E), while the version found in the eight antiphoners is unique among those surveyed by Hiley (Hiley’s Series F).

<sup>94</sup> Klugseder, “Studien,” 39.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589 from the fourteenth century. It is present also in substantially the same form in two fourteenth-century breviaries, A-KN 982 and A-KN 1200 (see the discussion of breviaries below, pp. 105–9). Among both the antiphoners and the breviaries, this Office is characterized by the addition of four responsories for the Office of Matins and by a unique series of antiphons for the week following the Assumption. The four responsories are given in A-KN 1012, both as textual incipits in the margins for the Office of Matins and in full, with notation, following second Vespers.<sup>96</sup> In A-KN 589 and A-KN 1018, the four responsories are given at the conclusion of Matins with no indication as to their use. This same set of additional responsories is present also in a fourteenth-century breviary, A-KN 1200. As in the fourteenth-century antiphoners, the responsories are here given at the conclusion of Matins with no indication as to their use. The order for the responsories of Matins for the Office of the Assumption is given for the men's and women's manuscripts in Table 9a.

These same antiphoners include musical settings for a series of Marian antiphons following the Office of the Assumption as well. A-KN 1012, from the twelfth century, includes twenty-six antiphons.<sup>97</sup> Twenty-four antiphons are included in A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589, both from the fourteenth century, and this same list is found also in the fourteenth-century breviary, A-KN 982. A similar series, with a reordered list of the same antiphons, is found in the fourteenth-century breviary, A-KN 1200. The only equivalent list of Marian antiphons among the manuscripts of the men is found in the fifteenth-century antiphoner, A-KN 67. This list of twenty-six antiphons and one responsory includes some, but not all, of the antiphons found in the women's manuscripts, as well as additional antiphons not included among those of the women's series. While there is some overlap between the lists provided in the antiphoners and breviaries and that provided in the men's antiphoner, each grouping has several unique items. Of the twenty-six antiphons in A-KN 67, fourteen are particular to this manuscript. Similarly, of the twenty-six antiphons contained in A-KN 1012, sixteen are absent from the men's antiphoner, and thirteen of these are shared with the lists provided by the fourteenth-century antiphoners (A-KN 589 and A-KN

<sup>96</sup> In the CANTUS database (n. 71 above), these are listed as belonging to the Octave of the Assumption. Given the correspondence of these responsories to the incipits within Matins for the Office of the Assumption and with the listings provided in the fourteenth-century antiphoners and breviary, these appear more properly to belong to the Office of the Assumption rather than its octave. See Table 9a.

<sup>97</sup> The listing provided by the CANTUS database gives thirty-six antiphons. Twelve of these are incipits that were added in the bottom margins of fols. 48r and 49r and are excluded here. Two antiphons listed before this series, assigned by CANTUS to Lauds for the Octave of the Assumption, are assigned here to the post-Assumption series rather than to the octave. See Table 9b.



1018) and the fourteenth-century breviaries (A-KN 982 and A-KN 1200). In addition, the fourteenth-century antiphoners and breviaries introduce three antiphons not found in either the twelfth-century antiphoner (A-KN 1012) or the men's antiphoner (A-KN 67). The series of Marian antiphons given in the four groups of manuscripts is given as Table 9b.

The variability evident among the women's antiphoners and breviaries is typical for the distribution of antiphons during the week following the Assumption. The earliest of the men's ordinals, A-KN 1213 (early fourteenth century), for example, gives the following *Magnificat* antiphons for the weekdays following the Assumption (fol. 132v):

- i. "Ave beatissima"
- ii. "Ave domina mundi"
- iii. "Quo abiit"
- iiii. "Nigra sum"
- v. "Vox turturis"

These incipits are crossed out in the manuscript and replaced by the following list added in the bottom margin:

- i. "Quo abiit"
- ii. "Nigra sum"
- iii. "Vox turturis"
- iiii. "Ista est speciosa"
- v. "Ave regina"

In A-KN 635, an ordinal from the mid-fourteenth century, the added list from A-KN 1213 is given in the body of the manuscript, while the following list is given in the bottom margin (fol. 86v):

- Sambstag: "Ave beatissima"  
 Sonntag: "Ave domina mundi"  
 Montag: "Quo abiit"  
 Crichtag: "Gaude virgo gloriosa"  
 Mittichen: "Pulchra es amica"

In A-KN 61, a breviary copied between 1451 and 1467, the following expanded list is given (fol. 277v):<sup>98</sup>

- "Ave domina mundi"  
 "Pulchra es amica mea"  
 "Quo abiit dilectus"  
 "Gaude virga gloriosa"  
 "Nigra sum sed"  
 "Vox turturis"  
 "Ista est speciosa"

<sup>98</sup> On A-KN 61, see Haidinger, *Katalog* (n. 38 above), 1:106–9

A half-century later, A-KN 1014 (ca. 1500 ordinal), offers the following (fol. 111r):

Sabbato: "Ave beatissima"  
 Dominica: "Ave domina mundi"  
 antiphona: "Pulchra es"  
 antiphona: "Quo abiit"  
 antiphona: "Nigra sum"  
 antiphona: "Vox turturis"  
 antiphona: "Ista est speciosa"

The complexion of the antiphons specified for the week following the Assumption varies also with respect to the sources for their texts. Of the nineteen antiphons that are unique to the women's antiphoners and breviaries (sixteen in A-KN 1012 and three additional in A-KN 589, A-KN 1018, A-KN 982, and A-KN 1200), nine are from the Song of Solomon:

"Aperi mihi soror mea amica mea" (Song of Sol. 5:2b)  
 "In lectulo mea per noctem" (Song of Sol. 3:1)  
 "Indica mihi quem diligit anima mea" (Song of Sol. 1:6)  
 "Introduxit me rex in cellam" (Song of Sol. 1:3b)  
 "Pulchre sunt gene sue sicut turturis" (Song of Sol. 1:9)  
 "Quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima in deliciis" (Song of Sol. 7:6)  
 "Quo abiit dilectus tuus o pulcherrima mulierum" (Song of Sol. 5:17)  
 "Revertere revertere Sunamitis" (Song of Sol. 6:13)  
 "Sexaginta sunt regine et octoginta concubine et adulescentularum" (Song of Sol. 6:17)

Two additional antiphons drawn from the Song of Solomon are shared by the women's and men's manuscripts:

"Quam pulchra es amica [dilecta] mea" (Song of Sol. 4:1)  
 "Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra" (Song of Sol. 2:12b)

Of the fourteen antiphons unique to the men's antiphoner, on the other hand, only one, "Nigra sum sed formosa" (Song of Sol. 1:4), is drawn from the Song of Solomon.

Verses from the Song of Solomon are commonly found in the liturgy of the Assumption, especially as twelfth-century exegetes began to understand the bride (*sponsa*) of the text as a reference to Mary, rather than to the church (*ecclesia*) or an individual soul.<sup>99</sup> That the women more than the

<sup>99</sup> On the ways that the Song of Solomon was understood in the Middle Ages, see E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1990) and Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1990). Of the series of Marian antiphons used at Cluny, twelve of seventeen were drawn from the Song of Solomon. These are treated by Ruth Steiner, "Marian Antiphons at Cluny and Lewes," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong*

men of Klosterneuburg utilize these texts might suggest their own understanding that religious women are also brides of Christ.<sup>100</sup> Many images from the Song of Solomon are also appropriately applied to Mary Magdalene, the particular patron of the women's church, in her role as exemplar of perfect penitence. "Revertere, revertere, Sunamitis" (Song of Sol. 6:13) was particularly cited to exhort fallen women to repent of their sinful ways and return to the community of the faithful. While the women's church at Klosterneuburg was never a community of rehabilitated prostitutes, the ideal of being called away from a secular life to embrace a religious one would have applied to many of the adult women who ended their days at Klosterneuburg.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, of the 295 canonesses memorialized in the oldest of the Klosterneuburg necrologies (A-KN 79, begun between 1257 and 1279), 264 were listed as *conversa, soror nostra* — as adult women who had turned toward the religious life.<sup>102</sup> This turning, or returning, to God may well have been one of the more important themes underlying the religious identity of the women of Klosterneuburg. As we will show below, the main altar for the women's church was likely dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene and St. Paul, two of the more prominent saints to have turned their backs on the world.<sup>103</sup>

*Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.* The Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins (21 October) is present in A-KN 1012, from the twelfth cen-

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and *Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan K. Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford, 1993), 175–204. On pages 200–201, she discusses the nomination by Fr. Chrysogonus Wadell of William of Volpiano (962–1031) as the likely composer for the Song of Solomon antiphons.

<sup>100</sup> Ann Yardley treats this theme in chapter 6 of *Performing Piety* (n. 10 above), "The Consecration of Nuns," 159–78. Arguing against this, however, is the fact that the profession ceremony for the canonesses of Klosterneuburg did not draw on this imagery. The rite of profession for Klosterneuburg's women, in fact, followed the same form as that for lay brothers, with the profession itself given in German rather than Latin. This rite, including the *Professio conversorum et monialium*, is given in the ritual A-KN 629, fols. 151r–158r.

<sup>101</sup> Katharine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000), 177.

<sup>102</sup> The necrology in A-KN 79, fols. 76v–107v contains entries through the late fifteenth century. The numbers cited here are from the column *Fratres et sorores* only and exclude entries from the *Familias* column. Included among the designations found among the other thirty-one entries are *soror nostra; magistra, soror nostra; decana, soror nostra; inclusa, soror nostra; monialis; sanctamonialis; and conversa*. A-KN 79 is necrology "A" in MGH, *Necr.* 5:5–78. On A-KN 79 see Haidinger, *Katalog*, 1:171–76.

<sup>103</sup> See the discussion on the altars in the women's church below, p. 132–33. The authors would like to thank our anonymous reviewer for noting this connection.

tury, and in A-KN 1018 (two settings) and A-KN 589, from the fourteenth century. It is found also in the fourteenth-century breviaries, A-KN 982 and A-KN 1200 (see the discussion of breviaries below, pp. 105–9), and among the additions to the fourteenth-century hymnal A-KN 1003. A comparison of the Office from these manuscripts with that of the canons and that of the cathedral of Passau is presented in Table 10. Two independent settings of the Office are evident among the antiphoners, breviaries, and hymnal, and neither corresponds to the setting found in the men's manuscripts or to that of Passau. The earlier women's setting, found in A-KN 1012 and in the main body of A-KN 1018, is given as a collection of incipits, the antiphons and responsories having been drawn from other liturgical Offices. The later version, found among the additions to A-KN 1018<sup>104</sup> and A-KN 1003, and in A-KN 589, A-KN 982, and A-KN 1200, is given in full in the manuscripts considered here. When the switch to the new version might have taken place is unclear. The oldest manuscript listed for this Office by the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* dates from the thirteenth century.<sup>105</sup> Given the inclusion of both settings of the Office in A-KN 1018, which was likely copied in the early part of the fourteenth century, the change may not have preceded the copying of this manuscript by very many years.

*Office of St. Catherine.* The Office of St. Catherine (25 November) offers a similarly unique complexion. This Office is particularly interesting in that the earliest complete musical setting for the Office of St. Catherine in a Klosterneuburg manuscript is found in A-KN 574, the same early thirteenth-century miscellany that includes the so-called Klosterneuburger Osterspiel along with a fully notated setting for the Office of St. Thomas of Canterbury (not otherwise found in the liturgical manuscripts of Klosterneuburg).<sup>106</sup> Settings for the Office of St. Catherine are found

<sup>104</sup> See n. 144 below for a listing of the additions to this manuscript.

<sup>105</sup> The earliest setting of this Office in the list given by the editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* (AH 28:256-59 [no. 93]) is found in a thirteenth-century antiphoner from the Benedictine monastery of St. Lambrecht, Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 134, fols. 416r–419r. While the Office is found also in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. 60, fols. 192v–195v, parts of which date to the twelfth century, the section containing the Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins dates from the fifteenth. See Karl Hain, "Ein musikalischer Palimpsest," (PhD diss., University of Freiburg [Switzerland], 1924), 21–29.

<sup>106</sup> The Osterspiel was first noted by Bernhard Pez in his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, 6 vols. (Augsburg, 1721–29), 2:53. A century later, Franz Kurz, librarian at the priory of St. Florian, sought help from Maximilian Fischer at Klosterneuburg in locating the Osterspiel referenced by Pez. Fischer was unable to locate the manuscript and referred Kurz instead to the *Visitatio sepulchri* contained in A-KN 629. Kurz published the text of the *Visitatio sepulchri* from this manuscript as Beylage Nro. 1 in his

in four of the antiphoners. In A-KN 1012, from the mid-twelfth century (Vespers only), and in A-KN 1011 and A-KN 1015, both from the fourteenth century, the Office is found among additions to the manuscript. In both A-KN 1011 and A-KN 1015, it is found in tandem with the Office of Corpus Christi and the Office of the Dead. The Catherine Office is found within the main body only in A-KN 589, where it is misplaced within the commons.<sup>107</sup> Additional versions of the same Catherine Office are found as additions to three of the hymnals discussed above, A-KN 999, A-KN 1003, and A-KN 1004.<sup>108</sup> As in the two fourteenth-century antiphoners, these are typically found along with the Office of Corpus Christi and the Office of the Dead. Table 11 presents a comparison of the antiphons, responsories, and hymns for the Catherine Office found among the antiphoners and hymnals under consideration here and among manuscripts detailing the use of Klosterneuburg's canons. Also included is the arrangement used at the cathedrals of Passau (the diocese) and Salzburg (the archdiocese), along with that found in A-KN 574.

While each setting of the Office has items that distinguish it from the others (indicated by bold italic in the table), the settings divide into two broad groups. The version found among the antiphoners and hymnals corresponds most closely with that of Salzburg, as does that of A-KN 574, while the version of the Klosterneuburg canons corresponds more closely to that of Passau. Perhaps most interesting is the inclusion in the antiphoners and hymnals of the *Benedicamus* trope, "Virinei floris nomen," not otherwise found among the settings of the Office for the canons, the diocese, or the archdiocese.<sup>109</sup>

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study, *Österreich unter Herzog Albrecht IV* (Linz, 1830), 425–27. On the "rediscovery" of the Osterspiel in the early twentieth century, see Hermann Pfeiffer, "Klosterneuburger Osterfeier und Osterspiel," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* 1 (1908), 1–56, esp. 1–8. Pfeiffer also provided a facsimile of the Osterspiel as an appendix to the *Jahrbuch*. Fischer's inability to locate the manuscript is curious, since the *Ordo Paschalis* is clearly indicated in Fischer's own catalog entry for manuscript 574 (Fischer, "Catalogus" [n. 38 above], 160–61). The Thomas Office of this manuscript is treated by Kay Slocum, *Liturgies in Honor of Thomas Becket* (Toronto, 2004), 121–22, 137, 140, 145, and 151–54. The Catherine Office of this manuscript has yet to receive scholarly attention.

<sup>107</sup> The Office of Corpus Christi is typically bundled with the Office of St. Catherine in the appendices of the other antiphoners and hymnals. In A-KN 589, the Office of Corpus Christi is entered in its correct liturgical position in the liturgy of the time.

<sup>108</sup> For a full listing of the additions to these manuscripts, see n. 144 below.

<sup>109</sup> This trope is found in all of the settings for the Catherine Office found among the antiphoners and the additions to the hymnals. Debra Lacoste had some difficulty assigning this item due to its lack of clear rubrication in the antiphoners that served as the basis for her study. See Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners" (n. 4 above), 168–74. In A-KN 999, fol. 98v and A-KN 1003, fol. 87v, though, this item is given the label *Benedicamus*. In addition, A-KN 999 follows the Office of St. Catherine

*Office of the Dead.* The Office of the Dead is found in five of the antiphoners, in the additions to two of the hymnals, and in a small miscellany (A-KN 1190) containing the Office of the Dead, among other items. The Major Vigil is found in four antiphoners, A-KN 589, A-KN 1011, A-KN 1015, and A-KN 1018, all from the fourteenth century, and in the appendices to the fourteenth-century hymnals, A-KN 1001 and A-KN 1003. The Minor Vigil is found in the twelfth-century antiphoner, A-KN 1010, in the fourteenth-century antiphoners, A-KN 1011 and A-KN 1015, in the additions to the fourteenth-century hymnals, A-KN 1001 and A-KN 1004, and in the fourteenth-century miscellany, A-KN 1190. A comparison of both the Major and Minor Vigils from these manuscripts with those of the canons, the diocese (Passau), and the archdiocese (Salzburg) is given in Tables 12a (Major Vigil) and 12b (Minor Vigil).

The arrangement of responsories for the Major Vigil is problematic in that none of the antiphoners or hymnals that include it indicates how the responsories should be distributed among the three Nocturns. While this is normally not a problem when nine responsories are present (three for each of the three Nocturns), the Klosterneuburg antiphoners and hymnals often include ten. Indeed, all but A-KN 1001 and A-KN 1011 include ten responsories, and it was A-KN 1011 that Knud Ottosen used to represent the use of Klosterneuburg in his study of the Office of the Dead.<sup>110</sup> This resulted in a series of nine responsories for Klosterneuburg that was at variance with the other series of responsories that he had identified. If the full complement of ten responsories is considered, and if the second responsory is considered as an extra or alternate responsory for the opening of the first Nocturn, on the other hand, the Klosterneuburg series as a whole falls more into line with others that Ottosen identifies. Ottosen's entries for Klosterneuburg, Passau, and Salzburg are as follows:<sup>111</sup>

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with the Alleluia for the Mass of St. Catherine and two sequences for the feast, "Virgo parens Christi" and "Sanctissime virginis votiva." While the sequence "Sanctissime virginis votiva" was widespread among Austrian Mass manuscripts, "Virgo parens Christi" is found only here. See the lists of sequences provided by Praßl, "Psallat Ecclesia Mater" (n. 8 above), 22–344. This list is available online in searchable form at the site run by the musicology division of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft (Musicalische Quellen des Mittelalters in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek): <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kmf/cvp/austriaca/prassl/index.php>.

<sup>110</sup> Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, 1993), 182. Of the Klosterneuburg manuscripts, Ottosen considered only A-KN 1010 and A-KN 1011. He did not include settings of the Offices from any of the manuscripts that can be associated specifically with the men.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 182, 181, and 193, respectively.



Klosterneuburg	70 79 44 47 83 1 58 76 18
Passau	70 44 47 79 83 1 76 18 38
Salzburg	79 44 47 1 58 83 18 76 38

The modification proposed here results in the following for Klosterneuburg:

Klosterneuburg	70 44 47 83 1 58 76 18 38
	79

Seen from this perspective, the first Nocturn corresponds to both the Passau and the Salzburg series (the second responsory of the Klosterneuburg series matching the first of the Salzburg series), as well as that of the men. While the second and third Nocturns are still set differently than those of the men and of the diocese (Passau) and archdiocese (Salzburg), they are but rearrangements of the responsories used at Salzburg.

Among the antiphoners and hymnals, the settings of the Major Vigil differ only in the last responsory of the third Nocturn.<sup>112</sup> The settings for the men, however, differ markedly for the last two Nocturns and show some variability in the final responsories of the third Nocturn as well. The men's version of the Office is nearly identical to the setting used at Salzburg, the only exception being the opening responsory for the first Nocturn. Even with the alterations to Ottosen's arrangement, and even with the variation evident in the last responsory (or responsories) of both the canons' and canonesses' versions of the Office, the settings found among the antiphoners and hymnals still offer unique arrangements for the responsories of the Major Vigil for the Office of the Dead.<sup>113</sup>

For the Minor Vigil, the early version of A-KN 1010 and that of A-KN 1190 map most closely to that found in manuscripts from Passau and Salzburg. The version for the men differs only in the last responsory of the third Nocturn, which shows some degree of variability. The most significant differences among the settings for the Minor Vigil are found among the antiphoners themselves, with the second Nocturn of the fourteenth-century antiphoners reversing the order of the last two responsories. For

<sup>112</sup> The verse to the final responsory is not provided notation in any of the Klosterneuburg manuscripts. Two manuscripts (A-KN 1001 and A-KN 1011) leave the final responsory out altogether.

<sup>113</sup> A comparison of the arrangement offered by Ottosen and the modification proposed here with the arrangements offered in Ottosen's catalog (*ibid.*, 95–201) shows no matches. Neither does a search conducted through the online database for the Office of the Dead, which includes a number of sources not considered in Ottosen's book, produce additional matches. The online database for the Office of the Dead can be consulted at the Cantus Planus site at the University of Regensburg: <http://www-cgi.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/Ottosen/index.html>

Ottosen, this represented a change from what he called the Bamberg type (in A-KN 1010) to the St. Gall type (in A-KN 1011, A-KN 1015, and A-KN 1004).<sup>114</sup>

*Visitatio Sepulchri*. Three antiphoners, A-KN 1013, A-KN 1018, and A-KN 589, include text and music for the *Visitatio sepulchri*. A fragmentary setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri* is found also on a thirteenth-century leaf applied as a pastedown at the end of the fifteenth-century processional A-KN 1005. Both A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589, as well as the fragmentary version found in A-KN 1005, preserve versions of the rite that are drawn from the same textual tradition as that of the canons, although the musical settings are distinct.<sup>115</sup> A-KN 1013, copied in the mid-twelfth century, preserves a markedly different version of this rite, which, as we suggest below, may nonetheless reflect the usage for the women of Klosterneuburg early in their tenure.

Except for that from A-KN 1013, the texts of the Klosterneuburg *Visitatio sepulchri* found in the antiphoners, like those of the canons' manuscripts, present a unique mixture of elements drawn from versions of the rite transmitted through the Augustinian reforms coming out of Salzburg and Swabian forms transmitted by the monks of Hirsau.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Ottosen, *Responsories and Versicles*, 263.

<sup>115</sup> Music for the canons' version of the *Visitatio sepulchri* is preserved in the fifteenth-century antiphoner, A-KN 66, fols. 134v–137v; the fourteenth-century rituales, A-KN 628, fols. 83v–85r and A-KN 629, fols. 103r–105r; and two fifteenth-century manuscripts preserving the rites for Holy Week, A-KN 1210, fols. 43r–47v and A-KN 1211, fols. 59r–62r. These, along with the numerous unnotated manuscripts containing this rite, will be treated in our forthcoming study on the sepulcher ceremonies at the churches of Klosterneuburg, to be published by Brepols Press in the series *Disciplina Monastica: Studies on Medieval Monastic Life*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin. The fragmentary *Visitatio sepulchri* attached to the binding of A-KN 1005 includes the texts from the line "Quis revolvat" through "Cernitis o socii." Music is provided only for the first line, "Quis revolvat," through the word *hostio*. A thirteenth-century setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri* is given with its music also in A-Wn 1717, a manuscript that conforms to Klosterneuburg practice for the most part but diverges in two critical respects and is not considered here. See n. 160 below.

<sup>116</sup> The Hirsau version of the *Visitatio sepulchri* is found in the following manuscripts from Hirsau, Admont, Prüfening bei Regensburg, Rheinau, Strasbourg, St. Emmeram, and Zwiefalten:

Hirsau

D-Sl theol. et phil. 4° 249, fols. 79v–80r (15th-c. ordinal, LOO 233)

Admont

A-A 6.2°, fol. 143r (14th-c. breviary, LOO 178)

Prüfening bei Regensburg

D-Mbs lat. 23037, fol. 176r–v (12th-c. breviary, LOO 311a)

The Hirsau *Visitatio sepulchri* presents a version of the Type 1 *Visitatio sepulchri* that is closely related to other settings of this rite originating from monasteries in and around Lake Constance, monasteries such as St. Gall, Rheinau, and Reichenau.<sup>117</sup> Characteristic of the Hirsau form

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Rheinau

CH-Zz Rheinau 80, pp. 118–119 (ca. 1120 ordinal, LOO 315)

CH-E 757, fols. 60r–65v (ca. 1600 processional, LOO 316)

Strasbourg

GB-Lbl Add. 23922, fols. 41v–42r (ca. 1220 processional, LOO 341)

F-SEL 81, fol. 83r (ca. 1346 directorium)

*Agenda sive Exequiale Sacramentorum et eorum, que in ecclesiis Parrochialibus aguntur* (Strasbourg, 1513), fols. 75r–78v (1513 agenda, LOO 344)

*Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* (Cologne, 1590), pp. 251–255 (1590 agenda, LOO 345)

St. Emmeram

D-Mbs lat. 14741, fol. 207r (14th-c. breviary, LOO 322)

D-Mbs lat. 14183, fols. 50v–51r (1435 breviary, LOO 323)

D-Mbs lat. 14428, fol. 57r–v (1435 ordinal, LOO 324)

Zwiefalten

D-Sl Bibl. 4° 36, fols. 122v–123v (ca. 1150 antiphoner, LOO 379).

Similar versions combining elements of both the Type 1 and the Type 2 texts along with “Dicant nunc Judei” are found also in a manuscript of uncertain provenance: A-Wn lat. 1890, fol. 163r–v (ca. 1200 antiphoner, LOO 186) and in another likely from Augsburg: D-BAs lit. 10, fols. 90r–97v (early 12th-c. cantatorium, LOO 185).

On mixed forms of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, see Norton, “Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*” (n. 13 above), 90–95. On the use of “Dicant nunc Judei” elsewhere, see Helmut de Boor, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Hermaea germanistische Forschungen 4 (Tübingen, 1967), 113–18.

<sup>117</sup> In particular, the settings of the Hirsau form of the *Visitatio sepulchri* include a textual variant for the line “Non est hic,” ending with the words “surrexit de sepulchri.” This variant is found in the following manuscripts from St. Gall, Rheinau, and Reichenau:

St. Gall

CH-SGs 381, p. 247 (late 10th-c. troper, LOO 78)

CH-SGs 484, p. 111 (10th-c. troper, LOO 79)

CH-SGs 391, p. 37 (ca. 1000 antiphoner, LOO 80)

CH-SGs 339, pp. 106–7 (ca. 1015 graduale, LOO 81)

CH-SGs 387, pp. 57–58 (ca. 1040 antiphoner, LOO 82)

CH-SGs 376, pp. 196–97 (ca. 1020 antiphoner, LOO 83)

CH-SGs 374, pp. 100–101 (11th-c. graduale, LOO 84)

CH-SGs 388, pp. 204–5 (12th-c. antiphoner, LOO 85)

CH-SGs 360, pp. 31–32 (12th-c. versus sangallensis, LOO 327)

CH-SGs 525, p. 394 (14th-c. miscellany, LOO 328)

CH-SGs 384, p. 240 (14th-c. breviary, LOO 329)

CH-SGs 1262, pp. 142–43 (1583 ordinal, LOO 330)

of the *Visitatio sepulchri* is the addition of “Dicant nunc Judei” (CANTUS 201215) following the line “Non est hic.” While this verse, normally included with its respond, “Christus resurgens” (CAO 7984), is found also in settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* from Cologne,<sup>118</sup> Laon,<sup>119</sup> Mainz,<sup>120</sup> St. Gall,<sup>121</sup> Troyes,<sup>122</sup> Urgel,<sup>123</sup> Uzès,<sup>124</sup> and Vic,<sup>125</sup> the version of “Dicant nunc Judei” found among the Hirsau settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* is distinguished both by its independence from the respond and by a concluding double Alleluia.

The Augustinian reform movement that swept out of Salzburg during the first half of the twelfth century, on the other hand, was accompanied by a setting of the Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri* that had a distinctive Augustinian cast. Built on a recasting of the older Type 1 “Quem queritis” dialogue, the new Type 2 text displayed a form of progressive revelation that transmitted the news of Christ’s resurrection through the clerical ranks to the people, which fit well with Augustinian ideals.<sup>126</sup> In the liturgical manu-

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CH-SGs 1290, fols. 22r–24r and 134r–v (1582 processional, LOO 331)  
 CH-SGs 1296, pp. 24–27 (1631 processional, LOO 332)

Rheinau

CH-Zz Rheinau 97, fols. 16v–17r (11th-c. troper, LOO 77)  
 CH-Zz Rheinau 132, fol. 9r (11th-c. troper, CT/Easter, 41/15)

Reichenau

D-BAs lit. 5, fol. 45r–v (1002 troper, LOO 314).

On the distinction between the Type 1 and Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri*, see Michael Norton, “Of ‘Stages’ and ‘Types’ in Visitatione Sepulchri,” in *Drama in the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays, Second Series*, ed. Clifford Davidson and John H. Stroupe (New York, 1991), 61–105.

<sup>118</sup> D-DS 871, fol. 84v (mid-13th-c. Cologne, St. Kunibert cantatorium, LOO 227).

<sup>119</sup> F-LA 215, fol. 129r–v (12th-c. Laon ordinal, LOO 109).

<sup>120</sup> D-MZp D.100, fols. 35v–38v (ca. 1500 Mainz processional, LOO 257).

<sup>121</sup> CH-SGs 360, pp. 31–32 (12th-c. St. Gall hymnal/processional, LOO 327).

<sup>122</sup> F-T 792, fols. 301v–302v (late 13th-c. Troyes ordinal, LOO 170).

<sup>123</sup> E-VI 131, fol. 38v (12th-c. Urgel ordinal, LOO 64).

<sup>124</sup> F-Pn lat. 1234, fol. 10v (14th-c. Uzès ordinal, LOO 173).

<sup>125</sup> E-VI 134 (84), fol. 17r (LOO 71).

<sup>126</sup> On Augustinian spirituality see Carolyn Bynum, “The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century: A New Approach,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1973): 3–24 and Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 1993), especially chapter 9, “The Augustinians of Paris and the Politics of Reform,” 187–210, and chapter 10, “Hugh of St. Victor’s Vision of the Church,” 211–40. On the notion of “progressive revelation” in the Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri*, see Norton, “The Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*,” 189–240. The Salzburg form of the Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri* is found in numerous manuscripts stemming from Salzburg itself, Chiemsee, Seckau, and Diessen. Other related settings are found in Klosterneuburg, Ranshofen, and elsewhere. See the discussion provided by Norton, “Type 2 *Visita-*

scripts of Salzburg and those houses reformed or settled out of Salzburg during the first half of the twelfth century, the rubrics typically specify that the angel should be represented by the deacon who reads the gospel, while the three Marys were to be represented by priests.<sup>127</sup> Thus the deacon, the deliverer of the Word, delivers the announcement “Non est hic” to the priests, and the priests in turn announce the news to the chorus at large. Two canons from the chorus, representing the apostles Peter and John, and thus the body of canons itself, go to the place of the sepulcher and, having seen the empty tomb, announce the news to the chorus once again. The ceremony concludes with the singing by the chorus of the antiphon “Surrexit enim sicut” to the people, to which the people respond in German: “Christ ist erstanden.”

The combination of the Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri* with “Dicant nunc Judei” is characteristic for the rite as celebrated by both the canons and canonesses of Klosterneuburg, at least from the fourteenth century onward, with a few additional witnesses found in manuscripts from Neustift bei Brixen,<sup>128</sup> Polling,<sup>129</sup> and Berlin-Neukölln.<sup>130</sup> Of these, only the settings in the two fourteenth-century Klosterneuburg antiphoners (A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589) consistently include the double Alleluia that marks its use in the Hirsau *Visitatio sepulchri*.<sup>131</sup> A few additional combinations of “Dicant nunc Judei” with Type 1 *Visitatio sepulchri* or Type 1/Type 2 mixtures are found in a scattering of manuscripts from convents in France and Swabia<sup>132</sup> and in a single manuscript from the diocese of Würzburg.<sup>133</sup>

While the texts found in the two fourteenth-century antiphoners (A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589) correspond to those found among the canons’ manuscripts in most respects, their melodies diverge both in their modal struc-

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*tio Sepulchri*,” 48–139, especially that on 129–30 and the tables on 60–64, 66–69, 111–21, and 127–28 for a more complete view.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 148–49 and 214–15.

<sup>128</sup> A-Iu 610, fols. 182v–183r (15th-c. breviary, LOO 627).

<sup>129</sup> D-Mbs lat. 11909a, fols. 31r–34r (15th-c. processional, LOO 659); D-Mbs 11090b, fols. 31r–34r (15th-c. processional, LOO 658); and D-Mbs lat. 11735, fols. 62r–63r (15th–16th-c. ordinal, LOO 660)

<sup>130</sup> D-ERu 141 (417), fols. 11r–16v (ca. 1550 antiphoner, LOO 486) and D-Bsb theol. lat. 4° 87b, fols. 34v–35v (1537 rituale, LOO 533).

<sup>131</sup> Of the manuscripts used by the men of Klosterneuburg that contain the *Visitatio sepulchri* (see n. 115 above), only A-KN 628 includes the double Alleluia, where it is added with notation in the right margin (fol. 85r).

<sup>132</sup> D-Bkk 78 B.16, fols. 294v–296v (1286 Origny, Ste. Benoite ordinal, LOO 303); F-SQ 86, pp. 298–99 (ca. 1316 Origny, Ste. Benoite miscellany, LOO 303A); and D-KA Geo. 1, fol. 189r (15th-c. Villingen, St. Georg antiphoner, LOO 363). The Villingen setting of “Dicant nunc Judei” includes a triple Alleluia.

<sup>133</sup> GB-Lbl Arundel 156, fol. 35r (ca. 1220 gradual from the diocese of Würzburg, LOO 371). This setting of “Dicant nunc Judei” also includes a double Alleluia.

ture and in their melodic details from those of the men. In the antiphoners, the introductory line “Maria Magdalena” adopts the melody found in most manuscripts stemming from houses affected by the Salzburg reforms,<sup>134</sup> setting the melody of this line on ‘d.’ The line found in A-KN 589 is given as Example 3. Among the manuscripts of the canons, on the other hand, the melody for “Maria Magdalena” is set on ‘e’ rather than ‘d,’ providing modal balance to the lines of the ceremony that follow but creating an effect quite jarring to anyone familiar with the melody as normally set. The line used in the canons’ rituale, A-KN 629, is given as Example 4. Even adjusted for pitch, however, the melodies vary in several respects. These variations are indicated in Examples 3 and 4 by brackets.

Ma-ri - a Mag-da le - na et a - li - a Ma-ri - a fe-re-bant di - lu - cu - lo a - ro -

ma - ta do - mi - num que - ren - tes in - mo - nu - men - to

**Example 3.** *Maria Magdalena*, A-KN 589, fol. 2r

Ma-ri - a Mag-da - le - na et a - li - a Ma-ri - a fe-re-bant di - lu - cu - lo a - ro -

ma - ta do - mi - num que - ren - tes in mo - nu - men - to

**Example 4.** *Maria Magdalena*, A-KN 629, fol. 103v

Following the introductory line, the next seven lines of the rite divide neatly into two sections. The opening section, corresponding to the dialogue between the Marys and the angel, is normally set in E-mode. In the settings of the antiphoners, however, all four lines are transposed to ‘a.’ The lines from the antiphoner, A-KN 589, are given as Example 5. In the version found in the canons’ rituale, A-KN 629, given as Example 6, on the other hand, only the first line is transposed to ‘a,’ with the remaining three lines set on ‘e.’ As was the case with “Maria Magdalena,” the melodies also vary in several respects, such variations again indicated in Examples 5 and 6 by brackets.

<sup>134</sup> See Norton, “Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*,” 80–82.



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.  
 Ie - 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 nun - ci - a - te  
 di - sci - pu - lis e - ius et Pe - tro qui - a sur - re - xit le - sus.

**Example 5.** *Quis revolvat* through *Non est hic*, A-KN 589, fol. 2r

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 nun - ci - a - te  
 di - sci - pu - lis e - ius et Pe - tro qui - a sur - re - xit le - sus.

**Example 6.** *Quis revolvat* through *Non est hic*, A-KN 629, fols. 103v-104r

The second section, corresponding to the visit by the apostles to the sepulcher and their announcement to the chorus, includes the lines “Ad monumentum venimus,” “Currebant duo simul,” and “Cernitis o socii,” all of which are set in D-mode in both the settings of the canons and those of the antiphoners. Melodically the two settings differ only slightly.

Additional differences between the men’s *Visitatio sepulchri* and that found in the antiphoners include the presence in the men’s version of the antiphon “Venite et videte” (CAO 5352) following the line “Non est hic” and the absence in the antiphoners of the congregational singing of “Christ ist erstanden.”

A-KN 1013, copied in the mid-twelfth century, preserves a markedly different version of this rite. This version of the *Visitatio sepulchri* incorporates the text and melodies of the Type 1 *Visitatio sepulchri* and includes liturgical elements drawn from the same Swabian traditions as liturgical elements found in the later manuscripts. The line “Non est hic” contains the concluding “de sepulchro” common to the settings of St. Gall, Reichenau, Rheinau, and the Hirsau congregation. The opening antiphon, “Et dicebant ad invicem” (CAO 2697), is present also in manuscripts from Reichenau,<sup>135</sup> Rheinau,<sup>136</sup> and St. Gall,<sup>137</sup> along with a few manuscripts from Spain<sup>138</sup> and northern Europe.<sup>139</sup> Settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* nearly identical to that of A-KN 1013, settings including both “Et dicebant ad invicem” and “Et recordate sunt” (CAO 2717), along with the Type 1 *Visitatio sepulchri* with the “de sepulchro” variant, have survived also in a fragment now in the Schottenstift in Vienna<sup>140</sup> and in a manuscript of uncertain provenance

<sup>135</sup> D-BAs lit. 5, fol. 45r–v (1002 Reichenau troper, LOO 314).

<sup>136</sup> CH-Zz Rheinau 132, fol. 9r (11th-c. Rheinau troper, CT/Easter, 41/15).

<sup>137</sup> CH-SGs 384, p. 240 (14th-c. St. Gall breviary, LOO 329).

<sup>138</sup> GB-Lbl Add. 30848, fol. 125v (11th-c. Silos breviary, LOO 461).

<sup>139</sup> D-DS 394, fols. 309v–310r (ca. 1320 Liège breviary, LOO 250) and B-TOb Liber ordinarius, fols. 63v–64v (1435 copy of 12th–13th-c. Tongeren ordinal, LOO 346).

<sup>140</sup> Walter Pass, “Zwei unbekannte Wiener Visitatio-Sepulchri Fragmente aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts,” in *Festschrift Othmar Wessely zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Manfred Angerer (Tutzing, 1982), 447–77. A facsimile is given on 448–50. This fragment was formerly in the binding of Vienna, Schottenstift, Kodex 127 (116). This fragment presents two distinct settings for the *Visitatio sepulchri*. The first, on fol. 1v, includes the text of the Type 1 *Visitatio sepulchri*, including the antiphons “Et dicebant ad invicem” and “Et recordate sunt.” Music is given for all lines except for the three lines of the central dialogue (“Quem queritis,” “Jesum Nazarenum,” and “Non est hic”). The second setting, on fols. 1v–2r, includes the texts and melodies of the Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri*. This latter setting is related both textually and musically to the version of the ceremony used at Salzburg, including the singing by the people of “Christ ist erstanden” at the ceremony’s conclusion.

now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn lat. 1890).<sup>141</sup> A-Wn 1890 also includes the setting of “Dicant nunc Judei” with double Alleluia common to the settings from the Hirsau congregation and in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners.

While the setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri* found in A-KN 1013 is dissimilar to those found in the later antiphoners, details in performance revealed by this manuscript suggest that it was likely intended for use in a women’s house. Musical notation is provided for all lines of the ceremony except for those sung by the cleric portraying the angel, which are left blank. Musical notation is thus provided only for those items that would most likely have been sung by the canonesses: the antiphons, sung by the chorus as a whole, and the lines associated with the Marys. While such a suggestion may seem suspect at first glance, a setting of the later Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri* preserved in a fourteenth-century rituale used by the priest on behalf of the canonesses (A-KN 1022B, fol. 64r–v) offers confirmation in reverse, with music provided for all but the lines sung by the Marys and the chorus, which are given as text only with no space for musical notation (see the discussion of rituales below, pp. 114–19). Such a male/female split, while by no means the norm,<sup>142</sup> is seen also in settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* from other women’s houses, for example those of Barking Abbey and the convent of St. George in Prague.<sup>143</sup> The manuscript is tied to the women of Klosterneuburg specifically in its inclusion of the rhymed Office of St. Benedict and in the unique setting of the Office of the Conversion of St. Paul that it shares with the other women’s antiphoners.

<sup>141</sup> A-Wn lat. 1890, fol. 163r–v (LOO 186). This setting also includes the lines “Ad monumentum venimus,” “Currebant duo simul,” and “Cernitis o socii” characteristic of the Type 2 *Visitatio sepulchri*. See n. 116 above.

<sup>142</sup> For example, the lines assigned to the Marys are sung by men at both the convents of Essen (D-ESm, MS 19, pp. 80–84 [late 14th-c. ordinal, LOO 564] and D-DÜI C.47, fols. 75r–79v [15th-c. ordinal, cited in Joseph Weier, “Die Osterfeier im ‘Liber Ordinarius’ de Stiftes Essen,” *Das Münster am Hellweg: Mitteilungsblatt des Vereins für die Erhaltung des Essener Münsters* 31 (1978): 21–28]) and Origny Ste. Benoite (D-Bkk 78.B.16, fols. 294v–296v [1286 ordinal, LOO 303] and F-SQ 86, pp. 298–99 [1316 miscellany, LOO 304]). We would like to thank Melanie Batoff for the updated reference to the Essen manuscript, which was known earlier simply as “Liber ordinarius der Stiftskirche.” The text of this ordinal was published as Franz Arens, *Die Liber ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche: Mit Einleitung, Erläuterungen und einem Plan der Stiftskirche und ihre Umgebung im 14. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 1908).

<sup>143</sup> GB-Ouc 169, pp. 121–24 (Barking ordinal copied between 1363 and 1376, LOO 770) and CZ-Pu VI.E.13, pp. 3–4 (12th-c. St. George ordinal, LOO 798). The text of the Barking ordinal is published as John Tolhurst, *The Ordinale or Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (London, 1927–28).

*Interlocking Appendices.* As noted above, the antiphoners are connected to the hymnals by a series of interlocking appendices. Nearly identical sets of appendices containing the Offices of St. Catherine, Corpus Christi, and the Office of the Dead (either Major or Minor Vigil, or both) are found in the hymnals: A-KN 999, A-KN 1001, A-KN 1003, and A-KN 1004; and in the antiphoners: A-KN 1011, A-KN 1012, and A-KN 1015.<sup>144</sup>

### *Breviaries*

Among the breviaries preserved in the Klosterneuburg library are three that were, in whole or in part, used by or on behalf of the women. Most directly tied to the women is A-KN 982, whose colophon, as noted earlier, attests to its intended owner.<sup>145</sup> A-KN 982, which records the liturgy from Easter to the Sundays after Pentecost, is the second in a pair of manuscripts recording the annual liturgical cursus, with A-KN 991 recording the

<sup>144</sup> The additions to the hymnals include:

A-KN 999, fols. 97v–143v	The Offices of St. Catherine, Corpus Christi, the Finding of St. Stephen, and St. Dorothy
A-KN 1001, fols. 116r–125v	The Office of the Dead (Minor and Major Vigils)
A-KN 1003, fols. 86v–129r	The Office of St. Catherine, the Office and Mass of Corpus Christi, the Office of the Dead (Major Vigil), the Office of St. Margaret (partial), and the Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins
A-KN 1004, fols. 106v–38v	The Office of the Dead (Minor Vigil) and the Offices of the Finding of St. Stephen, St. Catherine, Corpus Christi, and St. Acacius

The additions to the antiphoners include:

A-KN 1012, fols. 151v–152v	The Office of St. Catherine (Vespers only)
A-KN 1011, fols. 229r–247r	The Offices of St. Catherine and Corpus Christi and the Office of the Dead (Major and Minor Vigils)
A-KN 1015, fols. 175v–191r	The Offices of St. Catherine and Corpus Christi and the Office of the Dead (Major and Minor Vigils)
A-KN 1018, fols. 234r–262r	The Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, the Office of the Dead (Major Vigil), the Office of St. Acacius, and miscellaneous antiphons and reponsories for various feasts

<sup>145</sup> “Das puech ist der vrawen von Czelking in dem vrawen Chloster das Newnburch” (fol. 275r). See n. 42 above.

liturgy from Advent through Holy Saturday. These two manuscripts were created from a single manuscript whose colophon appears near the end of what is now A-KN 982. The manuscript originally presented to the women at Klosterneuburg was copied by a single scribe and included the following:

#### Capitular

- A-KN 991, fols. 5r–29v (Advent 1 to start of Easter)
- A-KN 982, fols. 5r–36r (end of Easter to Sundays after Pentecost)

#### Breviary

- A-KN 991, fols. 26r–173v (Advent 1 to start of Easter)
- A-KN 982, fols. 43r–85v (end of Easter to Trinity Sunday)<sup>146</sup>
- A-KN 982, fols. 96r–109v (John the Baptist to start of Mary Magdalene)<sup>147</sup>
- A-KN 982, fols. 111r–113v (end of Mary Magdalene)
- A-KN 982, fols. 118r–130v (end of Chains of St. Peter to end of Assumption)
- A-KN 982, fols. 134r–172v (in Bartholomew to start of Conception of Mary)
- A-KN 991, fols. 175r–177v (Conception of Mary, middle)
- A-KN 982, fols. 179r–192v (end of Conception to end of Common of Virgins)
- A-KN 982, fols. 199r–252r (in Matins, first Sunday for Kings to Dedication of the Church)

#### Hymnal

- A-KN 982, fols. 252r–254v (weekdays to start of Friday)
- A-KN 991, fols. 186r–191v (end of Friday to beginning of Lent)
- A-KN 982, fols. 261r–275r (end of Lent to Commons, followed by several additional hymns)

The manuscript as it was probably presented to the “vrawen von Czeling” at Klosterneuburg is nearly complete but does not reflect the liturgy

<sup>146</sup> Fol. 85v ends with a rubric indicating the antiphon for Vespers of the Sunday after Trinity Sunday. The remaining text is erased. Following this, several folios appear to have been removed from what was likely the Sunday after Trinity. The folios inserted here, now comprising fols. 86r–95v, were copied by the second scribe and include the Offices of Corpus Christi and St. Acacius.

<sup>147</sup> Fol. 109v ends with the antiphon for the *Magnificat* for Vespers: “Suavissime universorum.” A single folio, copied by the same scribe as the insertions now comprising fols. 86r–95v, has been inserted here. The inserted folio, now 110r–v, includes on the recto the antiphon “Fidelis sermo,” intended here as a substitute for the *Magnificat* antiphon found on fol. 109v and the invitatory antiphon “Ploremus coram domino.” Fol. 110v is blank. Fol. 111r continues with the invitatory antiphon “Stellam Christum.” See Table 7.



as expressed in other Klosterneuburg manuscripts for the Office, neither those of the men nor those of the women.<sup>148</sup> The two manuscripts that have come down to us, however, have been adapted to fit the liturgical needs of the women as reflected in the hymnals and antiphoners discussed above, at least in part. These adaptations are contained in a series of inserted folios, copied by a second scribe, that are interspersed among the original folios to produce the two surviving manuscripts. The inserts and additions are ruled in the same manner and at the same aspect as the original, with two columns and twenty-eight lines that match the ruling of the original folios.

In some cases, the added folios replicate the content of the original at the points where the manuscript was divided. A-KN 991, for example, ends its section outlining the order for the Divine Office with the Office of Holy Saturday, the opening of Easter Vespers appearing in the lower half of the second column (fol. 173v). In A-KN 982, which begins its cursus with Easter, the opening of Easter Vespers is repeated in an insert (fol. 42v). Similar repetitions can be found in the Office of the Conception of Mary. A-KN 982 concludes the Office section with the Office of St. Andrew, which is followed by the beginning of the Office of the Conception of Mary (fol. 172v). The opening of the Office of the Conception is repeated in an insert to A-KN 991 (fol. 174v). This is followed by the continuation of the Office by the original scribe (fols. 175r–177v). The conclusion of the Office again is contained in an insert (fol. 178r) and followed by the Office of St. Benedict (fol. 178v).

Offices are added to the two manuscripts that are typical for Klosterneuburg but not present in the manuscript as originally copied. Included among these are the Offices for Corpus Christi, St. Acacius, and St. Egidius.<sup>149</sup> In other cases, the added folios include new material that specifically reflects the usage of the Klosterneuburg women as expressed in the antiphoners discussed above. The rhymed Office of St. Benedict, for example, is included in the inserted folios following the Office of the Conception of Mary in A-KN 991 (fols. 178v–181r),<sup>150</sup> while a portion of the rhymed Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins is included in the inserted folios following the commons in A-KN 982 (fols. 195v–197r — breaks in the third Nocturn of Matins). The Office of Mary Magdalene offers a particularly reveal-

<sup>148</sup> The Office of Mary Magdalene, for example, follows that of Passau (see Table 7), while the Office of St. Catherine follows that Salzburg (see Table 11).

<sup>149</sup> Corpus Christi (A-KN 982, fols. 86v–93r), St. Acacius (A-KN 982, fols. 93r–95v), St. Egidius (A-KN 982, fols. 193v–195r), and the Eleven Thousand Virgins (A-KN 982, fols. 195v–197r).

<sup>150</sup> This Office is found also in the antiphoners discussed above. Among the manuscripts used by the men, this Office is drawn from the Common of Confessors. See Klugseder, “Studien” (n. 7 above), 38.

ing view into the manuscripts' adaptation for the Klosterneuburg women. The complete Office is provided by the original manuscript, now A-KN 982, on fol. 109v and fols. 111r–113v and follows the order of the Office as celebrated at Passau. Fol. 109v ends with the *Magnificat* antiphon for Vespers, "Suavissime universorum," while fol. 111r begins with the Invitatory antiphon for Matins, "Stellam Christum." Between these folios, a single folio is inserted that includes the antiphons for the *Magnificat* and the Invitatory that were typical for the use of the Klosterneuburg women: "Fidelis sermo" for the *Magnificat* antiphon and "Ploremus coram" for the Invitatory (see Table 7).

The added sections of both A-KN 982 and A-KN 991 also include hymns that are typical for the hymnals and antiphoners discussed above. Among these are "O rex benigne" (St. Margaret),<sup>151</sup> "Deus qui quosvis" (Mary Magdalene),<sup>152</sup> "Deus deorum domini" (Finding of St. Stephen),<sup>153</sup> "Festis Patris" (St. Augustine),<sup>154</sup> "Matthee Sancta" (St. Matthew),<sup>155</sup> and "Luca fidelis" (St. Luke).<sup>156</sup> In addition, the hymn "Virga de Jesse," although not found in the hymn sections proper, is indicated at Vespers for the Office of the Conception of Mary.<sup>157</sup> An insertion following the Office of the Assumption, A-KN 982, fols. 131r–132v, also includes the same list of twenty-four Marian antiphons presented in the same order as found in the fourteenth-century antiphoners discussed above (see Table 9b).

A-KN 1200, a fourteenth-century breviary, shows evidence of women's usage as well. The manuscript covers the liturgical year from Holy Saturday through the summer months. Each section of the manuscript, moreover, appears to have been produced independently and later assembled to produce the manuscript as it now exists. The manuscript begins with a calendar (fols. 1r–6v) that is consistent with those in other Klosterneuburg breviaries. This is followed by a psalter (fols. 7r–96v), written in a single column with twenty-three lines, that includes a number of German rubrics. A new hand appears on fol. 97r with the conclusion of Saturday Vespers. This is followed by the "Quindecim gradus ante matutinam" (fols. 97r–98r), Easter Vespers with the procession to the font (fols. 98r–99r), and chants "Infra albas de nullo sanctorum" (fol. 99r–v). This short section is identical to that found in an insert to A-KN 982, fols. 37r–39r.

<sup>151</sup> A-KN 991, fol. 193r and A-KN 982, fol. 275r.

<sup>152</sup> A-KN 991, fol. 193r and A-KN 982, fol. 275v.

<sup>153</sup> A-KN 982, fol. 275r.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 276r.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 277r.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 277v.

<sup>157</sup> A-KN 991, fol. 174v and A-KN 982, fol. 172v.

These pages are followed by a hymnal, which is copied by two scribes. The first scribe was responsible for fols. 100r–107r, which include the hymns for the ferias. The hand appears unpracticed, and the folios are written in a single column with either eighteen or nineteen lines. The remainder of the hymnal appears to have been extracted from another book, the remainder of which no longer exists in the library at Klosterneuburg (fols. 108r–123v). This section was copied by an experienced scribe and begins with the conclusion of the hymn “Crux fidelis” (Good Friday), a hymn not typically included in the hymnals of the men.<sup>158</sup> The second section of the hymnal of A-KN 1200 follows in the main the hymns found in the hymnals discussed above, at least from Easter onward. Included here are “Deus qui quosvis” (St. Mary Magdalene), “Festis Patris Augustini” and “Exultemus Deo celi caritas” (St. Augustine), “O verbum fidelissimum” (St. Matthew), and “Virga de Jesse” (Conception of Mary).

The hymnal is followed by a new section, again extracted from another manuscript, containing the order for the Offices from Easter Sunday through the summer months. This section, written in a single column with twenty-three lines, begins with the conclusion for the Office on Holy Saturday and continues with the opening of Easter Vespers at the bottom of the folio (124r). The Office of St. Mary Magdalene follows the order found in the women’s antiphoners (see Table 7), and the Office of the Assumption of Mary includes both the same additional responsories for Matins and the same list of antiphons for the week following the feast, albeit in a different order, as found in both the women’s antiphoners and in the breviary, A-KN 982 (see Tables 9a and 9b). The Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins likewise follows the order found in the antiphoners (see Table 10). Not all Offices follow the order found within the antiphoners, however. The rite for St. Catherine, for example, follows the arrangement found in the manuscripts of the men (see Table 11), and neither the Office of the Conversion of St. Paul nor the Office of the Dead are present to allow further comparisons. The setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, moreover, omits the “Dicant nunc Judei” common to the practice both of the men and of the women. As was the case with A-KN 1012 and A-KN 68,<sup>159</sup> the Office of the Dedication of the Church is misplaced between the Office of St. Maurice and that of Sts. Cosmas and Damian.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>158</sup> “Crux fidelis” is normally included in the Good Friday rites given in the rituales: A-KN 628, fols. 42r–43v; A-KN 629, fols. 60v–61r; and A-KN 1021, fols. 45r–46r. “Crux fidelis” is included in each of the hymnals discussed above.

<sup>159</sup> See n. 176 for further details.

<sup>160</sup> This placement is found in a group of breviaries whose outlines for the liturgical year are nearly identical. These include A-Wn lat. 1717 and A-KN 969 (thirteenth century), A-KN 592 and A-KN 1200 (fourteenth century), and A-KN 977 and A-KN 1172

### *Processionals*

The Klosterneuburg library possesses three processionals: A-KN 995, A-KN 1005, and A-KN 1006, that, like the hymnals and antiphoners discussed above, share a common repertory that diverges from that of the men. A-KN 995, copied in the fourteenth century, uses the same style of notation found in the hymnals and antiphoners that were discussed above. A-KN 1005 and A-KN 1006, both copied in the fifteenth century, largely replicate the content of A-KN 995<sup>161</sup> and contain blended notations drawn from those found in the hymnals, antiphoners, and the earlier processional and newer Gothic forms.<sup>162</sup> These manuscripts have been variously assigned by earlier scholars. The editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* assigned A-KN 995 to the women of Klosterneuburg,<sup>163</sup> while Michel Huglo assigned all three manuscripts to the men. In recent studies, Stefan Engels assigned both A-KN 995 and A-KN 1006 to the women, while Robert Klugseder limited his assignment to A-KN 995 alone, the other two manuscripts in his view belonging to the men.<sup>164</sup> Internal evidence, however, suggests that all three processionals reflect the use of Klosterneuburg's women. As with both the hymnals and the antiphoners, the content of the processionals,

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(fifteenth century). All preserve the same abbreviated form of the *Visitatio sepulchri* seen in A-KN 1200 as well. Only A-Wn lat. 1717 includes musical notation, employing unheighted German neumes. The musical setting for the opening lines of the ceremony in A-Wn lat. 1717 does not correspond to that found in other Klosterneuburg manuscripts. The setting of the line "Quem queritis," in particular, appears to follow the outline of the Type 1 melody rather than that of the Type 2 melody. On similar mixtures of Type 1 and Type 2 texts and melodies, see Norton, "Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*" (n. 13 above), 90–95.

<sup>161</sup> Michel Huglo, *Les Manuscrits du Processional*, vol. 1, *Autriche à Espagne* (Munich, 1999), 8–11. A-KN 1006 is a nearly exact copy of A-KN 995 and preserves the omissions, misorderings of ceremonies, and insertions and additions found in the earlier manuscript. A-KN 1005 corrects the ordering of ceremonies, completes those left incomplete, and includes the added processions in their proper liturgical order.

<sup>162</sup> Huglo describes the notation of A-KN 1005 as "Notation messine tardive" (*ibid.*, 10) and that of A-KN 1006 as "Notation messine gothique" (*ibid.*, 11). Huglo also includes A-KN 998 among the Klosterneuburg processionals due to its seventeenth-century library inscription (*ibid.*, 9–10). This manuscript, however, comes from the Augustinian priory at St. Florian. See Amelia Carr and Michael Norton, "New Sources for the *Visitatio Sepulchri* at Klosterneuburg," *Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 15 (1993): 83–90.

<sup>163</sup> For example, the following description is found in AH 43:29 (no. 42): "Process. ms. S. Mariae Magdalenaee saec. 14 Cod. Claustroeneoburg. 995."

<sup>164</sup> Engels, "Die Notation" (n. 4 above), 42, 44, 49, 51, and 52 and Klugseder, "Studien" (n. 7 above), 17 and 28. Klugseder, following Huglo, includes A-KN 998 among his list of processionals for the men. See n. 162 above.

while similar in outline to that found in manuscripts known to have been used by the men, does not align in its details.<sup>165</sup>

The cycle of processions for the men at Klosterneuburg is preserved in a series of ordinals and breviaries. The ordinals, A-KN 1213 (copied 1325), A-KN 635 (mid-fourteenth century), and A-KN 983 (copied 1393), present the processions separately near the end of each manuscript.<sup>166</sup> The breviaries, A-KN 590 (early fourteenth century) and A-KN 1199 (fourteenth century), along with the ordinal A-KN 1014 (ca. 1500), include the processions in situ. Further details about processions are included in three late sixteenth-century manuscripts: A-KNa HS 191 (copied 1573), A-KN 1026A (copied 1576), and A-Wn lat. 15078 (copied 1594). Some processions are included in the rituales as well (see the discussion of the rituales below, pp.114–19), including processions for the feasts of the Purification of Mary (2 February), Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Easter, St. Mark (25 April), and the Rogation Days (3 days before Ascension).

The two series of processions differ in their specification of the feasts for which processions were required. The three processionalists omit processions for many feasts for which the men's ordinals and other manuscripts call, as well as including two that are not found in the ordinals. A listing of these unique processions is given as Table 13a.

The processions outlined in the three processionalists are often abbreviated versions of those found in the ordinals and breviaries of the men. This is particularly evident in the most important processions, including those for Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Assumption and Nativity of Mary, all of which are directed to the women's church. The processions for Corpus Christi, found among the men's processions only at the beginning of the sixteenth century and in the processionalists already in the fourteenth century, are wholly different. The outline of these processions is given as Table 13b. In addition, several processions included among the processionalists specify responsories or antiphons that are unique to these volumes. These are presented in Table 13c.

In particular, the three processionalists include the responsory "Ecce radix Jesse" (CAO 6606) for the third Sunday of Advent, while the ordinals and breviaries call for the responsory "Ecce Dominus veniet" (CAO 6086). For the fourth Sunday of Advent, the processionalists call for the responsories "Nascetur nobis" (CAO 7195) and "Ecce Dominus veniet" (CAO 6586),

<sup>165</sup> While Klugeder ("Studien," 28–30) includes a section on processions in his study of Klosterneuburg liturgical manuscripts, his focus is on the processions included in the graduals, including those for Palm Sunday and the *Mandatum*, rather than those in the processionalists.

<sup>166</sup> A-KN 1213, fols. 171v–177r; A-KN 635, fols. 108r–111r; and A-KN 983, fols. 132r–136r.

while the ordinals and breviaries call for “Missus est Gabriel” (CAO 7170) and “Ecce dies veniunt” (CAO 6583). Also unique is the procession for the Dedication of the Church, the processions including only the responsories “In dedicatione templi” (CAO 6897) and “Vidi civitatem sanctam” (CAO 7871). Other variations are evident in the procession for the feast of St. Augustine, where the processions invert the order for the responsories outlined in the ordinals and breviaries and add the responsory “Volebat enim conferenti” (CANTUS 602527), and in the procession for the Rogation days, where the processions leave out the antiphon “Dimitte nobis Domine” (CAO 2238) of the canons’ usage and add the antiphons “Domine non est alius” (CAO 2360), “Miserere Domine plebi” (CAO 3772), “Exaudi Deus deprecationem” (CAO 2765), “Deprecamur te Domine” (CAO 2151), and “Multa sunt Domine” (CAO 3829).

Most telling is the placement of the procession for the Dedication of the Church. In the lists of processions found in the ordinals, the procession for the Dedication of the Church is placed consistently between the feasts of St. Matthew (20 September) and St. Michael (29 September), corresponding to the date for the dedication of the canons’ church (29 September 1136). In the three processions, however, the procession for the Dedication of the Church is found between the feast for the Finding of St. Stephen (3 August) and the feast of St. Afra (7 August).

The date for the dedication of the women’s church has long troubled students of the music and liturgy of Klosterneuburg. For many, the date for the feast was unknown. Jacques Froger, for instance, could only speculate on the date for the women’s dedication on the basis of the placement of the ceremony in A-KN 1012 between 22 and 27 September.<sup>167</sup> Following Froger, Debra Lacoste made a similar conjecture, but noted that “neither the precise year of the founding nor the date of consecration for the women’s church is known.”<sup>168</sup> Rudolf Flotzinger echoed the general sentiment: “Dom Froger denkt an eine Bestimmung für das bis 1568 bestehende Klosterneuburger Chorfrauen-Stift St. Maria Magdalena, doch ist über dessen Anfänge leider nichts bekannt.”<sup>169</sup>

Seemingly supporting Froger’s speculation is Röhrig’s affirmation of a consecration ceremony for the women’s church on 23 September, based on a notice from the guest register for 1324.<sup>170</sup> However, a late sixteenth-century ordinal, A-KNa HS 191, indicates that the dedication for the church

<sup>167</sup> Froger, *Le Graduel* (n. 4 above), 33\*.

<sup>168</sup> Lacoste, “The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners” (n. 4 above), 124.

<sup>169</sup> Flotzinger, “Zu Herkunft” (n. 73 above), 59.

<sup>170</sup> Röhrig, “Das kunstgeschichtliche Material” (n. 19 above), 139. The notice for the dedication was first published in 1868 but was not picked up by later scholars. See n. 19 above.



of the women occurred not in late September, but rather on the Sunday following the feast of the Finding of St. Stephen, thus between 4 and 10 August.<sup>171</sup> The late date of this ordinal, copied in 1573 and thus reflecting the practice after the death of the last canoness, may reduce the authority of its witness. But this liturgical placement is confirmed by the timing of a series of sermons given for the dedication of the women's church over a century earlier. The first in the series is assigned to the Saturday following the Finding of St. Stephen (A-KN 880, fol. 263r): "Sermo de dedicatio ecclesie factus in claustro dominarum in vigilia s. Laurenti anno domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> L<sup>mo</sup> 5<sup>to</sup>" [9 Aug. 1455].<sup>172</sup> The next sermon in the series, beginning on fol. 269v, while not specifying the Dedication of the Church, is assigned to the day just prior to the date on which the dedication of the women's church would have occurred according to the direction in the late sixteenth-century ordinals. The following inscription is found at the end of the sermon (A-KN 880, fol. 271v): "Anno domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> L<sup>mo</sup> 6<sup>to</sup> in die s. Affre martiris quot fuit eodem anno in uno sabbato" [7 August 1456].<sup>173</sup>

A dedication date for the women's church between 4 and 10 August is thus affirmed by the placement of processions for the Dedication of the Church in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century processional, by the scheduling of the fifteenth-century sermons copied into A-KN 880, and by the usage of the late sixteenth-century rituales. While this placement is consistent also with the celebration of the dedication for the cathedral of Passau on 5 August, the procession contained within the three processional does not correspond with that of the cathedral.<sup>174</sup> When the newly built

<sup>171</sup> A-KNa HS 191, fols. 90v–91r: "Dominica postquam fest. S. Stephani habetur dedicatio monasterii monialium ad S. Maria Magdalena vesp., contio, officium, etc." This same notice is found in A-KN 1026A, fol. 55r (copied 1576) and A-Wn lat. 15078, fol. 43v (copied 1594). All three manuscripts bear the title "Ordinationes Chori Neuburg quae partim ex Directorio partim extra ipsum excerptae atque annotata sunt." This notice was first reported by Schabes (*Alle liturgische Gebräuche* [n. 34 above], 181) but was not picked up by later scholars.

<sup>172</sup> The assignment of the sermons to the Saturday rather than the Sunday of the feast of the Dedication of the Church corresponds to the later practice of providing a sermon in conjunction with Vespers. See note 171 above.

<sup>173</sup> This item is one of four sermons listed as "Sermo de dedicatione ecclesie" in the *Zettelkatalog's* entry for A-KN 880 ([n. 38 above] 5:167–68). While only the first two are specifically identified with the women's church, the four sermons are grouped together between sermons for St. Bartholomew (24 August) and the Nativity of Mary (8 September).

<sup>174</sup> The printed Passau breviary of 1490 lists the following for the procession for the Dedication of the Church: the antiphon "Asperges me Domine," the responsories "Terribilis" and "Visita quesumus domine," and the hymn "Hoc in templo." "Hoc in templo" is the penultimate verse of the hymn for the Dedication of the Church, "Urbs beata Jerusalem." *Breviarium Pataviensis* (Augsburg, ca. 1490), 2, fol. 138v (D-Mbs Ink B-878



(or rebuilt) women's church was consecrated in September of 1324, Prior Stefan may have been juggling many factors, including the builders' schedule, the presence of distinguished guests, and his own complicated political maneuverings with the imperial court.<sup>175</sup> Whatever the reason, the celebration of the Dedication of the Church appears not to have been changed to reflect this new consecration (or reconsecration), and it is possible that the August date was carried over from the dedication of an earlier foundation. The placement of the feast during September in the antiphoners, while seemingly corresponding to the 23 September consecration from 1324, may well be more a result of established habits of copying than any attempt to reflect liturgical accuracy. Indeed, this same placement (or misplacement — between 22 and 27 September) is found also in the sole surviving antiphoner from the men's church, as well as in a group of breviaries that reflect both the liturgy of the men and that of the women.<sup>176</sup> This position may well be a vestige of Klosterneuburg's Augustinian roots, as it matches also the date for the Dedication of the Church for the cathedral of Salzburg (25 September).

### *Rituales*

The Klosterneuburg library possesses several rituales, manuscripts intended for use by priests, that contain blessings and other special rites not covered in other liturgical books.<sup>177</sup> Among the rites included are the

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[olim L.impr.membr.18-2,3/6, GW 5425]). The second volume is missing its title page and consists of three independent units, each foliated separately. The opening section, foliated from 1 to 68, is a psalter. The middle section, foliated from 1 to 250, is an ordinal (plenary breviary) and provides a description for the summer liturgy of the Passau cathedral, including Offices, processions, and Masses from the feast of the Ascension to the octave of St. Andrew. The final section, foliated 1 to 26, contains items from the commons. The folio number given above is from the middle section of the book.

<sup>175</sup> On the issues confronted by Prior Stefan, see Gerhard Rill, "Die Pröpste des Stiftes Klosterneuburg von der Gründung bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 1 (1961): 58–62.

<sup>176</sup> In the men's antiphoner, A-KN 68, the Office of the Dedication of the Church (fols. 56r–69v) is preceded by the Office of St. Maurice (22 September) and followed by the Office of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (27 September). This arrangement is found in the series of breviaries listed in n. 160 above and in the women's breviary, A-KN 1200 (see p. 109).

<sup>177</sup> A-KN 628 (ca. 1330, contains unheighted neumes); A-KN 629 (ca. 1330, contains Bohemian notation); A-KN 1021 (fifteenth century, some Gothic notation added interlinearly and in the margins); A-KN 1022A (fourteenth century, some unheighted neumes inserted interlinearly); A-KN 1022B (fourteenth century, Bohemian notation — same music scribe as A-KN 629); A-KN 1209 (1550, Gothic notation); A-KN 1210 (fifteenth century, Holy Week only, Gothic notation); and A-KN 1211 (fifteenth century, Holy Week only, Gothic notation).

rite for entering the church before Mass, the rite of baptism (Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost), rites for the sick and dying, funeral rites, rites of profession, consecration, suspension, and probation, along with several special rites drawn from both the liturgy of the time and of the saints. Among these latter rites are the blessing of wine at the feast of St. John the Evangelist, the blessing of the candles and the procession for the feast of the Purification of Mary, the blessing of water and salt for the feast of St. Blaise, the blessing and distribution of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the blessing and distribution of palms along with the procession for Palm Sunday, the celebration of the Last Supper and the foot washing ceremonies of Holy Thursday, the reading of the Passion and the Adoration and Deposition of the Cross on Good Friday, the Easter Vigil and baptismal rites of Holy Saturday, the Elevation of the Cross, the *Visitatio sepulchri*, the procession to Mass, and the various blessings for Easter Sunday, the processions for the feast of St. Mark and the Rogation Days, and the Mass and baptismal rites for the Vigil of Pentecost.

No single book contains all of the rites listed above. These rituales, most of which include musical notation to some degree, can be divided into three groups. A-KN 629 and A-KN 1021, both copied around 1330 by the same scribe,<sup>178</sup> reflect the liturgy of the men. These manuscripts are nearly identical in their shared content, except for the lack of musical notation in A-KN 1021,<sup>179</sup> and both align in their details with the ordinals reflecting the use of the men. A-KN 1022A and A-KN 1022B, on the other hand, were used on behalf of the women. The remaining books include A-KN 628, whose rubrics align with those of the women's rituales in the main but follow the usage of the men in most crucial respects, and A-KN 1209, A-KN 1210, and A-KN 1211. A-KN 1209, copied in 1550, was hastily copied and reflects the usage of the men during the Protestant phase of the priory.<sup>180</sup> A-KN 1210 and A-KN 1211, both copied in the fifteenth century, include the rites for Holy Week only.

Both A-KN 1022A and A-KN 1022B contain numerous indications that females were the objects of the priest's concerns. Both contain interlinear emendations in the prayers for the sick and dying that change their objects

<sup>178</sup> Haidinger, *Katalog* (n. 38 above), 1:180.

<sup>179</sup> A-KN 1021 is primarily a text-only manuscript. Gothic notation on lines is added in the margins and interlinearly on a number of occasions. For example, music for "Expedi nobis" for Palm Sunday is provided in the bottom margin of fol. 15v. The Kyrie of the Easter Vigil Mass is given in the top margin and between the first and second lines on fol. 58r. Unheighted neumes are also added on occasion. Fols. 54v–55r contain occasional neumes for several items of the Easter Vigil.

<sup>180</sup> On Klosterneuburg's Protestant phase, see Röhrig, "Protestantismus" (n. 31 above).

from masculine to feminine forms. The words “[hunc] famulum tuum,” for example, are given alternate suffixes that modify the phrase to “[hanc] famulam tuam.”<sup>181</sup> Other such changes include *infirmum/infirmam*,<sup>182</sup> *infirmi/infirme*, *restitutus/restituta*, *emundatus/emundata*, *salvatum/salvatam*, *liberatum/liberatam*, *donatum/donatam*,<sup>183</sup> and *eo/ea*.<sup>184</sup>

In A-KN 1022B, the participation of *sorores* is specified for several ceremonies. During the Palm Sunday procession (fol. 26r), for example, the following direction is found before the singing of the hymn “Gloria laus et honor” at the entrance to the church: “Deinde veniant duo pueri ante ecclesie stantes et cantantes hunc hymnum: 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: “veniant duo sorores aut duo pueri,” suggesting that the manuscript may have allowed multiple uses.

The blessing over the brothers/sisters in the principal chapter has also been altered in A-KN 1022B. In the canons’ rituales, A-KN 629 and A-KN 1021 (fol. 24r in both manuscripts), this reads: “Benedictio super fratres in principalibus capitulis idest in pascha domini, in pentecostes, et in nativitate domini.” In A-KN 1022B (fol. 33r), the word “fratres” has been erased and replaced with the word “sorores” and the list of feasts at which the blessing will occur has been altered: “Benedictio super sorores in principalibus capitulis idest in cena domini et aliis.” In addition, the opening prayer for the rite in A-KN 1022B (fol. 33r) reads: “Salvas fac famulas tuas,” whereas in the corresponding rite in A-KN 629 and A-KN 1021 (fol. 24r in both), it reads: “Salvos fac servos tuos.” Two modifications from “pueri” to “sorores” are indicated in the rites for Good Friday as well. On fol. 40r, the rubric for the singing of the *Improperia* reads: “Tunc pueri: Agyos o theos.” Added in the right margin is: “aut due sorores.” On fol. 41r, the rubric preceding the hymn “Crux fidelis” reads: “Sequitur ymnus.” The continuation in the margin again directs that this be sung by “duo pueri [aut] due sorores.”

To a large extent, the rubrics in A-KN 1022A and A-KN 1022B are abbreviated versions of those found in the rituales of the canons. In addition, absent in most rites is any reference to the actions of the prior, whose participation is integral to a number of ceremonies described in A-KN 629 and A-KN 1021 and in the ordinals.

<sup>181</sup> A-KN 1022A, fols. 33v, 34r, 34v, 36r, and 37r; A-KN 1022B, fols. 69v, 70r, 70v, 72v, and 73v.

<sup>182</sup> A-KN 1022A, fol. 33v and A-KN 1022B, fol. 69v.

<sup>183</sup> A-KN 1022A, fol. 34r and A-KN 1022B, fol. 70r.

<sup>184</sup> A-KN 1022A, fols. 33v, 36r, and 37r; A-KN 1022B, fols. 69v, 72v, and 73v.

For the Palm Sunday procession, the canons' rituales direct the prior to intone the verse following the singing of "Collegerunt pontifices" (CAO 1852).<sup>185</sup> In the rituales used for the canonesses, however, this description is absent, leaving only the abbreviations for antiphon and verse.<sup>186</sup> Later in the Palm Sunday procession, the men's rituales direct the prior to intone the antiphon "Scriptum est enim" (CAO 4835) at the Adoration of the Cross.<sup>187</sup> In the rituales of the women, a priest is directed to sing the antiphon.<sup>188</sup>

For the opening of the rites of Holy Thursday, the men's rituales provide explicit instructions for how the prior is to be vested and how he should move and with (and without) whom.<sup>189</sup> In the rituales used for the women, on the other hand, the direction deals with different issues altogether, omitting all references to persons, actions, and place.<sup>190</sup>

For Good Friday, the rubric in the men's rituales for the prayers between the reading of the Passion and the Adoration of the Cross direct the prior and his ministers to descend to the middle of the church.<sup>191</sup> In the rituales used for the women, the rubric specifies only that the priest should begin the prayers.<sup>192</sup> Later, during the singing of "Dum fabricator" (CAO 2453), the men's rituales specify a short ceremony involving the prior, a deacon, a subdeacon, two priests and the chorus, who sing the antiphon "Tuam

<sup>185</sup> "Cantores dicunt versum: 'Unus autem ex ipsis Cayphas nomine dum esset pontifex anni illius prophetavit dicens.' Usque illuc quod prelati imponat: 'Expedit vobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat'" (A-KN 629, fol. 15r and A-KN 1021, fol. 16v).

<sup>186</sup> A-KN 1022A, fol. 9r and A-KN 1022B, fol. 18r.

<sup>187</sup> "Tunc prelati adorans crucifixum imponent antiphonam: 'Scriptum est enim'" (A-KN 629, fol. 21v and A-KN 1021, fol. 22v). The insertion of the Adoration of the Cross into the Palm Sunday procession at Klosterneuburg is treated by Leo Schabes, "Dramatisierte liturgische Gesänge," *Musica Divina* 7 (1919): 129–32.

<sup>188</sup> "Tunc sacerdos adoret crucifixum clero cantante antiphonam: 'Scriptum est enim'" (A-KN 1022A, fol. 15r; A-KN 1022B, fol. 25r; and A-KN 628, fol. 15v).

<sup>189</sup> "Ordo in cena domini nona dicta ignis excutitur de lapide [A-KN 1021: silice] a prelo in loco foris basilica ita ut ex eo possit candela accendi. Sine choro cum ministris sollempnit indutus Benedicitur. Subtile dalmaticam chorale cappam rubeas deferentes ac palmas in manibus tenentes et benedictur ignis hoc modo: 'Oremus . . .'" (A-KN 629, fol. 26r and A-KN 1021, fol. 26v).

<sup>190</sup> "Ordo in cena domini. In cena domini hora nona quando dies longiores sunt seu hora quinta quando breviores. Facient ignem excuti de lapide in loco foris basilicam. Ita ut ex eo possit candela accendi et benedictur ignis hoc modo: 'Oremus . . .'" (A-KN 1022B, fol. 26v and A-KN 628, fols. 16v–17r).

<sup>191</sup> "Perlecta passione descendat prelati cum ministris in mediam ecclesiam" (A-KN 629, fol. 56v).

<sup>192</sup> "Perlecta passione incipiat sacerdos orationes per variis necessitatibus" (A-KN 1022B, fol. 37r).

crucem.”<sup>193</sup> This brief ceremony is omitted in the manuscripts used for the women, where “Dum fabricator” is followed directly by the hymn “CruX fidelis.”<sup>194</sup> The participation of the prior is required in the men’s rituales also for the Deposition of the Cross on Good Friday,<sup>195</sup> although not in the rituales used on behalf of the women.<sup>196</sup> A similar pattern is evident in the opening rubric for Elevation of the Cross on Easter morning. In the men’s rituales, the prior, along with his ministers, is central to the ceremony.<sup>197</sup> This is not the case for the women, however.<sup>198</sup>

While the prior does not appear to be involved in the rites of the women considered thus far, his participation is called for in A-KN 1022B for the blessing of the new fire on Holy Saturday.<sup>199</sup> The rituales of the men, on the other hand, while offering more detail on the preparations to be made, are nonspecific with respect to personnel.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>193</sup> “Interim dum hec canuntur prelatus cum dyacono et subdyacono. Deinde duo presbyteri qui crucem prodixerunt. Exinde tres ministri altaris. Deinde reliquus chorus et pacta trina genuum flectione de osculentur lignum crucis dicentes sub silentio antiphona: ‘Tuam crucem . . .’” (A-KN 629, fol. 60v and A-KN 1021, fol. 45r).

<sup>194</sup> A-KN 1022B, fol. 41r.

<sup>195</sup> “Post comunione prelatus cum ministris et clero procedant ad locum aptum ubi positum est sepulchrum portantes crucifixum” (A-KN 629, fol. 71r and A-KN 1021, fol. 46v). This rubric is found in more or less the same form in the breviaries (A-KN 61, fol. 191r and A-KN 590, fol. 296v) and in the ordinals (A-KN 635, fol. 55r; A-KN 983, fol. 63v; A-KN 1014, fol. 65r; A-KN 1213, fol. 71r). See Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin, 1976–90), 3:984–85, 988–89, 993–94, 996, 999–1000, 1003–4, and 1007–8.

<sup>196</sup> “Quando autem sepulchrum paratur cantent responsorium” (A-KN 1022B, fol. 43r).

<sup>197</sup> “In sancta nocte antiquam sonentur matutine, prelatus aliquibus sibi adiunctis corpus dominicum et crucem de sepulchri tollant cum devotione et reverentia, adolentes et aspergentes ea, ac canentes sub silencio responsorium: ‘Surrexit pastor bonus’” (A-KN 629, fol. 102r and A-KN 1021, fol. 59v). This rubric is found in more or less the same form in the breviaries (A-KN 61, fol. 192v and A-KN 590, fol. 299v) and in the ordinals (A-KN 635, fol. 57r; A-KN 983, fol. 66v; A-KN 1014, fol. 68r; A-KN 1213, fol. 82v). See Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern*, 3:985–86, 989, 993–94, 996–97, 1000–1001, 1004–5, and 1009. Modified versions of this ceremony are found in manuscripts from the late sixteenth century (A-KNa HS 191, fol. 51r–v; A-KN 1026A, fol. 40r; A-KN 1209, fols. 92v–94v; A-H 180, fol. 33v; A-Wn lat. 15078, fol. 26r–v).

<sup>198</sup> “Ad visitandum sepulchrum domini ante matutinas crux [corpus *in margin above*] tollant cum summa devocione et reverencia, adoleatur et aspergatur ac cantetur sub silencio hoc Responsorium: ‘Surrexit pastor bonus’” (A-KN 1022B, fol. 63r).

<sup>199</sup> “Sabbato sancto pasche. Prelatus sive sacerdos cum ministris induti sollempnissimus vestimentis procedant ad benedicendum igne. Prosequente se clero et interim vii psalmam cantate” (A-KN 1022B, fol. 46r–v). A-KN 628, fol. 45r also contains this rubric, although it substitutes “presbyteri” for “prelatus.”

<sup>200</sup> “Sabbato sancto pasche. Hac die primo mane ornetur ecclesia omnibus ornamentis et incensilibus suis et parentur ad baptismum omnia et ad divinum officium neccesaria.

Finally, the setting for the *Visitatio sepulchri* in A-KN 1022B, as noted above, provides musical notation only for those items sung by the priest and his assistants: lines sung by the cleric portraying the angel and by those portraying the apostles. All other items, those sung by the chorus and by the Marys, are given as text only, with no space provided for music (see the discussion of the *Visitatio sepulchri* above, pp. 96–104).

### *Other Evidence for Women's Usage*

Several manuscripts offer additional evidence supporting their association with, and their use by, women religious. Such evidence includes the presence of inhabited initials featuring canonesses and the use of rubrics in the vernacular.

Two manuscripts include inhabited initials that prominently feature canonesses at prayer. The best known is that opening the fourteenth-century gradual, A-KN 588, fol. 4r, which shows a canoness praying to the Virgin and Child. A similar, and nearly contemporary, initial is found at the beginning of the Office of the Finding of St. Stephen inserted into the fourteenth-century hymnal, A-KN 1004, fol. 109r, which shows a praying canoness flanked by dragons.

Several manuscripts contain rubrics in German. While the use of the vernacular in liturgical manuscripts often suggests female usage, such is not always the case.<sup>201</sup> For manuscripts that already bear the women's imprint, though, the use of the vernacular is generally supportive. The breviary pair, A-KN 991 and A-KN 982, use German rubrics throughout, while the breviary A-KN 1200 uses German rubrics in the psalter and in the additions that conclude the manuscript. Similarly, the liturgical miscellany, A-KN 1190, includes German rubrics for the Minor Vigil and for many of the prayers that follow. Among the hymnals, A-KN 997, A-KN 1003, and A-KN 1004 use German rubrics throughout, while A-KN 1001 uses occasional German rubrics intermixed with Latin. Most of the antiphoners, on the other hand, use Latin rubrics, although German rubrics

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Hora nona dato signo convenient ministri altaris et parent se vestimentis sollempnibus. Dictaque nona procedant ad ignem excussum ex filice palmas in manibus tenentes. Septem psalmam canentes et cruce et aqua benedicta et incenso et benedicat ignem humili voce incipiens 'Dominus vobiscum'" (A-KN 629, fol. 72v and A-KN 1021, fol. 49r).

<sup>201</sup> Several manuscripts from Klosterneuburg intended for male use in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also include German rubrics. Both A-KN 1210 and A-KN 1211, which contain the music for the rites of Holy Week, include rubrics in German. The three late sixteenth-century ordinals (A-KNa HS 191, A-KN 1026A, and A-Wn 15078) also employ German rubrics throughout. The earliest of these ordinals was, according to Schabes (*Alte liturgische Gebräuche* [n. 34 above], 12), likely intended for use by a lay sacristan.

are sometimes added. A hymn for St. Catherine appended to the twelfth-century antiphoner A-KN 1012 bears the rubric, “von sand katren der ym” (fol. 151v). Similarly, the rubrics in the fourteenth-century antiphoner A-KN 1015 include a single German rubric before the added Office of Corpus Christi: “Von unsers herren leichnamen” (fol. 181r). A-KN 1018, also from the fourteenth century, includes a single German rubric added following the Office of St. Matthew (fol. 131v): “Die anyphen un’ die respons von den vir ewangelisten und die salm von den zwelfpoten.” A-KN 589 contains the following amusing couplet in the top margin of the second Invitatory tone (fol. 158v): “In die [erasure] chinder / drei chelben und ein chue sind vier rinder.”

Finally, A-KN 1007, a fifteenth-century antiphoner containing the late-medieval Offices for the Visitation of Mary, St. Anna, and St. Dorothy uses German rubrics throughout, while the processions, A-KN 995 and A-KN 1006, mix both German and Latin rubrics: “Nach dem mandat” (A-KN 995, fol. 20r), “Auffarttag/Auffart Tag” (A-KN 995, fol. 24r and A-KN 1006, fol. 32r) and “Phingst/Pfingsttag” (A-KN 995, fol. 25r and A-KN 1006, fol. 32v). The procession A-KN 1005 also includes German for the rubrics for the Marian feasts between Christmas and the Purification of Mary: “Das ist dy rubrichen von unser lieben frawen nach weinachten auf dy lichtmess” (fol. 55v), and between Easter and Ascension: “Das ist dye rubrichen von unser lieben frawn nach den Ostern und auf dem Auffarttag” (fol. 58v).

### *Summary*

Twenty-five manuscripts containing the texts and music for the celebration of the Divine Office and the processions to Mass can be linked with the canonesses of Klosterneuburg (see Table 2). Two of the manuscripts can be tied to the women directly: the hymnal, A-KN 1000, and the breviary, A-KN 982, both from the fourteenth century. A-KN 1000, copied in 1336 either by or for the canoness Geisle Ruedwein, contains a repertory of hymns that is distinct from that found in the men’s hymnals and the men’s breviaries and ordinals. This repertory of hymns is present also in six additional hymnals from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that share with A-KN 1000 a distinctive form of musical notation.

This distinct repertory of hymns is reflected in a group of eight antiphoners, dating from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, and these share the same distinctive form of musical notation as the hymnals, along with a common set of manuscript additions. The antiphoners, moreover, display a liturgical ordering that is clearly different from that of the men’s manuscripts. In particular, the Offices of St. Benedict, the Conver-



sion of St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalene, the Assumption of Mary, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, St. Catherine, and the Office of the Dead are uniquely configured in these antiphoners. Other features are similarly differentiable, particularly the musical setting of the *Visitatio sepulchri*.

The fourteenth-century breviary, A-KN 982, whose colophon ties it to the women of Klosterneuburg, is the second in a pair of manuscripts whose insertions and additions reflect many of the hymns and Offices that characterized the hymnals and antiphoners. The unique hymn repertory of the hymnals and antiphoners is reflected also in a composite breviary from the fourteenth century, A-KN 1200, which contains also the same order for the Offices of St. Mary Magdalene, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and the Assumption of Mary as found in the antiphoners.

Three processions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be associated with the women as well, although the evidence for the association is not so direct. The processions contain a repertory that, like that of the antiphoners and hymnals, is uniquely configured when compared to the processions found in the men's manuscripts, and the earlier of these manuscripts employs the same form of musical notation found in the hymnals and antiphoners. While it would be tempting to assign these manuscripts to the women based on these parallels alone, it is the placement of the procession for the Dedication of the Church that establishes the connection between these manuscripts and Klosterneuburg's women. In the processionals, the procession for the Dedication of the Church is placed between the feasts of the Finding of St. Stephen (3 August) and St. Afra (7 August), which matches the date given for this feast at the women's church specified in several late sixteenth-century manuscripts (the Sunday following the Finding of St. Stephen) and confirmed by several fifteenth-century sermons.

Finally, the Klosterneuburg library contains two fourteenth-century rituales that were used by a priest on behalf of the women. While the texts and prayers found in these manuscripts appear to have been copied from the liturgy of the canons, the emendations of the prayers for the sick and dying from masculine to feminine forms and the explicit references to *sorores* in the rites for Holy Week show that these books were ultimately intended for use in the women's church at Klosterneuburg. Further confirmation is provided by the unique arrangement of texts in the *Visitatio sepulchri*, where music is given for the clerics representing the angel and the apostles but not for the Marys or the chorus, reversing the pattern found in the earliest of Klosterneuburg's manuscripts, the antiphoner A-KN 1013.

## WOMEN'S LITURGICAL PRACTICE

*A Women's Liturgy*

While large swaths of the Klosterneuburg liturgy remained consistent between the men and women, the evidence offered by the women's manuscripts reveals that the women of Klosterneuburg threaded their own way through the liturgical year. Indeed, as Robert Klugseder also observed, the liturgy of the canonesses stood apart both from that of the canons to whom they were nominally subservient and from that of the diocese of Passau. The Klosterneuburg women maintained their own cycle of hymns, some of which remain unknown outside of their own cloister. They maintained their own version of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, and their liturgical manuscripts used a distinctive form of musical notation. They also charted their own course through their celebration of the saints. The Offices of the Conversion of St. Paul and St. Mary Magdalene, both commemorating sinners who turned toward Christ, came to play a special role for Klosterneuburg's women. The arrangement of the Matins responsories for both Offices, in fact, is unique, unknown beyond the women's manuscripts.<sup>202</sup> Also held in esteem were St. Benedict, the author of the common life, St. Catherine, virgin, martyr, and patroness of young women and scholars, and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne.

The control that the women had over their liturgical practice is borne out by the changes undergone by that liturgy over time, changes that are particularly evident in the Offices they honored most and which were most at variance with the Offices as celebrated by the men. The Office of St. Mary Magdalene, who would be identified in later years as the patroness of the women's church (see below, pp. 131–32), shows substantial changes between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (see Table 7), as does the Office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, which saw an even more pronounced change (see Table 10). Similar, although less extensive, alterations are evident in the Office of the Dead (Minor Vigil — see Table 12b), the Office of the Conversion of St. Paul (see Table 6), and in the Marian antiphons that follow the Assumption in the women's antiphoners and breviaries (see Table 9b).<sup>203</sup>

The alterations in the *Visitatio sepulchri* are even more pronounced. The distinctiveness of the *Visitatio sepulchri* found in the twelfth-century antiphoner A-KN 1013 has generally been taken as evidence placing this manuscript outside of the liturgical orbit of Klosterneuburg. However, this

<sup>202</sup> Klugseder, "Studien" (n. 7 above), 36 and 38.

<sup>203</sup> Further differences between the twelfth- and fourteenth-century antiphoners are documented by Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners" (n. 4 above), 126–50.

manuscript is connected to the other antiphoners in its setting of the Office of St. Benedict and the Office of the Conversion of St. Paul, the latter Office uniquely configured in the antiphoners under consideration here. This manuscript also bears similarities to one of the later antiphoners for the canonesses at Klosterneuburg, A-KN 1011. The text of the *Visitatio sepulchri* in A-KN 1013 was certainly of Swabian origin, and its provision of music for only the non-clerical roles suggests that it was intended for a women's house. Thus, A-KN 1013 can be linked to the usage of the women of Klosterneuburg, while its unusual features might help us understand aspects of the origins of the women's practice. The settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* found among the fourteenth-century antiphoners, moreover, also show Swabian influence, specifically that of Hirsau, although the main body of the ceremony derives from that used at the cathedral of Salzburg. Interestingly enough, even though the texts of the *Visitatio sepulchri* found in the fourteenth-century manuscripts for both men and women are nearly identical, the melodies of the women's settings are different enough from those of the men to confirm the extent to which the women maintained control over their own liturgical practice.

The distinctiveness of the women's liturgy is further marked by the musical notation with which its music was copied. As one of the earliest forms of notation to use the Guidonian system of pitches on lines within German-speaking Europe, this oft-called "Klosterneuburg Notation" combines elements of what have variously been called Messine, Lotharingian, or Laon neumes<sup>204</sup> with characteristics of German neumes and, so far as complete manuscripts are concerned, is largely restricted to liturgical manuscripts housed in the library at Klosterneuburg, along with a single manuscript now in the Universitätsbibliothek in Graz (A-Gu 807).<sup>205</sup> While fragments

<sup>204</sup> "Messine" was the term used by most early scholars. Solange Corbin ("Neumatic notations, IV, 4: Western Europe – Lorraine," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. [London, 1980], 13:137) proposed the label "Lorraine" or "Lotharingian," as this more closely represented the area where the notation is first found. David Hiley (*Western Plainchant: A Handbook* [Oxford, 1993], 349) proposed the label "Laon" after the earliest witness (F-LA 239). The technical details of this notation have been extensively treated by others and are not treated here. With regard to A-Gu 807 in particular, see Jacques Froger, *Le Graduel* (n. 4 above), esp. 32\*–35\* and Heinrich Rumphorst, "Handschrift A-Gu 807 (Klosterneuburg)," *Beiträge zur Gregorianik* 31 (2001): 79–109. The notation in the Klosterneuburg antiphoners is treated by Lacoste, "The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners," 95–117. Other discussions can be found in Janka Szendrei, "Linienschriften des zwölften Jahrhunderts auf süddeutschem Gebiet," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting – Pécs, Hungary* (Pécs, 1992), 17–30 and Engels, "Die Notation" (n. 4 above).

<sup>205</sup> The twelfth-century graduale A-Gu 807 has spawned much discussion, speculation, and controversy over the last century. It is impractical to confront its many issues here,

and sections of manuscripts containing similar notational features have also survived,<sup>206</sup> their connection to the Klosterneuburg and Graz manuscripts was, until recently, not clear. For Jacques Froger in 1974, the difference between the notation found in the Klosterneuburg and Graz manuscripts and the disparate fragments and manuscript sections known to him was enough to discount any direct relationship.<sup>207</sup> More recently, Robert Klugseder has offered a compelling argument for a more direct connection between the notation used in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts and a much expanded list of related fragments and manuscript sections, most of which originated at the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg and at the monasteries of Ottobeuren and Wessobrunn.<sup>208</sup> The relationship is strong enough that the label “Augsburg/Klosterneuburg” seems appropriate as a descriptor for this uniquely configured notational style, after its likely point of origin and the center of its most sustained use.

While not native to Klosterneuburg, the new pitch notation became the notation of choice for manuscripts destined for use by the women of Klosterneuburg. It was used in the hymnals, which can be directly connected to the women by the colophon in A-KN 1000, and it was used in the antiphoners, which can be tied to the hymnals on the basis of their shared hymn repertory and a common set of manuscript additions. It was used also in one of the processionals, which can be tied to the women by its placement of the procession for the Dedication of the Church. All three groupings of manuscripts, moreover — the hymnals, the antiphoners, and the processionals — are differentiated from those of the men by the distinctive cast of the liturgy expressed within them.

We know little of the musical education received by women in religious houses, and, aside from the intriguing use of solfège in the *seculorum amen*

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and we hope to deal with these in a subsequent study. The bibliography is long, although summaries are provided by Michel Huglo, “Bilan de 50 années” (n. 72 above), 224–59 and Michel Huglo and Barbara Hagg, “Notes sur l’origine du Graduel de Graz, UB 807,” *Dies est leticie: Essays on Chant for Janka Szendrei*, ed. David Hiley and Gábor Kiss (Ottawa, 2008), 295–305. The most thorough study of the manuscript is that by Jacques Froger, *Le Graduel*.

<sup>206</sup> Lists of fragments containing musical notation similar to that found in the Klosterneuburg manuscripts are provided by Froger, *Le Graduel*, 34\*–35\* and Lacoste, “The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners,” 104–5. Facsimiles for several of these examples are provided by Janka Szendrei, “Linienschriften,” 19 and 23–25. Additional fragments were located by Robert Klugseder, and many of these are provided as computer image files on the CD accompanying his published dissertation, *Quellen des gregorianischen Choralen für das Ofizium aus dem Kloster St. Ulrich und Afra Augsburg*, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte 5, ed. Wolfgang Horn and David Hiley (Tutzing, 2008). The complete list of fragments is given as “Anhang 2” (pp. 218–20).

<sup>207</sup> Froger, *Le Graduel*, 34\*–35\*.

<sup>208</sup> Klugseder, *Quellen*, 68–69 and 71–76.

syllables for the antiphons “Hec est botrum paritura” (CANTUS 202073) and “Vinea quondam sterilis Deo” (CANTUS 205207) in the fifteenth-century processional A-KN 1006 (fol. 79r), we know even less of how the women of Klosterneuburg in particular were taught.<sup>209</sup> We do know, however, that the musical notation used by the canonesses was likely distinct from that of the canons from the start. While the women used a form of notation that indicated precise pitches, the canons, like their brethren throughout most of German-speaking Europe, held to the use of unheighted German neumes long after such notational habits had been abandoned elsewhere. As late as the early fourteenth century, the liturgical manuscripts of the canons attest to their continuing lack of interest in the sort of pitch notation employed by the canonesses.<sup>210</sup> Indeed, it was not until the third decade of the fourteenth century that the canons of Klosterneuburg converted to pitch notation, and even then to a form of notation quite unlike that to which the canonesses had long been accustomed.<sup>211</sup> The embrace by the

<sup>209</sup> The Klosterneuburg women did maintain a school for girls, although the nature of the education provided is not known. Several recent studies treating education in general and music education in particular within other female communities might shed some light on the practice of the Klosterneuburg women. The education of girls at the Benedictine convent at Ebstorf, for example, is treated in Eva Schlotheuber, “Ebstorf und seine Schülerinnen in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Eva Schlotheuber, Falk Eisenmann, and Volker Honemman, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 99 (Leiden, 2004), 169–221. A late-medieval music treatise from Ebsdorf is treated by Karl-Werner Gümpel, “A Didactic Music Treatise from the Late Middle Ages: Ebstorf, Klosterarchiv, MS V,3,” in *Music in the Theater, Church, and Villa: Essays in Honor of R. L. Weaver and N. W. Weaver*, ed. S. Parisi (Sterling Heights, MI, 2000), 51–64. The musical education of girls in English convents is treated by Anne B. Yardley, “The Music Education of Girls in Medieval English Nunneries,” in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge, UK, 2008), 49–67. The music education for women and girls in more recent monastic practice is treated in several recent studies: Colleen Reardon, “Cantando tutte insieme: Training Girl Singers in Early Modern Sieneese Convents,” *ibid.*, 195–215; Cynthia J. Cyrus, “The Educational Practices of Benedictine Nuns: A Salzburg Abbey Case Study,” in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Russell A. Murray, Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington, IN, 2010), 249–61; and Colleen Baade, “Nun Musicians as Teachers and Students in Early Modern Spain,” *ibid.*, 262–83. While she does not talk of the musical education of nuns per se, Yardley (*Performing Piety* [n. 10 above], 73–94) does discuss the necessity of musical literacy for nuns and some of the problems that could result from its absence.

<sup>210</sup> For example, A-KN 73 (late 13th-century gradual) and A-KN 628 (ca. 1330 rituale).

<sup>211</sup> A-KN 629, another rituale copied ca. 1330, is the earliest of the canons’ manuscripts to use pitch notation. It uses a form of Bohemian notation written by a scribe familiar with mensural notational practices. On the notation used in A-KN 629 and A-KN 1022B, see Heinz Ristory, “Die Handschrift MS 629: Ein früher Quellenbeleg für

canonesses of pitch notation at such an early date may well have resulted from an attempt on their part, or that of their sponsors, to compensate for shortcomings in their musical education. Indeed, if the necrologies are any guide, the women's cloister may well have included many women who were not educated within its walls,<sup>212</sup> and the use of pitch notation would not only have enabled these women to circumvent whatever deficiencies in musical training they may have faced, it would also have greatly enhanced their ability to fulfill their liturgical obligations in a manner that could equal their aspirations.

### *Intersection of Men's and Women's Liturgy*

The celebration of the Divine Office by the canonesses was largely self-contained. The custom of strict segregation of male and female religious suggests that, even in a double house like Klosterneuburg, the ideal would be to have the women's observance operate as independently as possible. Indeed, most ceremonies have little need for a priest or other clerics. However, there were a number of instances where the liturgy of the women and the liturgy of the men intersected. A priest was required for Mass, which the canonesses celebrated on the major feast days at the very least, and the reform statutes of 1419 stipulated that a canon should preach to the women regularly, in the vernacular, so that they might receive instruction in piety, prayer, and contemplation.<sup>213</sup> Other contacts between the women and their male confessors occurred at the boundaries in the life of a canoness: at their entry into the cloister with the rite of profession (which took place in the men's church) and at the end of life, when the rites for the sick and dying were performed.<sup>214</sup> Priests and their attendants were also required for special customs detailed in the rituales, particularly those of Holy Week. Most importantly, the women interacted with the men to cel-

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Partialmensuration?" *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 14 (1992), 131–41 and Engels, "Die Notation," 50–51.

<sup>212</sup> Most are listed as *conversa, soror nostra*. See n. 102 above.

<sup>213</sup> The full text of the *Charta visitationis* of 1419 is given in Anton Schmidgruber, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Klosterneuburgs in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1951), 98–127. Portions of the document are translated into German by Davy, "Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen" (n. 2 above), 40–42 (after Leyrer, "De Monialibus" [n. 2 above], fols. 135v–137v).

<sup>214</sup> The rite of profession is given in A-KN 629, fols. 158v–160v. As in the rites of the sick and dying in A-KN1022A and A-KN1022B, word endings have been altered to accommodate females. The statement of profession is given in German and is the same as that required for lay brothers and lay sisters (fol. 160r). The rites for the sick and dying are found in A-KN 1022A, fols. 30r–43v and A-KN 1022B, fols. 66r–74v. See the discussion on rituales above, pp. 114–19.



ehbrate the common life of the Klosterneuburg priory, particularly in liturgical processions.

The details of this interaction between the men and the women, though, remain tantalizingly out of reach. Understanding how these rites were celebrated requires first understanding the nature of the enclosure within which the canonesses were confined, and on this we can do little more than speculate. The physical remains of the women's spaces have been obscured in subsequent rebuilding, and very little of the church interior can be reconstructed. Some women's churches featured substantial choir screens or elaborately enclosed choir stalls to separate nuns from the male priests that served them.<sup>215</sup> At Klosterneuburg, among vague records of financial outlay that cover only some years, there are records of payments for unspecified structures in the *Frawnkloster*, and in 1452, construction of *peichtstuelen*.<sup>216</sup> In the absence of other evidence, it seems most likely that the double-aisled space of the church was relatively open, allowing for direct — if discreet — interaction between the officiating priests and the women when necessary.

Both the quantity and quality of male-female interaction within the cloister changed over the centuries. Many of the documents that attest to relations between canons and canonesses stem from outside intervention in the affairs of Klosterneuburg. Reform statutes of 1301 not only curbed the personal abuse of authority by Prior Hadmar, but also sought to regularize and balance the life of the chapter generally. In this context, specific reforms were directed toward the women, including a very early application of Pope Boniface VIII's 1298 pronouncement *Pericoloso* requiring the strict enclosure of nuns of every order.<sup>217</sup> Evidence after 1324 refers to the layout

<sup>215</sup> On the interior configuration of women's churches during the Middle Ages see Jeffrey Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta* 31 (1992): 108–34. More recent entries include Jeffrey Hamburger, Petra Marx, and Susan Marti, "The Time of the Orders, 1200–1500: An Introduction," in *Crown and Veil* (n. 10 above), 41–75 and Carola Jäggi and Uwe Lobbedey, "Church and Cloister: The Architecture of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages," in *ibid.*, 109–31.

<sup>216</sup> Röhrig, "Das kunstgeschichtliche Material" (n. 19 above), 166: "Item im frawnkloster zu den peichtstuelen sind gangen zumachen 11 tagw. Per 16 facit 5 sol. 26 den" (A-KNa Rechnungsbuch 4/1, fol. 38r) and "Item die peichtstül im frawnkloster zu belahen 8 pentl., rigl und ringl etc. facit 5 sol." (A-KNa Rechnungsbuch 4/1, fol. 38v).

<sup>217</sup> On the history and aftermath of *Pericoloso*, see Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Pericoloso and Its Commentators, 1287–1545* (Washington, DC, 1997). The 1301 document reads in part: "Relying especially on the apostolic mandate included in the body of law, we direct, and in this we are advising very strictly, that this same Cloister of Holy Nuns be perpetually enclosed" ("Innitentes eciam mandato apostolico in corpore iuris clauso mandamus, eciam districte precipimus, vt idem Claustrum sanctimonialium in continua sit clausura"). The 1301 statute is given by Zeibig,



of the newly built church, which probably occupied much the same space as the earlier buildings, but whose construction and plan would presumably have addressed more recent concerns. Subsequent documents, including the extensive reform legislation of 1419, continued to address concerns about proper and improper mingling of men and women religious. These documents suggest not only that there were gaps between ideal behavior and actual performance, but also that there were changing expectations about how male and female religious should behave together. Communal practices that were perfectly respectable for twelfth-century Augustinian canonesses seemed more problematic for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century religious women.

The processions specified for Klosterneuburg's canons were often directed to other churches or chapels, and on the most important liturgical occasions the destination was the women's church ("ad dominas" or "ad monasterium monialium").<sup>218</sup> These included the processions for Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Assumption of Mary, and the Nativity of Mary. In each case, a responsory from the Office of Mary Magdalene was sung upon the canons' arrival at the women's church (see Table 13b). In A-KN 1014, copied around 1500, the rubrics specify further that during the procession for Easter the canonesses were to sing the verse for the Magdalene responsory, to which the prior should respond with another verse.<sup>219</sup> Precisely how this exchange occurred, though, is not clear, since

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*Urkundenbuch* (n. 2 above), 1:68–72. This requirement was reinforced in another statute six years later. The 1307 statute is given *ibid.*, 106–7.

<sup>218</sup> Other destinations included the chapel of St. Kunigund ("ad sanctam Chunigunden"), which was attached to the Stiftsspital, and the "capella speciosa" (often just "ad capellam" or "ad capellam pulchram"), which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Consecrated in 1222, the "capella speciosa" was one of the first Gothic structures in Austria. Built by Duke Leopold VI with money that his father had received from the ransom of Richard the Lionhearted, it was deconsecrated in 1787 and dismantled in 1799. Its stones were reused for the imperial Schloss Laxenburg and its chancel removed to the Wolfgangkirche in Kirchberg am Wechsel (Ulrike Seeger, *Zisterzienser und Gotikrezeption: Die Bautätigkeit des Babenbergers Leopold VI. in Lilienfeld und Klosterneuburg* [Munich, 1997], 116–66). See also Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (New Haven, 2000), 41–42. On the dismantling of the chapel and its later reuse, see Schabes, *Alle liturgische Gebräuche* (n. 34 above), 35–36.

<sup>219</sup> Specifically, the canons are directed to sing the respond "Vidit Maria duos angelos" (CAO 7885a) as they reach the entrance to (or enter) the women's church, and the canonesses sing its verse ("Dicit eis quia"). The prior then sings the verse "Dimissa sunt" with its Alleluia. Both "Vidit Maria" and "Dimissa sunt" are drawn from the Office of St. Mary Magdalene. "Vidit Maria" is taken from Matins, sung during the second Nocturn of the canons' Office and the third Nocturn of the earliest of the women's Offices (A-KN 1012). It is included among the additional responsories for Matins in the later women's antiphoners (A-KN 1018 and A-KN 589). "Dimissa sunt" is the verse to the

we know little of the layout of the women's spaces. In 1301, the statutes direct: "And no one should enter the nuns' cloister, unless it be to say Mass, or approach the window in that quarter, unless it be for an honorable purpose, and in the company of appropriate chaperones" ("vel ad fenestram ibidem accedere presumat nisi ex honesta causa, personis ydoneis sociatus"). The logistics of the performance of the responsory suggest that the men may well have entered the women's church, although the call and response may have taken place through the traditional *Sprechfenster*.

On at least one occasion during the year, the women left their church and processed to that of the men. The visitation document from 1301 complains that the canonesses at Klosterneuburg were taking part in processions outside of their church, a practice that the visitors found troubling and therefore prohibited.<sup>220</sup> However, this injunction appears to have had little effect. In a letter addressed to the prior of Klosterneuburg over a century later, the unnamed writer noted with obvious disapproval that the women were still processing to the men's church for the feast of the Nativity of Mary (the patronymic for the church of the canons) in violation of the earlier ruling.<sup>221</sup> The letter indicates also that the women sang Mass in the men's church on that day, but the logistics of the ceremony are unclear. There is no indication of any special gallery or cloistered area set aside for them in the main church, which also served the parish.

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responsory "Accessit ad pedes Jesu" (CAO 6016), which is sung during Vespers in both the liturgy of the canons and that of the canonesses (see Table 7). It is unclear whether the specification for the interactions within the women's church found in the Easter procession held generally. The rubrics for the processions to the women's church later in the year do not include this level of detail. However, the details for the Easter procession may well have served as a template for those that followed.

<sup>220</sup> Zeibig, *Urkundenbuch* 1:68–72. Probably due to this prohibition, the processions given in the ordinals and breviaries, the earliest of which was copied in the first part of the fourteenth century, give alternate destinations for the procession for the feast of the Nativity of Mary (8 September). The canons are directed either to the women's church ("ad dominas" or "ad mulieres") or to the "capella speciosa" ("ad capellam" or "ad capellam pulchram"). Alternate responsories are also provided. If the procession goes to the women's church, the antiphon "Maria plorans" (CAO 7129, from the Office of Mary Magdalene) is sung. If the procession goes to the *capella*, the responsory "Internatos mulierum" (CAO 6979, from the Office of John the Baptist) is sung. A-KN 590, fol. 395r–v; A-KN 1213, fol. 176r–v; A-KN 635, fol. 110v; A-KN 983, fol. 135r–v; A-KN 1014, fol. 115r (see Table 12b).

<sup>221</sup> Zeibig, *Urkundenbuch*, 1:72. "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 gloriose 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." The letter is preserved in A-KNa K230 no. 56 fol. 272v N. R.

One of the most remarkable testimonies to the shared religious community of the canons and canonesses at Klosterneuburg is the rite surrounding funerals. On the morning of a funeral, the body of the dead canon or canoness was carried from the main church, where a vigil had been kept, to the church of the women, where the *Missa pro defunctis* was heard.<sup>222</sup> The body was then carried in procession to the men's church, where the funeral Mass was celebrated by the prior and his ministers.<sup>223</sup> The funeral procession to the women's church ended early in the fifteenth century in the wake of new rules following the Council of Constance. The *Charta visitationis* of 1419 expressly prohibited the practice,<sup>224</sup> and in a brief set of statutes written around 1420, all references to the women are gone, with the women's singing of the *Missa pro defunctis* replaced by the singing of the Major Vigil by the canons.<sup>225</sup>

Among the most important annual rites that brought priests and canonesses together were those of Holy Week, in particular the distribution of the palms on Palm Sunday, the *Mandatum* of Holy Thursday, the Adoration and Deposition of the Cross on Good Friday, the Easter Vigil of Holy Saturday, and the *Visitatio sepulchri* of Easter Sunday. The Adoration of the Cross, as given in A-KN 1022B, required the women's participation in the singing of the *Improperia*, the singing of "Dum fabricator,"<sup>226</sup> and the singing of "Crux fidelis," but the physical actions of the canonesses were not specified. The rubrics of the Adoration called only for the participation of the clerics and the people as the chorus sang, and whether the women played the role of the people or whether lay women were present is unclear.

The women also seem to have participated directly in the *Visitatio sepulchri*. The voices of the angel and the apostles were male, and these clerics had direct access to whatever structure was used to represent the sepulcher. The voices of the Marys and the chorus, on the other hand, were female. Depending on what barriers might have distanced the women from the officiating priests, the question "Quem queritis" and its response "Jesum Nazarenum" would have taken on a particular poignancy. The

<sup>222</sup> "Mane facto post Salve Regina cum funere ad dominas vadant, missam pro defuncto audiant" (A-KN 629, fol. 135v; A-KN 1021, fol. 86r; A-KN 635, fol. 113r). The word *audiant* is from the perspective of the men, which suggests that the chants were sung by the women. See also Schabes, *Alle liturgische Gebräuche*, 79.

<sup>223</sup> A-KN 629, fol. 136r; A-KN 1021, fol. 86r; A-KN 635, fol. 113v (*ibid.*, 80).

<sup>224</sup> On the *Charta visitationis* of 1419, see n. 213 above.

<sup>225</sup> The new procedure is reflected in A-KN 58, fols. 35v–36r (ca. 1420 customary). See also Schabes, *Alle liturgische Gebräuche*, 79.

<sup>226</sup> "Dum fabricator" is provided neither music nor space for music, which generally indicates that the item was to be sung by the women (A-KN 1022B, fol. 41r).

women might have been able to gaze into the empty sepulcher, but like Mary Magdalene herself, they were unable to touch the risen Christ.

Despite successive attempts to reform and restrict the liturgical field for women, the canonesses of Klosterneuburg managed to maintain some degree of independence and freedom in their liturgical observance. Like the women of Barking and Essen, they took active roles in the participatory rites outlined in the rituales.<sup>227</sup> The canonesses controlled the content and structure of their liturgical *ordo*, interacted with the canons in processions, and hosted part of the funeral rite offered for canons. Even with so many gaps in our evidence, we can still appreciate the liveliness of their active piety.

### *Issues Resolved and Not*

The liturgical manuscripts of the canonesses of Klosterneuburg have revealed much about the women's practice that was previously unsettled and have clarified a number of questions that have long proved troublesome. Issues about the women's church that we can now address with more confidence include the date of the celebration of its dedication, its patron, and the special focal points of liturgical veneration in its space. And we are now closer to answering the questions about the origins of this unique liturgical practice.

The date for the celebration of the dedication of the women's church, considered by most students of Klosterneuburg's liturgical manuscripts to be unknown and even unknowable, is now firm: the Sunday following the feast of the Finding of St. Stephen (between 4 and 10 August). This date, first specified in 1573, can be pushed back to the fourteenth century based on the placement of the feast's procession in a fourteenth-century processional (A-KN 995). Since this date does not correspond to the date on which the new women's church was consecrated in 1324 (23 September), it is likely that this celebration was associated with the consecration of the original church.

The saint to whom the church was dedicated has also proven problematic, but information gleaned both from the women's antiphoners and the

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<sup>227</sup> The ordinals for the women at Essen and at Barking, for example, offer numerous examples where the nuns and the clerics upon whom they depended interacted, particularly in processions and in the rites of Holy Week. On the Essen and Barking ordinals, see nn. 142 and 143 above. See also the discussion of processions in Yardley, *Performing Piety* (n. 10 above), 113–58. Since both houses were houses for royal women led by an abbess rather than part of a double house under the titular control of the *custos dominarum*, it is difficult to know to what extent customs for the women of Klosterneuburg can be extrapolated from those of the royal convents.

men's processions allows us to push the church's association with Mary Magdalene back at least to the fourteenth century and perhaps even to the twelfth. While most recent studies have held the dedication of the women's church to St. Mary Magdalene as all but certain, the earliest documented reference directly naming it so dates only from 1492.<sup>228</sup> Prior to that, references were general: "monasterium monialium [or "sanctimonialium"] in Newnburga," "claustrum dominarum in Newnburga," "das Frauenkloster," and sometimes simply "apud sorores," with no specific reference to the church's patron or patroness.<sup>229</sup>

In the processions of the canons, however, the entrance to the women's church was accompanied by a responsory from the Office of St. Mary Magdalene (see Table 13b). Since it was the practice of Klosterneuburg's canons, when processing to another church or chapel, to sing upon their arrival a responsory associated with the saint to whom the church or chapel was dedicated, we can deduce an association with this saint at least in the fourteenth century.<sup>230</sup> In further support of the association of Mary Magdalene with the women's church are the unique settings for the Office of St. Mary Magdalene from both the twelfth- and fourteenth-century women's antiphoners, including a hymn for Matins that is unknown outside of Klosterneuburg. The Magdalene Matins also ends with a series of unassigned responsories, signaling the significance of this particular Office in the liturgical life of Klosterneuburg's women (see Table 7).

As the women's liturgical practice comes into focus, it is now possible also to consider the disposition of altars in the women's church. The 1568 inventory for the women's church at Klosterneuburg, made after the death of the last canoness, suggests the presence of five altars, although these

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<sup>228</sup> The earliest notice associating the women's church at Klosterneuburg with Mary Magdalene is an account book entry from 1492: "Item de constructione sarcophagi quo ad sacramentum Corporis Christi dedi virginibus ad Sanctam Mariam Magdalenam 3 tal. 7 sol" (A-KNa Rechnungsbuch 5/6, fol. 8v [cited in Röhrig, "Das kunstgeschichtliche Material" (n. 19 above), 175]). The association, though, likely goes back to the mid-twelfth century, if not to the foundation of the church itself. On the problems associated with the association of the women's church with St. Mary Magdalene, see Davy, "Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen" (n. 2 above), 37–38. See the discussion of Mary Magdalene as patron in the treatment of women's liturgical practice below.

<sup>229</sup> Starzer, *Geschichte* (n. 2 above), 389. It was this state of affairs that likely prompted Richard Perger to assert the association of the women's church with the Virgin rather than Mary Magdalene ("Klosterneuburg im Mittelalter," in *Klosterneuburg: Geschichte und Kultur*, vol. 1, *Die Stadt*, ed. Floridus Röhrig [Klosterneuburg, 1993], 186).

<sup>230</sup> Similarly, when processing to the "capella speciosa," which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the canons sang a responsory from the Office of St. John the Baptist. See the procession for the Nativity of Mary in Table 12b. The canons also processed to the "capella speciosa" for the feast of St. John the Baptist on 24 June.

are not enumerated.<sup>231</sup> An *Ordinationes chori* (A-Wn lat. 15078) from 1594, moreover, provides a list of altars that were blessed at the church at Klosterneuburg, a list that ends with five altars for which Schabes was unable to account:<sup>232</sup>

“Trium regum”  
 “Decollatio S. Johannis Baptisti”  
 “B. M. Magdalena et S. Pauli”  
 “Salutiferae passionis D. n. J. Chr.”  
 “S. Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistae”

These five altars likely belonged to the women’s church.<sup>233</sup> A Three Kings altar is documented for the women’s church in 1496,<sup>234</sup> and the church’s dedication to Mary Magdalene is established firmly by 1492 if not centuries earlier, as discussed above.<sup>235</sup> The list of altars, however, indicates that the main altar was dedicated not to St. Mary Magdalene alone but to St. Mary Magdalene and St. Paul together, a significant pairing. Both Mary Magdalene and Paul were sinners who had conspicuously turned their lives toward Christ, and both were rewarded with visions of the resurrected Christ. To judge by their uniquely configured Offices, along with the women’s unique procession for the feast of the Conversion of Paul, Klosterneuburg’s women held both saints in high regard, and it is particularly Paul’s conversion (rather than his commemoration) that held the greatest attraction. Since the altars are listed in the order that they likely would have been blessed, moreover, the median position of the altar to St. Mary Magdalene and St. Paul suggests strongly that it was the central, or primary altar in the church.

Four works of art in Klosterneuburg’s Stiftsmuseum might reasonably be connected to the women’s church. It is worth considering that the Klosterneuburg *Passion Altar* graced the altar dedicated to “Salutiferae passionis D. n. J. Chr.” Originally a triptych, this work is dated 1335/40, given its strong relationship to the painted wings of the reconstituted Verdun altar and other products of the Klosterneuburg scriptorium.<sup>236</sup> This painting

<sup>231</sup> See n. 24 above.

<sup>232</sup> Schabes, *Alle liturgische Gebräuche*, 32. These five altars are the last of the thirty-five altars listed in A-Wn lat. 15078, fol. 50v.

<sup>233</sup> A similar arrangement was present in the nuns’ church at the double monastery of Admont. An inventory of the abandoned church building made in 1619 indicated that the church was spacious and contained five altars, with a sixth altar in the gallery that had been deconsecrated. In addition, there was a colossal crucifix that hung from the triumphal arch. See Wichner, “Die ehemalige Nonnenkloster” (n. 16 above), 303.

<sup>234</sup> Davy, “Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen,” 78.

<sup>235</sup> See n. 228 above.

<sup>236</sup> On the *Passionsaltar*, see Günter Brucher, ed., *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, vol. 2, *Gotik* (Munich, 2000), fig. p. 164 and Catalogue No. 275, p. 537 and



would have brought into the women's church some of the painterly splendor of the latest style of Viennese realism, albeit on a much smaller scale than in the panels created for the men's church. It is tempting to associate the late fifteenth-century *Johannesschüssel* (the sculpted head of John the Baptist displayed on a charger) with the altar dedicated to the beheading of the saint. Likewise, the large panel of the Adoration of the Magi in the Stiftsmuseum might be the new painting acquired by the women in 1496 for their Three Kings altar.<sup>237</sup> Finally, Röhrig has long placed the Klosterneuburg Madonna under the special patronage of Duchess Blanche of Valois, who made a donation in 1304 to the women's church.<sup>238</sup> This seated stone sculpture of Mary holding the standing Christ child on her left knee would presumably not have been associated with any particular altar, but served as a focus of Marian devotion.

The Stiftsmuseum's *Magdalene Altar*, on the other hand, has been associated with the women's church, but there is really no evidence to support this claim.<sup>239</sup> In the central panel of this altarpiece, male and female donors flank an image of the risen Christ standing in front of the tomb flanked by soldiers as three Marys approach in the distance. One of the donor's speaking scrolls identifies the panel's date and destination: "altare S. trinitatis marie matris et marie magdalene ibi altare 1456."<sup>240</sup> But there is no altar dedicated to this combination of the Trinity, Mary, and Mary Magdalene anywhere in Klosterneuburg, and certainly not in the women's church. This lack of liturgical fit can be added to other concerns about the altar's connection to the convent, most particularly the difficulty of identifying the coats of arms with any Austrian patron. It is likely, as Perger suggests,

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Gabriela Fritzsche, *Die Entwicklung des 'Neuen Realismus' in der Wiener Malerei: 1331 bis Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Dissertationen zur Kunstgeschichte 18 (Vienna, 1983), 86–91. Equally reasonable, however, is the idea that this altarpiece belongs to the Holy Cross altar in the main church, suggested in Floridus Röhrig, *Stift Klosterneuburg und seine Kunstschatze* (St. Pölten, 1984), Abb. 46.

<sup>237</sup> Davy, "Die Augustiner-Chorfrauen," 78. See also Wolfgang Pauker and Otto Benesch, *Die Gemäldesammlung des stiftlichen Museums*, Katalog der stiftlichen Kunstsammlungen 1 (Klosterneuburg, 1937), 91–93, who attribute the painting to a Viennese Master working around 1490.

<sup>238</sup> Brucher, *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst*, pl. p. 67 and Catalogue No. 71, p. 325–26. Floridus Röhrig, "Zur Herkunft der Klosterneuburger Madonna," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46/47 (1993/94): 594–601.

<sup>239</sup> Drexler, *Das Stift Klosterneuburg* (n. 23 above), 221–22. Drexler's somewhat tentative association of the altar with the women's church was taken as certain by subsequent scholars. See also Pauker and Benesch, *Die Gemäldesammlung*, 71–75 and Lothar Schultes, *Die gotischen Flügelaltäre Oberösterreichs*, vol 1, *Von den Anfängen bis Michael Pacher* (Linz, 2002), 124–25.

<sup>240</sup> Pauker and Benesch (*Die Gemäldesammlung*, 71) correct Drexler's earlier reading of 1476.



that this artwork came into the collection of Klosterneuburg with other pieces in the late eighteenth century, its provenance forgotten.<sup>241</sup> The panel's origins should probably be sought elsewhere in the circle of the Master of the Albrecht Altar, with whose style it has been associated.

A final conundrum that may remain unresolved concerns the sources and the origins of the Klosterneuburg liturgy, questions raised by the particular forms for the *Visitatio sepulchri* found among both men's and women's manuscripts. Klosterneuburg is alone among the Augustinian priories founded or reformed out of Salzburg during the first half of the twelfth century to preserve a form of the *Visitatio sepulchri* that varies from that of the cathedral.<sup>242</sup> While the texts and melodies for most of the rite correspond to those of Salzburg and other Augustinian houses, the fourteenth-century settings from Klosterneuburg depart in their rubrics and in their inclusion of "Dicant nunc Judei." The assignment of clerics is typically the same as that found in manuscripts from Salzburg, but missing is the characteristic Salzburg practice of assigning the words of the angel to the deacon who reads the gospel. The differences were probably self-conscious. The canons at Klosterneuburg, in fact, saw their particular setting of this rite as uniquely theirs, often prefacing the ceremony with the words: "Sicque ut mos habet sepulchrum visitatur."<sup>243</sup>

The use of "Dicant nunc Judei" in the fourteenth-century settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri* of Klosterneuburg for both the men and the women, so reminiscent of Hirsau practice, is related to the fully Swabian complexion of the twelfth-century *Visitatio sepulchri* found in A-KN 1013, suggesting a liturgical melding of Salzburg/Augustinian and Swabian liturgical customs early in Klosterneuburg's history. Such a melding is supported also by the particular form of musical notation used in the women's liturgical manuscripts, a form of notation that originated quite likely at the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, itself a Hirsau house. How and when such a melding might have occurred, though, is not known. Although Klosterneuburg tradition holds that the Augustinian canons (and perhaps canonesses) who arrived in 1133 displaced the secular canons already resident there and established the women's church, it would be foolish not to consider that some vestiges of earlier practice remained.

Swabian customs may have been brought in by the retinue that accompanied Agnes of Waiblingen, widow of Friedrich of Hohenstaufen, Duke

<sup>241</sup> Richard Perger, "Die Frueauf-Gemälde im Klosterneuburger Stiftsmuseum — im Kunsthandel erworben?" *Jahrbuch des Stifles Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge, 16 (1997): 183.

<sup>242</sup> Norton, "Type 2 *Visitatio Sepulchri*" (n. 13 above), 127–30 and 162–88.

<sup>243</sup> A-KN 590, fol. 300v (early fourteenth-century breviary, LOO 598).

of Swabia, upon her marriage to Leopold III.<sup>244</sup> No evidence has survived regarding the entourage that accompanied Agnes as she traveled from her Swabian home to Leopold's residence in 1106, but she certainly would have brought with her the idea of the *Hauskloster*, a monastery founded by a noble family to serve as a dynastic burial site and as an anchor for its political interests in a territory. Along with her late husband, Agnes had been actively involved in the foundation of the Hohenstaufen *Eigenkirche* at Lorch, settled by monks from Hirsau and related reform monasteries between 1100 and 1102.<sup>245</sup> The foundation at Klosterneuburg follows the same pattern of a noble couple supporting a dynastic *Eigenkirche*.

The gap seems quite large between Agnes's first arrival in Austria in 1106 and the creation of the Augustinian liturgy at Klosterneuburg in 1133, but it might not be such a stretch to project her influence into the church's liturgical formation. The original foundation can be dated to 1114, with tantalizing evidence that the church is even earlier, based on an 1108 donation by Bishop Hermann of Augsburg "super altare sancte Marie niwenburc."<sup>246</sup> If Klosterneuburg's later tradition is correct in associating Agnes with the women's church in particular,<sup>247</sup> and especially if the women's house had been established early as well, then a Swabian-Hirsau-influenced liturgy could have been in place before the arrival of the Augustinians. A strong push by those canonesses already resident to maintain at least a portion of their existing practice could account for many of the anomalies seen in the earliest of the women's manuscripts.

<sup>244</sup> Heide Dienst, "Agnes: Herzogin, Margräfin, Landesmutter," in *Der heilige Leopold: Landesfürst und Staatssymbol; Stift Klosterneuburg, 30. März–3. November 1985*, ed. Floridus Röhrig and Gottfried Stangler, Katalog des niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums, Neue Folge, 155 (Vienna, 1985), 23.

<sup>245</sup> Hermann Jakob, *Die Hirsauer: Ihre Ausbreitung und Rechtstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits* (Cologne, 1961), 71–72. See also Wilhelm Störmer, "Die Hausklöster der Wittelsbacher," in Hubert Glaser, *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, vol. 1.1, *Die Zeit der frühen Herzöge: Von Otto I. zu Ludwig dem Bayern* (Munich, 1980), 139–50.

<sup>246</sup> Fischer, *Merkwürdigere Schicksale* (n. 2 above), 2:3. The debates about the foundation date of the priory are summarized in Röhrig, *Leopold III. der Heilige* (n. 11 above), especially chapter 5, "Die Gründung des Stiftes Klosterneuburg," 77–90.

<sup>247</sup> The earliest evidence associating Agnes with the women's church dates from the fourteenth century. In one of two representations of Agnes in the Klosterneuburg cloister glass (ca. 1330–1335), she is depicted uncrowned but veiled and holding a model of a church, likely that of the women of Klosterneuburg. (Floridus Röhrig, "Katalog," in *Der heilige Leopold*, 154 [no. 39]. The image is given on p. 155.). See also Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Gotische Glas-Malereien aus dem Kreuzgang in Klosterneuburg*, Klosterneuburger Kuntschätz 3 (Klosterneuburg, 1963), 41 (no. 18). A detail from the image that excludes the church is provided by Frodl-Kraft as color plate number 5. While Röhrig associates the church model directly with the church of the canonesses, Frodl-Kraft sees the association as likely although not certain.

Despite the many questions still unanswered about the liturgical manuscripts and practice of the women of Klosterneuburg, the recovery of even part of their liturgy is a remarkable achievement. Where before there was silence near oblivion, now we hear a vibrant community. Moreover, we cannot help but be surprised by the independent and creative spirit of the canonesses that has now been revealed. At the very least, this situation, where male and female liturgical fabrics have been woven independently, challenges our assumptions about how double houses create and perpetuate their liturgical identities. It may be true that Klosterneuburg represents a unique confluence of strong patrons, creative liturgists, and ardent female practitioners who were able to exert and maintain unusual control over an idiosyncratic practice. But our astonishment probably has more to do with the scholarly tendencies of our predecessors to erase individualizing distinctions in favor of establishing a normative practice. In considering how these contemplative women thrived for over four hundred years, we should be reminded that liturgy is a flexible and expressive medium. It might define a group allegiance, but in its nearly infinite potential for elaboration and variation, it can also embody particular identities and desires. This rich material now constitutes our best evidence for understanding the complex liturgical practice of Augustinian canonesses and gives us an insight into a world of individuals that we might have given up for lost.

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## LIBRARIES (RISM SIGLA)

A-Gu	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek
A-H	Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek
A-Iu	Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek
A-KN	Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek
A-KNa	Klosterneuburg, Stiftsarchiv
A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
B-TOB	Tongeren, Kollegiale Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk van Tongeren
CH-E	Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek
CH-SGs	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek
CH-Zz	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek
D-BAs	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek
D-Bkk	Berlin, Staatliche Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett
D-DS	Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
D-DÜL	Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek
D-ESm	Essen, Münsterkirchenarchiv
D-KA	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
D-MZp	Mainz, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar
D-SI	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
E-VI	Vic, Museo Episcopal de Vic
F-LA	Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
F-SEL	Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste et municipale
F-SQ	Saint Quentin, Bibliothèque Municipale
F-T	Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Ouc	Oxford, University College

## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

CAO	René-Jean Hesbert, <i>Corpus antiphonarium officii</i> , 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–79)
CANTUS	CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant ( <a href="http://cantus.gregorian-chant.org/">http://cantus.gregorian-chant.org/</a> ).
CT/Easter	<i>Corpus Troporum III: Tropes du propre de la messe: 2, Cycle de Pâques</i> , ed. Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, and Ritva Jacobson (Stockholm, 1982)
LOO	<i>Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele</i> , ed. Walther Lipphard, 9 vols. Berlin, 1976–90)

TABLE 1. LIBRARY SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscript	Date	Notation	Visitatio sepulchri	Hymnals	Notes
A-KN 1000	1336	A/K	---	Hymnal followed by <i>Benedicamus</i> tropes Inscription indicating ownership by women's cloister and colophon naming Geisle Ruedweinne	
A-KN 996	14th c.	A/K	---	Hymnal followed by <i>Benedicamus</i> tropes	
A-KN 997	14th c.	A/K	---	German rubrics Manuscripts breaks during <i>Deus tuorum militum</i> (Common of One Martyr)	
A-KN 1001	14th c.	A/K	---	Some German rubrics Hymnal concludes with Office of the Dead, followed by several additional hymns, and music for Mass Ordinary ( <i>Kyrie, Gloria, Ite missa est, Agnus Dei, Sanctus</i> )	
A-KN 1003	14th c.	A/K	---	German rubrics Hymnal followed by Office of St. Catherine, Mass of Corpus Christi ( <i>von unsers herrens leichnam dasz ampf</i> ), Office of Corpus Christi ( <i>von unsers herren leichnam</i> ), Sequences & Tracts (St. Catherine, Pentecost, <i>von unsers Frauen</i> ), Offices of St. Margaret (beginning) & St. Ursula (from middle of Vespers)	
A-KN 1004	14th c.	A/K	---	German rubrics with some Latin Hymnal followed by Office of the Dead, Offices of the Finding of St. Stephen, St. Catherine, Corpus Christi ( <i>von unsers herrens leichnam</i> ), and Acacius et al.	
A-KN 999	15th c.	A/K	---	Hymnal followed by Office of St. Catherine, Mass for Corpus Christi, Offices for Corpus Christi, the Finding of St. Stephen (insert), and St. Dorothy	
<b>Antiphoners</b>					
A-KN 1010	12th c.	A/K	---	Winter Part – Advent to Holy Saturday, followed by Invitatory tones and Office of the Dead	
A-KN-1012	12th c.	A/K	---	Summer Part – Pentecost to Octave of Andrew, Commons & time after Pentecost. Followed by Office of St. Catherine (later hand – German rubric before St. Catherine hymn)	
A-KN 1013	12th c.	A/K	Type 1	Winter Part – Advent to Monday after Ascension <i>Visitatio sepulchri</i> differs from later Klosterneuburg form – but structure complementary to 1022B	
A-KN 1011	14th c.	A/K	---	Winter Part – Advent to Holy Saturday Followed by Offices of St. Catherine, Corpus Christi, and Office of the Dead (in same hand as prior)	
A-KN 1015	14th c.	A/K	---	Winter Part – Begins with Advent, ends with Holy Saturday Followed by Offices of St. Catherine, Corpus Christi, and Office of the Dead (in same hand as prior) – German rubrics before Corpus Christi ( <i>Von unsers herren leichnamer</i> )	

TABLE 2. WOMEN'S MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE OFFICES, PROCESSIONS, AND OTHER RITES AT KLOSTERNEUBURG

Manuscript	Date	Notation	Visitatio sepulchri	Antiphoners	Notes
A-KN 1017	14th c.	A/K	---	Winter Part – Nicholas to Holy Saturday Followed by Invitatory Tones	
A-KN 1018	14th c.	A/K	Type 2	Summer Part – Easter to Andrew, Commons & time after Pentecost Followed by Office of St. Ursula, Office of the Dead, Office of Acacius et al., and Invitatory Tones German rubric added at end of feast of St. Matthew	
A-KN 589	14th c.	A/K	Type 2	Summer Part – Easter to Catherine with Commons interleaved, concludes with time after Pentecost Followed by Office of the Dead and Invitatory tones – rubric prior to 2 <sup>nd</sup> tone: <i>In die [erasure] chinder drei cheiben und ein chue sind vier Rinder.</i>	
A-KN 1007	14th c.	A/K	---	Offices for the Visitation, St. Anna, & St. Dorothy German rubrics	
<b>Breviaries</b>					
A-KN 1200	14th c.		Type 2 (abbreviated)	Composite manuscript Hymnal in 2 sections – 2nd section (108r–122r) contains women's hymns, hymns added 122r–123v for St. Catherine & Corpus Christi – Latin rubrics German rubrics in Psalter, 7r–96v Offices of St. Mary Magdalene and the Assumption of Mary follow the women's usage German rubrics in additions 349v	
A-KN 991	14th c.		---	Originally joined with A-KN 982 German rubrics Hymnal includes women's hymns	
A-KN 982	14th c.		---	Originally joined with A-KN 991 German rubrics Colophon: <i>Das puech ist der wrauen von Czelking in dem wrauen Chloster das Newburch</i> Women's hymns appended Additions include elements of women's setting of the Offices of St. Mary Magdalene and the Assumption of Mary	

Processionals				
A-KN 995	14th–15th c.	A/K	---	German rubrics Dedication of the Church procession given between Finding of Stephen and Afra – same position also specified in A-KNa HS 191 (Ordinal from 1573) Other processions are subsets of those given in the 14th-c. Ordinals
A-KN 1006	14th c.	G	---	Copy of MS 995
A-KN 1005	15th c.	G	Type 2 (13th c. fragment)	Corrected copy of MS 995 – later additions including hymns for the Eleven Thousand Virgins 13th-c. fragment as pastedown with partial <i>Visitatio sepulchri</i> using Augsburg/Klosterneuburg notation
Rituales				
A-KN 1022A	14th c.		---	Gender changes in prayers over sick and dying (e.g., <i>hunc famulum tuum</i> > <i>hanc famulam tuam</i> )
A-KN 1022B	ca. 1330	B	Type 2	<i>Sorores</i> substituted for <i>Pueri</i> Gender changes in prayers over sick and dying Complimentary structure in <i>Visitatio sepulchri</i> to A-KN 1013 (apparent male / female split)
Miscellanies				
A-KN 1190	14th c.		---	Miscellany, contains funeral rites, various prayers, and the Mass of Corpus Christi – Minor Vigil includes German rubrics, follows form found in antiphoners and hymnals

TABLE 2. WOMEN'S MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE OFFICES, PROCESSIONS, AND OTHER RITES AT KLOSTERNEUBURG (CONT.)

A/K Augsburg/Klosterneuburg Notation  
 B Bohemian Notation  
 G Gothic Notation



Manuscript	Date	Fischer (1808)	Zettelkatalog (early 20th c.) Liturgical Manuscripts	Notes
A-KN 982	14th c.	<i>Codice hoc membranaceo saeculi XIV habetur Breviarium cuius rubricae germanicae montiales possessores enunciant (266)</i>		Colophon specifies women of Zelking at Klosterneuburg
A-KN 1000	1336	<i>Codex membranaceus saeculi XV. Ab initio et in fine haec notantur: Das puech ist unser lieben Frauen Golschais zu Closterneuburg und gehörit in das Frauen Closter (272)</i>		Possession mark of the <i>Frauen Closter</i> . Colophon specifies Geisle Ruedwein
A-KN 957	15th c.	<i>Codex hic chartaceus saeculi XV. erat olim Joannis Volkra Custodis monialium in Neuburga claustrali (263)</i>		Anathema specifies Johannes Volkra, <i>custos dominarum</i> – but reflects the usage of Klosterneuburg men
A-KN 961	15th c.	<i>Codex hic chartaceus saeculo XV. exaratus continet Missate et Diurnale pro horis parvis officii. In fine calendarii haec notantur: Hunc librum comparavit Dno Joannes Volkra in Neuburga claustrali Custos Dominarum (263–64)</i>		Anathema specifies Johannes Volkra, <i>custos dominarum</i> – but reflects the usage of Klosterneuburg men
A-KN 973	15th c.	<i>Codice hoc chartaceo saeculo XV. scripto continentur Psalterium, plures Missae et historice Sanctorum. Ad calcem: Istum librum comparavit Dno Johannes Volkra custos dominarum in neuburga claustrali (265)</i>		Anathema specifies Johannes Volkra, <i>custos dominarum</i> – but reflects the usage of Klosterneuburg men
A-KN 595	14th c.		<i>Partes breviarum ad usum monialium cum rubricis germ. (3:568)</i>	German rubrics – does not reflect the usage of Klosterneuburg women
A-KN 596	14th c.		<i>Partes breviarum ad usum monialium cum pluribus rubricis germ. (3:569–70)</i>	German rubrics – does not reflect the usage of Klosterneuburg women
A-KN 991	14th c.		<i>Breviarum aliquot partes ad usum monialium cum titulis germ. (5:515)</i>	Belongs with A-KN 982 – See the discussion of breviers below

TABLE 3A. LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS ASSIGNED TO WOMEN IN 19TH- AND EARLY 20TH-CENTURY  
KLOSTERNEUBURG MANUSCRIPT CATALOGS

Manuscript	Date	Fischer (1808)	Non-Liturgical Manuscripts*	Zettelkatalog (early 20th c.)	Notes
A-KN 845	1490		<i>Initium: Nachdem des dy heiligen Bernhards und dy andern schreiben . . . hab ich M. P. von Hasbach auf das gebel, etlich andechtiger meiner schwestern hie ze Neuburg in den Frauen Closter den Passion ellichmal hie bey meinen brudern und vor dem gemainen Volk in den Hrn Closter durich mich gepredigt zu deutsch zu machen fürgenshmen ze mehrerer andacht derselbem schwestern (238—39)</i>		Sermons prepared by Petr Eckl von Haselback for the canoneses of Klosterneuburg
A-KN-954	Late 15th-early 16th c.		<i>Codex hic chartaceo saeculo XV. scriptus continet constitutiones pro montibus in Neuburga claustrali lingua germanica exaratus. (262)</i>		<i>Regel der Closterfrauen</i>
A-KN 859	16th c.			<i>Idem tractatus extat in cod. 845 (5:81)</i>	Copy of A-KN 845
A-KN 955	1458			<i>Statuta canonissarum regularium monasterii s. Mariae Magdalenaee Claustroneuburgi, germ. (5:462)</i>	German rule of St. Augustine and Statutes for the canoneses of Klosterneuburg

TABLE 3B. NON-LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS ASSIGNED TO WOMEN IN 19TH- AND EARLY 20TH-CENTURY KLOSTERNEUBURG MANUSCRIPT CATALOGS

Feast	Date	Office	Men	Women
Holy Innocents	28 Dec	Matins	<i>Eterna Christi munera (CSM)</i>	<i>Salvete flores martyrum</i>
Stephen, Octave	2 Jan	Matins	<i>Deus tuorum (FST)</i>	<b><i>Stephano primo martyri</i></b>
Holy Innocents, Octave	4 Jan	Matins	<i>Eterna Christi munera (CSM)</i>	<b><i>Salvete flores martyrum</i></b>
Agnes	21 Jan		<i>From CV</i>	<i>From CV according to rubric Agnetis beate virginis</i>
John the Baptist	24 Jun	Lauds	<i>O nimis felix meritique</i>	<b><i>O nimis felix meritique</i></b>
Paul	30 Jun	Lauds	<i>Doctor egregie Paule</i>	<b><i>Doctor egregie Paule</i></b>
Margaret	12 Jul		<i>From CV</i>	<i>From CV</i> <i>O rex benigne</i>
Mary Magdalene	22 Jul	Matins	<b><i>Votiva cunctis</i></b>	<b><i>Deus qui quosvis eligis</i></b>
Augustine	28 Aug	Matins	<b><i>Magne pater Augustine</i></b>	<i>Festis patris Augustini</i>
" "		Lauds	<b><i>Celi cives applaudite</i></b>	<u><i>Exultemus Deo celi</i></u>
Matthew	21 Sep	Matins	<i>Ortu phebi (CA)</i>	<b><i>Mathee sancta</i></b>
" "		Vespers	<i>Exullet celum (CA)</i>	<b><i>O verbum fidelissimum</i></b>
Luke	18 Oct	Vespers	<i>Exullet celum (CA)</i>	<b><i>Luca fidelis</i></b>
Conception of Mary	8 Dec	Vespers	<b><i>Gaude visceribus (NM)</i></b>	<b><i>Virga de Jesse generata</i></b>
Commons				
Several Martyrs			<b><i>Eterna Christi munera</i></b>	<u><i>Eterna Christi munera</i></u>
One Confessor			<i>Hic est verus</i>	

TABLE 4. UNIQUE HYMNS IN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S MANUSCRIPTS

Men: A-KN 590, A-KN 599, A-KN 600, A-KN 601, A-KN 602, A-KN 1199  
 Women: A-KN 996, A-KN 997, A-KN 999, A-KN 1000, A-KN 1001, A-KN 1003, A-KN 1004

***Bold/Italic*** *In hymnals and service books*  
*Italic* *In service books only*  
Underscore *In hymnals only*

CA Common of Apostles  
 CM Common of One Martyr  
 CSM Common of Several Martyrs  
 CV Common of Virgins  
 FST Finding of St. Stephen (3 August)  
 NM Nativity of Mary (8 September)

Hymn	Feast	Date	Stäblein #	Hymnals							Antiphoners							Breviaries		
				1000	996	997	999	1001	1003	1004	1010	1012	1013	1011	1015	1017	1018	589	1200	991
Stephano primo martyri	Oct. Stephen	01/02	53/4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	✓					
Salvete flores martyrum	Oct. Innocents	01/03	505/1	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓						
O nimis felix meretric	John the Baptist	06/24	72/2	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓				✓					
Doctor egregie Paule	Paul	06/30	152/3	✓	✓					✓	✓				✓					
Deus qui quosvis eligis	Mary Magdalene	07/22	515	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					-			✓	
Mathee sancta	Matthew	09/21	152/3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-				✓				✓	
O verbum fidelissimus	Matthew	09/21	519	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								✓	
Luca fidelis	Luke	10/18	152/3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-				✓				✓	
Virga de Jesse generata	Conception	12/08	523	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

TABLE 5. WOMEN'S HYMNS FOUND IN ANTIPHONERS AND BREVIARIES

- ✓ Hymn contained in Hymnal
- (✓) Hymn found in context in Antiphoner/Breviary
- Hymn not indicated in Antiphoner/Breviary
- X Different hymn indicated in Antiphoner/Breviary
- \* Used for Holy Innocents -- no octave

Item	Genre	Women 1 (12th–14th c.)	Women 2 (14th c.)	(Men, 14th–15th c.)	Passau (1490)
<i>Vespers 1</i>					
	A	<i>Tu es vas electionis</i>	Magnus sanctus Paulus	Sancte Paule apostole	Sancte Paule apostole
	R	<i>In sinu virginis</i>	---	Magnus sanctus Paulus	Magnus sanctus Paulus
	H	Doctor egregie Paule			
<b>Magnificat</b>	A	O gloriosum lumen omnium			
<b>Matins</b>					
<b>Invitatory</b>	A	<b>Christum regem regum qui</b>		Regem apostolorum	Regem apostolorum
	H	Exultet celum	---		---
<b>Nocturn 1</b>	A	Qui operatus est Petro	---		
	A	Scio cui credidi et certus	---		
	A	Mihi vivere Christus	---		
	R	<b>Maue lupus repax Saulus</b>		Qui operatus est Petro	Qui operatus est Petro
	R	<b>In sinu virginis Saulus</b>		Scio cui credidi et certus	Scio cui credidi et certus
	R	<b>Ad presepe Dei cum</b>		Bonum certamen certavi	Bonum certamen certavi
<b>Nocturn 2</b>	A	Tu es vas electionis sancte	---		
	A	Magnus sanctus Paulus	---		
	A	Bonum certamen certavi	---		
	R	<b>Preceptorum Dei Ioris</b>		Reposita est mihi	Reposita est mihi
	R	<b>Mater pietatis Paulus</b>		Audistis enim conversationem	Audistis enim conversationem
	R	<b>Bestus Paulus apostolus</b>		Sancte Paule apostole	Sancte Paule apostole
<b>Nocturn 3</b>	A	Saulus qui et Paulus	---		
	A	Ne magnitudo	---		
	A	Reposita est mihi corona	---		
	R	<b>Saulus economus legis</b>		Gratia Dei sum id quod sum	Gratia Dei sum id quod sum
	R	<b>Centum cados olei Paulus</b>		Salus autem magis ac magis	Salus autem magis ac magis
	R	<b>Protege nos dextre pie</b>		Magnus sanctus Paulus	Magnus sanctus Paulus
	R	<b>Doctor egregie Paule mores</b>		---	---

Lauds		
A	<i>Saulus autem intravit</i>	Ego plantavi Appolo rigavit
A	<i>Accepta potestate ibat</i>	Libenter gloriabor
A	<i>Venit vox de celo</i>	Sancte Paule apostole
A	<i>Respondit miles quis</i>	Gratia Dei in me vacua
A	<i>Surge ait Dominus et</i>	Damasci prepositus
A	<i>Audivit Ananias in visu</i>	Vos qui secuti estis me
Vespers 2		
A	--	Intravit Dominus / Ter virgis cesus (65)
H	--	Doctor egregie Paule
A	--	Vos qui reliquistis
<b>Magnificat</b>		Intravit Dominus Doctor egregie Paule O gloriosum lumen omnium

TABLE 6. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL (25 JANUARY)

Women 1 (12th–14th c.): A-KN 1010, 65v–68v; A-KN 1013, 77v–80v; A-KN 1017, 88v–93v  
 Women 2 (14th c.): A-KN 1011, 116v–117r; A-KN 1015, 97r–100r  
 Men (14th–15th c.): A-KN 61, 125r–v; A-KN 65, 235r–236r (Vespers 1), 298r–305v (Matins through Vespers 2);  
 A-KN 590, 242v–243r; A-KN 983, 38v–39r; A-KN 1014, 36r–v; A-KN 1213, 47v–48r;  
*Breviarium Pataviense* 1490, 1, 155v–157v (see nn. 91 and 174)

Passau (1490):  
 Blank— Same as “Women (12th–14th c.)”  
 --- Not present  
***Bold, Italic*** Unique to this tradition

A Antiphon  
 H Hymn  
 R Responsory

Item	Genre	Women 1 (12th c.)	Women 2 (14th c.)	Women 3 (14th c.)	Men (14th–15th c.)	Passau (13th–15th c.)
Vespers 1						
	A	In diebus illis mulier que				Rogabat. Jesus quid
	R	Accessit ad pedes				
	H	Jesu Christe auctor vite	---			Hujus obtenu (1194)
<b>Magnificat</b>	A	Fidelis sermo et omni			Suavissime universorum	
Matins						
<b>Invitatory</b>	A	<i>Ploremus coram Domino</i>			Stellam Christum	Stellam Christum
	H	<i>Deus qui quosvis</i>	---	Votiva cunctis	Votiva cunctis	---
<b>Nocturn 1</b>	A	Rogabat. Iesum quidam			Ingressus Jesus	Ingressus Jesus
	A	<i>Stans retro Maria secus</i>			Que dum lacrimosa	Que dum lacrimosa
	A	<i>Videns autem phariseus</i>			Incendit plene	Incendit plene
	R	<i>Soror Marthe Maria stabat</i>			Septem ergo Maria	Septem ergo Maria
	R	<i>Martha stetit et ait Domine</i>			Accessit ad pedes	Accessit ad pedes
	R	<i>Respondens Jesus dixit Martha</i>			Celestis medicus	Celestis medicus
<b>Nocturn 2</b>	A	<i>Ungentum quod sibi Maria</i>			Intendens porro	Intendens porro
	A	<i>Capillos ad compositionem</i>			Jesus dum vocat	Jesus dum vocat
	A	Fundans Sion in saphiris rex	---	<i>Pius ergo penitens mulier</i>	Fundans Sion in Saphiris	Fundans Sion in Saphiris
	A	<i>Quod ergo in se habuit</i>	<i>Quod ergo in se abluit</i>	---	---	---
	R	<i>Conversus Jesus ad Mariam</i>	Celestis medicus egram	Celestis medicus egram	Umbrosum tunc revera	Umbrosum tunc revera
	R	<i>Cum venisset Maria ubi erat</i>	<i>Septem ergo Maria</i>	<i>Septem ergo Maria</i>	Vidit Maria duos angelos	Vidit Maria duos angelos
	R	Maria plorans ad monumentum				
<b>Nocturn 3</b>	A	<i>Pius ergo penitens mulier</i>	---	---	Maria ergo accepit libram	Maria ergo accepit libram*
	A	Maria ergo accepit libram			Cum esset Bethanie. Jesus	Cum esset Bethanie. Jesus*
	A	Cum esset Bethanie. Jesus			Amen dico vobis ubi	Amen dico vobis ubi
	A	---	Fundans Sion in saphiris rex	Fundans Sion in saphiris rex	---	---



	R	<b>Accipit Maria libram ungenti</b>	<b>Maria Magdalena que fuerat**</b>	Umbrosum tunc revera	Post hec conversa est	Post hec conversa est
	R	<b>Fregit Maria super caput Jesu</b>	Umbrosum tunc revera **	Vidit Maria duos angelos	Adest testes divine	Adest testis divine
	R	Vidit Maria duos angelos	Adest testis divine	Adest testis divine	Summe propitiator Christe	Summe propitiator Christe
<b>Additional Matins Responsories</b>						
	R	Celestis medicus egram	<b>Conversus Jesus ad Maria</b> (589 only)	Summe propitiator Christe	---	---
	R	<b>Septem ergo Maria demonia</b>	<b>Cum venisset Maria ubi erat</b> (589 only)	---	---	---
	R	<b>Maria Magdalena que fuerat</b>	<b>Maria lavit lacrimis maculas</b> (589 only)	---	---	---
	R	<b>Cujus ergo vel saxum pectus</b>	Vidit Maria duos angelos	---	---	---
	R	<b>Hanc vero quam Lucas</b>	<b>Hanc vero quam Lucas</b> (589) / <b>Accipit Maria libram ungenti</b> (1018)	---	---	---
	R	Umbrosum tunc revera	<b>Fregit Maria super caput Jesu</b>	---	---	---
	R	Adest testis divine	<b>Cujus ergo vel saxum pectus</b>	---	---	---
	R	Summe propitiator Christe		---	---	---

TABLE 7. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF MARY MAGDALENE (22 JULY)

Item	Genre	Women 1 (12th c.)	Women 2 (14th c.)	Women 3 (14th c.)	Men (14th–15th c.)	Passau (13th–15th c.)
<i>Lauds</i>						
	A	Una sabbati Maria Magdalena				
	A	Videns lapidem sublatum				
	A	Stans autem foris plorans				
	A	Dicunt ei illi mulier quid				
	A	Hec cum vidisset conversa	Hec cum dixisset conversa	Hec cum dixisset conversa	Hec cum dixisset conversa	Hec cum dixisset conversa
	H	---	---	Hec sacras Jesum	Hec sacras Jesum	---
<b>Benedictus</b>	A	Dixit Jesus Maria conversa	Dicit ei Jesus mulier	Dicit ei Jesus mulier	Dicit ei Jesus mulier	Dicit ei Jesus mulier
<i>Vespers 2</i>						
	A	Ingressus Jesus domum	Una sabbati Maria Magdalena	Una sabbati Maria Magdalena	Una sabbati Maria Magdalena	---
	A	Que dum lacrimosa ad eum	---	---	Videns lapidem sublatum	---
	A	Incendit plene Maria peccati	---	---	Stans autem foris plorans	---
	A		---	---	Dicunt ei illi mulier quid	---
	A	<b>Intendens porro Maria unum</b>	---	---	Hec cum dixisset conversa	---
	R	---	---	Celestis medicus egram	Celestis medicus egram	Flavit auster et sugavit
	H	---	---	Jesu Christe auctor vite	Jesu Christe auctor vite	Hujus obtentu / Virginis proles / or sequence: Nec sum convivia

Magnificat	A	<i>Exquirebat Maria quem non</i>		Ingressus Jesus domum	Fidelis sermo et omni	Fidelis sermo et omni
	A	---	---	Que dum lacrimosa ad eum	---	---
	A	---	---	Incendit plene Maria peccati	---	---
	A	---	---	Intravit Jesus in quoddam	---	---
	A	---	---	<i>Intendens porro Maria unum</i>	---	---
	A	---	---	<i>Exquirebat Maria quem non</i>	---	---

TABLE 7. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF MARY MAGDALENE (22 JULY—CONT.)

Women 1 (12th c.) A-KN 1012, 22r–29r  
 Women 2 (14th c.) A-KN 589, 48r–54r; A-KN 1018, 78r–87r  
 Women 3 (14th c.) A-KN 1200, 202r–206v  
 Men (14th–15th c.) A-KN 61, 260v–262v; A-KN 67, 118v–137v; A-KN 590, 364v–367r; A-KN 635, 81v–82r  
 Passau (13th–15th c.) A-KN 1194, 102r–v; D-Mbs 16141, 106r–109r;  
*Breviarium Pataviense* 1490, 2, 115v–119v (see nn. 91 and 174)

\* Reversed in D-Mbs 16141  
 \*\* Reversed in A-KN 589  
 Blank Same as “Women (12th c.)”  
 --- Not present  
***Bold, Italic*** Unique to the women’s settings

A Antiphon  
 H Hymn  
 R Responsory

Feast	Date	Manuscript	Additional Responsories
<b>Conception of Mary</b>	8 December	A-KN 1010, 3v–6r	3
		A-KN 1011, 145v–149v	3
		A-KN 1012, 118r–120v	3
		A-KN 1015, 20r–23r	3
		A-KN 1017, 6v–10r	3
<b>St. Stephen</b>	26 December	A-KN 1010, 26r–28r	2
		A-KN 1011, 45v–50r	3
		A-KN 1013, 34r–36v	3
		A-KN 1015, 46r–49v	2
		A-KN 1017, 36r–39v	3
<b>St. John</b>	27 December	A-KN 1011, 52v–57r	4
		A-KN 1013, 38r–40v	1
<b>Conversion of St. Paul</b>	25 January	<i>See Table 6.</i>	1
<b>Purification of Mary</b>	2 February	A-KN 1013, 80v–83r	1
		A-KN 1015, 100v–103r	1
		A-KN 1017, 93v–97r	1
<b>St. Benedict</b>	21 March	A-KN 1011, 139v–142v	2
		A-KN 1013, 91r–93r	3
		A-KN 1015, 112v–115r	2
		A-KN 1017, 107r–109v	2
<b>Annunciation of Mary</b>	25 March	A-KN 1010, 78v–81r	2
		A-KN 1011, 133r–137v	5
		A-KN 1013, 94r–97r	3
		A-KN 1015, 117r–119v	2
		A-KN 1017, 111r–114v	2
<b>John the Baptist</b>	24 June	A-KN 589, 31r–33r	2
		A-KN 1012, 6r–8v	2
		A-KN 1018, 54v–58r	2
<b>Mary Magdalene</b>	22 July	<i>See Table 7</i>	7–8
<b>Assumption of Mary</b>	15 August	<i>See Table 9a</i>	4
<b>Dedication of the Church</b>		A-KN 589, 89v–91v	2
		A-KN 1012, 74v–77r	2
		A-KN 1018, 137r–140v	2
<b>St. Michael</b>	29 September	A-KN 589, 92v–95v	1
		A-KN 1012, 78v–81r	1
		A-KN 1018, 92v–95v	1

TABLE 8. FEASTS WITH ADDITIONAL MATINS RESPONSORIES (PROPER OF THE SAINTS)

Item	Women (12th c.)	Women (14th c.)	Men (14th c.)
<b>Nocturn 1</b>	Vidi speciosam sicut columbam / Que est ista Sicut cedrus exaltata sum / Et sicut cinnomamum Ortus conclusus* (in right margin, 45r) Que est ista que processit / Que est ista que ascendit	---	---
<b>Nocturn 2</b>	Beatam me dicent omnes Corde et anima* (in left margin, 45v) Diffusa est gratia in labiis Cum iucunditate* (in left margin, 45v)	---	---
<b>Nocturn 3</b>	Ornatam in monilibus filiam Ista est speciosa Beata es virgo Maria Ave sponsa* (in left margin, 46v) Super salute et omnem	---	---
<b>Additional</b>	Ortus conclusus et fons Ave sponsa Sunamitis secundum Cum iucunditate celebremus Corde et animo Christo	Ortus conclusus et fons Ave sponsa Sunamitis secundum (listed 4th in 1200) Cum iucunditate celebremus Corde et animo Christo	---

TABLE 9A. COMPARISON OF MATINS RESPONSORIES FOR THE FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION (15 AUGUST)

Women (12th c.): A-KN 1012, 44v-48r (additional responsories listed after 2nd Vespers)

Women (14th c.): A-KN 589, 67r-79r; A-KN 1018, 100v-105v; A-KN 1200, fols. 219v-222r (additional responsories listed after Matins)

Men (14th c.): A-KN 61, 274v-276v; A-KN 67, 200r-206v; A-KN 590, 376v-378v; A-KN 635, 86r; A-KN 1213, 131r-v

\* Incipit  
Blank Same as "Women (12th c.)"

Genre	Women 1 (12th c.)*	Genre	Women 2 (14th c.)	Genre	Women 3 (14th c.)	Genre	Men (15th c.)
	---		---	A	<i>Maria virgo semper letare</i>	A	<i>Nigra sum sed formosa</i>
A	<i>Dilecte me apprehendam</i>	A		A		A	Vox turturis audita est in
A	Ortus conclusus est Dei	A	Ortus conclusus est Dei	A	Ortus conclusus est Dei	A	Ista est speciosa inter
A	Quam pulchra es amica mea	A		A		A	<i>Ave beatissima civitas</i>
A	In prole mater in partu virgo	A		A		A	Ave Domina mundi Maria ave
A	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	A		A		A	Pulchra es amica
A	Vox turturis audita est	A		A		A	<i>Gaude virgo gloriosa</i>
A	Salve regina misericordie	A		A	Salve regina*	A	<i>Ave regina celorum</i>
A	<b>Quam pulchra es et quam</b>	A	Sancta Dei genetriz virgo	A	Ista est speciosa inter	A	<i>Regina celi letare</i>
A	<i>Indica mihi quem diligit</i>	A	<i>Pulchre sunt gene tue</i>	R	<i>Sancta Dei genetriz virgo</i>	R	<b>Que est ista que ascendit</b>
A	<i>In lectulo meo per noctem</i>	A	<i>Aperi mihi soror</i>	A	<i>Pulchre sunt gene tue</i>	A	Salve regina misericordii
A	<i>Aperi mihi soror</i>	A	<i>Sexaginta sunt regine</i>	A	<i>Indica mihi quem diligit</i>	A	Sancta Maria succurre miseris
A	<i>Sexaginta sunt regine et</i>	A	<i>Revertere revertere Sunamitis</i>	A	<i>Introduxit me rex in cellam</i>	A	<b>Salvator mundi salva nos omnes</b>
A	<i>Quo abiti dilectus tuus</i>	A	<i>Indica mihi quem diligit</i>	A	<i>Intemerata virgo que</i>	A	Maria virgo semper letare
A	<i>Speciosa facta es et suavis</i>	A	Gaudendum nobis est quod	A	<i>Aperi mihi soror</i>	A	Sub tuam protectionem
A	Ista est speciosa inter	A	Ave Domina mundi Maria	A	Alma virgo Maria que	A	Sancta Dei genetriz virgo
A	<b>Sub tuam protectionem</b>	A	<i>Speciosa facta es et suavis</i>	A	<i>Sexaginta sunt regine et</i>	A	Ortus conclusus est Dei
A	<i>Maria virgo semper letare</i>	A	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	A	<i>Gaudendum nobis est quod</i>	A	Quam pulchra es amica mea
A	Ave Domina mundi Maria	A	Alma virgo Maria	A	Ave Domina mundi Maria	A	In prole mater in partu virgo
A	<b>Sancta virgo semper Maria</b>	A	<i>Quo abiti dilectus tuus</i>	A	<i>Speciosa facta es*</i>	A	Alma virgo Maria que
A	<i>Intemerata virgo que</i>	A	Quam pulchra es dilecta mea**	A	<i>Alma redemptoris*</i>	A	<b>Ave regina celorum</b>
A	Sancta Dei genetriz virgo	A	<i>Intemerata virgo que</i>	A	<i>Quo abiti dilectus tuus</i>	A	<b>Indutus Dominus fortitudinæ</b>

A	<i>Pulchre sunt gene tue</i>	A	<i>Introduxit me rex in cellam</i>	A	Quam pulchra es dilecta mea	A	<i>Jubilemus tibi virgo</i>
A	<i>Revertere revertere Sunamitis</i>	A	<i>O flos florum</i>	A		A	<i>Ad te de luce</i>
A	<i>Gaudendum nobis est quod</i>	A	<i>In lectulo meo per noctem</i>	A		A	<i>Benedictus es Domine</i>
A	<i>Alma redemptoris mater que</i>		---		---	A	<i>Concede quesumus Domine</i>
A	Alma virgo Maria que		---		---	A	<i>Visita nos oriens</i>

TABLE 9B. ANTIPHONS/RESPONSORIES FOLLOWING THE OFFICE OF THE ASSUMPTION OF MARY

Women 1 (12th c.): A-KN 1012, 48r-52r (excluding marginal incipits – see the note below)  
 Women 2 (14th c.): A-KN 589, 69v-72v; A-KN 982, 131r-132v; A-KN 1018, 106r-110v  
 Women 3 (14th c.): A-KN 1200, 222v-224r  
 Men (14th c.): A-KN 67, 209r-223r

\* The following incipits are included as marginal additions:  
 Fol. 48r, bottom margin: Dilecte, Pulchra, Indica, Aperi mihi, Sexaginta, Introduxit;  
 Fol. 49r, bottom margin: Sancta Maria, Vox turturis, Gaudendum, Ave Domina,  
 O flos florum, In lectulo meo;  
 Fol. 51v, top margin: R. Beata, R. Ornata[m], R. [cropped]

\*\* Notation not provided  
 --- Not present  
 Blank Same as "Women 1 (12th c.)"

*Italic* Common to women's manuscripts (not in men's manuscripts)  
**Bold, Italic** Unique to this/these manuscript(s)

A Antiphon  
 R Responsory



Item	Genre	Women 1 (12th–14th c.)	Women 2 (14th c.)	Men (14th–15th c.)	Passau (1490)
Vespers 1					
	A	---	---	Gaudeat ecclesia quam	Gaudeat ecclesia quam
	A	---	---	O quam pulchra virginum	Quid in istis nisi choros
	A	---	---	Quid in istis nisi choros	In odore tuo Christe sic ad
	A	---	---	In odore tuo Christe sic ad	Gustaverunt et viderunt
	A	---	---	Gustaverunt et viderunt	Jesu salus humilium
	R	Gaudeamus omnes*	Ad portum vehuntur vele hinc**	O felices virgines humorum	O felices virgines humorum
	H	Jesu corona*	---	Illustrat clare seculum	Illustrat clare seculum
<b>Magnificat</b>	A	Simile est enim regnum*	Letis canamus vocibus tot**	O felix Germania tam decoro	O felix Germania tam decoro
Matins					
<b>Invitatory</b>	A	Regem regum Dominum venite	Auctori vite psalmis		Adoremus sempiternum
	H	Jesu corona*		Gaude celes* (590) / Eterna Christi munera (1213, 635, 983) / Illustrat clare (61, 1014)	---
<b>Nocturn 1</b>	A	Secus decursus*	Secus discursus fluminum	Nova bella virginum Dominus	Nova bella virginum Dominus
	A	---	Flos fulsit ex Britannia	Pugnant sexu fragiles	Pugnant sexu fragiles
	A	---	Signatur super has digne lux	Beata militia que pro rege	Beata militia que pro rege
	R	Absterget Deus*	Virgo regalis Ursula	Deo noto fuit nata placens	Dyonothus fuit nata placens
	R	Effuderunt*	Tyranni donis ac minis pater	Dum statutum nuptiis acceptis	Virgo desiderium habens
	R	Adoraverunt*	Solatur patrem Ursula Dei	Apparatu navium decentur	Apparatu navium decentur
<b>Nocturn 2</b>	A	Scuto bonae*	Auribus percepit Deus	Non armis sed animis istas	Non armis sed animis istas

	A	---	Oleum exstat effusum mirabile	Fortiores hostibus femine	Fortiores hostibus femine
	A	--	Ad nihilum est deductus harum	Unus enim spiritus acies	Unus enim spiritus acies
	R	Isti sunt sancti*	Spondet pater conjugium	Visionis Ursule celitus	Visionis Ursule celitus
	R	Cantabant sancti*	Decurso iam triennio virgines	Opportuni temporis sic hora	Opportuni temporis sic hora
	R	Coronavit eos*	Equitai auctoris in	Sanctis Rome visitatis	Sanctis Rome visitatis
<b>Nocturn 3</b>	A	Sanctus qui in terra*	Vox turturis ut sonuit vinea	Sponsi currit in odore	Sponsi currit in odore
	A	---	En lectulum Salomonis ense	Ut rose tot milia rutilant	Ut rose tot milia rutilant
	A	---	Veni ergo turba Dei veni de	His celestis paradysus	His celestis paradysus
	R	Simile est*	Dum [Cum] Coloniam obsident	Ad locum certaminis ductu	Ad locum certaminis ductu
	R	Ecce vidi*	Urbs nova Ierusalem turbam	Isti flores hodie de	Isti flores hodie de
	R	Amaverunt*	Annalis orbita votorum nobis	Iste sunt terribilis ut	O celestis aule rose
	R	Isti sunt sancti*	---	---	---
<b>Lauds</b>					
	A	Omnes sancti*	In choro sanctorum iugiter	Sol novus ab insula	Digne gaudent homines angeli
	A	Media nocte*	Inter quos undena virginum	Digne gaudent homines	Iste regi glorie
	A	Prudentes virgines*	Que divino nutu a partibus	Iste regi glorie	Que dum piis mentibus
	A	Tunc surrexerunt*	Benedicamus ergo deum	Que dum piis mentibus	Muliebrem ad ornatum
	A	Virginum chorus*	Clematius igitur vir	Muliebrem ad ornatum (61, 68, 590, 1014) / Gaudeat ecclesie (635, 983, 1213)	Istarum collegio celi vernat
	H	Rex gloriose*	---	Illustrat clare* (590) / Rex gloriose (635, 983, 1213) / Gaude celestis (61, 1014)	---
<b>Benedictus</b>	A	Quinque prudentes*	Gaude Ierusalem superna in	Benedictus es rex glorie	Benedictus es rex glorie qui

TABLE 10. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF THE ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS (21 OCTOBER)

Item	Genre	Women 1 (12th-14th c.)	Women 2 (14th c.)	Men (14th-15th c.)	Passau (1490)
		Vespers 2			
	A	Virgam*	---	---	---
	H	Rex gloriose*	---	Gaude celestis*	Rex gloriose*
<b>Magnificat</b>	A	Gaudent in caelis*	Magnificate Dominum omnes	O flos campi et lilium	O flos campi et lilium

TABLE 10. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF THE ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS (21 OCTOBER—CONT.)

Women 1 (12th-14th c.): A-KN 1012, 83v; A-KN 1018, 149r  
 Women 2 (14th c.): A-KN 589, 96v-99v; A-KN 982, 195v-197v (incomplete - ends in the 3rd Nocturn [after "En lectulum Solomonis"]);  
 A-KN 1003, 122r-128v; A-KN 1018, 234r-239r; A-KN 1200, 251v-255r  
 Men (14th-15th c.): A-KN 61, 306r-307v; A-KN 68, 90v-104r; A-KN 590, 407v-408v; A-KN 635, 95v-96r; A-KN 983, 116r-v;  
 A-KN 1014, 122r; A-KN 1213, 148v-149v  
 Passau (1490): *Breviarium Patavicense* 1490, 2, 226r-228v (see nn. 91 and 174)

Blank Same as Women 1 (12th-14th c.)  
 --- Not present

\* Incipits  
 \*\* Reversed in A-KN 1003  
 A Antiphon  
 H Hymn  
 R Responsory

Item	Genre	Women (12th–14th c.)	Salzburg (15th c.)	A–KN 574, 135v–139v (early 13th c.)	Men (14th–15th c.)	Passau (15th c.)
Vespers 1						
	A	<i>Virginis eximie Katherine</i>		<i>Ave virgo speciosa</i>	Inclyta sancte virginis	Inclyta sancte virginis
	R	Surge virgo*	Surge virgo et nostras	Surge virgo et nostras	Felix regina	Felix Regina
	H	---	Ave Katharina		Ave Katharina	Ave Katherina
<b>Magnificat</b>	A	Inclyta sancta virginis		Ave gemma claritatis	Ave gemma claritatis	Ave gemma claritas
<b>Benedicamus</b>	Tr	<i>Virginei floris nomen</i>	---	---	---	---
Matins						
<b>Invitatory</b>	A	Adoremus virginum regem	Adoretur virginum rex			
	H	---	Jesu corona*	---	Jesu corona*	---
<b>Nocturn 1</b>	A	Virgo sancta Katherine		<i>Virgo regalis fidei</i>		
	A	Specie corporis decora		Hec Dominum celi	Hec Dominum celi	Hec Dominum celi
	A	Traditur ergo a patre		Membra redemptoris	Membra redemptoris	Membra redemptoris
	R	Nobilis et pulchra prudens		Nobilis et pulchra virgo	Nobilis et pulchra virgo (61, 68, 590, 635) / Nobilis et pulchra Katherine virgo (1192, 1193)	Nobilis et pulchra virgo
	R	Martyrum sitiens libamina				
	R	Hec quinquagenos oratores	O Christi pietas		Surge virgo et nostras	Surge virgo et nostras
<b>Nocturn 2</b>	A	Cum esset adhuc in annis		<i>Cesaris intrepide studiis</i>		
	A	Maxentius instat impius		Non cedens montis	Non cedens montis	Non cedens montis
	A	Cesar electos convocat		Cesar ut invictam	Cesar ut invictam	Cesar ut invictam
	R	Christus sanctam tenebroso	Impius hanc Cesar			

TABLE 11. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF ST. CATHERINE (25 NOVEMBER)

Item	Genre	Women (12th–14th c.)	Salzburg (15th c.)	A–KN 574, 135v–139v (early 13th c.)	Men (14th–15th c.)	Passau (15th c.)
	R	Virgo flagellatur crucianda		Angelus interia descendens	O quam felices	O quam felices
	R	Surge virgo et nostras	Felix regina virgo prudens	O quam felices	Corpus virgineum Christi	Corpus virgineum Christi
<b>Nocturn 3</b>	A	Gloriosam virginem		<b>Martyr ut oravit gladium</b>	Cum cetu virgineo adveniens	Cum cetu virgineo adveniens
	A	Illia Deo dum agit gratias		Virginis ex oleo	Virginis ex oleo	Virginis ex oleo
	A	Cum cetu virgineo		Ave virgo speciosa	Ave gemma speciosa	Ave gemma speciosa
	R	<b>Percusso gladio dat lac pro</b>	Hec quinquagenos	Corpus virgineum Christi	O Mater nostra ter sancta	O Mater nostra ter sancta
	R	O Christi pietas o virtus	O quam felices	O Mater nostra ter sancta	Angelus interea descendens	Angelus interea descendens
	Pr	<b>O Christi virginum Gloria</b>	---	---	---	---
	R	O Mater nostra ter sancta		Urbs nova Jerusalem	O Christi pietas o virtus	O Christi pietas o virtus
	Pr	<b>Eterne virgo memorie</b>		---	---	---
	R	---	---	Felix regina virgo prudens	---	---
<b>Lauds</b>						
	A	Passionem gloriose virginis				
	A	Post plurima supplicia				
	A	Exspecto pro te gladium				
	A	Vox de celis insonuit veni				
	A	Quia devotis laudibus tuam		Decollata martyre inclita	Decollata martyre inclita	Decollata martyre inclita
	H	--	Virgine proles		Ave Katharina	---
<b>Benedictus</b>	A	Benedictus Dominus rex celestis		Benedictus Dominus Deus	Prudens et vigilans	<i>Prudens et vigilans</i>

Vespers 2						
	A	--	Repeat Lauds	--	Repeat Lauds	<i>Hystoria de sancto Conrado</i>
	R	--	---	---	Surge virgo*	---
	H	--	Ave Katharina	--	Ave Katharina	---
<b>Magnificat</b>	A	Voce cordis et oris			<b>Mater amabilis</b>	

TABLE 11. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF ST. CATHERINE (25 NOVEMBER-CONT.)

- Women (12th-14th c.) A-KN 589, 116r-119v; A-KN 999, 97v-107r; A-KN 1003, 86v-94r; A-KN 1004, 117v-125v; A-KN 1011, 229r-235r; A-KN 1012, 151v-152v; A-KN 1015, 175v-180v
- Salzburg (15th c.) A-Gu 332, 98v; *Breviarum in usum ecclesiae Salsburgensis*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg, 1497), 2, 146v-148r (D-Mbs Ink B-907 [olim 2 Inc.c.a.3454 b-2, 1/7, GW 5444])
- Men (14th-15th c.) A-KN 61, 318v-320r; A-KN 68, 160r-173r; A-KN 590, 419r-421r; A-KN 635, 99v-100r; A-KN 1192, 348r-349v; A-KN 1193, 411v-413r
- Passau (15th c.) *Breviarium Pataviensis* 1490, 2, 259v-261v (see n. 91 and 174)
- Blank Same as "Women (12th-14th c.)"
- Not present
- \* Incipit Only
- Bold, Italic** Unique to this setting
- A Antiphon
- H Hymn
- Pr Prosa
- R Responsory
- Tr Trope

Item	Genre	Women 1 (14th c.)	Women 2 (14th c.)	Men (14th–15th c.)	Salzburg (14th–15th c.)	Passau (14th c.)
<b>Nocturn 1</b> [alternate]	R	Putasne mortuis homo			---	
	R	Redemptor meus vivit		---		---
	R	Manus tue Domine fecerunt				
	R	Memento queso Domine				
<b>Nocturn 2</b>	R	Rogamus te Domine Deus		Absolve Domine animas	Absolve Domine animas	Redemptor meus vivit
	R	Absolve Domine animas		Ne tradas Domine bestiis	Ne tradas Domine bestiis	Rogamus te Domine Deus
	R	Ne tradas Domine bestiis		Rogamus te Domine Deus	Rogamus te Domine Deus	Absolve Domine animas
<b>Nocturn 3</b>	R	Quomodo confitebor tibi (Quando: 1001)		Deus eterne in cujus humana	Deus eterne in cujus humana	
	R	Deus eterne in cujus humana		Quomodo confitebor tibi	Quomodo confitebor tibi	
	R	Libera me Domine de morte (missing in 1001, 1011)	<i>Indata est cara mea</i>	Libera me Domine de morte (Not in A-KIN 1199)		
	R	---	---	Redemptor meus vivit (601, 602, 1199, 1203, 1204, 1217)	---	---
<b>Additional</b>	V	Averte Domine faciem tuam		---	---	---
	V	Ad peccandum proni sumus		---	---	---
	V	Virgo Dei genetrix stella		---	---	---
	V	Petre cum apostolis Dei		---	---	---
	V	Joannes optime Joannes		---	---	---
	V	Jacobe que Christe clarum		---	---	---
	V	Stephane miles invicte		---	---	---
	V	Omnes sancti orate pro eis		---	---	---



V	Creator omnium rerum Deus	---	---	---
V	Ei ei mihi ei misero	---	---	---
V	Dies illa dies ire	---	---	---

TABLE 12A. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD (MAJOR VIGIL)

Women 1 (14th c.): A-KN 589, 154v–157v; A-KN 1001, 119r–125v; A-KN 1003, 112v–118r; A-KN 1011, 242v–247v; A-KN 1018, 239v–244v

Women 2 (14th c.): A-KN 1015, 187r–191r

Men (14th–15th c.): A-KN 61, 58r–59v; A-KN 590, 152v–155r; A-KN 597, 178r–185v; A-KN 601, 201v–206v; A-KN 602, 83r–85v; A-KN 1183, 88r–99v; A-KN 1199, 195v–198v; A-KN 1203, 92v–95r; A-KN 1204, 83r–117r; A-KN 1205, 60r–82r; A-KN 1217, 70v–95r

Salzburg (14th–15th c.): A-Gu 1244, 100v–103v; A-KN 1188, 84r–86v

Passau (14th c.): A-KN 967, 170v–172r

Blank Same as “Women 1”  
 --- Item not included in MSS  
**Bold, *Italic*** Unique to this/these manuscripts

R Responsory  
 V Versicle

Item	Genre	Women (12th–14th c.)	Women (14th c.)	Men (14th–15th c.)	Passau (14th c.)	Salzburg (15th c.)
<b>Nocturn 1</b>	R	Credo quod redemptor meus				
	R	Qui Lazarum resuscitasti				
	R	Domine quando veneris				
<b>Nocturn 2</b>	R	Heu mihi Domine quia peccavi				
	R	Ne recorderis peccata mea	Peccantem me cotidie			
<b>Nocturn 3</b>	R	Peccantem me cotidie	Ne recorderis peccata mea			
	R	Domine secundum actum				
	R	Libera me Domine de viis				
	R	Libera me Domine de morte		Redemptor meus vivit (61, 590, 597, 601, 602, 1183, 1205) Libera me Domine (1199) Deus eterne (1203) Induta est caro (1204) (Missing in 1217)	Putasne mortuus homo	Libera me Domine de morte (A-Gu 1244) Putasne mortuus homo (A-KN 1188)

TABLE 12B. COMPARISON FOR THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD (MINOR VIGIL)

Women (12th–14th c.): A-KN 1012, 125r–126v; A-KN 1190, 6v–20v  
 Women (14th c.): A-KN 1001, 116r–119r; A-KN 1004, 106v–108v; A-KN 1011, 240v–242v; A-KN 1015, 185v–187v  
 Men (14th–15th c.): A-KN 61, 57v–58r; A-KN 590, 155r–156r; A-KN 597, 185v–188r; A-KN 601, 207v–209v;  
 A-KN 602, 86r–87r; A-KN 1183, 102r–104r; A-KN 1199, 198v–200r; A-KN 1203, 91r–92v;  
 A-KN 1204, 136v–149r; A-KN 1205, 89v–98r; A-KN 1217, 95r–100v  
 Passau (14th c.): A-KN 967, 172v–173v  
 Salzburg (15th c.): A-Gu 1244, 103v–109v; A-KN 1188, 87r–88r

Blank Same as “Women (12th–14th c.)”  
 --- Item not included in MSS  
**Bold, Italic** Unique to this/these manuscripts

R Responsory

Date	Feast (Men)	Feast (Women)
30 December	St. Sylvester	
1 January	Circumcision	
25 January		Conversion of St. Paul
25 April	St. Mark	
3 May	Finding of the Cross (Not until 16th century)	Corpus Christi
26 June	Sts. John and Paul	
30 June	Commemoration of St. Paul	
15 July	Division of the Apostles	
24 August	St. Bartholomew	
29 August	Beheading of John the Baptist	
14 September	Exaltation of the Cross	
20 September	St. Matthew	
29 September	St. Michael	
11 October	Translation of St. Augustine	
18 October	St. Luke	
21 October	11 Thousand Virgins	
28 October	Sts. Simon and Jude	
22 November	St. Cecilia	
23 November	St. Clement	
25 November	St. Catherine	

TABLE 13A. UNIQUE PROCESSIONS

Men: A-KN 590, A-KN 1213, A-KN 635, A-KN 983, A-KN 1199, A-KN 1014  
 Women: A-KN 995, A-KN 1005, A-KN 1006

Feast	Destination (ordinals)	Men	Genre	Women
Easter	<i>Ad dominas / ad montales</i>	Vidi aquam Cum rex glorie Vidit Maria duos angelos / Dicit eis quia (MM) Dimissa sunt (MM) Salve festa dies Sedit angelus / Recordamini Nolite metuere / Crucifixum in carne	A A R V H R R	--- Cum rex glorie --- --- Salve festa dies Sedit angelus / Nolite metuere Recordamini / Crucifixum in carne
Ascension	<i>Ad dominas / ad montales</i>	Cum rex glorie [[ <i>Responsorium de festo</i> ]] Umbrosus tunc / Ad ipsius (MM) Salve festa dies Ite in orbem / In nomine	A R R R H R	--- --- --- Salve festa dies Ite in orbem
Pentecost	<i>Ad dominas / ad montales</i>	Cum rex glorie [[ <i>Responsorium de festo</i> ]] Summe propitiatur / Conferens nobis (MM) Salve festa dies Veni sancte spiritus	A R R R H A	--- --- --- Salve festa dies Veni sancte spiritus
Corpus Christi	<i>Ad montales</i> (A-KN 1014 only, ca. 1500)	<i>Responsorio de festo</i> Lauda Sion Pange Lingua <i>et alitis cantionibus.</i> Accessit ad pedes (MM) Tantum ergo Genitori genitoque --- --- --- ---	R Ps H ? R R H H R R R R R	--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- <b>Homo quidam / Venite comedite</b> <b>Comeditis carnes / Non Moyses dedit</b> <b>Respexit helias / Si quis manducaverit</b> <b>Acceptit Jesu calicem / Memoria memor</b> <b>ero</b>

Assumption	<i>Ad dominas / ad montales</i>	Vidi speciosam / Que est ista Sicut cedrus / Et sicut cynamonum Que est ista / Que est ista Adest testis divine / Maria lavit lacrimis (MM) Beatam me dicent / Et misericordia eius Diffusa est gratia / Specie tua Ornatam in monilibus / Astitit regina Salve nobilis / Odor tuus	R R R R R R R R	Vidi speciosam / Que est ista --- --- --- --- --- --- --- Salve nobilis ( <i>melody nol givert</i> )
Nativity of Mary	<i>Ad dominas vel ad capellam</i>	Hodie nata est beata Virgo / Beatissime Beatissime / Hodie nata Gloriose virginis Marie / Beatissime virginis Maria plorans (MM) [[Inter natos mulierum / Fuit homo missus]] (JB) Felix namque / Ora pro populo	R R R R R R R	Hodie nata est beata Virgo / Beatissime --- --- --- --- --- Felix namque / Ora pro populo

TABLE 13B. PROCESSIONS TO WOMEN'S CHURCH

Men: A-KN 590, A-KN 635, A-KN 983, A-KN 1014, A-KN 1014, A-KN 1213, A-KN 1199  
 Women: A-KN 995, A-KN 1005, A-KN 1006

JB From the feast of John the Baptist (24 June)  
 MM From the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July)  
**Bold, Italic** *Unique to this tradition*  
 --- Not present

A Antiphon  
 H Hymn  
 Ps Psalm  
 R Responsory  
 [[ ]] Optional item  
 ? Unknown items



Dedication of the Church (Women)	4-10 Aug	---	See below	R R	In dedicatione templi / Obtulerunt sacrificium <i>Vidi civitatem sanctam / Et ait qui</i>
Augustine	28 Aug	Augustine altar	Invenit se Augustinus / Nec tu me mutabis Sensit igitur et expertus / Propter iniquitatem Verbum Dei usque ad ipsam / Testamentum ---	R R R R	Invenit se Augustinus / Nec tu me mutabis --- Verbum Dei usque / Testamentum <b>Volebat enim conferenti / Displicebat ei</b> Sensit igitur et expertus / Propter iniquitatem
Dedication of the Church (Men)	29 Sep	<i>per ambitum et cymeterium</i>	Asperges me Domine In dedicatione / Obtulerunt sacrificium Benedic Domine / Conserva (AS) Fundata est / Audi Domine Te sanctum Dominum / Cherubim (MI)	A R R R R	See above

TABLE 13C. VARIATIONS IN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S PROCESSIONS

Men: A-KN 590, A-KN 629 (Rogation only), A-KN 635, A-KN 983,

A-KN 1014, A-KN 1199, A-KN 1213

Women: A-KN 995, A-KN 1005, A-KN 1006

\* The litanies are here omitted.

AS From the Office of All Saints (1 November)

MI From the Office of St. Michael (29 September)

**Unique to this tradition**

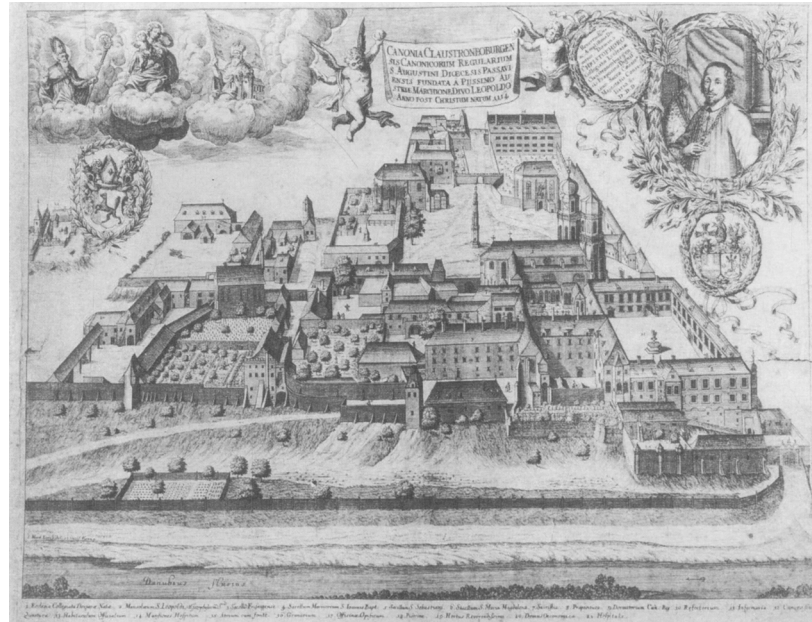
--- Not present

A Antiphon

H Hymn

R Responsory





Bird's Eye View of Klosterneuburg, Engraving by Johann Martin Lerch, 1687–1693.  
Klosterneuburg, Stiftsmuseum, inventory no. DG 414

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