

Über Religion entscheiden / Choosing my Religion

Religiöse Optionen und Alternativen im
mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Christentum /
Religious Options and Alternatives in Medieval and
Early Modern Christianity

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Donators' Choice?

How Benefactors Related to Religious Houses in Medieval Vienna¹

CHRISTINA LUTTER

1. Introduction: Vienna's Ecclesiastical Topography

In what is perhaps the most famous description of late medieval Vienna, the prominent humanist writer, secretary in the chancellery of Emperor Frederick III, and later Pope Enea Silvio Piccolomini paints a lively picture of the city's social diversity as part of his *Historia Austriales* (1454/55).² The text was written at a time when Vienna encompassed around 2,000 houses and between 20,000 and 25,000 urban dwellers. After providing detailed descriptions of the houses of burghers, nobles, and clerics, Enea comments on the city's ecclesiastical topography: he stresses the abundance of churches, their wealth of relics and treasures, and he mentions the clerics' rich benefices. Many private houses, he states, have their own chapels and priests. The houses of the mendicant orders are far from being poor, the Benedictine *Schottenkloster* and the monks of St Augustine are held to be very rich, too, as are pious nuns and holy virgins.³ The humanist

¹ This text is based on research within the Special Research Programme (SFB) 42 VISCOM *Visions of Community: Comparative Approaches to Ethnicity, Region and Empire in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism (400–1600 CE)*, Project 4206 *Social and Cultural Communities in High and Late Medieval Central Europe* (PI: Ch. Lutter), <https://viscom.ac.at/project-team/late-medieval-central-europe/> (accessed 22/5/2018), funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) (2011–2019). I am grateful to the participants of two research seminars at the University of Vienna (2015/16 and 2016/17) on Vienna's ecclesiastical topography who provided valuable insights into the topics brought to the fore here. Special thanks for feedback and comments to Philippe Buc, Julia Burkhardt, Daniel Frey, Herbert Krammer, Jonathan Lyon, Maximilian Alexander Trofaier and Herwig Weigl.

² ENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINI, *Historia Austriales*, part 1 ed. by Julia Knödler, with an introduction by Martin Wagendorfer, part 2 ed. by Martin Wagendorfer, Hannover 2009 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum N. S. 24/1–2*), here at 254–82; on dating issues see the introduction, XVII–XXI. German translation in *Nachrichten aus dem mittelalterlichen Wien*, ed. by Ferdinand Opll, Vienna 1995, 133–6.

³ The best overview of Vienna's churches and monasteries is still RICHARD PERGER/WALTHER BRAUNEIS, *Die mittelalterlichen Kirchen und Klöster Wiens*, Vienna 1977 (*Wiener Geschichtsbücher* 19/20). See also JOHANN WEISSENSTEINER, *Die Geistlichkeit in der österreichischen Stadt des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stadt Wien*, in: Peter Csendes (ed.), *Stadt und Prosopographie. Zur quellenmäßigen Erforschung von Personen und sozialen Gruppen in der Stadt des Spätmittelalters und der frühen*

cleric – making one of his moral statements on urban dwelling – also mentions the penitent women’s community of St Hieronymus, founded by the Habsburg duke in 1386 and supported by craftspeople in particular. In sum, his account highlights the extent to which ecclesiastical topography structured cityscapes and likewise how much it mirrored social diversity.⁴ Like other European cities, Vienna hosted a large variety of social groups with a wide range of backgrounds that developed and differentiated over time. These groups shared a sense of *belonging to the city*, yet they also displayed diverse forms of identification with specific *communities within the city*, such as kin-based, occupational and intellectual networks, guilds and confraternities, parish communities and religious houses.⁵ Given their social heterogeneity, urban spaces are thus paradigmatic for showing various overlaps between ‘secular’ and ‘ecclesiastical’ cultures. As religious institutions played a key role in urban topography, networks across family, kinship, friends, and clients often intersected in communities such as monasteries and charitable institutions.⁶

Neuzeit, Linz 2002 (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Städte und Märkte Österreichs 6), 81–90. The seminal study on the city’s landed property owners is RICHARD PERGER, *Die Grundherren im mittelalterlichen Wien*, in: *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 19/20, 1963/64, 11–68 (part 1); 21/22 (1965/66), 120–83 (part 2); 23/25 (1967/69), 7–103 (part 3); for a concise overview in English with future research perspectives see THOMAS ERTL/THOMAS HAFNER, *The Property Market of Late Medieval Vienna*, in: Susana Zapke/Elisabeth Gruber (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Vienna*, Leiden 2021 (Brill’s Companions to European History), 115–134.

⁴ On the particular religious houses mentioned here, see the respective references below. Enea’s description is full of critical remarks on urban lifestyle in its interrelated profane and sacred dimensions, such as on religious institutions’ wealth, and also of moral objections, for instance to marriage practices and prostitution, see in more detail CHRISTINA LUTTER, *Ways of Belonging to Medieval Vienna*, in: Susana Zapke/Elisabeth Gruber (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Vienna*, Leiden 2021 (Brill’s Companions to European History), 267–311. Cf. JOHN VAN ENGEN, *Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church*, in: *Church History* 77/2 (2008), 257–84, here at 266, on Thomas of Kempen’s comparable criticism vis-à-vis religious and lay residents of Dutch cities.

⁵ Recent research on medieval urban diversity is abundant. With a special stress on the variety of communities within and across medieval towns and cities see, for instance, the contributions in GIORGIO CHITTOLINI/PETER JOHANEK (ed.), *Aspetti e componenti dell’identità urbana in Italia e in Germania (secoli XIV–XVI). Aspetti e Componenten der städtischen Identität in Italien und Deutschland (14.–16. Jahrhundert)*, Bologna 2003; JUSTIN COLSON/ARIE VAN STEENSEL (ed.), *Cities and Solidarities. Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, London/New York 2017 (Routledge Research in Early Modern History); CAROLINE GOODSON et al. (ed.), *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400–1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, Farnham 2010; JEAN LUC FRAY et al. (ed.), *Urban Spaces and the Complexity of Cities*, Cologne et al. 2018 (Städteforschung. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für vergleichende Städtegeschichte in Münster); ELISABETH GRUBER et al. (ed.), *Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten. Topographie, Recht, Religion*, Vienna 2016 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 64); DEREK KEENE et al. (ed.), *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, Farnham 2009; for Vienna cf. LUTTER, *Ways of Belonging* (as note 4).

⁶ Cf. for instance: NICHOLAS TERPSTRA, *Civic Religion*, in: John Arnold (ed.), *The Oxford*

Against this background, the present contribution focuses on religious choice and community through the lens of laypeople's benefactions to religious houses in urban space. These choices involved a variety of interactions between patrons and benefactors of different status and background, economic position, age, and gender. As John van Engen points out in his contribution to this volume, medieval ego-documents that allow for detailed insights into individual religious choices are rare and stand out all the more compared to the little information that we mostly have about ordinary people's pious practices that involved decision making.⁷ Compared to many cities in Western and Southern Europe and their relative wealth of material that allows for scrutinizing aspects of people's ordinary lives, Central European sources pose an even more serious challenge to the issues addressed here.⁸ Yet, the common ground of many surviving materials in Central European towns and cities, such as Vienna, is that they originate exactly from the tight, if differentiated links between social and religious motivations and practices. If mundane and eternal goals, material and spiritual needs are understood as two sides of the same coin, these intricate relations should be considered a key to understanding religious choice and belonging within urban space and beyond.

Before I set out to elaborate some more on these considerations and relate them to the questions raised in this volume, I want to give some background information on the historical context of the subject of this contribution. When the early generations of the Babenberg family established their territorial power-base in Austria during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one of the most effective means to make their lordship last was the foundation of religious houses: first in the core region of the country, then parallel to the spread of settlements

Handbook of Medieval Christianity, Oxford 2014, 148–65; CÉCILE CABY, Religion urbaine et religion civique en Italie au Moyen Âge. Lieux, acteurs, pratiques, in: Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin/Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan (ed.), Villes de Flandre et d'Italie (XIIIe–XVIe siècle). Les enseignements d'une comparaison, Turnhout 2008, 105–20; GERRIT J. SCHENK, Religion und Politik. Die westeuropäische Stadt als sakraler Handlungsraum in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit – eine Skizze, in: Elisabeth Gruber et al. (ed.), Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten. Topographie, Recht, Religion, Vienna 2016 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 64), 273–98. For the argument made here, see also SITA STECKEL, Problematische Prozesse. Die mittelalterliche Inquisition als Fallbeispiel der Problematisierung religiösen Entscheidens im Mittelalter, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 52 (2018), 365–99, at 375.

⁷ JOHN VAN ENGEN, Freedom, Obligation, and Customary Practice: The Pursuit of Religious Life in the Later Medieval and Early Reform Periods, in this volume, at 39–75; also ID., Multiple Options (as note 4), 268, and his important study: ID., Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life. The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages, Philadelphia 2008.

⁸ But see for instance MARIA CRACIUN/ELAINE FULTON (ed.), Communities of Devotion. Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800, Farnham 2011 (Catholic Christendom 1300–1700); JAROSLAV MILLER, Urban Societies in East Central Europe, 1500–1700, Aldershot 2008.

along the Danube toward the Vienna Woods and beyond it.⁹ This development generated a densely entangled monastic and urban network. As in other Central European regions, it was strongly influenced by the lords of the land, who often were the towns' lords, too, and thus profited from urban and monastic prosperity.¹⁰ This interdependency also involved Babenberg followers and other noble families who held landed property both in Vienna and in the region. Thus, Vienna's elites were closely tied to the powerful land-controlling nobility in the city's hinterland.¹¹

From the thirteenth century onwards, narrative sources present Vienna's lords, burghers, and clergy as key actors in urban space – "crown, town, gown", as József Laszlovzsky conveniently put it for comparable constellations in medieval Buda and Visegrad.¹² The significance of Vienna's religious houses and their

⁹ HEINZ DOPSCHE, *Die Länder und das Reich. Der Ostalpenraum im Hochmittelalter. Österreichische Geschichte im Hochmittelalter 1122–1278*, Vienna 2003 (*Österreichische Geschichte*); for recent overviews see CHRISTINA LUTTER, *The Babenbergs: Frontier March to Principality*, in: Graham Loud/Jochen Schenk (ed.), *The Origins of the German Principalities 1100–1350*, London 2017, 312–28, and, for the subsequent ruling family, MARTINA STERCKEN, *Shaping a Dominion: Habsburg Beginnings*, *ibid.*, 329–46.

¹⁰ PETER CSENDES, *Urban Development and Decline on the Central Danube, 1000–1600*, in: Terry R. Salter (ed.), *Towns in Decline, AD 1000–1600*, Aldershot 2000, 137–53; ELISABETH GRUBER et al. (ed.), *Mittler zwischen Herrschaft und Gemeinde. Die Rolle von Funktions- und Führungsgruppen in der mittelalterlichen Urbanisierung Zentraleuropas*, Vienna 2013; for broader comparisons: ANNGRET SIMMS/HOWARD B. CLARKE (ed.), *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe. The European Historic Towns Atlas Project*, Farnham 2015; KATALIN SZENDE, *Town Foundations in East Central Europe and the New World: The Use of the Grid Plan in a Comparative Perspective*, in: id./Gerhard Jaritz (ed.), *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective. From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, London/New York 2016, 157–84.

¹¹ PETER CSENDES, *Das Werden Wiens. Siedlungsgeschichtliche Grundlagen*, in: id./Ferdinand Opll (ed.), *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, 3 vols., Vienna 2001, vol.1, 55–94; ID., *Medieval Vienna and its Political Configuration*, in: Susana Zapke/Elisabeth Gruber (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Vienna*, Leiden 2021 (*Brill's Companions to European History*) 48–78. On regional urban landscapes: HERBERT KNITTLER, *Städtelandschaften in Österreich im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit*, in: Holger Th. Gräf/Katrin Keller (ed.), *Städtelandschaft – Réseau Urbain – Urban Network. Städte im regionalen Kontext in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Köln 2004, 111–33; HERWIG WEIGL, *Städte und Adel im spätmittelalterlichen Österreich*, in: Joachim Jahn (ed.), *Oberdeutsche Städte im Vergleich. Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit*, Sigmaringendorf 1989, 74–100; ID., *Die unauffälligen Städte. Österreichs Kleinstädte im Dunkel der Historiographie*, in: Willibald Rosner (ed.), *Österreich im Mittelalter. Bausteine zu einer revidierten Gesamtdarstellung*, St. Pölten 1999, 119–66.

¹² Cf. JÓZSEF LASZLOVZSKY, *Crown, Gown and Town: Zones of Royal, Ecclesiastical and Civic Interaction in Medieval Buda and Visegrád*, in: Derek J. Keene et al. (ed.), *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, Farnham 2009, 179–203; on late thirteenth century regional historiography see OTTO BRUNNER, *Das Wiener Bürgertum in Jans Enikels Fürstenbuch*, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 58 (1950), 550–74, and recently CHRISTINA LUTTER, *Affective Strategies for Narrating Community. Jans (the) "Enikels" Fürstenbuch*, in: Pavlina Rychterová with the assistance of David Kalhous (ed.), *Competing Narratives of the Past in Central and Eastern Europe, c. 1200 – c. 1600*, Turnhout 2021 (*Historiography and Identity VI/Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* 32), 325–353. For a

function in structuring urban space remained a constant feature of urban representation. Clerics would mediate in conflicts between duke and burghers. The houses of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinian Hermits were preferred places for princely weddings and other 'international' meetings and provided sites for negotiations in times of conflict¹³ – not to mention the eminent role of St Stephen, the city's main parish church and site of representation and devotion for both the duke and the burghers, the chapter and the university, elites and ordinary people.¹⁴

In fact, Vienna's ecclesiastical topography encompassed several parish churches and more than a dozen religious houses for nuns, monks, and clerics of established and new or reformed orders. Among them were Irish Benedictines as the earliest foundation (1155), as well as Augustinian canonesses, and later also canons, Cistercian and Premonstratensian nunneries, Templars, Teutonic Knights, and Knights of the Order of St John, and by the mid-fourteenth century no less than seven mendicant communities. Most of them were founded or at least strongly supported by the Babenberg and Habsburg dukes. The city also had a significant Jewish community and a synagogue. Moreover, houses for penitent women and several charitable institutions, such as hospitals, leprosories, and pilgrim houses, were established by the commune and fostered by the city's lord.¹⁵ Together with the many churches and chapels, often built on individual

wider comparative perspective, see PETER JOHANEK (ed.), *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Cologne 2000 (Städteforschung, Reihe A, 47), and ID., *Das Gedächtnis der Stadt – Stadtchronistik im Mittelalter*, in: Gerhard Wolf/Norbert H. Ott (ed.), *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters*, Berlin/Boston 2016, 337–98; cf. also AUGUSTO VASINA, *Medieval Urban Historiography in Western Europe (1100–1500)*, in: Deborah M. Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, Leiden 2003, 317–52.

¹³ All contemporary historiographical accounts (until 1500) are collected in OPLL, *Nachrichten* (as note 2).

¹⁴ RENATA KASSAL-MIKULA/RAINER POHANKA (ed.), *850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147–1997*, Vienna 1997 (226. Sonderausstellung. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien. Dom- und Metropolitankapitel Wien). On the multi-dimensional roles of St. Stephen's, cf. LUKAS WOLFINGER, *Die Stephanskirche zu Wien als Bühne und Medium fürstlicher Selbstdarstellung unter Herzog Rudolf IV. von Österreich (1358–1365)*, in: Eva Doležalová/Robert Šimůnek (ed.), *Ecclesia als Kommunikationsraum in Mitteleuropa (13.–16. Jahrhundert)*, Munich 2011 (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 122), 119–46; RENATE KOHN, *Stadtpfarrkirche und landesfürstlicher Dom. Der Interpretationsdualismus der Wiener Stephanskirche im 14. Jahrhundert*, in: Werner Paravicini/Jörg Wettlaufer (ed.), *Der Hof und die Stadt. Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Ostfildern 2006 (Residenzenforschung 23), 183–203; CHRISTINA LUTTER/ELISABETH GRUBER, (K)Ein Bischof für Wien? Die österreichischen Herzöge und ihre Bischöfe, in: Andreas Bihrer/Gerhard Fouquet (ed.), *Bischofsstadt ohne Bischof? Präsenz, Interaktion und Hoforganisation in bischöflichen Städten des Mittelalters (1300–1600)*, Kiel 2017 (Residenzenforschung, NF: Stadt und Hof), 199–234. Among the rich art historical literature see JOHANN JOSEF BÖCKER, *Der Wiener Stephansdom. Architektur als Sinnbild für das Haus Österreich*, Salzburg et al. 2007, and BARBARA SCHEDL, *St. Stephan in Wien. Der Bau der gotischen Kirche (1200–1500)*, Vienna 2018.

¹⁵ For an overview, see PERGER, *Kirchen und Klöster* (as note 3); on Vienna's women's

burghers' initiatives, prebendary houses for altar priests and other clerics, town houses of monasteries located outside the city, and confraternity houses, the entirety of Vienna's ecclesiastical institutions added up to about 50 sanctuaries – a large pool providing many options for choice.

2. Motives for Choice: Kinship, Property, and Spiritual Economies in Medieval Vienna

How, then, did people decide to join a specific community or support it by one of the many available means of doing so: for instance, altar foundations, donations for masses or alms for the poor? Obviously, not everyone had the same range of possibilities to make religion-related decisions. Which social and legal conditions set the framework for their choices, or just for the awareness that such options were available? Did religious houses and charitable institutions develop specific profiles that influenced those choices? Finally, how did individuals and institutions react to new religious movements? Did they open up new options or rather close them down? The approach presented here focuses on laypeople – even if sources are scarce and certainly privilege social elites – to find out more about the range and nature of their religious decisions and their motives and priorities (social, economic, spiritual) against the background of conventions, customs, and the obligations binding them. It shall contribute to our understanding of the many aspects of religious plurality that recent historical research has started to underline as a characteristic feature of pre-modern Europe.¹⁶

communities see BARBARA SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur im mittelalterlichen Wien. Zur Architektur religiöser Frauenkommunitäten*, Vienna/Innsbruck 2009 (Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 51), which also provides detailed lists of the written sources for each community. On Vienna's Jewish community: KLAUS LOHRMANN, *Geschichte der Juden in Wien – Mittelalter*, Berlin/Vienna 2000; EVELINE BRUGGER et al. (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich*, Vienna ²2013 (Österreichische Geschichte 15), and most recently MARTHA KEIL, *Minority in Urban Space – The Jewish Community*, in: Susana Zapke/Elisabeth Gruber (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Vienna*, Leiden 2021 (Brill's Companions to European History) 312–359; sources in *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich im Mittelalter*, 3 vols., *Von den Anfängen bis 1338*, 1339–1365, 1366–1386, ed. by Eveline Brugger/Birgit Wiedl, Innsbruck et al. 2005–2015.

¹⁶ NIKOLAS JASPERT, *Communicating Vessels. Ecclesiastic Centralisation, Religious Diversity and Knowledge in Medieval Latin Europe*, in: *The Medieval History Journal* 16 (2013), 389–424; ANDREAS PIETSCH/SITA STECKEL, *Religious Movements before Modernity? Considerations from a Historical Perspective*, in: *Nova Religio. The Journal of Emergent and Alternative Religions* 21/4 (2018), 13–37; JÖRG OBERSTE (ed.), *Pluralität – Konkurrenz – Konflikt. Religiöse Spannungen im städtischen Raum der Vormoderne*, Regensburg 2013 (Forum Mittelalter Studien 8). For a particular stress on laity see VAN ENGEL, *Multiple Options* (as note 4), and for instance EMILIA JAMROZIAK/JANET E. BURTON (ed.), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400. Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, Turnhout 2006 (Europa Sacra 2).

Religious practices such as endowments, pious donations, and charitable acts have a long tradition going back to early European Christianity.¹⁷ Aiming at both mundane purposes and care for the benefactors' souls, pious acts were core elements of community building within an economy of exchange that drew on worldly as well as spiritual resources. Religious communities took care of individuals' and their families' memories, while their benefactions in return served the prosperity of the respective institutions.¹⁸ Families and kinship groups would strengthen their ties to religious houses through family members who entered these communities.¹⁹ Similar mechanisms connected kin groups to charitable institutions and other corporate forms of social organization, such as guilds and confraternities.²⁰

Yet, these overlapping forms of belonging to two key social formations – communities of kin and religious communities – were all simultaneously part of an even more complex framework of social exchange: families and their kin from all status groups also used religious and charitable institutions as integrative 'hubs'. Their benefactions and memorial policies maintained or re-defined social and political relations to their peers, and in the case of the ruling families, to their followers.²¹ On an elite level in urban space, these relations, in turn,

¹⁷ The bibliography is overwhelming. An important transcultural guide to the state of the art is provided by MICHAEL BORGOLTE et al. (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften*, 3 vols., Berlin 2014–2017; cf. also ID., *Stiftung und Memoria*, ed. by Tillmann Lohse, Berlin 2012; classic collections include KARL SCHMID/JOACHIM WOLLASCH (ed.), *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, Munich 1984; DIETER GEUENICH/OTTO G. OEXLE (ed.), *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, Göttingen 1994 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 111); cf. OTTO G. OEXLE, *Memoria als Kultur*, in: id. (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur*, Göttingen 1995 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 121), 9–78.

¹⁸ The classic study is JACQUES CHIFFOLEAU, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320 – vers 1480)*, Rome 1980, reprint Paris 2011. On socio-anthropological foundations see MARCEL MAUSS, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* [1925], Introduction de F. Weber, Quadrige 2007; a helpful methodological discussion is provided by GADI ALGAZI et al. (ed.), *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, Göttingen 2003 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 188).

¹⁹ Seminal studies include BARBARA ROSENWEIN, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter. The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049*, London 1989; GERD ALTHOFF, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1990.

²⁰ OTTO G. OEXLE, *Gilde und Kommune. Über die Entstehung von "Einung" und "Gemeinde" als Grundformen des Zusammenlebens in Europa* [1996], repr. in: Andrea von Hülsen-Esch et al. (ed.), *Die Wirklichkeit und das Wissen: Mittelalterforschung – historische Kulturwissenschaft – Geschichte und Theorie der historischen Erkenntnis*, Göttingen 2011, 569–94. Most recently: ARIE VAN STEENSEL, *Guilds and Politics in Medieval Urban Europe. Towards a Comparative Institutional Analysis*, in: Eva Jullien/Michel Pauly (ed.), *Craftsmen and Guilds in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, Stuttgart 2016 (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 235), 36–56.

²¹ Cf. WOLFGANG ERIC WAGNER, *Stiftungen des Mittelalters in sozialgeschichtlicher Per-*

tended to correspond with ties between representatives of the same kin groups who held key positions in urban political organization, e. g. members of the city council, or court administration. Likewise, they often explicitly included forms of investment in the ‘common good’ of a town or city, such as the construction or maintenance of fortifications, public and ecclesiastical buildings, the latter often accompanied by recurrent indulgences granted by ecclesiastical authorities.²²

Based on a sample of some of Vienna’s most prominent monasteries, I will examine how the material and spiritual aspects of the wide range of practices that related to the support of religious institutions were negotiated through kinship, occupational and intellectual networks, thus providing options of choice. Like elsewhere, donating to a religious house followed a variety of overlapping purposes. First, and as a matter of course, performing a visible pious act both served the community and one’s own soul. These acts would secondly be combined with forms of providing for one’s next of kin, e. g. as members of the community, where their physical and spiritual well-being would be taken care of. Thirdly, pious donations provided benefactors and institutions alike with opportunities for property and credit transactions, making use of the symbolic and social capital of the respective partner.²³

spektive. Über neuere deutsche Forschungen, in: *Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 27 (2001), 639–55. For a selection of recent studies on pious donations in Central European cities see RALF LUSIARDI, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft. Religiöse und soziale Aspekte des Stiftungsverhaltens im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund*, Berlin 2000 (StiftungsGeschichten 2); OLIVIER RICHARD, *Mémoires bourgeoises. Memoria et identité urbaine à Ratisbone à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rennes 2009; ZORAN LADIĆ (ed.), *Last Will: Passport to Heaven. Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia with Special Attention to the Legacies pro remedio animae and ad pias causas*, Zagreb 2012; JUDIT MAJOROSSY, *Piety in Practice. Urban Religious Life and Communities in Late Medieval Pressburg, 1400–1530*, Vienna/Budapest 2021 (CEU *Medievalia*), in press.

²² Recent discussions on the general topic of ‘bonum commune’ include WIM BLOCKMANS, *Constructing a Sense of Community in Rapidly Growing European Cities in the Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries*, in: *Historical Research* 83/222 (2010), 575–87; ELODIE LECUPPRE-DESJARDIN/ANNE-LAURE VAN BRUAENE, (ed.), *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th–16th c.)*, Turnhout 2010; ELISABETH GRUBER, *The City as Commune*, in: Eirik Hovden et al. (ed.), *Meanings of Community across Eurasia*, Leiden 2016 (*Visions of Community* 1), 99–124, on pious donations for communal purposes cf. JUDIT MAJOROSSY, *Constructing Communal Memory Through Donation in Medieval East-Central Europe*, in: Fabian Kümmeler, Judit Majorossy, and Eirik Hovden (ed.), *Practising Community in Urban and Rural Eurasia (1000–1600): Comparative and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Leiden/Boston 2021, 333–361.

²³ BRIGITTE POHL-RESL, *Family, Memory and Charity in Late Medieval Vienna*, in: *Medium aevum quotidianum* 35 (1996), 125–32; EAD., *Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit. Das Wiener Bürgerspital im Mittelalter*, Vienna 1996 (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Erg. Bd. 33), chapter IV: *Kapital und Ewigkeit*. On the latter aspect, see for instance the recent study by WOUTER RYCKBOSCH/ELLEN DEGRAENE, *Household Credit, Social Relations, and Devotion in the Early Modern Economy. A Case Study of Religious Confraternities and Credit Relationships in the Southern Netherlands*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 11 (2014), 1–28.

However, there was a continuous tension between these arrangements and the equally substantial obligation to provide directly for family members.²⁴ While hereditary law in Vienna privileged direct male and female descendants as well as spouses, many donors would divide their freely allocable properties among other family members, friends, servants, and religious or charitable institutions.²⁵ Their decisions were deeply embedded in a web of socio-legal obligations and administrative restrictions that contributed significantly to setting the agenda for choices.²⁶ Decisions and subsequent conflicts thus reveal pious donations as a key mechanism of negotiating social relations within urban space and beyond.

A substantial number of charters and administrative records show that Vienna's urban elites tended to have synchronous relations to various religious communities, for whose maintenance they provided by means of donations and other forms of property transfer in return for anniversaries, masses or entries into a community. On the one hand, they would donate to several communities to increase their chances of salvation – a practice that might be termed 'mixed portfolio'. On the other hand, closer analyses of the source material promise to reveal donation patterns related to more specific forms of belonging, which in turn seem to be, among other factors, related to the particular religious and social 'profiles' of the religious houses in question.²⁷ We may thus ask about benefactors'

²⁴ This point was already stressed by CHIFFOLEAU, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà* (as note 18). On the situation in Vienna cf. BRIGITTE POHL-RESL, *Vorsorge für die Hinterbliebenen als Verpflichtung. Zu einschlägigen Aussagen bürgerlicher Testamente des späten Mittelalters*, in: Markus J. Wenninger (ed.), *Du guoter tot. Sterben im Mittelalter*, Klagenfurt 1998 (Schriftenreihe der Akademie Friesach 3), 179–202, at 184. For a recent study see e.g. ARNOUD-JAN BIJSTERVELD, *Do ut des. Gift giving, memoria, and conflict management in the medieval Low Countries, Hilversum 2007* (Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen 104), here at 114–8.

²⁵ Cf. Duke Albrecht's legislation from 1349 Dec 26: PETER CSENDES (ed.), *Die Rechtsquellen der Stadt Wien, Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Abt. 3, Fontes iuris, vol. 9, Vienna 1986*, n. 22, 126–127. HANS LENTZE, *Das Wiener Testamentsrecht des Mittelalters*, in: ZRG.GA 69 (1952), 98–154; ZRG.GA 70 (1953), 159–229; ID., *Das Seelgerät im mittelalterlichen Wien*, in: ZRG.KA 44 (1958), 35–103; HEINRICH DEMELIUS, *Ehegüterrecht der Münzerstraße im 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 26 (1970), 46–75, commented upon from a social-historical perspective in POHL-RESL, *Family, Memory, and Charity* (as note 23).

²⁶ MAJOROSSY, *Constructing Communal Memory* (as note 22) drawing on RICHARD H. HELMHOLZ, *The Law of Charity and the English Ecclesiastical Courts*, in: Philippa Hoskin et al. (ed.), *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History. Studies Presented to David Smith*, Woodbridge 2005 (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 27), 111–23, gives an overview of the legal framework concerning last wills in Central European towns and cities with a bibliography on the most important regional legislations. She also provides examples of donation practices that wealthy travelling tradespeople used both as tools for integration into their new places of dwelling and for maintaining bonds, e.g. to their families of origins in other cities.

²⁷ See also the contribution of Imke Just in this volume 219–234. An initial network analysis that also touches on this subject was undertaken by ELISABETH GRUBER, *Wer regiert hier*

priorities, which obviously involved forms of choice in this religious ‘market’, such as specific religious ways of life considered the best road to salvation, as well as family traditions and conflict management among kinship groups, and also issues of shared interests or duties within urban space, such as matters of welfare or the construction of churches.²⁸

To explore these relations, a recently started research project centres on around a dozen significant monastic houses, to be complemented by data on the main parish church of St Stephen.²⁹ The main sources for this project are on the one hand charters extant from the thirteenth century onwards, with rising numbers in the fourteenth century.³⁰ On the other hand, urban registers started to be kept after the legislation of the Habsburg dukes Albrecht II (1340) and above all his son, Rudolf IV, the latter specifically concerning manorial rights and real estate transactions within the city (1360s). The dukes promulgated these new precepts during and after years of economic crisis, aiming at a more dynamic, yet regulated property market. Specifically, landed property given to ecclesiastical institutions in the city had to be resold within one year. The ducal stipulation also concerned the redemption of all annuities and rents on landed

wen? Handlungsspielräume in der spätmittelalterlichen Residenzstadt Wien, in: id. et al. (ed.), *Mittler zwischen Herrschaft und Gemeinde* (as note 10), 19–48, at 37–41, based on data from LEOPOLD SAILER, *Die Wiener Ratsbürger des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 1931 (Studien aus dem Archiv der Stadt Wien 3/4).

²⁸ For related questions on religious ‘markets’ see STECKEL, *Problematische Prozesse* (as note 6), here at 375–6; on ‘markets of salvation’ (“Seelenheilmarkt”) cf. TILLMANN LOHSE, *Typologisierungen*, in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens*, vol. 1 (as note 17), 177. On shared goals see, for instance, the contributions in PEREGRINE HORDEN/RICHARD SMITH (ed.), *The Locus of Care. Families, Communities, Institutions, and the Provision of Welfare since Antiquity*, London/New York 1998, and MARTIN SCHEUTZ et al. (ed.) *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Vienna 2008 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erg. Bd. 51), and below, references in n. 100.

²⁹ *Project Stadt und Gemeinschaft. Schenkungen und Stiftungen als Quellen sozialer Beziehungsgeflechte im spätmittelalterlichen Wien* funded by the City of Vienna (MA 8, 2017–2018, PL Ch. Lutter), *Project P 28541, St. Stephan in Wien. Bildwerke und Kultobjekte im Kontext der Schriftquellen* funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, 2015–2018, PL B. Schedl). On St. Michael, the second of Vienna’s important parish churches, see JOHANN WEISSENSTEINER, *Die Pfarre St. Michael im Rahmen des Bistums Wien*, in: *St. Michael. Stadtpfarrkirche und Künstlerpfarre von Wien. 1288–1988. Katalog zur 113. Sonderausstellung des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien*, 1988, Vienna 1988, 35–46; archival materials located in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Vienna, still await systematic analysis.

³⁰ KARL UHLIRZ (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien (QGStW)*, Abt. 2: *Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Wien*, 5 vols., Wien 1898–1936, above all vol. 1: *Verzeichnis der Originalurkunden des Städtischen Archives 1239–1411* (digitized charters online at <http://www.mom-ca.uni-koeln.de/mom/AT-WStLA/HAUrk/fond-> accessed 30/5/2018), to be complemented with KARL UHLIRZ et al. (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien (QGStW)*, Abt. 1: *Regesten aus in- und ausländischen Archiven mit Ausnahme des Archivs der Stadt Wien*, 10 vols., Vienna 1895–1927, and further material from monastic corpora, many of which are also available at www.monasterium.net/mom/fonds (accessed 30/5/2018).

property and thus led to a significant mobilization of capital previously bound to specific forms of real estate.³¹

From then on, the systematic practice of documenting and, hence, controlling property exchange was delegated to Vienna's urban authorities. This structured material yields important information, for instance on last wills.³² It testifies to the mechanisms of social and economic interaction that involved mainly urban elites both among each another and with the city's religious and charitable institutions. For instance, although benefactions and charitable acts substantially increased from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, the new legislation meant that fewer institutions were among their beneficiaries. Among the most attractive and successful religious institutions were – apart from St Stephen's, the town hall's chapel, and the city's main hospital – houses of the Cistercian and Mendicant orders. Also, economic strategies shifted from property-based to rent- and mortgage-based transactions, which yielded regular income. Vienna's main hospital (*Bürgerspital*) provides the key example for these complex practices.³³ Yet, most of the available materials still await systematic analysis. Nevertheless, in what follows, I want to outline some patterns that preliminary and case-study-based findings reveal.³⁴

³¹ Rechtsquellen der Stadt Wien (as note 25), n. 20, 107–125, here at 118–119 and nn. 24–25, 128–33. For details cf. ERTL/HAFFNER, Property Market (as note 3).

³² FRANZ STAUB (ed.), Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien (QGStW), Abt. 3: Grundbücher der Stadt Wien, Vienna 1898–1921; WILHELM BRAUNEDER et al. (ed.), Die Wiener Stadtbücher 1395–1430, 5 vols., Vienna et al. 1989–2018 (Fontes Rerum Austriacum III/10, 1–5). On the Viennese material discussed from a methodological perspective cf. POHL-RESL, Vorsorge für die Hinterbliebenen (as note 24), and ID., Family, Memory and Charity (as note 23), as well as GERHARD JARITZ, Österreichische Bürgertestamente als Quelle zur Erforschung städtischer Lebensformen des Spätmittelalters, in: Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus 8 (1984), 249–64, and more recently ID., Arme Jungfrauen, Betten und das Seelenheil, in: Thomas Olechowski/Christoph Schmetterer (ed.), Testamente aus der Habsburgermonarchie – Alltagskultur, Recht, Überlieferung, Vienna 2011 (Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Österreichs 1), 78–84. A good overview is provided by HIRAM KÜMPER, Last Wills, in: Albrecht Classen (ed.), Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods, Trends, Berlin et al. 2010, 594–602.

³³ GRUBER, Handlungsspielräume (as note 27), here at 38; POHL-RESL, Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit, here at 146, and ID., Family, Memory and Charity, 128 (both as note 23) on economic strategies of Vienna's *Bürgerspital*.

³⁴ In a first step, an xml-database relying on a factoid prosopography approach and connected to the monasterium.net platform (developed in collaboration with G. Vogeler, Univ. Graz) includes all ca. 750 charters on legal transactions between Vienna's religious institutions and individual benefactors from the beginning of the documentation up to c. 1400. Moreover, we will integrate the documentation on the parish church of St. Stephen's in collaboration with B. Schedl, who is PI of a related project (see note 29). Next steps will extend the charter-based material up to 1500, and eventually include the material held in the urban registers. Two research seminars (with J. Majorossy) provided first samplings; several PhD and MA students (D. Frey, H. Krammer, K. Punkl, M.A. Trofaier) completed their theses on case studies on religious houses. T. Ertl and some PhD students (T. Haffner, K. Grünwald) work on patterns of property transfer using the same cartulary and register material. See Christina Lutter, Stadt und Gemeinschaft. Schenkungen und Stiftungen als Quellen sozialer Beziehungsgeflechte im spät-

In the context of the questions raised in this volume, my examples will stress three aspects: They will focus on social interactions between ‘old’ and ‘new’ religious houses and old as well as newly emergent urban elite groups in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and establish what these interactions tell us about the involved communities’ specific profiles; secondly, they will pay attention to relations between women’s and men’s communities. Thirdly, I will use the example of Vienna’s oldest monastic foundation, the Benedictine *Schottenkloster* (1155) to consider briefly how the social and economic motives and priorities most accessible in the types of source material used for the approach presented here might have related to specific spiritual motivations for choice. The latter were more clearly articulated in reform movements and documented by new regulations, visitation protocols, sermons, and other types of religious literature.

3. Social and Spiritual Profiles

The nunnery of St Niklas, founded around 1230 and located slightly outside Vienna’s South-Eastern town gate, was among the religious houses founded by the Babenberg dukes during the decades that marked the peak of their power. After the comparatively early establishment of the Irish community of the *Schottenkloster* (1155), a substantial phase of founding activities went along with the city’s expansion around 1200, when the city’s wall was also erected. In 1221, Duke Leopold VI granted Vienna’s burghers’ comprehensive liberties in the first documented town ordinance.³⁵ By 1220, representatives of the three main Knights’ Orders had settlements in the city, and only a few years later Franciscan and Dominican friars were invited to establish their houses there, followed by the foundation of several women’s communities that likewise took place around 1230: Cistercian St Niklas, Augustinian St James, and the penitent sisters of St Mary Magdalen. These three houses were all located along the trade route near the former Roman Limes fortification line, following the Danube and thus at key strategic sites. The Himmelpfortkloster (*porta coeli*, termed so by contemporaries, according to a legend) for female Premonstratensians followed

mittelalterlichen Wien, in: Mitteilungen der Residenzenkommission Göttingen (2020), 26–40. <https://doi.org/10.26015/adwdocs-1729> and Christina Lutter, Daniel Frey, Herbert Krammer und Korbinian Grünwald, Soziale Netzwerke im spätmittelalterlichen Wien. Geschlecht, Verwandtschaft und Objektkultur, in: MEMO_quer 2 (2021), DOI: 10.25536/2021q002, Link: <http://dx.doi.org/10.25536/2021q002>.

³⁵ Cf. the references in footnote 9 and the contributions in CSENDES/OPLL, Wien (as note 11), chapters “Das Werden Wiens. Siedlungsgeschichtliche Grundlagen” (Csendes), 55–94, and “Vom frühen 13. bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts” (Opll), 95–105. The evidence is systematically collected in KLAUS LOHRMANN/FERDINAND OPLL (ed.), Regesten zur Frühgeschichte von Wien, Vienna 1981 (Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 10), and PETER CSENDES (ed.), Die Rechtsquellen der Stadt Wien, Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Abt. 3, Fontes iuris, Bd. 9, Vienna 1986.

in the 1260s, a town house for the Cistercian nuns of St Niklas in the 1270s, after the destruction brought about in the power struggles between the Bohemian and Hungarian kings.³⁶

St Niklas, moreover, shared in the religious and socio-political conditions of the Cistercian houses in Austria, whose rise started a century earlier and went hand in hand with the Babenberg's territorial expansion mentioned before. Cistercians were strongly supported by the landlords; they also established close relations with the small towns in their environment, as well as with Vienna, just when the city was growing into the Babenberg residence, where they likewise bought town houses for use as trading bases.³⁷

The nunnery of St Niklas was among the daughter-houses of well-known Heiligenkreuz. The latter was the first Cistercian foundation in the Babenberg march (1133/36) and located in the Vienna Woods at a day's distance, to the city's southwest; its nuns were supervised by Heiligenkreuz monks.³⁸ As regional and urban elites were closely related by kinship, it is not surprising that by the end of the thirteenth century, many of those families who had already supported the Cistercians at Heiligenkreuz, Zwettl, and Lilienfeld some decades earlier were also among the patrons of St Niklas.³⁹ For instance, the prominent

³⁶ Exact foundation data are generally difficult to establish. In most cases, robust evidence from charters only dates from the 1230s onwards. See the overviews on each sanctuary in PERGER/BRAUNEIS, Kirchen und Klöster (as note 3); for women's communities more recently SCHEDL, Klosterleben und Stadtkultur (as note 15), 33–49 with topographical and bibliographical details.

³⁷ CHRISTINA LUTTER, *Locus horrois et vastae solitudinis? Zisterzienser und Zisterzienserinnen in und um Wien*, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 132 (2012), 141–76 with further bibliography, 166–76 on St. Niklas. ROMAN ZEHETMAYER, *Zisterzienser und Städte in (Nieder-) Österreich und Steiermark vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Pro Civitate Austriae N.F. 7* (2002) 23–44. Cf. WERNER RÖSENER, *Die Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser im Spannungsfeld der Stadt-Land-Beziehungen des Hochmittelalters*, in: Claudia Dobrinski (ed.), *Kloster und Wirtschaftswelt im Mittelalter*, Munich 2007, 85–99, and PETER JOHANEK, *Stadt und Zisterzienserinnenkonvent. Ausblick auf ein Forschungsprogramm*, in: *Stadtarchiv und Stadtgeschichte. Forschungen und Innovationen*, ed. by Archiv der Stadt Linz 2004 (*Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* 2003/2004), 217–30.

³⁸ Detailed evidence in FERDINAND OPLL, *St. Maria bei St. Niklas vor dem Stubentor*, in: *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 50 (1994), 13–81. SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur* (as note 15), 95–143; CHRISTINA LUTTER, *Geteilte soziale Räume und gemeinsame Zugehörigkeiten: Die Wiener Zisterzienserinnen um 1300*, in: Christine Kleinjung/Thomas Kohl (ed.), *Konstanz und Wandel. Religiöse Lebensformen im europäischen Mittelalter*, Korb 2016 (*Studien und Texte zur Geistes- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters* 10), 201–19.

³⁹ See most recently two Master theses on the nunnery's social and spiritual economy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: DANIEL FREY, *Interaktionen zwischen Kloster und Welt. Die sozialen Trägergruppen der Klöster St. Niklas, St. Bernhard und Altenburg im 13. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 2017, and HERBERT KRAMMER, *Die Zisterzienserinnen von St. Niklas im 14. Jahrhundert. Soziales Beziehungsnetz, Stiftungspraxis und Klosterökonomie*, Vienna 2017. For recently published results see Daniel Frey and Herbert Krammer, *Ein Frauenkloster und seine sozialen Beziehungsgeflechte in städtischen und ländlichen Räumen. Die Zisterzienserinnen von St. Niklas bei Wien im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, in: *Orden und Stadt*,

noble families of Haslau and Arnstein regularly donated to both Heiligenkreuz and Zwettl.⁴⁰ Later, they also appear in charters for St Niklas: one example is a document issued in 1284, when Benedicta of Arnstein donated a farmyard and a vineyard near Krems in Lower Austria to the abbess and the nuns of St Niklas. The charter's witnesses include influential regional magnates, whose social ascent had started in Babenberg times and who later were often among the followers of the Bohemian king Otakar II Přemysl during his reign in Austria. One of the most prominent was Otto of Haslau, who had previously held the office of regional judge (*Landrichter*). In a slightly earlier charter from 1283, Otto affirmed that he had consigned his wife's sister, "our most beloved Lady Agnes", to the nunnery of St Niklas, thus providing an early direct reference to a community member.⁴¹

Other contemporary charters feature Vienna-based elites as benefactors of St Niklas, including rich urban property owners and office holders, often termed "burghers and knights" (*cives et milites*).⁴² One of them was Paltram, among Vienna's most affluent burghers, a prominent office holder and financial as well as military supporter of King Otakar.⁴³ Interestingly, Paltram is also presented as the hero of a hagiographical text written by the Cistercian monk Gutolf of Heiligenkreuz, who then was the spiritual advisor of St Niklas' nuns. Using the genre of a relic translation as a framework for his account, Gutolf commented on the dramatic contemporary confrontations between Otakar II of Bohemia

Orden und ihre Wohltäter, hg. von Jiří M. Havlík, Jarmila Hlaváčková und Karl Kollermann (Monastica historia 4, Prag und St. Pölten 2019), 384–420, and Herbert Krammer, Grundbesitz und Klosterwirtschaft der Wiener Zisterzienserinnen von St. Niklas im späten Mittelalter, in: NÖLA. Mitteilungen des Niederösterreichischen Landesarchivs 19 (2020), 261–306.

⁴⁰ Heiligenkreuz charters mention Otto "the Older" of Haslau in 22 different functions in legal transactions between 1239 and 1280 alone; members of the Arnstein family are mentioned 21 times during the same period: Discussion in FREY, Interaktionen (as note 39), 31–47; the numbers *ibid.*, 111 with footnotes 620 and 621.

⁴¹ The first mentioned charter is preserved in Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (WStLA) HAUrl, Nr. 16 (1284 IX 16), cf. QGStW (as note 30) II/1, Nr. 16 (1284 Sept 16), the second one in Stiftsarchiv Heiligenkreuz (StiAH) 1283 III 14, cf. FREY, Interaktionen (as note 39), 45 and 52 with an extensive bibliography on regional history. Cf. MAXIMILIAN WELTIN, Landesherr und Landherren. Zur Herrschaft Ottokars II Přemysl in Österreich, in: *id./Andreas Kusternig* (ed.), Ottokar-Forschungen, Vienna 1979 (Jahrbuch Landeskunde Niederösterreich, N. F. 44/45), 130–87; *Id.*, Landesfürst und Adel – Österreichs Werden, in: *id.*, Das Land und sein Recht: Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Verfassungsgeschichte Österreichs im Mittelalter, ed. by Folker Reichert/Winfried Stelzer, Vienna 2006 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erg. Bd. 49), 509–64.

⁴² OPLL, St. Niklas (as note 38) for a complete record of the evidence until 1300; on the terminology cf. BRUNNER, Wiener Bürgertum (as note 12) and HERBERT KNITTLER, Die österreichische Stadt im Spätmittelalter. Verfassung und Sozialstruktur. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Problemkreises 'Stadtadel und Bürgertum', in: Reinhard Elze/Gina Fasoli (ed.), Stadtadel und Bürgertum in den italienischen und deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters, Berlin 1991 (Schriften des Italienisch-Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Trient 2), 183–205.

⁴³ PERGER, Grundherren (as note 3) part 3, 23–35; BRUNNER, Wiener Bürgertum (as note 12), 555–6.

and Rudolf I of Habsburg, which also affected St Niklas' nuns:⁴⁴ The combat threatened their house located outside Vienna's walls and eventually led to the construction of a second nunnery inside the city. This one bordered on the town house of its motherhouse Heiligenkreuz; it was erected on the same Gutolf's and the nunnery's abbess Margardis' request and sponsored by Paltram and his family, because neither of the two competing kings was willing or able to help their cause.⁴⁵

Although the monk Gutolf's text is extraordinary in its open partisanship for the burgher and warlord Paltram, the solution to the nunnery's problem presented here is significant for the tight relations of support and patronage between an urban monastery, its motherhouse in the hinterland, and the entangled urban-regional elites – a picture that is supported by a substantial amount of documentary records. Yet, moreover and importantly, Gutolf's text is also one of the early and rare examples in the region to describe a nunnery's spiritual profile. He extensively comments on the 70 women's spiritual virtuosity, their excellent literacy and their discipline. What is more, extant manuscripts from Heiligenkreuz give complementary insights into teaching and preaching practices that directly and indirectly refer to the women's social status and their family relations: among Gutolf's works dedicated to the nuns of St Niklas is a didactic dialogue on St Agnes and a life of St Scholastica, in which he uses the saint's relation to her brother St Benedict as a prestigious role model for his own mentees. He also wrote an often-copied Latin Grammar with numerous allusions to secular life both in the vernacular and in Latin, in which he – not quite modestly – inserted comments on his own pedagogic excellence.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz, *Translatio Sanctae Delicianae*, ed. by Oswald Redlich/Anton E. Schönbach, *Sitzungsberichte der Ks. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 159/2, Vienna 1908, 1–38; for a recent interpretation see LUTTER, *Geteilte soziale Räume* (as note 38) and EAD., *Negotiated Consent: Power Policy and the Integration of Regional Elites in Late Thirteenth-Century Austria*, in: Fabrizio Titone (ed.), *Policies of Disciplined Dissent in the 12th to Early 16th Centuries*, Rome 2016, 41–64; the classic study on Gutolf's political historiography is KARL BRUNNER, *Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz und König Ottokars Glück und Ende*, in: Max Weltin/Andreas Kusternig (ed.), *Ottokar-Forschungen*, Vienna 1979 (*Jahrbuch Landeskunde Niederösterreich*, N. F. 44/45), 427–33.

⁴⁵ The text passage in Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz, *Translatio Sanctae Delicianae* (as note 44), 12–13; SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur* (as note 15), 105–111 with topographical and architectural details.

⁴⁶ ANTON E. SCHÖNBACH, *Über Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz. Untersuchungen und Texte*, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse* 150/2, Vienna 1904, 1–129. Overviews by WINFRIED STELZER, *Art. Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon* 3 (1981), 338–46; FRITZ PETER KNAPP, *Die Literatur des Spätmittelalters in den Ländern Österreich, Steiermark, Kärnten, Salzburg und Tirol von 1273–1439*, Graz 1999, 38–52 with detailed references; CARMEN CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, *Der Dyalogus Agnetis des Gutolf von Heiligenkreuz*, in: M. C. Díaz y Díaz/J. M. Díaz de Bustamante (ed.), *Poesía Latina Medieval (siglos V–XV)*, Florence 2005, 425–35 for a recent philological and codicological study on this specific work. Discussion in LUTTER, *Geteilte soziale Räume* (as note 38).

Here we get a rare glimpse at how social and spiritual elite status, both constitutive for the profile of a religious community, seem to have mirrored and sustained each other. Testifying to the nunnery's socio-political importance, the Habsburg dukes re-affirmed the monastery's extant privileges in 1277 and 1287, soon after their take-over of power in the Austrian lands.⁴⁷ During the next few decades, donation charters continued to document St Niklas' profile as supported by closely tied-in city- and country-based benefactors, burghers and knightly representatives of the region's social elites. From around 1300 onwards sources also provide increasing information on the community's members who – where documented – often belonged to the donors' families, thus mutually binding monastic and kinship networks.⁴⁸

Both their spiritual reputation as members of the reform order massively involved in the making of the land and their economic sustainability thus made 'old' religious communities like the Cistercians continuously attractive sites of attachment. These houses' strong spiritual tradition was linked to the rise of their founders, the Babenberg family in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while their – from then on – continuously strengthened economic standing provided both means for 'old' elites' socio-political identification and an anchor for their own material and spiritual economy in times of change around 1300.⁴⁹ For, regardless of these changes, the women's community of St Niklas remained one of the city's most prosperous religious institutions. It boasted some of the most profitable possessions, for instance downtown butchers' stalls, as well as landed property, above all vineyards in Vienna's hinterland, and a rising involvement in rent-based capital transactions.⁵⁰

Yet, the community's monastic economy also reflects the complex social differentiation that took place during the following decades along with the gradual establishment of Habsburg power. The old elites' power base as represented in benefactions for St Niklas thus seems to have moved from the hinterland to the city, their self-understanding from 'nobles' to 'burghers'. Likewise, from the early fourteenth century onwards, donations from mixed town- and region-based 'old' elites start to decrease compared to those from new urban elites including

⁴⁷ OPLL, St. Niklas (as note 38), lists all privileges that St Niklas received during the thirteenth century; for the two mentioned here cf. 45, n. 27 (18.2.1277), 49, n. 36 (13.10.1287). However, St Niklas acquired these early Habsburg privileges later than other monasteries, such as the women of St Mary Magdalen (1276), cf. KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), with detailed references at 82–4.

⁴⁸ KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), was able to identify 34 abbesses from 1276 until 1534, when the remaining nuns had to leave Vienna on account of the monastery's destruction brought about during the Ottoman siege of the city; and 29 nuns and sisters for the period covered in his analysis (1283–1419), overview at 125–7, discussion in chapters 3 and 4.

⁴⁹ LUTTER, Negotiated Consent (as note 44), on the socio-political landscape; POHL-RESL, Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit, at 118 and 160, and EAD., Family, Memory and Charity (both as note 23), 127 on the reliability of religious institution's as a key asset of their social capital.

⁵⁰ KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), 98–120.

merchants and rich artisans, who simultaneously start to be among the representatives of Vienna's main offices.⁵¹ On the whole, the material conveys the impression that benefactions were key elements in mutual processes of integration among these increasingly 'urban' elite groups, which together with other bonds, for instance established by office holding and inter-marriage, can be read as both indicators and means of their transformation.

However, these were by no means linear processes, and only a synopsis with data from urban monasteries that feature comparable characteristics will eventually provide a clearer assessment of the set of elements that were at play in the social differentiation that took place in Vienna during the fourteenth century. For instance, it is remarkable that by 1400 not just urban St Niklas, but also the main Cistercian houses in Vienna's hinterland, Heiligenkreuz and Lilienfeld, were still among those institutions most often mentioned in burghers' benefactions.⁵² However, similar motives that made donors support Cistercians may have been decisive for urban dwellers' unbroken support of other religious institutions stemming from the time of Babenberg foundations, such as St Mary Magdalen, St James, or the Himmelfortkloster, which were likewise among the houses most often supported by Vienna's council members during the fourteenth century.⁵³

4. The Lords and Their Followers

Around 1300 the new Habsburg lords initiated another powerful wave of foundations, resulting in the establishment of new mendicant houses. These foundations were part of the family's power politics in its recently gained territories and clearly also contributed to the diversification of Vienna's sacred topography.⁵⁴ This section will focus on the Habsburg foundation of the Poor Clares in 1304/05, three generations after the Babenberg Leopold VI had invited both the Franciscans (ca 1224) and the Dominicans (ca 1226) to establish houses in Vienna.⁵⁵ During the early decades of mendicant expansion all over Europe,

⁵¹ GRUBER, Handlungsspielräume (as note 27), for the general socio-political framework, esp. 37–41 with a focus on 'donation communities' of families who were part of the city council during the fourteenth century. KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), for a detailed analysis of St Niklas donation charters during the same time.

⁵² MICHAEL FRÖSCHL, Spätmittelalterliche letztwillige Verfügungen des Wiener Bürgertums zugunsten geistlicher Einrichtungen im heutigen Niederösterreich, in: NÖLA. Mitteilungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Landesarchiv 17 (2016), 369–86.

⁵³ SAILER, Ratsbürger; GRUBER, Handlungsspielräume (both as note 27).

⁵⁴ On the historical context cf. ALOIS NIEDERSTÄTTER, Die Herrschaft Österreich. Fürst und Land im Spätmittelalter, Österreichische Geschichte 1278–1411, ed. by Herwig Wolfram, Vienna 2001. On the Habsburgs' monastic policy that balanced practices of connecting to previous Babenberg tradition with new incentives, see ALEXANDER SAUTER, Fürstliche Herrschaftsrepräsentation. Die Habsburger im 14. Jahrhundert, Ostfildern 2003 (Mittelalter-Forschungen 12).

⁵⁵ PERGER/BRAUNEIS, Kirchen und Klöster (as note 3), 133–46 (Franciscans) and 208–30

a handful of further houses were established in the core regions of Austria, followed by initial communities for female members in Wiener Neustadt (1250) and Imbach (1269).⁵⁶

During the first decades of their existence, Vienna's Franciscans and Dominicans were granted a substantial number of still-extant privileges and indulgences issued by popes and bishops, many of them for the construction of the Franciscans' church, which was consecrated in 1251, but later rebuilt after devastating fires around 1260.⁵⁷ During these years many documents also address conflicts caused by the local and regional clergy's opposition to new mendicant practices of confession and preaching to laypeople, and these often address Franciscans and Dominicans alike. Although these documents do not give any concrete information on laypeople's preferences or choices and cannot be related to

(Poor Clares); SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur* (as note 15), 235–56; cf. also ALFONS ŽÁK, *Zur Geschichte des Frauenklosters Sankt Klara in Wien*, in: *Monatsblätter des Vereins für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 4 (1908/09); on Vienna's Franciscans most recently KATHARINA PUNKL, *Die Minoriten in Wien von ihrer Gründung bis 1400*, Vienna 2018 (unpubl. Diploma thesis); on the convent's first years cf. WERNER MALECZEK, *Zu den ersten Jahren des Wiener Minoritenklosters*, in: Marina Benedetti/Maria Luisa Betri (ed.), "Una strana gioia di vivere". A Grado Giovanni Merlo, Milano 2010, 283–96.

⁵⁶ See the recent overview by BEATRIX F. ROMHÁNYI, *Mendicant Networks and Population in a European Perspective*, in: Gerhard Jaritz/Katalin Szende (ed.), *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective. From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, London/New York 2016, 99–122. In the 1220s and 1230s communities for Franciscans and Dominicans were established in Krems-Stein and Wiener Neustadt, as well as just for Franciscans in Laa/Thaya and in Tulln. Cf. GOTTFRIED FRIESS, *Geschichte der österreichischen Minoritenprovinz*, Vienna 1882 (*Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 64); ERNST ENGLISCH, *Bettelorden in Österreich von den Anfängen bis in die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Beziehungen zu den Habsburgern*. Im Anhang der "Index Universalis" des Wr. Dominikanerkloster herausgegeben und erläutert, Vienna 1969 (unpubl. Dissertation); HERTA HAGENEDER, *Die Minoriten in den österreichischen Städten*, in: Franz-Heinz Hye (ed.), *Stadt und Kirche*, Linz 1995 (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas* 13), 257–68; ANDREAS H. ZAJIC, *Vorbemerkungen zu einer Frühgeschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters Imbach*. Mit einem Nachtrag zu CDB V/2 und 3, in: *MIÖG* 115 (2007), 35–75.

⁵⁷ PUNKL, *Minoriten* (as note 55), 94–116 lists all charters that were issued on behalf of the Franciscans until 1400, among them 82 privileges, mandates and indulgences; cf. also JOHANNES GIESSAUF, *Die mittelalterlichen Originalurkunden des Wiener Dominikanerarchivs*. Vorarbeiten zur Erstellung eines Urkundenbuchs der Ordensprovinz Teutonia im Rahmen einer Quellenedition sowie prosopographischer Studien bis zum Tod König Albrechts II., Graz/Vienna 1998 (unpubl. Staatsprüfungsarbeit at the Institute of Austrian Historical Research); cf. WOLFRAM HOYER (ed.), *Der Index universalis von 1692 des Archivs des Wiener Dominikanerkonventes*, Roma 2005 (*Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum, Complementa* 1). BARBARA SCHEDL, *Herzogshof und Frauenkloster*. Repräsentative Bettelordensarchitektur im Herzogtum Österreich, in: Heidemarie Specht/Ralph Andraschek-Holzer (ed.), *Bettelorden in Mitteleuropa*. Geschichte, Kunst, Spiritualität, St. Pölten 2008 (*Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Niederösterreichs* 15), 433–48, provides evidence on the construction process at 437–8. Cf. ROBERT W. SHAFFERN, *Mendicant Friars and the Legacy of Indulgences*, in: Andreas Rehberg (ed.), *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters*. Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext, Berlin 2017 (*Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom* 132), 283–94.

individual bequests, still their frequency testifies to conflicts brought about by a new competition on the spiritual market.⁵⁸

Another generation later, and obviously as part of his power policy, King Rudolf I founded a house for female Dominicans in Tulln (1280), while his son Albrecht I provided for its equivalent St Lawrence in Vienna (after 1291). The slightly earlier establishment of the Poor Clares in Dürnstein (1289) was then followed by a Poor Clares' community in Vienna (1305) that developed into a key site of ducal power.⁵⁹ Later, the now four Viennese mendicant houses were complemented with the establishment of a new house for the Augustinian Hermits (1327), who had previously dwelled outside the city's walls.⁶⁰ The Viennese Poor Clares' convent bordered the only recently erected new castle and the so-called Herrenviertel, the quarter where the nobility lived. Its dimensions surpassed any other women's religious house in the city. Together with the Franciscans' house a few minutes' walk away, which featured equally impressive dimensions, and the Augustinian Hermits, this ensemble of mendicant religious as well as secular buildings clearly constituted a shared space of ducal representation.⁶¹

The Habsburg initiative followed an earlier trend widespread in Central Europe, whereby female members of the ruling houses, in particular, strongly supported mendicant houses dedicated to a life of poverty. Gábor Klaniczay showed how during the thirteenth century many Central European princesses entered these houses to give an example of outstanding humility, replacing their royal lifestyle with one committed to poverty and charity.⁶² Over time though,

⁵⁸ See the overview of documents in PUNKL, *Minoriten* (as note 55), 94–116, discussed, esp. at 58–62. On the general problem cf. for instance GERT MELVILLE, *Duo novae conversationis ordines. Zur Wahrnehmung der frühen Mendikanten vor dem Problem institutioneller Neuartigkeit im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, in: id./Jörg Oberste (ed.), *Die Bettelorden im Aufbau. Beiträge zu Institutionalisierungsprozessen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, Münster et al. 1999 (*Vita Regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter* 11), 1–23; RAMONA SICKERT, *Wenn Klosterbrüder zu Jahrmarktsbrüdern werden. Studien zur Wahrnehmung der Franziskaner und Dominikaner im 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2006 (*Vita Regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter* 28).

⁵⁹ BARBARA SCHEDL, *Der König und seine Klosterstiftung in der Stadt Tulln. Eine Selbstinszenierung Rudolfs I im Herzogtum Österreich*, in: *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Niederösterreichs* 14 (2004), 9–17; KATJA ALMBERGER, *Die Frauenkonvente St. Bernhard, Imbach und Dürnstein. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung der Stifter und Nonnen im Zeitraum 1265–1400*, Vienna 2016 (unpubl. Master Thesis).

⁶⁰ A house for women of the Third Order (St Theobald) was established by Duke Albrecht II (1354), the Carmelites followed soon after (1360/86), cf. PERGER/BRAUNEIS, *Kirchen und Klöster* (as note 3), 164–9 and 126–133. Eventually, St Hieronymus, a further house for penitent women, was founded by Duke Albrecht III (1386) and strongly supported by Vienna's uprising artisans, cf. MARTIN ROLAND, *Das Büsserinnenhaus St. Hieronymus in Wien. Ein vorläufiger Quellenüberblick bis ca. 1500*, first publ. in October 2013 (<https://www.univie.ac.at/paecht-archiv-wien/dateien/Quellen-St-Hieronymus-Wien.html> – accessed 30/4/2018).

⁶¹ SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur* (as note 15), 235–56, and ID., *Herzogshof und Frauenkloster* (as note 57).

⁶² GÁBOR KLANICZAY, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval*

humble conversion lost its attraction compared to the role that alliances with mendicants played for rulers' strategies.⁶³ Rudolf's I symbolic performance of his victory over the Bohemian king Otakar II Přemysl in 1278 is a prominent instance: because Otakar had already supported the Viennese Franciscans substantially during his reign in the Austrian lands, Rudolf I used the Franciscans' chapter house to stage his adversary's defeat by having Otakar's corpse put on display there for weeks.⁶⁴ Around the same time charters document the new king's presence and legal acts *in domo fratrum Minorum*, while his son Albrecht had both Franciscans and Dominicans assent to the renewal of the *Stapelrecht* (1281), a key economic privilege that allowed the city to oblige foreign traders to set down and offer their goods there before travelling on.⁶⁵

Likewise, acts of large-scale patronage and pious donations impressively show the Habsburgs' support for the mendicants, and they provide significant evidence for choices made by members of the ducal family.⁶⁶ The last will of Duchess Blanche of France (1282–1305), consort of Duke Rudolf III (1282–1307), is a case in point. In 1304 Blanche initially bestowed the huge sum of 1,000 pounds for an enlargement of the Franciscans' church, which would have involved its rededication to Saint Louis, her grandfather. While she likewise arranged for anniversaries on her own behalf in several other religious houses, she only gave 40 pounds to her family's new foundation for the Poor Clares.⁶⁷ When she died in the following year (1305), an extraordinary tomb was erected for her in the Franciscans' church. However, in the same year (1305), Duke Rudolf III changed the will of his late wife and rededicated the 1,000 pounds to the Poor Clares. He moreover took them under his special protection, conforming to his family's

Central Europe, Cambridge 2002; for a general overview cf. DONALD PRUDLO (ed.), *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, Leiden/Boston 2011 (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 24); NICOLE BÉRIOU/JACQUES CHIFFOLEAU (ed.), *Économie et religion: l'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIIIe–XVe siècle)*, Lyon 2009.

⁶³ JULIA BURKHARDT, *Allerchristlichste Könige und Mindere Brüder. Franziskanische Klöster als Begegnungsräume im angevinischen Königreich Ungarn*, in: Klaus Oschema et al. (ed.), *Abrahams Erbe. Konkurrenz, Konflikt und Koexistenz der Religionen im europäischen Mittelalter*, Munich 2014, 340–57; EAD., *Friars and Princesses in Late Medieval Poland: Encounters, Interactions and Agency*, in: Imke Just/Nikolas Jaspert (ed.), *Fürstinnen und Mendikanten. Hochadlige Bettelordensaffinität in europäischer Perspektive*, Berlin 2018 (*Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*), 239–61.

⁶⁴ SCHEDL, *Der König und seine Klosterstiftung* (as note 59); ID., *Herzogshof und Frauenkloster* (as note 57), 439.

⁶⁵ QGStW (as note 30), 1/3, n. 2817 (1277 Jan 8), QGStW 1/2, n. 1518 (1277 Jan 18); QGStW 2/1, n. 15 (1281 July 24).

⁶⁶ Cf. also the contribution by Imke Just in this volume and her forthcoming dissertation on the same topic.

⁶⁷ For Blanche's last will cf. QGStW (as note 30), 1/3, n. 2904; on the monastery's construction documented in: QGStW 1/2, n. 1550, cf. SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur* (as note 15), 245–6, cf. also EAD., *Herzogshof und Frauenkloster* (as note 57), 440.

monastic policy in the west of the Habsburg territories, most prominently represented by the double monastery of Königsfelden near the Habsburg castle.⁶⁸

During the next two decades, Vienna's Poor Clares received many privileges, large sums of money and regular rents from an equally large number of property transactions.⁶⁹ Female members of the Habsburg family played an important role in establishing the economic base of the monastery, among them Queen Elizabeth of Görz-Tirol (ca 1262–1312), Duke Albrecht I's wife, as well as their daughter Agnes, queen of Hungary (1281–1364). Among Agnes's benefactions was a large donation to Vienna's communities stating that all her possessions in the Austrian lands should be divided into four parts, one of each given to the Franciscans, the Poor Clares, and Vienna's burghers hospital; the fourth part, however, should be distributed among all other religious institutions of the city – a good example of how, in such a 'top-level portfolio,' both the family's favourite beneficiaries and the country's most important traditional institutions would likewise be covered.⁷⁰

Like Blanche of France, Elizabeth (Isabella) of Aragon (1300–1330), Duke Fredrick III's consort, stated in her will that she wished to be buried in the Franciscans' choir in a new chapel to be constructed for St Louis.⁷¹ For this purpose she gave 400 silver marks to Vienna's Poor Clares to purchase rents for them to finance the chapel's building. Smaller sums for anniversaries to be held on St Louis's feast day and an anniversary for herself, as well as for candles and further construction works completed Elizabeth's will, together with provisions for several other Austrian mendicant houses and also for the Poor Clares of Königsfelden. In this case, Elizabeth's personal spiritual and strategic priorities were respected. After her death two years later she was in fact buried close to the tomb of her relative Blanche.⁷² As Elizabeth's husband Fredrick tended to prefer communities of the old orders in his own pious provisions, this might be a beautiful example of a princely couple's shared consultations and decisions on their arrangements for their afterlife.⁷³

⁶⁸ Cf. chronical accounts of Blanche's death: OPLL, Nachrichten (as note 2), 63–4 (1305); on the location of the tomb (lost today): Monumenta Necrologica Patrum Minorum Conventualium Ad. S. Crucem Vindobonae (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Necr. 5, 1913), ed. by Adalbert Fuchs, 165–204, here at 173, 196 and 204; on the rededication cf. *ibid.* 173, and QGStW (as note 30), 1/3, n. 2911; Cf. SIMON TEUSCHER/CLAUDIA MODELMOG, (ed.), Königsfelden. Königsmord, Kloster, Klinik, Baden 2012; JEANETTE RAUSCHERT et al. (ed.), Habsburger Herrschaft vor Ort – weltweit (1300–1600), Ostfildern 2013, esp. MARTINA STERCKEN, Formen herrschaftlicher Präsenz. Die Habsburger in ihren Städten im Gebiet der heutigen Schweiz, in: *ibid.*, 149–68.

⁶⁹ Documented in SCHEDL, Klosterleben und Stadtkultur (as note 15), 245–54.

⁷⁰ SCHEDL, Klosterleben und Stadtkultur (as note 15), 250, n. 35: QGStW (as note 30), 1/3, n. 3111 (1351 Nov 22).

⁷¹ Two copies of the will have survived: Minoritenarchiv 48 (1328), and QGStW (as note 30), 1/5, no. 4800 (1328).

⁷² OPLL, Nachrichten (as note 2), 73 (1330).

⁷³ PUNKL, Minoriten (as note 55), 64–5; KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), 93.

Only a few years later, after the construction of the Poor Clares' convent buildings and the church had been finished, and thus could provide an appropriate environment for its main clientele, members of the next generations of the ducal family also became members of the community. The most prominent abbesses were Duke Fredrick III's widowed daughter Anna, who entered the community in 1338, and Duke Rudolf IV's sister Katharina (1342–1387). Already in 1342 Duke Albrecht II and his wife Johanna were granted a papal dispensation for visiting her niece Anna at the Poor Clares', and this might also be related to the birth of her daughter Katharina, who was soon consigned to a monastic life.⁷⁴ Later, Katharina actively contributed to contemporary politics, for instance in 1365, when she together with her brother, Duke Rudolf IV, signed the second dedicatory charter for St Stephens' chapter.⁷⁵ Rudolf also renewed ducal advocacy over the nunnery, which he otherwise only claimed for St Stephen's church.⁷⁶ In 1372 Elisabeth of Luxemburg, Duke Albrecht III's wife, received another papal dispensation, this time to enter any of the Poor Clares' houses in the diocese of Passau together with her entourage, and to stay overnight.⁷⁷ From the mid-fourteenth century there is also evidence of two mendicant confessors for the ducal family, Jacob of Paris as well as Konrad Spizer of Vienna, head of the Austrian Franciscans' province and author of mystical literature who left the Viennese Franciscans his collection of books, paintings and other property.⁷⁸

Although the Habsburgs were the most important patrons of Vienna's mendicants, both noble and, if to a lesser extent, urban groups were also among their supporters. Already by the end of the thirteenth century there is evidence of benefactions from members of the regional elites, many of them women, to Vienna's Franciscans, and these continuously increase, especially from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.⁷⁹ Noble families, who had already supported the Franciscans during the thirteenth century, now also acted as benefactors for the Poor Clares. Like Habsburg family members, many of these benefactors also had

⁷⁴ OPLL, *Nachrichten* (as note 2), 73 u. 84 on the two entries; QGStW (as note 30) 1/1, no. 112 u. 113 (1342).

⁷⁵ SCHEDL, *Herzogshof und Frauenkloster* (as note 57), 433, with further references to the sources.

⁷⁶ SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur* (as note 15), 251, n. 44 on Rudolf's stipulations on church advocacies in Vienna (20.7.1361).

⁷⁷ FRIESS, *Minoritenprovinz* (as note 56), LXXV (1372).

⁷⁸ *Momumenta Germaniae Historica, Necr.* (as note 68) V, 234 (Jacob of Paris) and *ibid.*, 173 (Konrad Spizer): "[...] conventus multa bona ab ipso recepit, librariam, multos libros, et solempnes, edificia multa, picturas solempnes et vitream novam in choro et plura alia," with further references quoted in PUNKL, *Minoriten* (as note 55), 66; cf. also FRIESS, *Minoritenprovinz LXXV* (1357), *Englisch, Bettelorden* (both as note 56), 94. On Spizer's work cf. JOHANNES JANOTA, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, ed. by Joachim Heinzle, vol. III: *Vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, part I: *Orientierung durch volkssprachige Schriftlichkeit (1280/90–1380/90)*, Tübingen 2004, 142.

⁷⁹ See the catalogues in PUNKL, *Minoriten* (as note 55), 94–116, and SCHEDL, *Klosterleben und Stadtkultur* (as note 15), 245–54.

their burial places in the friary church, sometimes in prestigious chapels. They were financed by anniversary donations and displayed the benefactors' status as well as their attachment to the rulers' family and to each other.⁸⁰ Good examples are the anniversaries initiated by Sophie of Kranichberg, who came from one of the regional ministerial families. She set up a complex arrangement for her own and her family's memory. Although Sophie herself is not represented in the friary's necrology, several of her relatives are. Likewise, the family's kinship relation to the Pillichsdorf, another prominent family from the regional nobility, is demonstrated by their tombs that were positioned adjacent to each other.⁸¹

The complexity of Sophie's and other testators' memorial provisions is due not least to the 'double obligations' mutually binding the Franciscans and the Poor Clares. As both the Poor Clares and the Third Order were exempt from the commandment of poverty, arrangements to perform anniversaries for donors and their relatives would typically link donations to the Clares or, albeit less often, to the women of the Third Order at St Theobald, with obligations for providing burial places at the Franciscans' and masses held by the monks. A prominent example for this type of arrangement is Elisabeth of Pottenstein, court-lady of Duchess Elizabeth of Aragon, who gave a vineyard to the Third Order and invested its revenues in an anniversary at the Franciscans. Later she expanded her donation and included food and firewood for specific Franciscans.⁸² The necrology entries that both document her donation and her burial

⁸⁰ Burial practice and tombs are documented by the friary's necrologies and by two lists of tombs, the older one included in the necrologies' edition, cf. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Necr. V* (as note 68), 165–204; the younger one is extant in Vienna's municipal archive: *Liber Sepulcrorum Patrum Minorum ad S. Crucem Vindobonae* (A-284/1). Moreover, Cod. ser. nov. 12781 at the Austrian National Library contains a list from 1630 naming 108 epitaphs and inscriptions. Two diploma theses provide initial assessments and interpretations of this material: BRIGITTE JANATA, *Begräbnis im Wiener Minoritenkloster anhand der Necrologien*, Vienna 1999 (unpubl. Diploma thesis), MONIKA SOLLMANN, *Das Bürgertum in der Heraldik der Wiener Minoritenkirche*, Vienna 2008 (unpubl. Diploma thesis) and EAD., *Der Wappenschmuck der Wiener Minoritenkirche*, in: *Adler. Zeitschrift für Genealogie und Heraldik* 27/8 (2014) 189–207; 28/1 (2015) 11–31; 28/2–3 (2015) 87–109; PUNKL, *Minoriten* (as note 55) relates their findings to the documentary sources.

⁸¹ Transactions in QGStW (as note 30), I/5, n. 4792 (1309) and n. 4795 (1322), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Necr. V* (as note 68), 167, 170, 196, 198, and 208 for the Kranichberg, and *ibid.*, 98 for the Pillichsdorf. All sources are listed and interpreted in PUNKL, *Minoriten* (as note 55), 68–9, who shows how difficult it is to reliably identify individual persons in these widely ramified elite networks.

⁸² Elisabeth of Pottenstein's anniversary donations at *Minoritenarchiv* 49 (1333) and 50 (1338). On the Viennese foundation of the Third Order at St Theobald, see above (note 60); the affective bond between the duchess and her lady-in-waiting is also documented in the former's testament: QGStW (as note 30), I/5, n. 4800 (1328). Cf. GERT MELVILLE/ANNETTE KEHNEL (ed.), *In propositio paupertatis. Studien zum Armutsverständnis bei den mittelalterlichen Bettelorden*, Münster 2001 (*Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter* 13); RAFFAELE PAZELLI, *St. Francis and the Third Order. The Franciscan and Pre-Franciscan Penitential Movement*. Chicago 1989. On food donations cf. GERHARD JARITZ, *Die Ordnung der Gabe. Spätmittelalterliche Seelgeräte, Alltagsbeeinflussung und die Relevanz*

place in the friary's St Catherine's chapel together with her two sisters, referred to her as *maxima mater fratrum* and *maxima amatrix et benefactrix fratrum*.⁸³

The Franciscans', Poor Clares' and the Third Order's entangled economies reflect social differentiation, but also processes of integration. While the mendicant houses in the first instance seem to have been sites of attachment for noble families, they also provided an environment for social ascent. Nobility might initially have formed the majority of these houses' members, and noble benefactors mostly also possessed the better burial places in the Franciscans' church, whereas urban elites instead tended to be buried in the church's cloister.⁸⁴ Yet there are also instances of urban elite members who raised or anchored their social standing via their attachment to one of these houses. The Viennese burgher Seyfried Reicholf from Grinzing is a case in point. He was the senior scribe and cellarer at Duke Albrecht II's court as well as a counsellor at the city's mint, when he consigned his daughter to the Poor Clares in 1357.⁸⁵

This affinity to the Habsburg lords that characterized mendicants' noble benefactors and urban patrons alike and the processes in which it became effective, are testified by a series of donations during the time of the final rebellions against Habsburg rule (1309/10). Among the monastery's benefactors were not just ducal partisans and office holders from the regional nobility, but also urban elite representatives, such as Konrad *the Haarmarkter*, who played an important role in putting down the uprising.⁸⁶ Among the ducal followers who fought against the insurgents were some of Konrad's influential relatives from a family named after the location of their main urban possessions "near the Franciscans" (*bei den Minderbrüdern*). They likewise appear as witnesses in the Poor Clares' donation charters: Weichard, one of the family's most successful representatives, was both a member of the city council and likewise held ducal offices.⁸⁷ He provides an example of this group's social mobility due to its mediating function

des Details, in: Meinhard Brunner et al. (ed.), *Rutengänge. Studien zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde*. Festgabe für Walter Brunner zum 70. Geburtstag, Graz 2010 (Forschungen zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde der Steiermark 54, Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark 26), 79–85; and for a comparison CHRISTOPHER M. WOOLGAR, *Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 37/1 (2011), 6–18.

⁸³ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Necr.* V, 181 (donation); *ibid.* 198 u. 218 (burial place).

⁸⁴ JANATA, *Begräbnis* (as note 80), 88–94 and 123–31.

⁸⁵ ŽÁK, *St. Klara* (as note 55), 356, n. 12 (1357 Aug. 22), discussed in KRAMMER, *St. Niklas* (as note 39), 88–91, reference at note 508.

⁸⁶ On the political background see OPLL, *Vom frühen 13. bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts* (as note 35), 116–7, and ID., *Nachrichten* (as note 2), 60 and 65; on the Haarmarkter family see PERGER, *Grundherren* (as note 3), vol. 3, 69–72; evidence on Konrad's involvement with the Poor Clares' monastery: QGStW (as note 30), 1/2, n. 1550, 2/1, n. 46, 1/1, n. 884, 1/2, n. 1561, 1/5, n. 4792.

⁸⁷ QGStW (as note 30), 1/3, nn. 2917, 2920, 2975, 2978; 1/2, nn. 1550, 1561; 2/1, n. 46; cf. GRUBER, *Handlungsspielräume* (as note 27), here at 23. On the family *bei den Minderbrüdern* see PERGER, *Grundherren* (as note 3), vol. 3, 63–8.

between key political milieus and key social institutions: families used monasteries as integrative 'hubs' to corroborate social and political relations to their peers or – in the case of the ducal family – to their followers. These relations, in turn, often corresponded with already existing ties between members of the same kin groups with positions both in urban and ducal administration. Others were established by successful service and resulting alliances especially in times of crisis.⁸⁸ After the anti-Habsburg uprising had been put down, we see wealthy craftspeople who had allied with the lords move up the social scale. Again, this seems to be mirrored, not least, by their presence in key Habsburg-affiliated religious institutions. An instance might be the otherwise unknown artisan Witig and his wife, who in 1318 bestowed a vineyard and a rent on their house to the Poor Clares, half of the sum directly to the benefit of their daughter Gisela to be used for an anniversary after her death, the other half to the Franciscans.⁸⁹

5. Mixed Portfolios of Vienna's Core Urban Elites

While the last examples convey a clear sense of individual actors' priorities that likewise seem predominantly socially motivated, individual wills also provide insights into a wide range of mixed motives. An impressive example is the will (1306) of Margaret, the Præuzzelinne, widow of Heinrich Preussl, daughter of Otto 'at the High Market' and member of the Greif family which originated in the social elite of Vienna's *cives et milites*. Traceable all the way back to the twelfth century, the Greifs had a multi-branched and influential urban kindred network, whose members were among those who backed the city's lord at the time of Margaret's legal act.⁹⁰ While on other occasions she used her own seal, she corroborated this transaction with her late husband's seal; on this occasion several of her relatives, who all held key positions in Vienna's court and urban

⁸⁸ Two studies on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries provide the prosopographic basis of most inquiries undertaken so far: SAILER, Ratsbürger (as note 27); RICHARD PERGER, *Die Wiener Ratsbürger 1396–1526. Ein Handbuch*, Vienna 1988 (Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 18). On court relations, see CHRISTIAN LACKNER, *Hof und Herrschaft. Rat, Kanzlei und Regierung der österreichischen Herzöge (1365–1406)*, Vienna 2002 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erg. Bd. 41). See most recently Christina Lutter, Daniel Frey, Herbert Krammer and Judit Majorossy, Kinship, Gender and the Spiritual Economy in Medieval Central European Towns, in: *History and Anthropology* 32:2 (2021), 249–270, DOI: 0.1080/02757206.2021.1905246. For a comparison, see the important methodological case study by SIMON TEUSCHER, *Politics of Kinship in the City of Bern at the End of the Middle Ages*, in: id. et al. (ed.), *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-term Development (1300–1900)*, New York 2007, 76–90.

⁸⁹ QGSfW (as note 30), 1/2, n. 1568 (1318, July 7).

⁹⁰ QGSfW (as note 30), 2/1, n. 46 (1306, Nov. 16). For a detailed interpretation of this document with further references, see KRAMMER, *St. Niklas* (as note 39), 36–44; PERGER, *Grundherren* (as note 3), vol. 3, 55–62, on the Greif family, including Otto of the High Market; BRUNNER, *Wiener Bürgertum* (as note 12), 557.

administration, were present and also added their seals. Among them were her brother Greif, then acting judge of the city, and her cousins, the just mentioned *Hubmeister* Konrad and Ulrich “near the Franciscans”.⁹¹

Among its many beneficiaries, Margaret’s will first names her married daughters, and a brother. In what follows, Margaret also listed some servants, above all the daughter of her personal scribe, whose maintenance was to be provided for at the Dominican sisters of St Lawrence. Moreover, the nuns were assigned to provide for Margaret’s memory with an eternal light at St Mary Magdalene’s chapel. This chapel, in turn, was located near the parish church of St Stephen’s and belonged to the scribes’ guild, one of whose members was Margaret’s uncle.⁹² Her bequests also include one to the chapel St Mary “on the shore” (*am Gestade*), which her brother Greif had acquired from the *Schottenkloster* in 1302. He later also bought property in the chapel’s vicinity. It soon developed into a centre of the Greif family’s memory and also attracted donations from many other burghers.⁹³ Moreover, and explicitly on her friends’ advice, Margaret established an endowment dedicated to the construction work at St Stephen’s, thus conforming to many of her peers, who generously promoted their parish church.⁹⁴

Besides the Dominican women of St Lawrence, Margaret’s personal portfolio also included several further religious and charitable institutions – the nuns of St Niklas and those of the Poor Clares, the St Hiob leprosarium and the burgher’s hospital. Again, links to almost all of these institutions can be established via the testator’s kin relations: one of Margaret’s daughters had entered King Rudolf I’s Dominican foundation in Tulln, and several of her influential lateral relatives were patrons of Dominican houses in the Danube area.⁹⁵ Margaret’s brother Greif is regularly represented as a witness in the charters issued by the Cistercian nunnery of St Niklas; her father Otto “at the High Market” chose St Niklas’s motherhouse Heiligenkreuz as his burial place; her uncle Konrad the *Haarmarkter*, who served the Habsburg dukes over several decades, for instance in the powerful position of a *Hubmeister* responsible for the ducal finances, in turn is often documented as a witness in the Poor Clares’ charters. Margaret

⁹¹ Margaret’s charters in QGStW (as note 30), 1/2, n. 1526 (1288 Nov 4); see also QGStW 1/3, n. 2808 (1270 March 23); n. 2809 (1270 April 2); quoted in KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), 36; on her relatives above, footnote 86 and 87.

⁹² PERGER/BRAUNEIS, Kirchen und Klöster (as note 3), 69–72 on the chapel; PERGER, Grundherren (as note 3), vol. 3, 57; KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), 37, with further details.

⁹³ PERGER, Grundherren (as note 3), vol. 3, 62; KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), 39 with references for Greif’s property transactions and further benefactions.

⁹⁴ For results of the research project *St. Stephan in Wien. Bildwerke und Kultobjekte im Kontext der Schriftquellen* (FWF, 2015–2018, PL B. Schedl) see SCHEDL, St. Stephan in Wien (as note 14).

⁹⁵ SCHEDL, Der König und seine Klosterstiftung (as note 59); KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), 38 on the interactions between those regional kinship- and donation-communities.

herself is one of the earliest benefactors with an urban background who donated to the Poor Clares.⁹⁶

Margaret's kindred network's ties to both Cistercian St Niklas and the mendicant communities are extraordinary. The density and targeted positioning of these relations seem to follow a strategy that combined those discussed above: influential burghers like Margaret seem to have striven both to strengthen established bonds that went back to their families' origins in the mid-thirteenth century, and to build new ties with emergent elites in the Habsburg dukes' environment. The Greif family represented one of those kin-based urban groups with a background in the milieu of *cives et milites* that was proud of its identification with both urban and courtly culture, as described by Jans of Vienna in his *Fürstenbuch*.⁹⁷ This traditional 'double' affiliation together with their equally long-term relations to the respective religious institutions obviously helped bridging the gap between traditional and new Habsburg-related elites as well as with the members of the new dynasty themselves.

Further strands of this social network crossed in the burghers' hospital (*Bürgerspital*), which likewise holds a prominent position in Margaret's last will. The estate, on which the Poor Clares built their convent, was purchased from the hospital, which in turn had acquired it from the Greif family.⁹⁸ The *Bürgerspital*, a foundation of Vienna's influential burghers, served their economic, welfare, and spiritual interests. In its first preserved charter (1257), Margaret's father Otto "at the High Market" and his brothers are named as governors of the institution. Among his many offices, for many years her brother Greif was also the hospital's warden. Like similar institutions elsewhere, the hospital provided for some wealthy burghers' welfare, while it above all administered the maintenance of several hundred poor people.⁹⁹ Donors gave gifts to the hospital to have them distributed to the poor, who in turn prayed for the benefactors' souls. However, more often than not, the hospital's wardens directly invested pious gifts in real estate business and complex credit transactions that over time, together with the regular income from vineyards and mortgages, established the institution's powerful economic base.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Detailed references in OPLL, St Niklas (as note 38) and KRAMMER, St. Niklas (as note 39), 41 (burial place); 42–3 (Poor Clares). On Konrad *the Haarmarker* cf. also above footnote 86; PUNKL, Minoriten (as note 55), 73 and appendix, 102–3 on the earliest donations to the Poor Clares.

⁹⁷ BRUNNER, Wiener Bürgertum; LUTTER, Affective Strategies (both as note 12).

⁹⁸ PERGER, Grundherren (as note 3), vol. 2, 176–8.

⁹⁹ PERGER/BRAUNEIS, Kirchen und Klöster (as note 3), 274–250. Methodologically pioneering on the medieval *Bürgerspital* is POHL-RESL, Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit (as note 23), here at 25f (Greif family).

¹⁰⁰ POHL-RESL, Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit (as note 23), here at 58–171, and ID., Family, Memory and Charity (as note 23), 127 (investment); 130 (numbers of poor people supported); on Vienna also JARITZ, Arme Jungfrauen (as note 32). The classic study is MIRI RUBIN, Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge, Cambridge 1987; cf. SCHEUTZ et al., Europäisches

The *Bürgerspital* thus offers an outstanding example of how the different tasks of spiritual, social and material economies could be integrated to provide for the care of the living and the dead, the wealthy (like Margaret) and the poor, thus merging the interests of several social groups in the city, and simultaneously expanding the institution's property, its social and its financial capital. Like in the Cistercians' and Mendicants' cases, it was exactly the long-term accumulation of various assets that accounted for the *Bürgerspital's* institutional stability and reliability, which in turn formed the basis of its success and for its role as a mediator in a variety of social interactions. Importantly, the hospital was able to offer a particularly wide range of counter-gifts in return for the received benefactions: donating to the *Bürgerspital* created mutual relations between Vienna's elite's members that would bestow benefits on the hospital in return for its inmates' 'eternal' prayer for the donors' souls. Moreover, as anniversaries were often performed publicly in masses and processions, they also allowed donors who did not belong to the city's elite to participate conspicuously in the institution's prestigious community.¹⁰¹

Again, this type of public representation was embedded in the wider framework of the many performative religious practices that all similarly served social distinction, such as the feast on the Eucharist's veneration, which served both institutional and individual staging of status and attachment to religious and charitable institutions, clergy and confraternities, urban elites and nobility.¹⁰²

Spitalwesen (as note 28); ARTUR DIRMEIER (ed.), *Organisierte Barmherzigkeit: Armenfürsorge und Hospitalwesen in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Regensburg 2010; MATTHIAS KÄLBLE, *Sozialfürsorge und kommunale Bewegung. Zur Bedeutung von Hospitälern für die politische Gruppenbildung in der Stadt*, in: Neithard Bulst/Karl-Heinz Spieß (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Hospitäler*, Ostfildern 2007 (Vorträge und Forschungen 65), 237–71.

¹⁰¹ This is one of the routes by which we can trace less elite practices of social and spiritual belonging, well documented from the fifteenth century onwards and far into the sixteenth century. On Thorstein Veblen's (1899) phrase "conspicuous consumption" applied to this context, cf. POHL-RESL, *Family, Memory and Charity* (as note 23), 125, and 127–8. Recent volumes on the topic include FRANCES ANDREWS (ed.), *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages*, Donington 2011; NICHOLAS HOWE (ed.), *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, Notre Dame 2007; ELODIE LECUPPRE-DESJARDIN (ed.), *La ville des cérémonies. Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons*, Turnhout 2004.

¹⁰² For medieval Vienna, see the contributions in ZAPKE/GRUBER, *A Companion to Medieval Vienna* (as note 3), section 5; on Viennese Corpus Christi Processions: KÁROLY GODA, *Metamorphoses of Corpus Christi: Eucharistic Processions and Clashes in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Century Vienna*, in: *Theatrum Historiae* 15 (2014), 1–50; for a general discussion, cf. recently SCHENK, *Religion and Politik* (as note 6); PIERRE MONNET, *Die Stadt, ein Ort der politischen Öffentlichkeit im Spätmittelalter? Ein Thesenpapier*, in: Martin Kintzinger/Bernd Schneidmüller (ed.), *Politische Öffentlichkeit im Spätmittelalter*, Sigmaringen 2011 (Vorträge und Forschungen 75), 329–59; for further Central European examples, see the contributions to DOLEŽALOVÁ/ŠIMŮNEK, *Ecclesia als Kommunikationsraum* (as note 14); ZOE OPAČIĆ, *Architecture and Religious Experience in Fourteenth-Century Prague*, in: Jiri Fajt/Andrea Langer (ed.), *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument: Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext*, Munich/Berlin 2009, 22–35.

Long-term economic and social reliability as well as options for participation were two key factors within the intricate mechanisms of interaction that involved mostly – but not only – elites in relation to each other and to the many religious and charitable institutions in the city.¹⁰³ These interactions served the twin functions of social distinction and the integration of social and economic ties. Both kinship and religious communities strove to raise their economic and symbolic capital, and used their social networks to do so. The material and spiritual elements of the urban economy provided a variety of resources; networks of kin and political status provided the channels to allocate and negotiate them.

6. Further Considerations: A Complementary Perspective

From the mid-fourteenth and above all in the fifteenth centuries, administrative sources increase dramatically. Although the material has often survived in a fragmented or incoherent manner, it yields much more and more detailed information on the mechanisms that contributed to the making of urban elites¹⁰⁴ by means of their members' religious attachments, while it also documents related individual choices. These were embedded in a dense web of social and economic obligations; yet, they clearly also involved personal commitment and reflected individual affective relations. These choices would rarely follow single motives, and rarely would one be able to identify purely 'spiritual' ones. Instead, mixed religious and social motives would develop in entangled ways and would be negotiated against social backgrounds and in turn contribute to form new spaces of belonging.

Apart from the growing wealth of these documents of social practice, simultaneously documents of spiritual practice also increase dramatically, as they do elsewhere.¹⁰⁵ But while still-extant monasteries hold hundreds of codices with material relevant for our questions, the collections of the many houses that were closed down between the sixteenth and especially in the late eighteenth century are much more difficult to trace. If not lost, the overwhelming majority of them can nowadays be found in the Austrian National Library, but there are a substantial number of other sites, e. g. Vienna's university archive, that hold monas-

¹⁰³ GRUBER, *Handlungsspielräume* (as note 27); and *Id.*, *City as Commune* (as note 22), esp. at 109–17.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. PIERRE MONNET, *Zwischen Reproduktion und Repräsentation. Formierungsprozesse von Eliten in westeuropäischen Städten des Spätmittelalters: Terminologie, Typologie, Dynamik*, in: Elisabeth Gruber et al. (ed.), *Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten. Topographie, Recht, Religion*, Vienna 2016 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 64), 177–93.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. for instance ANNA ADAMSKA/MARCO MOSTERT (ed.), *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, Turnhout 2004 (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 9) and EID. (ed.), *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy II*, Turnhout 2014 (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 28).

tic collections.¹⁰⁶ Conditions for research on Vienna's religious houses are even worse than average in this respect, with the exception of the city's oldest, yet still active monastery – the *Schottenkloster*, which holds more than 700 manuscripts, many of them originating from the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁷

What is more, the history of this community allows us to relate aspects constitutive of social profiles to those of spiritual profiles, which brings together the set of elements relevant for religious decision-making in an extraordinary setting. The *Schottenkloster* was exceptional in that up to the fifteenth century it admitted only members of Irish origin.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, a recent prosopographical study was able to show that the community was very well embedded in Vienna's socio-religious landscape:¹⁰⁹ abbots and priors had excellent relations with the dukes and with other monasteries; they were involved in all types of legal transactions, and often acted as conciliators between conflicting parties.

¹⁰⁶ See the web portal of medieval manuscripts in Austrian libraries (Mittelalterliche Handschriften in Österreichischen Bibliotheken der Abteilung Schrift- und Buchwesen des Instituts für Mittelalterforschung an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), which provides access to the respective libraries' manuscripts, many of them in digitized form, together with detailed codicological information and research literature as well as on the libraries' individual histories, catalogues, etc. Overview at <http://manuscripta.at/m1/bibliotheken.php>; the listed funds of the Austrian National Library embrace 16.436 manuscripts, cf. <http://manuscripta.at/m1/lib.php?libcode=AT8500>; Vienna's university archive, by contrast, is accessible via the Website of the university at <http://scopeq.cc.univie.ac.at/Query/detail.aspx?ID=24628>. See also the blog <http://www.iter-austriacum.at/> on stray finds, their provenance and transmission (all accessed 09/06/2018).

¹⁰⁷ See <http://manuscripta.at/m1/lib.php?libcode=AT8900>; catalogues: ALBERT HÜBL, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii B. M. V. ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur*, Vienna/Leipzig 1899, online at http://manuscripta.at/diglit/huebl_1899/0001; FRANZ UNTERKIRCHER et al. (ed.), *Die datierten Handschriften in Wien außerhalb der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek bis zum Jahre 1600. Katalogbeschreibungen von Heidelinde Horninger und Franz Lackner*. 1. Teil: Text. 2. Teil: Tafeln, Vienna 1981 (Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich 5). See also THEODOR GOTTLIEB, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs* (Wien 1915 [1974]), Bd.1 online: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ihd/content/titleinfo/1070156> (all accessed 09/06/2018). On the individual histories of Vienna's religious communities in the early modern period see PERGER/BRAUNEIS, *Kirchen und Klöster* (as note 3); on the *Bürgerspital* in early modern times see SARAH PICHLKASTNER, *Insassen, Personal und innere Organisation des Wiener Bürgerspitals in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: *MIÖG* 123 (2015), 117–32.

¹⁰⁸ The classic study is HELMUT FLACHENECKER, *Schottenklöster. Irische Benediktinerkonvente im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, Paderborn et al. 1995 (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte N.F. 18); most recently DIARUID Ó RIAIN, *The Schottenklöster in the World: Identity, Independence and Integration*, in: Eirik Hovden et al. (ed.), *Meanings of Community across Eurasia*, Leiden 2016 (*Visions of Community* 1), 388–416.

¹⁰⁹ MAXIMILIAN ALEXANDER TROFAIER, *Der Konvent des Wiener Schottenstiftes im Mittelalter. Prosopographische Studien zu einem Professbuch*, Vienna 2017 (unpubl. Dissertation); see also ID., *Monastisches Gedächtnis und monastische Realität im Wiener Schottenkloster des 15. Jahrhunderts im Kontext der Melker Reform. Das *Memoriale reformationis ad Scotos* – Edition und Kommentar*, in: *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 130 (2019), 89–182.

However, in contrast to all other houses, their members were not related by kin to any of the groups and networks we have just encountered in their relations with other communities.¹¹⁰ This only changed with the profound religious reform initiated by the Melk Benedictines.¹¹¹ In the course of a visitation in 1418, Melk reformers urged the Irish community to open up for new – meaning non-Irish – members from reform circles, which according to a post-reform memorandum the community boldly refused. The then-few Irish monks decided to leave, and the reformers took over the convent.¹¹²

From then on, the community's new spiritual profile can clearly be read from its library:¹¹³ while manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth century mostly represent the liturgical, exegetical, and hagiographical state of the art (such as, for instance, Gregory the Great or Thomas Aquinas), post-reform codices abound with reform texts of all sorts, often written by members of the Melk reform circle like Johannes Schlitpacher, and likewise by key figures at Vienna's university, such as Nikolaus of Dinkelsbühl, Thomas Ebendorfer, Heinrich von Langenstein, but also by reform authorities such as Johannes Nider or Jean Gerson.¹¹⁴ The community's necrology moreover shows that between 1418 and 1468 out of 51 monks only twelve had an Austrian and just two a Viennese background; all the others came from Bavaria, Hungary, Silesia, Moravia, etc., probably to first study at Vienna's university, from where they seem to have been recruited for the *Schottenkloster*. Charters documenting its confraternities with other monasteries equally show personal relations of abbots and priors going back to their shared time of study in Vienna.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ TROFAIER, Schottenstift (as note 109), 45–79, provides a comprehensive discussion of the monastery's source material (among them ca 850 charters, several necrologies, benefactors' lists), as well as a catalogue listing 140 abbots and community members from the convent's foundation until its reform in 1418, *ibid.*, 79–245. For a complete list of the monastery's charters see <https://schotten.hypotheses.org/1489> (accessed 09/06/2018). On the monastery's various accounts regarding its benefactors, see also LARISSA RASINGER, Ein Jahrtagskalender des Wiener Schottenstiftes aus dem Jahr 1515, in: *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 129 (2018), 85–147.

¹¹¹ META NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, *Die Melker Reform im Spiegel der Visitationen*, Vienna/Munich 1994 (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Erg. Bd. 30).

¹¹² For details on the events and references, see TROFAIER, *Monastisches Gedächtnis* (as note 109), 168–71 with an edition of the key document, the *Memoriale reformationis ad Scotos*: Benediktinerabtei Schotten, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 312, fol. 99v–101r; HÜBL, *Catalogue* (as note 107), 405.

¹¹³ I owe the following information to Maximilian Trofaier's work, including personal information by the author for which I am very grateful.

¹¹⁴ See <http://manuscripta.at/m1/lib.php?libcode=AT8900> (accessed 09/06/2018); cf. FRITZ PETER KNAPP/JÜRGEN MIETHKE (ed.), *Schriften im Umkreis mitteleuropäischer Universitäten um 1400: Lateinische und volkssprachliche Texte aus Prag, Wien und Heidelberg. Unterschiede, Gemeinsamkeiten, Wechselbeziehungen*, Leiden/Boston 2004 (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 20).

¹¹⁵ DAGMAR Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, *Das Nekrolog der irischen Schottenklöster*. Edition der Handschrift Vat. lat. 10100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen

In this case, spiritual innovation on the one hand, brought about by a successful regional reform movement that was embedded in a wider socio-political environment of support, and the long-established tradition of the old Irish community's detachment from kinship-based elite networks on the other hand, seem to have added up to a new, attractive profile.¹¹⁶ It seemed to have been particularly interesting for new spiritual and intellectual elites that often came from far away and chose the *Schottenkloster* as one of the key reform sites in the region. Its affinity to reform circles at Vienna's Dominicans', at the *collegium ducale* and at the university generated substantial exchange beyond the institutional framework of specific orders.¹¹⁷ One promising way to trace these reformed communities' place within Vienna's changing ecclesiastical topography in times of reform and reformation will be to scrutinize the increasingly documented exchange of books among religious houses as well as book donations from urban elites to religious communities, which added to the communities' symbolic capital and show additional layers of choice and belonging.¹¹⁸

Handschriften der Schottenklöster, in: BGBR 26 (1992), 7–119, and EAD., Das Nekrolog des Schottenklosters St. Jakob in Regensburg (Vat. Lat. 10100), in: SMGB 112 (2001), 383–96; on the numbers TROFAIER, Monastisches Gedächtnis (as note 109), 125; ID., Benediktinisches Netzwerk in Österreich unter der Enns im Spätmittelalter, 1155–1418. Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsurkunden des Schottenstiftes in Wien, Vienna 2008 (unpubl. Diploma thesis).

¹¹⁶ This assessment shall be checked against the data provided by the increasing documentary material from the fifteenth century onwards to provide an in-depth comparison of the monastery's and its members' embeddedness within Vienna's social, economic, and intellectual networks before and after the reform, but also against the background of the development of the university's profile.

¹¹⁷ KURT MÜHLBERGER/META NIEDERKORN-BRUCK (ed.), Die Universität Wien im Konzert europäischer Bildungszentren, Vienna 2010 (VIÖG 56); GOTTFRIED GLASSNER/META NIEDERKORN-BRUCK (ed.), Universität und Kloster Melk als Hort der Wissenschaftspflege im Bannkreis der Universität Wien – fruchtbarer Austausch seit 650 Jahren, Melk 2016 (Thesaurus Mellicensis 3).

¹¹⁸ See, for instance, n. 78 above for Konrad Spizer's book donation to Vienna's Franciscans, or an equally prestigious book donation to the Bürgerspital: POHL-RESL, Family, Memory, and Charity (as note 23), 127; SUSANA ZAPKE, Bücherverzeichnisse als Abbild städtischer Beziehungsgeflechte, in: Elisabeth Gruber et al. (ed.), Kulturgeschichte der Überlieferung im Mittelalter. Quellen und Methoden zur Geschichte Mittel- und Südosteuropas, Vienna 2017 (UTB 4554), 405–11.