

THE PRACTICE OF PIETY AND VIRTUAL PILGIMAGE  
AT ST. KATHERINE'S CONVENT IN AUGSBURG

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A Thesis  
presented to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School  
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
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MAY 2012

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

THE PRACTICE OF PIETY AND VIRTUAL PILGRIMAGE  
AT ST. KATHERINE'S CONVENT IN AUGSBURG

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Anne Rudloff Stanton, my advisor, for suggesting that I read Pia Cuneo's article "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent: Art and Female Community in Early-Renaissance Augsburg," which led to the discovery of my thesis topic. I greatly appreciate all the encouragement and support she provided me throughout the thesis process and valued all her comments, which helped organize and clarify my writing. I could not have produced my thesis without her!

I would also like to thank Dr. Norman Land for his dedication to good writing because it made me focus on the use of language and clarity in my own writing. I appreciate that he takes the time to actually look at art and I enjoyed hearing all of his humorous anecdotal stories.

I would also like to thank Dr. Rabia Gregory for sparking my interest in medieval religious women. I greatly enjoyed her History of Women's Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Christianity class, which had a direct influence on the direction and focus of my scholarship.

I would also like to thank Dr. Mary L. Pixley, with whom I have enjoyed working as her Graduate Research Assistant. I appreciate her focus on scholarship, research, and learning, as well as the wonderful opportunities working with her has provided me. I wish her all the best for the future!

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THE PRACTICE OF PIETY AND VIRTUAL PILGRIMAGE  
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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on a series of six paintings that were commissioned by the nuns of St. Katherine's convent in Augsburg between 1499 and 1504 to decorate their newly constructed chapter house. These paintings depict the seven major pilgrimage churches in Rome, scenes from Christ's Passion, and episodes from the lives of the saints and were painted by Hans Holbein the Elder, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, and the artist now known only as the Monogrammist L.F.

A number of factors including the enforcement of strict enclosure, the granting of a papal privilege, and the building of the new chapter house contributed to the commissioning of the basilica cycle. The paintings were also a way for the nuns and their families to express their piety and demonstrate their wealth and social status. The depictions of scenes from the lives of the saints and representations of the Virgin Mary served as exemplars for the nuns, while the Passion scenes focused their devotion on Christ and his suffering.

Most importantly, the paintings facilitated spiritual pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, which allowed the nuns to gain the indulgences associated with the churches and other sacred sites, while transcending the walls of the convent.

# The Practice of Piety and Virtual Pilgrimage at St. Katherine's Convent in Augsburg

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Kathryn Rudy discusses the fact that medieval religious women had little chance of visiting the Holy Land, Rome, or other pilgrimage destinations in the flesh, even if they had the means and the desire to do so. Because of the restrictions placed on them by strict enclosure, which was prescribed for all religious women beginning in 1298 with the papal edict of *Periculoso* by Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303), these women, as Rudy observes, “invented, developed, and revised existing strategies for virtually visiting Jerusalem and other holy places.”<sup>1</sup>

The focus of this thesis is on a series of six paintings that were commissioned by the nuns of St. Katherine's convent in Augsburg between 1499 and 1504 to decorate their newly constructed chapter house (Figures 1-6). These paintings depict the seven major pilgrimage churches in Rome, scenes from Christ's Passion, and episodes from the lives of the saints, and were painted by Hans Holbein the Elder, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, and the artist now known only as the Monogrammist L.F. Throughout this thesis I will be referring to the paintings as the “basilica cycle paintings” or the “basilica cycle,”

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<sup>1</sup> Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 19.

borrowing Pia F. Cuneo's terminology.<sup>2</sup> Following Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner's argument, I concur that the commissioning of the paintings was a direct consequence of strict enclosure, which was enforced upon the women in 1441.<sup>3</sup> This led to the acquisition of a papal privilege granted by Pope Innocent VIII in 1487. This privilege granted them all the indulgences usually acquired through a physical pilgrimage to the seven churches in Rome during a Holy Year. Since the nuns were enclosed, they were instructed to engage in spiritual pilgrimages, imagining themselves in the city of Rome or the Holy Land. These virtual pilgrimages allowed the nuns of St. Katherine's to transcend the walls of the convent, freeing them from the constraints of strict enclosure. Not only did these paintings facilitate virtual pilgrimages, they were also manifestations of the nuns' own piety, and a reflection of the wealth, prestige, and social status of their families. They also allowed the nuns to identify with and follow the examples of the saints and the Virgin Mary, while fulfilling their role as Brides of Christ.

In this introductory chapter, I will review the scholarship produced on the paintings and the convent, as well as the secondary literature that helped me to formulate and frame my own questions. I will then discuss the content of each of the following four chapters.

One of my most important sources is the most current and complete study of the basilica cycle from an art-historical point of view: Magdalene Gärtner's *Römische*

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<sup>2</sup> Pia F. Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent: Art and Female Community in Early-Renaissance Augsburg," *Woman's Art Journal* 19:1 (1998): 21-25.

<sup>3</sup> Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St. Katherine's Convent, Augsburg," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60:1 (2009): 48-56.

*Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500*, published in 2002.<sup>4</sup>

Gärtner's strength is her ability to analyze the paintings in a rigorous and methodical way, providing the reader with a meticulous, in-depth formal analysis of the composition and iconography of the paintings. She approaches each painting in a highly disciplined manner, incorporating the findings from technical examinations such as dendochronology and infrared reflectography to provide insight into how the paintings were produced and the workshop practices of Hans Holbein the Elder and Hans Burgkmair the Elder. She also presents important archival material in the appendix, where she transcribes the text from the convent's chronicle that discusses the granting of the papal privilege, the *Augsburger Ablasstafel*, and the commissioning of the paintings.<sup>5</sup> The scribe of the chronicle, Sister Maria Dominica Erhardin, translated the original text of the papal privilege into the vernacular and recorded the text from the *Augsburger Ablasstafel*, providing insight into why the basilica cycle was commissioned. However, Gärtner does not really discuss the function or context of the paintings. Although her book gives an excellent formal analysis and detailed information on the iconography of the paintings, I feel that her approach provides only a limited understanding of the visually complex paintings and the way that they functioned within the convent.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002). The book is a revised edition of her dissertation, which was completed in 1998 from Friedrich-Alexander University of Erlangen-Nuremberg.

<sup>5</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 197-203.

<sup>6</sup> See Pia F. Cuneo's review <books@WWW.H-NET.ORG>, H-Net Reviews. "Cuneo on Gärtner, Römische Basiliken." *H-review* (May 11, 2006). <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx>.

Pia F. Cuneo's 1988 article, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent: Art and Female Community in Early-Renaissance Augsburg" is another important source for my study.<sup>7</sup> Although this is a fairly short article, Cuneo presents the reader with a brief overview of each of the paintings including information about the artists, the nuns who commissioned them, and the scenes depicted in the paintings. She discusses the depiction of pilgrims in the majority of the paintings and the significance of the inclusion of female saints, the Virgin Mary, and other religious women who were followers of Saint Paul and Saint John the Evangelist. Even more importantly, she addresses the function of the paintings in facilitating virtual pilgrimages so that the nuns could obtain indulgences. She also places the paintings within the context of the chapter house and discusses the role of patronage in terms of personal memorials depicted in the paintings. Cuneo sees the commissioning of the basilica cycle of paintings as a manifestation of the nuns' agency and empowerment.<sup>8</sup> Her article helped to fill the gaps in Gärtner's scholarship and to direct some of my own queries about the function and context of the paintings.

Several publications provided historical information about the convent. The *Monastic Matrix* website is a scholarly website that seeks to record the history and details of women's religious communities from 400CE-1600 CE.<sup>9</sup> St. Katherine's convent is listed on the website and information is provided about the convent, including a brief

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<sup>7</sup> See Footnote 2 for a full citation.

<sup>8</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 24.

<sup>9</sup> *Monastic Matrix* website. "Community of S. Katharina (S. Katharine), Community Id: 1447." Accessed on November 22, 2001. <http://monasticmatrix.org/>

history of its founding, its notable heads, the papal privilege, population counts, visitations, the convent's assets and wealth, and the paintings. The website was extremely helpful during the early stages of my research.

I made use of several of the sources listed on the *Monastic Matrix* website, including articles by Leonhard Hörmann, Anton Uhl, Leo Juhnke, and Reinhard H. Seitz. One of the earliest scholars to work on St. Katherine's convent is Leonhard Hörmann, who wrote "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St Katharina in Augsburg," in 1883.<sup>10</sup> In this study, Hörmann utilizes tax and municipal records to reconstruct an early history of the convent. He also created an inventory of the convent's assets. His work has proved to be an invaluable resource for scholars studying the convent.

Expanding on the work of Hörmann, Anton Uhl's article, "Von Katherinenkloster zur Oberrealschule (Bersuch sines baugeschichtlichen Überblickes)," reconstructs a history of the convent from its founding.<sup>11</sup> He also discusses the convent's assets, including gifts that were received and the purchase of land and property.

Like Uhl, Leo Juhnke's article, "Bausteine zur Geschite des Dominikarinnenklosters St. Katherina in Augsburg mit Bercksichtigung von Patriziat, Reform und Geistesleben," also provides information about the founding of the

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<sup>10</sup> Leonhard Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St Katharina in Augsburg," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* ix (1883): 301-54.

<sup>11</sup> Anton Uhl, "Von Katherinenkloster zur Oberrealschule (Bersuch sines baugeschichtlichen Überblickes)," *Jahres-Bericht / Oberrealschule Augsburg* (1951-52): 55-79.

convent.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, he discusses the origins of the sisters and the granting of the papal privilege, which he believes led to the commissioning of the paintings.

Reinhard H. Seitz's 1998 article, "Zur Geschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters Sankt Katharina in Augsburg" studies the history of the convent and examines the necrology, providing information about the nuns who commissioned the paintings in terms of the relative social status and wealth of their families.<sup>13</sup> He also includes information about any government positions their male family members may have held.

Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner's article, "Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St. Katherine's Convent, Augsburg," was published in 2009.<sup>14</sup> Ehrenschwendtner argues that the basilica cycle paintings were commissioned as a result of strict enclosure, which was enforced on the nuns in 1441. The majority of her article traces the history of the convent, highlighting pertinent events leading up to the commissioning of the paintings. The last section of the article addresses the idea of spiritual pilgrimage within the confines of the convent. She discusses certain details from the paintings that refer to pilgrimage, and she addresses the fact that the artists did not realistically portray the churches depicted in the paintings.<sup>15</sup> I concur with Ehrenschwendtner's assessment that the basilica cycle paintings were commissioned as a consequence of enforced strict enclosure, and I think her discussion of virtual

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<sup>12</sup> Leo Juhnke, "Bausteine zur Geschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Katharina in Augsburg mit Berücksichtigung von Patriziat, Reform und Geistesleben," *Jahres-Bericht / Oberrealschule Augsburg* (1957-58): 60-110.

<sup>13</sup> Reinhard H. Seitz, "Zur Geschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters Sankt Katharina in Augsburg," in *Das Dominikanerinnenkloster zu Bad Wörishofen*, ed. Werner Schiedermaier (Weissenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 1998), 63-71.

<sup>14</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?"

<sup>15</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 69-71.

pilgrimage in relation to the paintings is sound. In the following chapters, however, I will build upon her argument to examine the ways in which these paintings also could have been used to facilitate spiritual pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

Kathryn M. Rudy's work, including the article "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage" and her book *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, proved to be an invaluable resource for my thesis.<sup>16</sup> She explores the idea of virtual pilgrimage and discusses why cloistered women began imagining pilgrimage journeys to the Holy Land, Rome, and other sacred sites. She discusses how nuns and religious women used both texts and images to explore the theme of spiritual pilgrimage, and argues that these virtual pilgrimages allowed women to develop an empathetic relationship with Christ, accompanying him during the Passion; follow the exemplar set by the Virgin Mary, the first pilgrim; and gain indulgences.<sup>17</sup> She provides the reader with ample evidence to support her claims. Her work is directly related to the function of the paintings and aided in my understanding of how the paintings would have facilitated virtual pilgrimages.

In "Surrogate Selves: The 'Rolin Madonna' and the Late-Medieval Devotional Portrait" Laura Gelfand and Walter Gibson argue that the inclusion of donor portraits functioned in a variety of ways.<sup>18</sup> Most obviously, the donor portraits serve to identify

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<sup>16</sup> Kathryn M. Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal Ms. 212," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 63:4 (2000): 494-515. See also Kathryn M. Rudy, "A Pilgrim's Memories of Jerusalem: London, Wallace Collection MS M319, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 311-325 and "Fragments of a Mental Journey to a Passion Park," in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting and Manuscript Illumination*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 404-419.

<sup>17</sup> Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, 35-38.

<sup>18</sup> Laura D. Gelfand, and Walter S. Gibson, "Surrogate Selves: The 'Rolin Madonna' and the Late-Medieval Devotional Portrait," *Simiolus* 29 (2002): 119-138.

the person, family, or group responsible for commissioning the particular work of art. They also express the donor's wealth, social status, and generosity. However, donors often expressed the wish that their soul be remembered eternally in prayer, with their donor portrait serving as a "surrogate self" even after their death. Gelfand and Gibson effectively use the example of the "Rolin Madonna" to illustrate the concept of "surrogate selves."<sup>19</sup> This concept is directly applicable to my own discussion of the inclusion of donor portraits and other personal memorials.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger is an art historian whose work focuses on the devotional objects and images used by religious women and the way that architecture shaped cloistered women's religious experiences during the medieval period.<sup>20</sup> His work was extremely useful in helping me think about the way the sisters of St. Katherine's were engaging with the paintings as a part of their devotional practices. It also helped me to develop a framework in which to discuss the paintings.

There are also a variety of sources on pilgrimage that helped to focus my own discussion and understanding of the practice and importance of pilgrimage.<sup>21</sup> Jonathan Sumption discusses the practice of pilgrimage, including reasons why pilgrimages were

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<sup>19</sup> Gelfand and Gibson, "Surrogate Selves," 123-130 and 138.

<sup>20</sup> Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as artists: the visual culture of a medieval convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval German* (New York: Zone Books, 1998); "The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 18-46; Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds., *The mind's eye: art and theological argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); and Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, eds., *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

<sup>21</sup> Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Suffolk, UK: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2000); Megan H. Foster-Campbell, "Pilgrimage Through the Pages: Pilgrims' Badges in Late Medieval Devotional Manuscripts," in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative and Devotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, eds. Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 227-74; and Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, C.700-C.1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

undertaken, what pilgrims wore, pilgrimage destinations, and the journey itself.<sup>22</sup> Leigh Ann Craig and Sarah Hopper examine the role of women as pilgrims during the medieval period and provide information about why religious women, particularly cloistered nuns, were not allowed to undertake pilgrimage journeys even though they greatly desired to do so.<sup>23</sup> The articles gathered by Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe in the two volumes of *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, helped shape my discussion about the use of hagiographical narrative in Chapter 2 of this thesis and greatly added to my knowledge about the practice of pilgrimage.<sup>24</sup>

The work of scholars like Rudy, Hamburger, Gelfand and Gibson, and the sources on pilgrimage have allowed me to expand on the scholarship that directly addresses the basilica cycle, particularly the studies of Gärtner, Ehrenschtendner, and Cuneo.

In Chapter 2 I will trace the history of the convent from its foundation to the commissioning of the basilica cycle paintings in 1504. Fortunately, much documentation regarding the convent survives and has been studied and published by scholars and historians. The convent chronicle, written in 1752-1753 by Sister Maria Dominica Erhardin, records the history of the convent, the granting of the papal privilege, and the

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<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975) and *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Hidden Spring, 2003).

<sup>23</sup> Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages* (Boston: Brill, 2009) and Sarah Hopper, *Mothers, Mystics and Merrymakers: Medieval Women Pilgrims* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds., *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Boston: Brill, 2005).

commissioning of the paintings.<sup>25</sup> Other documents, such as tax and municipal records, visitation records, records of the names of the nuns who entered the convent, and inventories of the convent's assets survive as well, which has allowed for a reconstruction of the history of the convent.

In Chapter 3 of this thesis, I begin with a brief overview of all the basilica cycle paintings examining similarities in construction, composition, iconography, and style. I also discuss the nuns who commissioned the paintings, providing information about the relative social status and wealth of their families. Due to the limited scope and length of the thesis I am not able to conduct an in-depth examination and analysis of all six paintings. Instead, I will address four themes or elements evoked in each of the six paintings: hagiographical narrative, patronage and piety of the individual nuns, pilgrimage, and Passion scenes.

Chapter 4 is a case study of the *Basilica of Santa Croce*, which allows me to explore how the themes of hagiographical narrative, pilgrimage, the piety of the individual nuns, and Passion scenes interrelate. In this chapter, I examine and analyze each panel of the painting in-depth, and discuss how this painting relates to the other paintings in the basilica cycle. I also discuss how each panel could be used to facilitate and enhance the nuns' virtual pilgrimage experience.

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<sup>25</sup> This chronicle is now located in the Archiv der Diözese Augsburg, MS 95. Ehrenscheidtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 46.

In Chapter 5, I draw my final conclusions regarding the nuns of St. Katherine's convent in Augsburg, why they felt compelled to commission the basilica cycle paintings, and how these paintings functioned within the context of the convent.

## CHAPTER 2 ST. KATHERINE'S CONVENT IN AUGSBURG

This chapter reviews the history of the convent of St. Katherine's, from its founding in the 1230s through the commissioning of the basilica cycle paintings in 1504. Following the arguments laid out by Ehrenschwendtner, I agree with her conclusion that the enforcement of strict enclosure at St. Katherine's in 1441 set off a chain of events that can be directly linked to the commissioning of the paintings.

In the latter half of the 1230s, the convent of St. Katherine's (also referred to as St. Katharina, Katherinenkloster, St. Catharina, and St. Catherine) was founded outside the city walls of Augsburg in Wörishofe in the Kingdom of Bavaria and dedicated to Saint Katherine of Alexandria.<sup>26</sup> The nuns followed the Augustinian rule until 1246 when the convent adopted the Dominican rule under the direction of Pope Innocent IV.<sup>27</sup> On August 5, 1251, Bishop Hartmann von Dillingen of Augsburg granted the community land in the parish of St. Moritz. Here the nuns built a new cloister and church in the fashionable and wealthy "Ulrichs-quarter," which was located in the southwestern part of the city.<sup>28</sup>

The convent of St. Katherine's was an exclusive institution that attracted the daughters of the most elite and affluent families in Augsburg. A statistical study of the entries in the convent's necrology by Reinhard H. Seitz demonstrates that the nuns

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<sup>26</sup> Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg," 343. Various years have been cited for the convent's foundation date. The year most commonly provided is 1239.

<sup>27</sup> Uhl, "Von Katherinenkloster zur Oberrealschule," 59-60.

<sup>28</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 49.

came from the wealthiest patrician and merchant families of Augsburg.<sup>29</sup> The convent derived its wealth from a variety of sources including the landholdings and properties that the nuns managed, bought, and sold; gifts of property, land, and other goods; and income that was collected from tithes taxes, and the manufacture of textiles.<sup>30</sup>

St. Katherine's wealth and status was protected by various papal and royal privileges amassed by the convent beginning in the thirteenth century.<sup>31</sup> During the years of 1348 and 1349, King Charles IV of Bohemia (1316-1378) transferred the rights of the patronage of the community to the city of Augsburg, which was later confirmed by Cardinal Peter in 1456.<sup>32</sup> On March 26, 1349, Charles IV took the convent into his protection and charged Friedrich, the Duke of Teck, and the municipal authorities of Augsburg with protecting the convent in his name.<sup>33</sup> On July 28, 1395, the Bishop of Augsburg, Burkhard von Ellerbach, took St. Katharine's into his protection.<sup>34</sup> In return for this service, the bishop received twenty florins per year from the convent.<sup>35</sup> In 1434, King Sigismund (1368-1437), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1433 to 1437,

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<sup>29</sup> Seitz, "Zur Geschichte des Dominikanerinnenklosters," 66-67.

<sup>30</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23. See the *Monastic Matrix* website and Hörmann for a complete inventory of the convent's assets.

<sup>31</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

<sup>32</sup> *Monastic Matrix* website. The *Monastic Matrix* website does not reference or provide any insight into which Cardinal Peter confirmed King Charles IV of Bohemia's transfer of the convent's rights of patronage to the city of Augsburg, nor have I found any other references to a Cardinal Peter in any of my other sources. King Charles IV of Bohemia was crowned the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1355 and later became the personal ruler of all of the kingdoms of the Holy Roman Empire in 1365.

<sup>33</sup> Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg," 309.

<sup>34</sup> Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg," 314. The city of Augsburg had its own bishopric, one of forty-six in the Holy Roman Empire around the year 1500.

<sup>35</sup> Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg," 314.

confirmed all the privileges and freedoms bestowed on the convent by his predecessors.<sup>36</sup>

Cuneo argues that the nuns of St. Katherine's were able to maintain significant freedom from both ecclesiastical and secular authorities because of their wealth and status.<sup>37</sup> They remained largely independent of the control of the city council and appointed their own personnel and administrators, through whom they managed their affairs and business transactions. Additionally, the nuns elected their own prioress and were not placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Augsburg.<sup>38</sup> Since the convent was a member of the Dominican order, it was also free from duties and laws other than those imposed on it by the order.<sup>39</sup> Despite the restrictions imposed on the convent by the Dominican rule and constitutions, the nuns at St. Katherine's were allowed to possess, control, and bequeath personal items, properties, inheritances, gifts, and other sources of income.<sup>40</sup> The nuns also rejected absolute claustration, "circulating at will around the city and receiving visitors."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Monastic Matrix* website.

<sup>37</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23. Their freedoms ended in the year 1441 when they were successfully reformed by the Dominican order.

<sup>38</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

<sup>39</sup> Uhl, "Von Katherinenkloster zur Oberrealschule," 60-62.

<sup>40</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23. For example see the testament of Anne Bächin who bequeathed her cell to one of her cousins in Junke, 82.

<sup>41</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

Despite its ecclesiastical and secular protection, freedoms, wealth, and status, St. Katherine's became an early target for reform in 1357.<sup>42</sup> The Dominican order wanted to introduce the observant way of life, more rigid rules and regulations, and strict claustration into the convent. This initial attempt by the order to reform the convent failed. Subsequent attempts at reform have led Cuneo to conclude "that the sisters of Saint Katherine's were a group of economically and socially powerful women," whose "power was actively and repeatedly contested by secular and religious authorities under the guise of reform."<sup>43</sup>

In 1441, the Augsburg city council appealed to Nicolaus Nottel, the Prior-Provincial of Teutonia and a fervent believer in the Dominican reform movement, to introduce the observant way of life into the convent of St. Katherine's.<sup>44</sup> The council argued that the sisters of St. Katherine's were disobedient and did not obey the Dominican rule and constitutions. Nottel sent a copy of the order's regulations to the convent, but it was disregarded by the sisters who continued to welcome guests into the convent, and to leave the community to live with friends, with the permission of the prioress. Nottel then obtained authorization from the Dominican General Bartholomäus Texier to enforce enclosure as was prescribed in the constitutions for the female branch of the order. Claustration was an important aspect of the Dominican Observant Reform and was linked directly to obedience.

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<sup>42</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23. See Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing About Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), pp. 81-86 for additional information about Dominican reform.

<sup>43</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 24.

<sup>44</sup> Teutonia is the southern German province of the Dominican order. The following discussion is based on Ehrenschtendner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," pp. 51-53 unless otherwise noted.

The author(s) of the [Dominican] constitutions tried to make sure that the enclosure was an insurmountable separation between the “world” outside and the community within. Thus they saw it as a necessary protection against the perils of the world and human weakness, but also as a prerequisite to a quiet ascetic life of prayer, penitence, and the imitation of Christ.<sup>45</sup>

The process of reform at St. Katherine’s adhered to the usual pattern of monastic reform, which began with nuns being sent a copy of the rules and regulations, followed by the enforcement of strict enclosure, and then the gradual introduction of a stricter observance of the rules and constitution. Nuns from previously reformed convents were generally sent as examples to encourage the inexperienced and newly reformed sisters, demonstrate the new way of living, and ensure that the reform succeeded. However, no “foreign” sisters were introduced into St. Katherine’s as part of the reform efforts.

The nuns at St. Katherine’s were resistant to the reform and opposed the enforcement of strict enclosure. They used poles (“Stangen”) and cooking utensils (“Bratspiess”) as weapons against the bricklayers and laborers who had been ordered by the city council to raise walls around the convent and to close off all the gates and windows which were not in accordance with the Dominican constitutions. The workers had to be protected from the nuns by municipal guards until the walls around the convent and the other construction was complete.

Even after the walls surrounding the convent were built, the nuns continued to protest by ringing out their bells. They appealed to the Bishop Peter von Schaumberg (Bishop of Augsburg, 1424–1469), who finally settled the conflict on September 24,

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<sup>45</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, “Virtual Pilgrimages?,” 59.

1441, by proposing a compromise.<sup>46</sup> In summary, he stated that the community should agree to live according to the rule and constitutions, including those regarding strict enclosure, for two years. However, those who were unwilling to do so could leave the convent taking with them all the possessions that they had brought with them when they entered the convent. An unknown number of sisters left for other convents, but those who remained seemed to accept the bishop's compromise.

Although the convent was technically "reformed," the sisters could never quite be reconciled to the idea and practice of strict enclosure, and it remained a permanent issue on the nuns' agenda. Furthermore, the sisters did not join the reform movement and, in fact, they seem to have tried to avoid close contact with strictly observant Dominican sisters. In 1444, when five sisters from Schönensteinbach fled war-stricken Alsace, they sought asylum with the Augsburg women. However, the sisters of St. Katherine's were not enthusiastic about welcoming them and agreed to receive them only after they renegotiated the terms of their own enclosure. The city council was forced to allow an additional gate to the outside world be opened in the convent walls.

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<sup>46</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 52. From the "Chronik des Burkhard Zink," 103-104, "da ward man zu rat und macht in all mauren umb das closter hecher . . . und prach man in die eisni getter, durch die sie vor geredt hetten mit den leuten, die prach man in auss und vermaurt die, und huet ir etwen lang, dass niemant zu in noch von in mocht gan. und sol man wissen, als man in die getter vermauren wolt, da wurden die frawen so zornig und so unrichtig und luefen herfür mit stangen und mit pratspiessen und schluegen und stachen zu den maurern und zu den werkleuten und triben sie all ab mit gewalt, das ir kainer torst da ichts machen. also muest man der statknecht etwa manigen dahin bringen, dass sie die maurer beschirmeten , biss sie die löcher vermaurten. und da sie sahen, dass sie nit geweren mochten, da lautten sie die gloggen über ain rat und über die, die darzu halfen, und schickten zu dem bischoff, und patten in, dass er sich ir annem und in hulf. das tet der bischoff und nam sich ir an macht ein solch läding, dass sie den orden halten solten und über zwai jar einstan und den orden halten, und welche das nit uen wolt und herauß wolt kommen, der solt man ir guet wider geben, was sie herein hett pracht." According to Ehrenschwendtner, these events are also recorded in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, XXII: *Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte: Augsburg*, iii, Leipzig 1892, no. V: "Die Chronik des Hector Mülich, 1348-1487", 1-442 at p. 79; no. VI "Anonyme Chronik von 991-1483", 445-529 at pp. 489-90, and the previously discussed convent chronicle.

In 1476, the Dominican Master-General Leonard de Mansuetis (1474-80) reminded the women of their obligation to follow the rule and constitutions and to uphold claustration:

Under the punishment which must be borne by transgressors the prioress and the present and future sisters of St. Catherine's in Augsburg are ordered to observe enclosure, liturgical chant, the rule of living, as they did up to now, and they may not change their aforementioned rule of living.<sup>47</sup>

In 1485, the Bishop of Augsburg's compromise of 1441 was renewed and reinforced and new measures were introduced to make it even more rigid.<sup>48</sup> The nuns were required to incorporate a double iron grill into the room where they received family members, friends, and other guests.<sup>49</sup> Additionally, nuns who received visitors were required to be accompanied by an older – i.e. more experienced and therefore less susceptible to temptation – nun.<sup>50</sup>

In 1487, the convent was awarded a papal privilege by Pope Innocent VIII (1484-92), which granted the nuns all the indulgences usually acquired through a pilgrimage to the seven churches in Rome during a Holy Year.<sup>51</sup> The designated churches were San

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<sup>47</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 54.

<sup>48</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 54. Ehrenschwendtner quotes from Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg," on p. 365, "A few decades later the Reformation changed the situation. The sisters of St. Katherine's resisted all attempts to dissolve their community, and even managed to obtain from the secular authorities a document protecting their enclosure. One familiar issue re-emerged: their relatives, previously excluded together with everybody else, were now officially allowed into the convent."

<sup>49</sup> Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg," 363.

<sup>50</sup> Hörmann, "Erinnerungen an das ehemalige Frauenkloster St. Katharina in Augsburg," 363.

<sup>51</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 46. For additional information regarding pilgrimages to Rome and the indulgences one could earn see Henri Defoer, "Images as Aids for Earning the Indulgences of Rome," trans. Kathryn M. Rudy, in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting and Manuscript Illumination*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne S. Korteweg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 163-171; Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* and

Pietro, San Paolo Fuori le Mura, San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura, San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, and Santa Maria Maggiore.

The nuns were also able to acquire indulgences linked to other Roman churches.<sup>52</sup>

During this time, pilgrimages to the Holy Land, Rome, and other shrines were an important aspect of the religious experience and were a way to express one's spirituality and piety.<sup>53</sup> However, "female religious in particular were not allowed to visit the Holy City *corporaliter* since they had to keep up the *stabilitas loci* enforced by the demands of enclosure."<sup>54</sup> "Religious women were bound to avoid all contact with men, but all the world knew that women could not travel without a male escort. The conclusion was simple and inescapable: such women could not go on pilgrimage."<sup>55</sup> The Synod of Friuli (c. 795) actually legislated against pilgrimages of cloistered women:

And at no time whatsoever shall it be permitted to any abbess or nun to go to Rome or to tour other holy places, if Satan should transform himself into an angel of light and suggest it to them as if for the purpose of prayer. No one is so obtuse or stupid as to be unaware how irreligious and reprehensible it is [for them] to have dealings with men on account of the necessities of travel. . .<sup>56</sup>

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*The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God*; Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims in the Later Middle Ages*; *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Sarah Hopper, *Mothers, Mystics and Merrymakers: Medieval Women Pilgrims*; and Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, C.700-C.1500*.

<sup>52</sup> Ehrenschtendner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 46.

<sup>53</sup> Miedema, Nine, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ: Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion," in *The broken body: passion devotion in late-Medieval culture*, eds. MacDonald, A.A., H.N.B. Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 73.

<sup>54</sup> Ehrenschtendner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 65.

<sup>55</sup> Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, 91.

<sup>56</sup> Hopper, *Mothers, Mystics and Merrymakers*, 70.

Due to the restrictions placed on nuns by strict enclosure, religious women were instructed to take spiritual pilgrimages within the confines of the cloister, imagining themselves in the Holy Land, visiting its sacred places, or in Rome, visiting its seven churches.<sup>57</sup> The bull of Innocent VIII specifically mentions this as the reason for granting the privilege of indulgences to the nuns of St. Katherine's: "the prioress and the sisters had been conceded this papal favor because they lived in 'everlasting enclosure,' 'being locked up forever.' The pope affirms that he awarded the privilege to boost the sisters' devotion to Christ, their bridegroom, and to intensify their prayer."<sup>58</sup>

Popular pilgrimage guidebooks such as the *Stationes ecclesiarum urbis Romae* and the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae*, which describe the city of Rome and its pilgrimage churches, could be consulted to help to shape the nuns' own virtual pilgrimage experiences. From these guidebooks, the spiritual pilgrimage guidebook genre developed. "Many hundreds of such works, some of them of extreme naivety, circulated in northern Europe in the fifteenth century."<sup>59</sup> Some were written specifically for enclosed women including Fra Francesco Suriano's (1450-1529) *Treatise on the Holy Land*, which was written for his sister who joined the community of Poor Clares

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<sup>57</sup> The terms spiritual pilgrimage, virtual pilgrimage, and imagined pilgrimage will be used interchangeably, referring to the pilgrimage journeys that cloistered religious women or men took or imagined in their minds within the confines of the convent or monastery. See Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*. She lists numerous convents that were instructed to use spiritual pilgrimages as part of a program of devotional exercises, including the members of the Capital of Windesheim, who in 1442, were granted the privilege of virtually visiting the Seven Principal Churches of Rome by Pope Eugene IV on p. 120 and the sisters of St. Agnes in Amersfoort on pp. 25-27.

<sup>58</sup> Ehrenschtendner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 67.

<sup>59</sup> Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, 301.

dedicated to Saint Lucy in Folignano, and Felix Fabri's (1437/38-1502) *Die Sionpilger*, written in c. 1495 for use by Dominican nuns.<sup>60</sup>

In order to reenact the movement of a pilgrimage journey and receive the indulgences granted by the papal privilege, the nuns of St. Katherine's were required to say three *Paternosters*, and three *Ave Marias*, at three specified locations within the confines of the convent that had been designated by the prioress.<sup>61</sup>

To retain the spatial experience of a pilgrimage the papal decree advised the prioress to designate three locations within the enclosure to which the sisters had to go in order to say their prayers, thus emulating "real" pilgrimage. Physical movement to such areas was introduced in order to strengthen the sisters' devotion to the venerated sites and saints.<sup>62</sup>

However, old or ill sisters were still able to fulfill the requirements while remaining in the infirmary or within their chambers by saying nine *Paternosters* and nine *Ave Marias*.<sup>63</sup>

This papal privilege was negotiated by Bartholomäus Riedler, a canon and dean of the monastery of St. Moritz.<sup>64</sup> He is believed to be the brother of Barbara and Anna Riedler, who were nuns in St. Katherine's during this time and who later commissioned two of the paintings for the chapter house.<sup>65</sup> Although the original Latin bull has been

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<sup>60</sup> Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons*, 244.

<sup>61</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 46. In total the nuns were required to say nine *Paternosters* and nine *Ave Marias* in order to gain the associated indulgences.

<sup>62</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 68.

<sup>63</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 46.

<sup>64</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 46-47.

<sup>65</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 47-48.

lost, a vernacular translation of the bull was recorded and preserved in the convent chronicle written in 1752-1753 by Sister Maria Dominica Erhardin.<sup>66</sup>

Receiving this papal privilege was a major coup for the convent because obtaining indulgences was an essential part of the medieval penitential cycle within the Catholic Church.<sup>67</sup> During this time, people were highly concerned with their salvation and the amount of time they would have to spend in purgatory after their earthly death. Indulgences acted as “spiritual credits,” which reduced the amount of time an individual and their loved ones would have to spend in purgatory.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, people undertook pilgrimage journeys not only to demonstrate their piety or as penance, but also to gain indulgences.

The nuns commemorated the papal privilege with a small triptych tablet written on parchment, designed like a small memorial altar and known as the *Augsburger Ablassstafel* (Figure 7).<sup>69</sup> The composition of the *Augsburger Ablassstafel* recalls the pages of an illuminated manuscript with vine border decoration, peacocks and flowers drawn in the marginalia, historiated initials, and miniature illustrations. The seven miniatures illustrate the part of the text that lists the seven churches in Rome and their attached

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<sup>66</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, “Virtual Pilgrimages?,” 46. The convent chronicle is located in the Archives of the Augsburg Diocese, MS 95. Gärtner provides a literal transcription of the vernacular translation of the original Latin bull from the convent chronicle of 1752 in an appendix on pp. 197-201.

<sup>67</sup> See Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God*, and Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds., *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* for additional information about indulgences.

<sup>68</sup> Defoer, “Images as Aids for Earning the Indulgences of Rome,” 163.

<sup>69</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 18-19. The total dimensions of the *Augsburger Ablassstafel*, which is now located in the Maximilian Museum in Augsburg, measure approximately: Left: 87cm (h) x 27.5cm (w), Center: 87cm x 55.5cm, and Right: 87cm x 28cm.

indulgences.<sup>70</sup> An image of Saint John with the Lamb illustrates San Giovanni in Laterano; San Pietro is represented by Saint Peter with the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven; Saint Paul with his sword illustrates San Paolo Fuori le Mura; the Virgin and Child represents Santa Maria Maggiore; San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura is illustrated by an image of Saint Lawrence with his grill and martyr's palm; Saint Sebastian with his arrow represents San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura; and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme is represented by a scene of the Crucifixion. Each miniature illustration is set within a white square box at the beginning of the lines of text describing the churches, much like the historiated initials.<sup>71</sup> A historiated initial "U" contains a small scene of the prioress and nuns receiving the privilege from Pope Innocent VIII (Figure 8). The pope sits enthroned before the nuns wearing the triple-crown tiara and his papal vestments. His right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing and he holds the privilege out to the prioress who kneels at his feet and holds out her hands to receive the privilege. The prioress can be identified by her clothing and head covering, which mark her as prioress and convey her status. Six nuns dressed in Dominican habits kneel and stand behind the prioress in three rows of two. This scene takes place in an undefined space that is enclosed by a wall.

The text of the *Augsburger Ablassstafel* provides a vernacular account of how the nuns obtained the privilege with assistance of the "most erudite" ("hochgelert") Bartholomäus Riedler and lists the indulgences to be gained by following the prescribed

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<sup>70</sup> Defoer, "Images as Aids for Earning the Indulgences of Rome," 171.

<sup>71</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 19.

course of prayers at the three designated locations.<sup>72</sup> I have not been able to discover where the locations were originally designated within the convent. However, I believe that the *Augsburger Ablassstafel* served not only to commemorate the privilege, but also as a marker for one of the three designated locations within the convent where the prescribed course of prayers were to be said. The two other locations most likely also held special significance for the nuns (i.e. at altars or particular works of art).

Gärtner described the construction and design of the new convent and chapter house.<sup>73</sup> In 1496, the nuns of St. Katherine's were visited and the buildings of the convent inspected and found to be in state of substantial disrepair. Plans for a new monastery complex were drawn up by the Provincial Mathias and the Prior Caspar Grünwald of Freiburg and approved by both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Ulrich Glier was appointed to supervise the construction of the new convent complex. The foundation stone for the new cloister was laid in 1498 and by the following year construction was complete on the western wing of the cloister, which contained the chapter house and the refectory (Figure 9).

The new chapter house provided the nuns with the perfect opportunity to take full advantage of the indulgences granted by the privilege. The nuns Barbara Riedler, Helena Rephonin (or Rephun), Veronica Welser, Dorothea Rehlinger, and Anna Riedler commissioned the six paintings from Hans Holbein the Elder, Hans Burgkmair the Elder,

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<sup>72</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 47-48. Gärtner provides a literal transcription from the convent chronicle which discusses the role of Bartholomäus Riedler, describes the *Augsburger Ablassstafel*, and the prescribed course of prayers necessary for receiving the indulgence in the appendix on pp. 201-203.

<sup>73</sup> Unless otherwise cited the information about the construction is from Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, pp. 16-17.

and the artist now known only as the Monogrammist L.F. after the completion of the chapter house in 1499. As Figure 10 shows, the paintings were arranged in pairs on the walls of the chapter house by 1504, when the two paintings commissioned by the prioress Veronica Welser were completed. Cuneo believes that this arrangement most likely marked the three designated sites of prayer in the newly constructed spaces of the convent.<sup>74</sup> The nuns would have been required to say three *Paternosters* and three *Ave Marias* while viewing the paintings. The *Basilica of San Pietro* and the *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano* hung on the north wall of the chapter house. On the east wall hung the *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano*, which was located above the doorway leading into the chapter house (Figure 11), and the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*. The *Basilica of Santa Croce* and the *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore* hung on the south wall. The west exterior wall had windows that would have been the primary source of lighting for the room. The ceiling of the chapter house had ribbed vaults that were clearly emphasized; the shape and size of the paintings corresponded to the spaces where the ribbed vaults met the walls. The paintings completely filled the space of the walls between the ribs and ranged in height from approximately 213cm to 259cm and from approximately 335cm to 381cm wide. This meant that the paintings were not hung at eye level, but rather the viewer had to look up at the paintings.

When I first looked at the order in which the paintings were hung, it was unclear to me why the sisters chose to hang the paintings in the order that they did. The hanging of the paintings does not correspond to the chronology of the dates of

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<sup>74</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 25.

completion nor are paintings by the same artist grouped together. Likewise, the order of the paintings does not relate to the *topographical order*, or the order in which a pilgrimage to the seven churches in Rome should occur (Figures 12).<sup>75</sup> As indicated by this pilgrim's map, there was a prescribed order to visit the pilgrimage churches. The pilgrimage began at San Pietro, then went across the Tiber and through the Aurelian city walls to San Paolo Fuori le Mura. From there, the pilgrim was to walk to San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura, then back into the walled city to San Giovanni in Laterano and to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Finally, one should walk back through the city's wall to San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, and end one's pilgrimage at Santa Maria Maggiore, located within the walls of the city.<sup>76</sup>

I argue that the paintings were hung according to the chronology of the upper central panel of each painting in order to create a Passion narrative. Each of these upper center panels depict a separate episode from Christ's Passion. The upper center panel of the *Basilica of San Pietro* depicts Christ's impending betrayal and arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane; the *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano* depicts Christ receiving Judas's kiss of betrayal; the *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano* depicts Christ's Flagellation; the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura* depicts the mocking of Christ who is being crowned with the Crown of Thorns; the *Basilica of Santa Croce* depicts the Crucifixion; and the *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore* depicts the Virgin Mary crowned

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<sup>75</sup> See Rudy, "A Pilgrim's Memories of Jerusalem: London, Wallace Collection MS M319," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): pp. 311-325.

<sup>76</sup> Although this pilgrim's map dates from 1650-60, the seven churches had been designated by Pope Julius I in 336 AD and remained unchanged until the Great Jubilee Year of 2000 when Pope John Paul II replaced San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura with Santuario della Madonna del Divino Amore. This map was most likely based on earlier versions created for prior Jubilee Years.

as the Queen of Heaven by the Trinity. When looking at how the paintings are paired it is interesting to note the three groupings. The *Basilica of San Pietro* and the *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano* both depict scenes from before Christ's arrest, trial, and sentencing. The *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano* and the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura* depict the scourging, mocking, and crowning with thorns of Christ before he takes up his cross. The *Basilica of Santa Croce* shows Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of mankind, while the *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore* shows Christ as resurrected, having overcome death, to crown his mother, the Virgin Mary, as the Queen of Heaven. The Passion narrative evoked by the painting cycle would have allowed the nuns to trace the Stations of the Cross within the convent and to express their devotion to Christ as their bridegroom. These Passion scenes might have also functioned in a similar way to the panels depicting the Roman basilicas by facilitating virtual pilgrimages. The nuns could have imagined themselves in Jerusalem following in Christ's footsteps on his way to the cross.

There is ample precedent for using visual aids to undertake indulgenced spiritual pilgrimages to both Rome and the Holy Land. In the Bickenkloster of Poor Clares in Villingen, the abbess, Ursula Haider, had inscriptions carved onto stone slabs naming two hundred and ten holy places or churches in Rome and Jerusalem and the value of the indulgence given by Pope Innocent VIII for visiting it.<sup>77</sup> The slabs were placed

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<sup>77</sup> Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ," 87. See also Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, pp. 235-238; Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*; and Renate Stegmaier-Breinlinger, "Die hailigen Stett Rom und Jerusalem," *Reste einer Ablaßsammlung im Bickenkloster in Villingen*, *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 91 (1971): 176-201.

throughout the convent to facilitate group and individual virtual pilgrimages.<sup>78</sup> Some of the locations were illuminated with frescoes depicting scenes from the Passion and the seven pilgrimage churches in Rome (Figures 13-15). Possibly the nuns of St. Katherine's were familiar with the frescoes at the Villingen convent and wanted to recreate a similar type of virtual pilgrimage experience within their own convent. As we will see in the following chapters, however, the artists commissioned to create the basilica cycle went beyond merely representing the pilgrimage churches and depicting various Passion scenes.

Significantly the nuns chose to place these paintings within the context of the chapter house. The power, prestige, and agency of the prioress and her advisory council were manifested in the chapter house, and there the important business of the convent was conducted, including the election of the prioress.<sup>79</sup> Here, the rules of the Dominican order were also regularly read and individual nuns confessed their sins to their sisters and punishment was doled out if necessary.<sup>80</sup> The chapter house was also a space where prayers for the convent's benefactors and the spirits of the dead were said, which was appropriate in that the chapter house was sometimes open to visitors, including family members and benefactors.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the paintings would have had a wider viewing audience than just the nuns themselves. For these outside viewers, the

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<sup>78</sup> The Villingen chronicle relates that the sisters processed "with monstrance and lighted candles, with song and great devotion through the ambulatory – from one parchment letter [each representing a holy site] to the next as though they were present in the Holy Land." As quoted in Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, on p. 53.

<sup>79</sup> Hamburger, *Crown and Veil*, 62.

<sup>80</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

<sup>81</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

paintings may have played a role similar to that of many altarpieces, which in addition to their liturgical connections, emphasized the wealth, social status, and piety of their institutions and patrons to a variety of audiences.<sup>82</sup>

Ehrenschtendner correctly observes that these paintings were commissioned as a direct consequence of enforced strict enclosure, which led to the acquisition of the papal privilege, which was taken full advantage of by the sisters who commissioned the paintings when the new chapter house was built. Like the *Augsburger Ablasstafel*, the paintings highlighted the benefits that could be acquired by saying the prescribed prayers and provided the sisters with the incentive to gain indulgences by embarking on spiritual pilgrimages.<sup>83</sup> These virtual pilgrimages allowed the nuns of St. Katherine's to transcend enclosure and the walls of the convent by imagining that they were in Rome or the Holy Land. I believe that the paintings were also commissioned as manifestations of the nuns' own piety, as a reflection of the wealth and social status of their families, and so that they could more fully identify with the example of the saints and the Virgin Mary and fulfill their role as Brides of Christ.

As discussed in the preceding chapter of this thesis, in the following chapters I will more fully explore these ideas about the paintings' functions. I will also examine the paintings and their iconology, discuss the patrons of the paintings, and address the concept of virtual pilgrimage.

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<sup>82</sup> Beth Williamson, "Altarpieces, Liturgy, and Devotion," *Speculum* 79:2 (2004): 341–406.

<sup>83</sup> Ehrenschtendner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 69.

CHAPTER 3  
SAINTS, PATRONS, PILGRIMS, AND PASSION:  
EXPLORING THE THEMES OF THE BASILICA CYCLE PAINTINGS

Between 1499 and 1504, the six paintings depicting the pilgrimage churches were commissioned from Hans Holbein the Elder, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, and the artist now known only as the Monogrammist L.F. by the nuns of St. Katherine's convent to decorate their newly constructed chapter house.

Because the six paintings were specifically commissioned for the chapter house space and were completed within a five year time frame, they share many similarities in their construction and composition. Each oil painting is of a similar size, and is shaped to fit under the arches of the ribbed vault.<sup>84</sup> Each painting is constructed from three smaller wooden panels made of either fir or spruce wood that have been joined to create the larger whole.<sup>85</sup> A wooden frame surrounds the exterior of the triangular-shaped larger whole, and smaller vertical frames divide the paintings into a left, center, and right vertical panel. The basilica cycle artists took the framing device one step further and subdivided the paintings into a series of separate scenes or narratives by incorporating painted gold architectural frames that recall Gothic tracery, or, as in the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, by integrating landscape or architectural elements.

Iconographically and visually the center panels are the largest panels, and they depict the most significant scenes in each painting. The central panel of each painting

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<sup>84</sup> See Appendix A for information about the artist, date, dimensions, and patron of each painting.

<sup>85</sup> Gärtner provides information about the materials used in the construction of the paintings, as well as the dimensions of each panel at the beginning of her discussion about each painting.

presents a scene from Christ's Passion in the upper portion and the pilgrimage churches in the lower portion. As previously discussed, the paintings were arranged in the chapter house to form a Passion narrative or Stations of the Cross that could have been used to facilitate virtual pilgrimages to Jerusalem.<sup>86</sup> Since there are seven churches and only six paintings, the basilicas of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura and San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura are depicted together in a single painting, visually separated by a golden column that is part of the painted architectural frame. The left and right side panels of each painting contain scenes from the life of the patron saint of their respective churches often combined with scenes from the nuns' individual patron saint, or they depict other important events such as the nativity.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the frescoes in the Bickenkloster of Poor Clares in Villingen could have provided a visual precedent for the paintings. The Master of the Riedener Altar divided each of the three frescoes into six separate scenes using a painted architectural frame, a device also utilized by the artists of the basilica cycle. These frescoes depict the seven pilgrimage churches in Rome and their patron saints. However, the basilicas are not accurately represented; rather each building is presented as a type. The individual churches are only identifiable because of the inclusion of the patron saints. The frescoes also depict scenes from the Passion and follow a chronological sequence. *San Giovanni in Laterano and San Pietro in Vaticano* depicts Christ's arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, Christ before Pilate, and the Flagellation (Figure 13). *San Paolo fuori le mura, Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and San Lorenzo fuori*

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<sup>86</sup> See Rudy, "Fragments of a Mental Journey to a Passion Park," pp. 406-407 for more information about the Stations of the Cross and virtual pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

*le mura* portrays the crowning with the Crown of Thorns, Christ carrying the cross along the *via crucis*, and the moment before Christ is nailed to the cross (Figure 14). *Santa Maria Maggiore and San Sebastiano* depicts the Deposition, the entombment of Christ's body, and the Resurrection (Figure 15). Like the Villingen frescoes, the basilica cycle also portrays Christ's arrest, the Flagellation, and Christ's mocking as he is crowned with the Crown of Thorns. However, beyond these similarities in subject matter and, I would argue, function, the Villingen and Augsburg paintings do not intersect in design, or in the specific relationships of the pilgrimage churches and the Passion scenes.

Gärtner also discusses the *Passion* fresco, ca. 1495, located on the southwest wall of the Goldsmiths' Chapel at St. Anna Carmelite Church in Augsburg as a precedent (Figure 16).<sup>87</sup> Like the basilica cycle paintings, this fresco filled the space of the wall beneath the ribbed vault. Divided into four panels, the upper half depicts the Last Supper and Christ washing the feet of the disciples, and the three panels of the lower half depicts the mocking of Christ, Christ's scourging, and the betrayal of Christ. The three scenes depicted in the lower half are also depicted in the basilica cycle and both follow a similar method of representing the episodes.

## THE BASILICA CYCLE

The *Basilica of San Pietro* (Figure 1) was painted in 1501 by Hans Burgkmair the Elder, who created three of the paintings. The painting originally hung on the north hall

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<sup>87</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 88-90.

of the chapter house and was commissioned by the nun Anna Riedler.<sup>88</sup> Anna was the sister of Barbara Riedler, who was also a nun at St. Katherine's, and Bartholomäus Riedler, who negotiated the papal privilege on behalf of the convent.<sup>89</sup> The Riedler family may have been a prominent member of the burgher class with church connections in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>90</sup> According to the convent chronicle written in 1752-53, Riedler paid forty-five *gulden* for the painting.<sup>91</sup> The painting is divided by its wooden and golden painted frames into six separate scenes; however, its painted golden frame lacks the degree of ornamentation found in the other five paintings.<sup>92</sup> The narratives depicted in this painting divide the panels horizontally between the upper and lower halves. The upper half depicts Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane with the apostles Peter, John the Evangelist, and James the Greater. In the background on the right Judas leads a group of Roman soldiers to arrest Christ. The lower half of the painting depicts Saint Peter enthroned as the first pope before the basilica of San Pietro surrounded by the Virgin and Child and the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a group that includes Saint Katherine of Alexandria, Saint Barbara, and Saint Margaret.<sup>93</sup> These female saints are prominently featured and would have been

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<sup>88</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 21.

<sup>89</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 46-47.

<sup>90</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 25.

<sup>91</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 115.

<sup>92</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 116.

<sup>93</sup> To the left of Saint Peter is Saint Katherine of Alexandra, identifiable by her broken wheel, sword, and crown; the Virgin and Child; Saint Margaret the Virgin, with the dragon at her feet, her crown, and staff topped with a cross; Saint Barbara, identifiable by her crown and ciborium with host; Saint Pantaleon with his prominently displayed nailed hands; Saint Vitus (?) with a candle (?); Saint Eustace with his sword, the head of the stag he holds in his hands, and the golden crucifix; and Saint Agathius (or Acacius), identifiable by the branch from the crown of thorns that he holds in his right hand. To the right of Saint Peter is Saint

important to the nuns of Saint Katherine's (Figure 17). Accordingly, they appear in paintings throughout the basilica cycle.<sup>94</sup>

The *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano* (Figure 2) was painted in 1502 by an artist now known only as the Monogrammist L.F., who may have been an apprentice in the workshop of Hans Burgkmair the Elder.<sup>95</sup> The painting originally hung on the north wall of the chapter house. The nun Helena Rephonin (or Rephun), whose family belonged to the elite social group situated just below the patriciate on the social scale, paid sixty *gulden* for this painting, which depicts Judas's betrayal of Christ in the upper center panel.<sup>96</sup> The lower center panel depicts the basilicas of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura and San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura and their patron saints. Here, as in several of the panels, pilgrims are shown entering the churches. Scenes from the legend of Helena's namesake and patron saint, Saint Helen, and her search in the Holy Land for the True Cross are depicted in the left and right side panels.

The *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano* (Figure 3) was painted in 1502 by Hans Burgkmair the Elder, who was commissioned to create two of the paintings in the

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Erasmus, with his windlass with his intestines wrapped around it, his bishop's crosier, and bishop's vestments; Pope Saint Sixtus II, identifiable by his triple crown tiara, pope's vestments, and Papal Cross; Saint Nicholas, identifiable by his bishop's vestments, bishop's crosier, and three golden purses which rest on a Gospel book; Saint Leonard of Noblac with his monk's habit, tonsured head, and chains; Saint George with the dragon at his feet, sword, and armor; Saint Giles with the wounded hind and his Benedictine habit; and Saint Christopher who carries the Christ Child on his shoulder. The Christ Child is represented as the *Salvator Mundi*, holding the *globus cruciger* in one hand with his right hand raised in blessing.

<sup>94</sup> On a side note, it has been proposed that Burgkmair included a hidden self-portrait, painting his face on the figure of Saint Vitus (?) who wears a green cloak and stands in the back row directly behind the figure of Saint Katherine of Alexandria. See Figure 17. Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 120.

<sup>95</sup> See Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, pp. 56-58 for a discussion regarding the possible identity of the Monogrammist L.F.

<sup>96</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22. Gärtner provides information about the amount paid for the painting on pp. 127-128.

basilica cycle. The painting, which originally hung on the east wall of the chapter house, was commissioned by the nun Barbara Riedler, the sister of Anna and Bartholomäus Riedler. Riedler paid sixty-four *gulden* for the painting, which is divided into eight scenes by its painted architectural frame.<sup>97</sup> The center panel depicts the flagellation of Christ above a depiction of the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano and the miraculous death of Saint John the Evangelist. In this panel, numerous pilgrims are visible to the left and right of the basilica. In particular, a lone female pilgrim is prominently featured to the right of basilica. Another pilgrim is depicted as a beggar, sitting next to a statue of Saint Barbara, which refers to the painting's donor (Figure 18).<sup>98</sup> The left and right side panels depict scenes from the life of Saint John the Evangelist.

The next two paintings in the cycle, the *Basilica of Santa Croce* and the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori la mura*, were commissioned by Veronica Welser after she was elected prioress in 1503-04.<sup>99</sup> Veronica was the daughter of Bartholomäus Welser, who served as mayor of Augsburg from 1457-1477.<sup>100</sup> The family was one of the richest and most powerful dynasties in Germany and had been a member of the patriciate since its formation in 1383.<sup>101</sup> The family's wealth came from international trade and banking. Welser paid one hundred and eighty-seven *gulden* for both panels.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 139.

<sup>98</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22.

<sup>99</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 17.

<sup>100</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22.

<sup>101</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22.

<sup>102</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 157 & 181.

The *Basilica of San Paolo fuori la mura* (Figure 4) was painted by Hans Holbein the Elder in 1504. The painting originally hung on the east wall of the chapter house and depicts the mocking and crowning of thorns of Christ in the upper center panel.<sup>103</sup> The lower center panel depicts the basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura and scenes from the life of Saint Paul, which are expanded on the left and right side panels with additional episodes from the saint's life including his conversion, baptism, and the reunification of his head with his body. A donor portrait of Veronica Welsler was originally located in the lower right-hand corner of the painting (Figure 19). However, the left and right side panels of the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori la mura* have been cut down and only the extant portion depicting Veronica survives.<sup>104</sup> A preparatory drawing, now in Braunschweig, illustrates the original composition of the painting, allowing us to reconstruct the painting with a reasonable degree of accuracy (Figure 20).<sup>105</sup>

The *Basilica of Santa Croce* (Figure 5) was painted by Hans Burgkmair the Elder in 1504. The painting originally hung on the south wall of the chapter house and depicts the Crucifixion in the upper center panel.<sup>106</sup> This scene has the most visual weight, alluding to the magnitude of the event being portrayed. The lower center panel depicts the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which is surrounded by numerous pilgrims

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<sup>103</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 158.

<sup>104</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22. It is uncertain when and why the left and right side panels of the painting were cut down. The painting may have sustained damage. Further research will have to be conducted in order to definitively ascertain when and why the painting was cut down.

<sup>105</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22.

<sup>106</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 182.

who are engaged in a variety of activities. The left and right side panels depict the martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins. Since Veronica's given name was Ursula, the depiction of the martyr emphasized the prioress's patron saint.<sup>107</sup> The Welser family coat-of-arms is prominently displayed in the lower right-hand corner of the painting. This painting will be analyzed and examined at length in Chapter 4.

The *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore* (Figure 6) was painted by Hans Holbein the Elder (1460/5-1524) in 1499. The painting originally hung on the south wall of the chapter house and was commissioned by the nun Dorothea Rehlinger who, according to civil tax records, was a member of the second wealthiest family in Augsburg.<sup>108</sup> During the 1520s and 1530s several of her family members also served as mayors of the city of Augsburg.<sup>109</sup> Rehlinger paid sixty *gulden* for the painting, which is divided into two horizontal zones and six scenes by its painted architectural frame.<sup>110</sup> The upper half depicts the heavenly realm in which the Virgin Mary is crowned the Queen of Heaven and the angels proclaim their joy. This is set against a dark background scattered with small golden stars. The same background appears in the lower half of the painting, connecting the heavenly realm to the earthly realm below. The lower half depicts earthly scenes including the nativity, the martyrdom of Saint Dorothy, and the Basilica of Santa Marie Maggiore, which are unified by an earth-colored ground plane. Vegetation occupies the foreground of the martyrdom and nativity and grows along the exterior

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<sup>107</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22.

<sup>108</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 21.

<sup>109</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 21.

<sup>110</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 103-104.

walls of the basilica, ensuring that the viewer grasps the separation of the two realms and events. In the lower right panel, Dorothea Rehlinger is depicted wearing her Dominican habit (Figure 21). She kneels just behind the executioner, who is preparing to behead Dorothea's patron saint and namesake Saint Dorothy.<sup>111</sup> The Rehlinger family coat-of-arms, which originally appeared in the painting to the right of Dorothea's donor portrait, has been overpainted but is still somewhat visible and will be discussed later in the chapter (Figure 22).<sup>112</sup>

Not only do these six paintings share many similarities in construction and composition, but there are four overarching themes or elements that run through each painting. These themes include the use of hagiographical narrative in depicting scenes from the lives of the patron saints of the basilicas as well as the patron saints of the individual nuns; the piety of the individual nuns as manifested by their patronage and expressed through the inclusion of donor portraits, family coats-of-arms, and patron and namesake saints; imagery capturing the essence of both physical and spiritual pilgrimage; and Passion scenes.<sup>113</sup> These four themes will be discussed throughout this chapter and I will provide an analysis of the panels that illustrate these four concepts beginning with the use of hagiographical narrative.

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<sup>111</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 21.

<sup>112</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 25.

<sup>113</sup> See Appendix B for a list of the panels that illustrates each of the four themes.

## HAGIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE

The complex imagery and multiple narratives evoked by the paintings would have allowed the nuns to contemplate the lives of the saints, who served as exemplars for them.<sup>114</sup> The artists organized these hagiographical episodes in a variety of ways. In some instances, the artist divided the fictive spaces of the panels into separate events through the use of the painted architectural frames, while in other cases landscape elements and architectural features are used to distinguish episodes. At times, the artist represents the scenes from the lives of the saints in a linear, chronological fashion that can be read from left to right, and top to bottom, as one would read a book. In others, events have been conflated and do not follow a logical chronology. A close examination of the paintings shows that the artists relied on the established visual tradition for representing the saints depicted in the paintings. The artists and nuns would have been familiar with the stories of the lives of the saints, which were passed down orally and recorded in literary sources like Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend*.<sup>115</sup>

The panels depicting scenes from the life of Saint Paul from the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura* are discussed because Holbein depicted several scenes in a single panel; the female followers of Saint Paul would have served as an exemplar to the nuns; and like Holbein, who has placed himself within the baptism scene, the nuns could have imagined themselves serving as witnesses to the scenes being depicted.

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<sup>114</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23. See also Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary and Nuns as artists*.

<sup>115</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints*, v 1 and 2, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941).

Holbein has depicted scenes from the life of Saint Paul in the left, lower center, and right panels of the *Basilica San Paolo fuori le mura* (Figure 4). Instead of representing each scene in a separate panel, utilizing the painted architectural frame to divide the narrative events, Holbein has chosen to depict several episodes within a single panel. Like the events depicted in Hans Memling's *Passion* (Figure 23), numerous episodes from Saint Paul's life are juxtaposed in terms of size and chronology in a single panel. Vida J. Hull discusses how Memling used certain devices like winding paths, architectural features, and landscape elements to separate the scenes from one another while simultaneously directing and moving the viewer's gaze through the painting.<sup>116</sup> Memling provides the viewer with a visual path to follow, allowing them to imagine that they are participants in the events being depicted. Hull argues that Memling's paintings could have been used to facilitate spiritual pilgrimage as the viewer becomes engrossed in the details of the painting and projects themselves into the past, following the narrative path created by the artist. In both of these paintings, the viewer's eyes are initially drawn to the center of the composition and then travel in a meandering path throughout the rest of the painting. The events being depicted are not represented in a strict chronological order; instead, they allow the viewer to create their own narrative experience.

Like Memling, Holbein does not depict the scenes from the life of Saint Paul in a chronological order as we can see beginning with the left panel. The viewer's eyes are

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<sup>116</sup> Vida J. Hull, "Spiritual Pilgrimage in the Paintings of Hans Memling," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, eds. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Boston: Brill, 2005), 29-50.

initially drawn to the baptism scene depicted in the foreground (Figure 24). This scene fills the space of the bottom half of the painting, and its figures are larger than any of the others in the panel. The circular marble slab on which the figures are standing, the architectural feature of the tower in which Paul is imprisoned, and the landscape elements effectively separate this scene from the others. A nude Saint Paul, standing in a clay-colored baptismal font, is surrounded by Ananias, who is identifiable by his embroidered collar; a young acolyte; two unidentified men; and a fashionable woman, who may represent one of Saint Paul's later followers.<sup>117</sup>

The viewer's eyes then move to the depiction of Saul's conversion, which is described in Acts 9:1-19.<sup>118</sup> The figures in this scene are smaller in scale than those in the baptism scene, and it is separated from the other scenes by the architecture of the city, the prison tower, and landscape elements. In this scene, which would have

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<sup>117</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 164.

<sup>118</sup> Acts 9:1-19: Meanwhile, Saul was still breathing out murderous threats against the Lord's disciples. He went to the high priest and asked him for letters to the synagogues in Damascus, so that if he found any there who belonged to the Way, whether men or women, he might take them as prisoners to Jerusalem. As he neared Damascus on his journey, suddenly a light from heaven flashed around him. He fell to the ground and heard a voice say to him, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" "Who are you, Lord?" Saul asked. "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting," he replied. "Now get up and go into the city, and you will be told what you must do." The men traveling with Saul stood there speechless; they heard the sound but did not see anyone. Saul got up from the ground, but when he opened his eyes he could see nothing. So they led him by the hand into Damascus. For three days he was blind, and did not eat or drink anything. In Damascus there was a disciple named Ananias. The Lord called to him in a vision, "Ananias!" "Yes, Lord," he answered. The Lord told him, "Go to the house of Judas on Straight Street and ask for a man from Tarsus named Saul, for he is praying. In a vision he has seen a man named Ananias come and place his hands on him to restore his sight." "Lord," Ananias answered, "I have heard many reports about this man and all the harm he has done to your holy people in Jerusalem. And he has come here with authority from the chief priests to arrest all who call on your name." But the Lord said to Ananias, "Go! This man is my chosen instrument to proclaim my name to the Gentiles and their kings and to the people of Israel. <sup>16</sup> I will show him how much he must suffer for my name." Then Ananias went to the house and entered it. Placing his hands on Saul, he said, "Brother Saul, the Lord—Jesus, who appeared to you on the road as you were coming here—has sent me so that you may see again and be filled with the Holy Spirit." Immediately, something like scales fell from Saul's eyes, and he could see again. He got up and was baptized, and after taking some food, he regained his strength.

occurred before the baptism, Saul and his horse have fallen to the ground and golden rays of light shine down from the darkened sky, marking the beginning of his conversion. In the background of the conversion scene, just above the curve of the horse's neck, a blind Saul is led through the city by two of his traveling companions.

Separate from and to the right of the baptismal scene are a group of three smaller figures, believed to be a self-portrait of the artist Hans Holbein the Elder and his sons Hans and Ambrosius (Figure 25).<sup>119</sup> Holbein and his sons serve as witnesses to the baptism, and indeed Holbein directs the viewer's attention to the event by pointing towards the scene. The nuns would have been able to imagine projecting themselves into the past to join Holbein and his sons as witnesses.

The lower center panel depicts additional scenes from Saint Paul's life as well as the basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, which fills the center of the composition (Figure 26). The viewer's eye is drawn into the interior of the basilica. Saint Paul preaches from a pulpit to four figures, including a Dominican nun. Seated in the exterior courtyard of the church with her back to the viewer is Thecla, one of Saint Paul's female followers. The nuns would have identified with these two female exemplars who listen intently to Saint Paul's sermon. The women's piety contrasts with the two men who appear to be sleeping.

The moment before Saint Paul's execution is depicted to the right of the seated figure of Thecla. Saint Paul looks towards the scene in the left foreground, simultaneously directing the viewer's attention, while serving as a witness to his own

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<sup>119</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 165.

death. Blood spurts from the saint's neck, and his decapitated head rests upright near the three round openings in the tiled courtyard. Inscribed near the openings are the letters "IHS," a reference to the legend that after his beheading, Saint Paul opened his mouth and said the name of Jesus in Hebrew.<sup>120</sup>

In the background of this scene, at the upper left of the panel, is a depiction of the risen Saints Peter and Paul who are identified as martyrs by the Crowns of Victory they wear.<sup>121</sup> The city walls of Rome, landscape elements, and the exterior wall of the basilica separate this scene from the others. A winding path connects this scene to the meeting of Saint Paul and Plautilla depicted on the other side of the basilica, at the upper right of the panel. Plautilla was another one of Saint Paul's female followers and, like Thecla, would have served as an exemplar on which the nuns could model their behavior and devotion. The winding path directs the viewer's gaze back to the foreground and the center of the composition.

The right panel contains additional scenes from the life of Saint Paul (Figure 27). Like the baptismal scene depicted in the left panel, the reunification of Saint Paul's body with his head fills the bottom half of the painting. These figures are larger in scale than the others in the painting. This scene is separated from those occurring in the background by architectural features and the artist's use of open space. A donor portrait of Veronica Welser was originally located in the bottom right-hand corner of this scene (Figures 19 and 20). She is depicted in her Dominican habit and the text scroll

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<sup>120</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 166. This apocryphal tale is recorded in *The Golden Legend*, v. 1, p. 344.

<sup>121</sup> 1 Corinthians 9:25, NIV.

above her head reads, “sancte ... mise[r]ico[r] - dia[m] · dei · p[ro] · me · i · p ...”

Although the entire text is not visible, it is most likely an appeal to Saint Paul to act as an intercessor on her behalf. As discussed later in this chapter, this donor portrait would have served as a “surrogate self” for the prioress, whose red rosary beads remind the viewer to pray for her soul even after she is gone. The nuns could have imagined themselves joining Welser and serving as a witness to miraculous events being depicted.

To the right of the reunification, is a depiction of Saint Paul being lowered over the city wall in a basket. This episode is somewhat integrated into the scene of the reunification. The basket is overlapped by one of the monk’s heads; however, Saint Paul’s gaze is not directed towards the scene, underscoring its separateness in time and location.

The depth and perspective of the painting, including the arrangement of the saint’s body in the foreground, draws the viewer’s gaze into the background to a depiction of a procession in which the pope uses a white cloth to carry Saint Paul’s head. The figures in the procession are smaller than those depicted in the foreground and this scene is separated from the one in the far background by a curving wall. The scene in the background depicts the rediscovery of Saint Paul’s head.<sup>122</sup>

Although the other paintings in the basilica cycle may use different modes of relating hagiographical episodes to one another, like the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, similar care is taken to lead the nuns through the saints’ stories.

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<sup>122</sup> The legend about the discovery and reunification of Saint Paul’s head with his body is recounted in *The Golden Legend*, v. 1 on p. 345.

## PATRONAGE AND PIETY OF THE INDIVIDUAL NUNS

As noted above, the stories of the saints often reflected the identities of the individual nuns, or served as models for them. Their piety is highlighted through the inclusion of donor portraits and family coats-of-arms, as well as the depiction of patron and namesake saints in the paintings they commissioned. These expressions of piety, and elements marking the nuns' patronage, were included in the paintings for a variety of reasons. The first and most obvious reason was to identify the individual nuns or nuns' families responsible for commissioning the paintings. It also expressed the donors' wealth, social status, and generosity to visitors to St. Katherine's as well as to the other nuns in the convent. Gelfand and Gibson state that donors often expressed the wish that their soul be remembered eternally in prayer, with their donor portrait serving as a "surrogate self."<sup>123</sup> This "surrogate self" would have acted as a representative of the person being depicted even after their death, immortalizing them, and ensuring that they were not forgotten.<sup>124</sup> Thus, the donor portraits of the nuns would have acted as "surrogate selves," allowing them to serve as witnesses to the miraculous events being depicted in the paintings. Additionally, these representatives would have ensured that the nuns were not forgotten and that their souls were eternally remembered in prayer. During this time, it was believed that the prayers of nuns were especially efficacious and, in fact, the donor nuns were depicted in an eternal

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<sup>123</sup> Gelfand and Gibson, "Surrogates Selves," 124.

<sup>124</sup> Gelfand and Gibson, "Surrogates Selves," for a discussion regarding the concept of surrogate selves and their place in devotional works of art.

posture of prayer.<sup>125</sup> The inclusion of references to the nuns' families is significant considering the importance of family connections and social networks to the nuns of St. Katherine's.<sup>126</sup> The panel depicting the martyrdom of Saint Dorothy from the *Basilica of Santa Marie Maggiore* exemplifies the idea of piety through patronage in that it includes a donor portrait, the nun's family coat-of-arms, and a depiction of her patron saint.

The lower right panel of the *Basilica of Santa Marie Maggiore* depicts the martyrdom of Saint Dorothy, the patron saint and namesake of Dorothea Rehlinger, who commissioned the painting (Figure 21). Saint Dorothy is the central and largest figure of this scene. She kneels with her hands folded in prayer at the center of the composition. She wears an elaborately decorated gold-patterned dress with a soft red mantle trimmed in gold as is befitting her noble lineage. Her hair is long, loose, and wavy, and she is both nimbed and crowned. The Christ Child presents Saint Dorothy with a bowl full of fruit and flowers.<sup>127</sup> According to legend, a scribe named Theophilus mocked Saint Dorothy on the way to her execution, scornfully saying that she should send him some of the roses and apples that she had gathered from the garden of Christ her spouse. At the place of her execution, a barefoot child, clothed in a purple garment set full of bright stars, appeared before her holding a shining gold basket full of roses and apples. The virgin martyr asked that the basket be delivered to Theophilus, who

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<sup>125</sup> Hamburger, *Crown and Veil*, 13.

<sup>126</sup> Hamburger discusses the relationship of nuns and their families in *Crown and Veil* on pp. 221-223. See also Corine Schleif and Volker Schier, *Katerina's Windows: Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, as Heard and Seen Through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

<sup>127</sup> The basket in the preparatory drawing has been changed to a bowl in the painting. See Figure 28.

promptly converted upon receiving it.<sup>128</sup> Holbein depicts the moment prior to Saint Dorothy's execution when the child appears to her (Figure 21). The child is identifiable as the Christ Child by the cruciform nimbus that surrounds his head. He wears a gossamer gown with a dark colored robe set with small golden shining stars. Not only does this match the description in Saint Dorothy's legend, the gown mimics the color and pattern of the painting's background. Banners above and between the figures of Saint Dorothy and the Christ Child provide their conversation: "· dorothea · ich · bring dir · da ·" (Dorothy, I bring you this). The longer scrolling banner lettered in black ink reads, "· Ich · bit · dich · herr · bringß · theophilo · dem · Schreiber ·" (I ask you Lord to bring it to Theophilus the scribe).<sup>129</sup> Standing behind Saint Dorothy is her executioner, dressed in contemporary clothing and a red hat. Holbein depicts the executioner in the act of swinging his long sword to behead Saint Dorothy.

To the right of the executioner, is a donor portrait of Dorothea Rehlinger, dressed in her black and white Dominican habit. She kneels with her hands folded piously in prayer and her gaze is on the figure of Saint Dorothy. In relation to the other figures in the scene, she is smaller in scale. This is because of her status in relation to the other figures and because she is not an active participant in the events being depicted. The Rehlinger coat-of-arms – two white daisy-like flowers with cone-shaped stems set against a blue background – is depicted behind the figure of Dorothea (Figures 21 and 22). It has been overpainted, but is just visible. In the preparatory drawing, we

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<sup>128</sup> Alban Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Other Principal Saints: Compiled from Original Monuments and Other Authentic Records* (Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1866), 214.

<sup>129</sup> All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

see that Holbein originally intended to include a hanging plaque behind the figure of Rehlinger (Figure 28). Most likely the plaque would have included an inscription with Rehlinger's name and the date. That the painting was altered to include Rehlinger's coat-of-arms is significant, because it serves to identify Dorothea Rehlinger as the patron of this painting and connects the entire Rehlinger family with the commission. Thus the nun Dorothea is not only expressing her own piety, but the piety of her family as well. The inclusion of the coat-of-arms also proclaims the wealth, social position, and generosity of the Rehlinger family and ensures that their members will be remembered eternally. By including a likeness of herself in the painting, particularly by placing herself within the scene depicting the martyrdom of her patron saint and namesake, Dorothea Rehlinger places a "surrogate self" within the context of the painting. She becomes a witness to Saint Dorothy's martyrdom, furthering her connection and devotion to the saint who would have acted as an intercessor on her behalf.

## PILGRIMAGE

A pilgrimage, especially to Jerusalem or Rome, entailed a serious commitment because it required a substantial investment of money and time, and because of the dangers that could be encountered during the course of one's travels.<sup>130</sup> "For this reason, pilgrimage was regarded as a penitential and sacrificial act, and thus one did not vow a pilgrimage to Jerusalem lightly. Such vows, like those made to the saints, were

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<sup>130</sup> Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons*, 138.

considered a binding commitment, breakable only in favor of monastic vows.”<sup>131</sup> During the late medieval period, pilgrimage remained a highly desirable activity that was undertaken to gain indulgences, heal ailments or afflictions, or to demonstrate one’s piety. Because enclosed religious women could not undertake physical pilgrimages, “a pilgrimage taken via directed imagining then, offered the poor, the cloistered, or those otherwise too encumbered to travel in body the opportunity to gain the benefits of pilgrimage for themselves by traveling in their imagination.”<sup>132</sup>

When examining these paintings, it is obvious that the artists were more concerned with capturing the idea and characteristics of pilgrimage and facilitating virtual pilgrimage rather than realistically portraying pilgrimage sites in Rome.<sup>133</sup> The artists conflate separate pilgrimage sites into a single panel, add architectural details of their own invention, and include symbols and figures of saints that would have held meaning or been important to the nuns of St. Katherine’s, but were not present at the actual sites. The artists represent pilgrims entering the churches, praying before altarpieces, and being led by tour guides. The nuns could have identified with these pilgrims, imagining themselves in their place or as a travel companion. Additionally, the sisters could have imagined pilgrimages to the Holy Land following the Passion narrative created through the arrangement of the scenes that depict the Passion. By portraying the essence of pilgrimage in these paintings, the artists provided the nuns – whose “surrogate selves” were already present within the paintings – with the ability to create

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<sup>131</sup> Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons*, 138.

<sup>132</sup> Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons*, 241.

<sup>133</sup> Ehrenschtendner, “Virtual Pilgrimages?,” 69-71.

their own pilgrimage journeys. The complex imagery and multiple narratives of the paintings allowed the nuns to construct new pilgrimage journeys or repeat previously imagined ones, allowing them to transcend the walls of the convent and strict enclosure, while gaining indulgences. The panel depicting San Giovanni in Laterano from the *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano* illustrates the theme of pilgrimage. It depicts a number of pilgrims, including a female pilgrim; it demonstrates how the artists conflated pilgrimage and sacred sites; and the pilgrims are engaged in a variety of activities, which allowed the nuns to gain a fuller experience by imagining themselves as these different pilgrims.

The lower center panel of the *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano* depicts the basilica and numerous pilgrims who are identifiable by their walking sticks, long traveling cloaks, wide-brimmed hats, and pilgrims' badges (Figure 29).<sup>134</sup> To the left of the basilica's entrance is a female pilgrim, who appears to be traveling alone. The sisters of St. Katherine's could have imagined themselves as this female pilgrim, walking the streets of Rome, visiting and praying at San Giovanni in Laterano, and viewing its holy relics. To the right of the basilica's entrance an amputee male pilgrim is shown begging (Figure 18). A few coins and a small statue of Saint Barbara, the patron saint and namesake of the donor Barbara Riedler, rest on the pilgrim's blanket. The nuns could have imagined encountering this beggar pilgrim and giving him alms. His inclusion could be a direct reference to the charity and generosity of the sisters of St. Katherine's. The marble stairs of the Scala Sancta, where Burgkmair has signed and dated the

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<sup>134</sup> Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion*, 171-75.

painting, are visible behind the beggar pilgrim.<sup>135</sup> As previously discussed, the depictions of the basilicas were not realistic representations of the places in Rome. The Scala Sancta, the steps that led up to the *praetorium* of Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem that were said to have been brought to Rome by Saint Helen in the fourth century, is actually part of the old Lateran Palace and located opposite of the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano.<sup>136</sup> Their inclusion reinforces the pilgrimage aspect of the painting, highlighting the elements that comprised a pilgrimage to Rome. Pilgrims with rosary beads are depicted ascending the Scala Sancta on their knees. Although women were not allowed to enter the Sancta Sanctorum, the nuns could envision themselves as one of the pilgrims ascending the Sancta Scala, visiting this sacred space, and earning the associated indulgences. This scene would have helped shaped the nuns' virtual pilgrimage experience, allowing them to imagine themselves engaged in the same activities as the pilgrims depicted.

## PASSION SCENES

According to James H. Marrow, "one of the best-known aspects of the piety of the late Middle Ages is the rise of devotion to the suffering of Christ."<sup>137</sup> Religious men and women and pious laypeople desired to approach "the Divine through intimate

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<sup>135</sup> The inscription reads, "·ABC / ·HANNS· / BVRGKMAIR / 1502." Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 145.

<sup>136</sup> Ehrenschtendner, "Virtual Pilgrimages?," 70.

<sup>137</sup> James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemert Publishing Company, 1979), 1.

knowledge and empathic experience of Christ's humanity" at the Passion.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, a physical or spiritual pilgrimage to Jerusalem "was the most direct way of treading in Christ's footsteps."<sup>139</sup> Based on eyewitness reports drawn from sacred history, pilgrims could imagine themselves "accompanying Jesus, or even *being* Jesus," and suffering as he did.<sup>140</sup> Pilgrims could also imagine themselves in the role of the Virgin Mary, the compassionate mother experiencing grief at Calvary. Those who imitated the Virgin, who was identified as the first pilgrim, were in effect imitating Christ.<sup>141</sup> As Rudy notes, "part of her appeal as a role model, especially to an audience of female religious, was her femaleness."<sup>142</sup> As previously discussed, the Virgin was an object of special devotion to the Dominican nuns, which would have heightened their awareness of the role of the Virgin at the Crucifixion.

Scenes of the Passion are depicted throughout the basilica cycle, and indeed seem to have provided the organizing principal for the arrangement of paintings in the chapter house, as discussed in Chapter 2. Each painting depicts a separate episode from the Passion, beginning with Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane and culminating in the Crucifixion. These images would have allowed the nuns to identify and empathize with both Christ and the Virgin Mary's suffering at the Passion. The sisters of St. Katherine's could have used these images to imagine pilgrimages to the Holy Land, following the Stations of the Cross. Additionally, scenes of Christ would have also provided the nuns

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<sup>138</sup> Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art*, 1.

<sup>139</sup> Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ," 84.

<sup>140</sup> Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, 35.

<sup>141</sup> Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, 35.

<sup>142</sup> Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, 35.

with the opportunity to imagine him as their bridegroom, providing their salvation through his sacrifice.

The importance of Christ as a mediator between God and man was enhanced by the fact that his suffering and death were thought to have been an unparalleled contribution to the so-called *thesaurus ecclesiae*, the treasury of grace from which any Christian could benefit in order to wash away his sins.<sup>143</sup>

The panel depicting Christ receiving Judas's kiss of betrayal from the *Basilica of San Lorenzo & San Sebastiano* (Figure 2) illustrates the importance of the Passion scenes in providing the organizational element for the painting cycle; it is a scene that is also depicted in the frescoes at Villingen and in the Goldsmith's Chapel (Figures 13, 14, 15, and 16); and as one of the scenes of the Passion, it would have evoked the nuns' empathy towards Christ.

The *Basilica of San Lorenzo & San Sebastiano* (Figure 2) was located between the *Basilica of San Pietro* (Figure 1) and the *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano* (Figure 3) in the chapter house (Figure 10). The upper center panel depicts the events immediately following the scene of Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane depicted in the upper half of the *Basilica of San Pietro* (Figure 1). This panel depicts Judas's betrayal and Christ's arrest, which are recorded in all four gospels and were frequently depicted in medieval and Renaissance art.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ," 74.

<sup>144</sup> Luke 22:47-53, NIV, reports: While he was still speaking a crowd came up, and the man who was called Judas, one of the Twelve, was leading them. He approached Jesus to kiss him, but Jesus asked him, "Judas, are you betraying the Son of Man with a kiss?" When Jesus' followers saw what was going to happen, they said, "Lord, should we strike with our swords?" And one of them struck the servant of the high priest, cutting off his right ear. But Jesus answered, "No more of this!" And he touched the man's ear and healed him. Then Jesus said to the chief priests, the officers of the temple guard, and the elders, who had

The Monogrammist L.F. depicts Christ as the center and focus of the scene; the red standard carried by the soldiers simultaneously divides the scene in half, while denoting Christ's importance and centrality. The action of the scene swirls around Christ who calmly heals the right ear of the high priest's servant, Malchus, even while a soldier grabs the front of his robes. Marrow relates Christ's meekness to Isaiah 53:7, "He shall be led as a sheep to slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth."<sup>145</sup> He believes this verse underlies many of the late medieval depictions of the Passion "in which a sharp, frequently jarring contrast is expressed between Christ's rapacious persecutors and the humble, mute figure of the Savior."<sup>146</sup> Filling the scene around Christ, who is embraced and kissed by Judas, the apostles Peter, John the Evangelist, and James the Greater battle the soldiers. The threat of mob violence seems imminent as one soldier brandishes a torch and others draw their weapons, foreshadowing the violence that will be committed against Christ. However, Christ seems unconcerned at the turn of events and focuses his attention on Malchus. The nuns could have imagined themselves in this scene participating as witnesses, knowing that Christ's arrest will lead to his torture and eventual death. The sisters of St. Katherine's could contemplate Christ's sacrifice, and mediate on its significance, thereby increasing their devotion to him.

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come for him, "Am I leading a rebellion that you have come with swords and clubs? Every day I was with you in the temple courts, and you did not lay a hand on me. But this is your hour—when darkness reigns.

<sup>145</sup> Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art*, 96.

<sup>146</sup> Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art*, 97.

This chapter has provided a broad overview of the design and placement of the six basilica paintings, and explored the themes that link them together. The following chapter is a case study of the *Basilica of Santa Croce* that explores in more detail how the four themes of hagiographical narrative, patronage and piety of the individual nuns, pilgrimage, and Passion scenes are interconnected and interrelated.

## CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDY OF THE BASILICA OF SANTA CROCE

As discussed in Chapter 3, the *Basilica of Santa Croce* was commissioned by Veronica Welser, who was elected prioress in 1503-04.<sup>147</sup> Veronica was the daughter of Bartholomäus Welser, and her family, whose wealth came from international trade and banking, was one of the richest and most powerful dynasties in Germany.<sup>148</sup>

The *Basilica of Santa Croce* (Figure 5) was painted by Hans Burgkmair the Elder in 1504. The painting originally hung on the south wall of the chapter house between the *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura* (Figure 4) and the *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore* (Figure 6) and, as I argue in Chapter 2, would have been the fifth painting to be viewed during a spiritual pilgrimage (Figure 10). This painting best exemplifies how the four themes of hagiographical narrative, patronage and piety of the individual nuns, pilgrimage, and Passion scenes are interconnected and interrelated not only throughout the individual paintings, but throughout the basilica cycle.

The left and right panels of the *Basilica of Santa Croce* depict scenes from the life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgin martyrs (Figures 31 and 32).<sup>149</sup> The left panel depicts five ships, each filled with one-thousand maidens and a number of noble virgins, who are identified by the scrolling text labels. A Hun, who is also dressed in fashionable contemporary clothing, stands on the bank and begins to draw his bow, foreshadowing

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<sup>147</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 17.

<sup>148</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22.

<sup>149</sup> See *The Golden Legend*, v. 2, pp. 627-631.

the martyrdom of Saint Ursula and the virgins. Burgkmair has created a sense of perspective and depth by decreasing the scale of the objects in the background as the viewer's eyes follow the course of the water as it disappears into the horizon.

The city of Cologne is visible in background of the right panel.<sup>150</sup> Again, Burgkmair has created a sense of depth and perspective in the composition through the use of scale. Six ships are depicted; the ship in the center of the composition contains the figure of the crowned and nimbed Saint Ursula, her fiancé, Ethereus, and Pope Cyriacus (Figure 33). These figures are identified by the scrolling text labels that surround the ship. On the blanket draped over the side of the ship are the coats-of-arms of Saint Ursula (Duchy of Brittany) and Ethereus (Empire of England), which together refer to their engagement and social status.<sup>151</sup> Saint Ursula's significance and importance is demarcated by the fact that she is one of the largest figures in the scene; she is also the only nimbed figure. Three Huns stand on the shoreline (Figure 32); two pull one of the ships full of anxious and praying women onto the shore, while the third draws his bow, marking the beginning of the virgins' martyrdom. As virgins and noble women themselves, the nuns would have identified with the women depicted in the panels. Saint Ursula was also the patron saint of Veronica Welser, whose given name was Ursula.<sup>152</sup> The saint would have acted as an intercessor on Welser's behalf; the panels represent a visual depiction of Welser's devotion and personal connection to Saint Ursula.

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<sup>150</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 192.

<sup>151</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 191.

<sup>152</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 22.

Like the other women featured throughout the basilica cycle, Saint Ursula would have held special significance not only for Veronica Welser, but for the entire convent. Saints Ursula, Helen, Barbara, and Dorothy were the patron saints and namesakes of the individual nuns who commissioned the paintings. Their inclusion expressed the piety of the donor nuns. The Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene were both objects of special devotion to the Dominican order, while Saint Katherine of Alexandria was the patron saint of the convent. The saint is prominently featured in the center of the lower left panel of the *Basilica of San Pietro* (Figure 17). She displays the instruments of her martyrdom; the blade of her golden sword rests upon the broken spiked wheel, and she gazes out towards the viewer. Her importance is underscored by the Christ Child's gaze, who looks up at her from his mother's lap. Mary Magdalene and the Virgin, who is variously represented as the Queen of Heaven, adoring mother, inspiration for Saint John the Evangelist, and grieving mother at the Crucifixion, are depicted throughout the basilica cycle (Figures 34, 35, 36, and 42). Saint Margaret, the counterpart to Saint George, is also featured in the basilica cycle and appears with Saint Katherine in the *Basilica of San Pietro* (Figure 17). Drusiana, Thecla, and Plautilla were female followers of Saints John the Evangelist and Paul, whose representations in late medieval and early Renaissance art was unusual. Cuneo believes that their inclusion "indicates the direct intervention of the donors in the commission."<sup>153</sup> Through their close and personal relationship with Christ's disciples, these women "directly experienced God's favor and sanction through miraculous occurrences," thus ensuring their significance in sacred

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<sup>153</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

history.<sup>154</sup> All of these women would have served as exemplars for the nuns of St. Katherine's on which to model their own faith, practices of piety, and activities. Cuneo argues that because the sisters belonged to the social and economic elite, they would have particularly identified with the women, since many of them also held temporal power and authority: Saints Katherine and Ursula were princesses; Saint Helen was the empress of Rome; Saint Dorothy was the daughter of a Capedocian senator; and Thecla was from a family of great wealth.<sup>155</sup> She believes that these images provided justification for the nuns' own ideas and activities and for their community.<sup>156</sup>

The Welser coat-of-arms is prominently displayed in the lower right-hand corner of the right panel (Figure 37). Like the Rehlinger coat-of-arms, the Welser coat-of-arms serves not only to identify Veronica Welser as the patron of this painting, but also connect the Welser family with the commission, demonstrating the piety, wealth, social status, and generosity of the Welser family and ensuring that their members will be remembered eternally.

The lower center panel depicts the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which fills the background and gives structure to the scene (Figure 38). As in the other panels depicting the pilgrimage churches of Rome, the architecture of the basilica is not an exact portrayal of the church. Burgkmair presents the viewer with several conflated views of the architectural elements, distorting the perspective, particularly where the apses, nave, and stacked tower meet and overlap above the group of pilgrims and their

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<sup>154</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

<sup>155</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

<sup>156</sup> Cuneo, "The Basilica Cycle of Saint Katherine's Convent," 23.

guide. The wall surrounding the enclosed garden and connecting the basilica's entrance with the apse of the building also appears distorted and somewhat flattened. He has also manipulated and added architectural elements to the basilica's design; for instance the square tower of the actual church has been transformed into a stacked column and multiplied in number to two. Obviously Burgkmair is more concerned with representing the idea of a basilica as a pilgrimage site, than he is in accurately portraying the church.

Above the entrance into the basilica, Burgkmair has represented gilded sculptural figures (Figure 39). The larger center arch depicts the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist standing at the foot of the cross. To the right of the Crucifixion, Mary Magdalene, who was an object of special devotion to the Dominicans, is depicted with her jar of nard; she is flanked by the figure of a prophet with a scroll.<sup>157</sup> Saint John the Baptist with a lamb, another reference to Christ's Passion, is flanked by another prophet figure to the left of the Crucifixion. A second Crucifixion in an arched frame echoes the gilded sculpture above and is depicted on the wall to the left of the male pilgrim entering through the arched opening. The inclusion of the Crucifixion scenes serve to simultaneously echo the scene depicted in the panel above, underscore the connection between pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land, and identify the titular church, which contained relics transported by Saint Helen from the Holy Land. Saint Helen's discovery of the True Cross and the nails used to crucify Christ, and their subsequent presentation to her son the Emperor Constantine is depicted in the *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano* (Figure 2). During their spiritual

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<sup>157</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 188.

pilgrimages, this would have been the second painting viewed by the nuns. Therefore, the nuns could have projected themselves into the past, imagining that they accompanied Saint Helen on her journey to Jerusalem, witnessed the discovery of the True Cross, and returned to Rome with the Holy Land relics.<sup>158</sup> As previously suggested, not only are the individual panels of each painting interconnected, the entire basilica cycle is interrelated, serving to enhance the nuns' virtual pilgrimage experience. Therefore, when viewing the panel depicting the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the nuns could have imagined walking across the basilica's floor, which contained soil from the foot of the cross, which was soaked with Christ's blood, to view pieces of the True Cross, the *Titulus Crucis*, thorns from the Crown of Thorns, and the nails used to crucify Christ, which had been brought to Rome by Saint Helen.<sup>159</sup> Thus each nun could have imagined herself in various roles: voyaging as a pilgrim into the past to the Holy Land with Saint Helen and witnessing the discovery of the True Cross; recalling Christ's suffering and following in his footsteps at the Passion; or journeying as a present-day pilgrim to Rome to venerate the Holy Land relics in the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

Pilgrims, who are engaged in a variety of activities, fill the panel and emphasize the function of the paintings. Pilgrims' walking sticks are propped against the wall to the left of the male pilgrim entering the basilica. Their inclusion could be read as an invitation for the viewer to embark upon their own pilgrimage journey, whether physical

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<sup>158</sup> For a description of Saint Helen's discovery of the True Cross see *The Golden Legend*, v. 1, pp. 269-276.

<sup>159</sup> Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, 127.

or spiritual. A female pilgrim, who has at least three pilgrimage badges pinned to her cloak, and her small dog occupy the space of the scene between the male pilgrim preparing to enter the basilica and the group of pilgrims being led by a guide. Apparently she is preparing to follow the male pilgrim into the basilica, but has been stopped by one of the male pilgrims from the group, whom she and her dog turn to look at. He gestures to her as if inviting her to join their tour group (Figure 40).

The nuns of St. Katherine's could have envisioned themselves as this female pilgrim embarking on an individual pilgrimage or as a part of the group being led by the tour guide. The tour group is composed of one female pilgrim, three male pilgrims, and a male guide who holds a guidebook in his hands. The male pilgrim in the front of the group holds a rosary in his hands, perhaps as a reminder to the nuns to say the required course of prayers. Interestingly, the female pilgrim that is part of the tour group wears more pilgrimage badges than any of her male companions (Figure 41). Five badges are visible; Saint Peter's keys, the Santa Croce Crown of Thorns, and the Veronica icon badges are clearly identifiable and are also worn by other pilgrims in the panel. The inclusion of the Veronica badge serves as a reference to the professed name of the painting's donor, Veronica. Like this female pilgrim, the sisters of St. Katherine's would have been able to mentally visit a variety of pilgrimage sites, and had they been able to make physical pilgrimages, they would have collected a great number of badges.

An exhausted pilgrim rests in the background, sitting against the wall of the basilica. His inclusion is perhaps meant to serve as a reminder to the nuns that pilgrimages were arduous journeys not to be undertaken lightly. The viewer's eye is

drawn down the side street behind the resting pilgrim. Here another part of the pilgrimage experience is represented. A landlord and landlady stand outside of a pilgrims' hostel gesturing in welcome to the pilgrim walking down the side street. The depiction of a variety of pilgrimage experiences in this panel would have more fully allowed the nuns to imagine and create their own spiritual pilgrimage experience. They could have envisioned themselves visiting the basilicas and other sacred sites, praying, and viewing relics on individual or group pilgrimages; imagined the excitement and exhaustion from visiting as many sites as possible; or visualized meeting other pilgrims and sharing their experiences while staying at pilgrims' hostels.

The upper center panel depicts the Crucifixion (Figure 42). Christ's figure dominates the composition. Spatially, he is raised above all the other figures and appears to be larger than any of the other figures in the painting. Burgkmair has divided the composition into horizontal zones, effectively separating and emphasizing the figure of Christ. The painted gold tracery surrounds Christ's outstretched arms, further emphasizing his figure, and is replicated in the gold of his cruciform halo, the eclipse of the sun and moon, and the four golden angels who surround him. The scene is also divided vertically; Christ occupies the center of the composition with figures grouped to the right and left of the cross. The figures to Christ's left are the Roman soldiers who participated in his torture and Crucifixion. Numerous compositional elements direct the gaze of the viewer, who stands as if at the foot of the Cross, toward the figure of Christ. The armored soldier in the foreground points up towards Christ's figure, while Longinus' spear also directs the viewer's gaze to Christ and his wounds. The tip of the spear is at

the same height as Christ's side wound, simultaneously serving as a reminder that it is one of the *Arma Christi* and encouraging devotion to the side wound, the entrance to Christ's heart.<sup>160</sup> Religious women often prayed to be incorporated into Christ's heart through his side wound, therefore it is appropriate that the side wound is emphasized over Christ's other wounds.<sup>161</sup> Christ's torso is slightly twisted, ensuring that the wound is visible to the viewer. Blood runs in a red stream, bright against his pale skin, down to his loincloth.<sup>162</sup>

Burgkmair continually employs devices to force the viewer's gaze to return to Christ. Mary Magdalene, dressed in fashionable contemporary clothing, clings to the foot of the cross, looking up towards Christ, directing the viewer's gaze. Near Magdalene, barely visible behind a clump of grass in the foreground, is a skull, a device commonly used to refer to Golgotha, the place of the Crucifixion, and as a memento mori. The Virgin Mary, dressed in black robes, a star on her shoulder symbolizing her virginity, looks up at her son in sorrow.<sup>163</sup> Christ's head is turned to the left towards his mother and followers. Were his eyes open, he would meet his mother's gaze (Figure 43). The *Titulus Crucis*, written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, is visible behind his cruciform halo. The *Titulus* was one of the relics in the basilica of Santa Croce in

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<sup>160</sup> See Hamburger, *Visual and the Visionary* and *Nuns as Artists*, and Bynum "Patterns of Female Piety in the Later Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil*.

<sup>161</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum "Patterns of Female Piety in the Later Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil*, 181.

<sup>162</sup> See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

<sup>163</sup> Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg*, 186.

Gerusalemme and one of the objects the nuns could have imagined themselves viewing during their virtual pilgrimages to the church.

The Crucifixion scene would have allowed the nuns to project themselves into the past to imagine accompanying Christ along the *via crucis*. Viewing this depiction of the penultimate moment of his suffering, the nuns could have identified with Mary Magdalene, clinging to the foot of the cross in grief, or with the Virgin Mary, as a mother mourning the loss of her son. Both of these women would have served as examples to the nuns, directing their grief and suffering as they imagined not only witnessing, but experiencing the compassion and sorrow felt by these two women. This would have increased their devotion to Christ, whose pain and suffering ensured their salvation. However, the final scene of the Stations of the Cross as shaped by the basilica cycle is one of joy; in the painting of the *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore* (Figure 6), the risen Christ is depicted as one of the Trinity, crowing the Virgin Mary as the Queen of Heaven, further highlighting the nuns' veneration of her (Figure 34).

A close examination of the *Basilica of Santa Croce* has allowed us to see how the four themes of hagiographical narrative, patronage and piety of the individual nuns, pilgrimage, and Passion scenes are interconnected and interrelated, not only in individual paintings, but throughout the entire basilica cycle.

## CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has focused on the six paintings commissioned by the nuns of St. Katherine's convent in Augsburg between 1499 and 1504 to decorate their newly constructed chapter house (Figures 1-6). As previously discussed, these paintings depict the seven major pilgrimage churches in Rome, scenes from Christ's Passion, and episodes from the lives of the saints. They were painted by Hans Holbein the Elder, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, and the artist now known only as the Monogrammist L.F., under commissions by the nuns Dorothea Rehlinger, Helena Rephonin, the prioress Veronica Welser, and the sisters Anna and Barbara Riedler.

Throughout this thesis, I have demonstrated that these nuns commissioned the basilica cycle paintings for a number of reasons beyond a purely decorative function. As previously discussed, the enforcement of strict enclosure, the granting of the papal privilege, and the building of the new chapter house set the stage for the commission. Additionally, the paintings were a way for the nuns and their families to express their piety and demonstrate their wealth and social status in a semi-public space of the convent. The inclusion of donor portraits, patron and namesake saints, and family coats-of-arms, ensured that their generosity would not be forgotten, while simultaneously serving as a reminder to the viewer to pray for their souls. The two paintings commissioned by Veronica Welser after her election to prioress is also a reference to the authority, power, and importance of her position. The depictions of scenes from the lives of the saints and representations of the Virgin Mary would have

served as exemplars for the nuns, while the Passion scenes would have focused their devotion on Christ and his suffering.

Most importantly, the paintings facilitated spiritual pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, which allowed the nuns to gain the indulgences associated with the churches and other sacred sites. The acquisition of indulgences was an important part of the medieval penitential cycle. As “spiritual credits,” indulgences reduced the amount of time that the nuns and their loved ones, both living and deceased, would have to spend in purgatory.

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, there are four interrelated themes that run throughout the basilica cycle. These include hagiographical narrative, in which scenes from the lives of the saints, the Virgin Mary, and other figures, like Mary Magdalene, Plautilla, and Thecla, who would have held special significance to the nuns were depicted; the piety of the individual nuns, expressed through their patronage and the inclusion of donor portraits, patron and namesake saints, and family coats-of-arms; imagery capturing the essence of pilgrimage; and Passion scenes, which increased the nuns’ devotion to Christ by allowing them to meditate on and share in the suffering of Christ at Calvary and provided the organizational structure for the basilica cycle.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the practice of imagining pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land and gaining the associated indulgences was not unique to St. Katherine’s convent. In the Bickenkloster of Poor Clares in Villingen, the sisters could take virtual pilgrimages to two hundred and ten different holy places or churches in Rome and Jerusalem by traveling to the designated locations within the convent that were marked

by inscribed stone slabs and, in some instances, decorated with frescoes (Figures 13-15).<sup>164</sup> Through these spiritual pilgrimages, which were often taken as group rather than individual pilgrimages, the nuns could gain the indulgences associated with the sacred sites in Rome and Jerusalem named on the inscribed stone slabs.<sup>165</sup>

By using the paintings to facilitate spiritual pilgrimages, the sisters of St. Katherine's could project themselves into the past, serving as witnesses to miraculous events such as Saint John the Evangelist's death, the nativity, or Saint Paul's baptism; or they could imagine themselves accompanying Saint Helen on her quest for the True Cross; or following Christ and the Virgin Mary along the *via crucis*, sharing in the experience of their suffering, grief, and compassion. The nuns could also imagine themselves in contemporary Rome, journeying to its churches and other pilgrimage sites, viewing the relics, and gaining indulgences; or they could retrace Christ's footsteps with numerous other pilgrims in contemporary Jerusalem. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the scenes depicted in the six paintings were interrelated and often referred to one another; therefore, the nuns' pilgrimage experience was not necessarily linear or chronological.

As I demonstrated using the example of the *Basilica of Santa Croce* (Figure 5) as a case study, the nuns could have used the panel depicting the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme to imagine themselves in contemporary Rome visiting the church and

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<sup>164</sup> Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ: Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion," 87. See also Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, pp. 235-238, Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, and Renate Stegmaier-Breinlinger, "Die hailigen Stett Rom und Jerusalem," *Reste einer Ablaßsammlung im Bickenkloster in Villingen'*, *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 91 (1971): 176-201.

<sup>165</sup> Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 53.

viewing its relics from the Passion. The two scenes of the Crucifixion depicted in this panel refer both to the relics housed inside the church and to the Crucifixion scene depicted in the upper panel. Imagining the relics housed inside of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and viewing the Crucifixion scene could have prompted the nuns to imagine themselves accompanying Saint Helen on her journey to Jerusalem, where she discovered the True Cross, which is depicted in the *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano* (Figure 2) and would have been viewed by the nuns before they reached the *Basilica of Santa Croce* (Figure 5) on their spiritual pilgrimage. Therefore, not only are the individual panels in a single painting interrelated, the paintings throughout the entire basilica cycle are interconnected, facilitating a richer, more integrated virtual pilgrimage experience for the nuns.

Throughout this thesis, I argued that the paintings were organized and hung in the chapter house in order to create a Passion narrative or Stations of the Cross. This order would have allowed the nuns to envision themselves in Jerusalem retracing Christ's footsteps, or even allowed them to imagine accompanying Christ along the *via crucis*. If they so desired, the nuns could have used only Passion scenes that depict Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, his arrest, flagellation, mocking and crowing with thorns, Crucifixion, and the resurrected Christ as one of the Trinity crowing the Virgin Mary as the Queen of Heaven, to create a linear, chronologically-based spiritual pilgrimage experience that followed the Passion narrative. I argued that virtual pilgrimages to Jerusalem were paramount for the sisters of St. Katherine's because it represented the location of Christ's suffering and sacrifice. Not only was the basilica

cycle organized according to the order of the Passion scenes, the artists have visually emphasized the upper center panels by making them larger than the other panels in the paintings and through the use of the golden painted architectural frame. I demonstrated that conveying the piety, wealth, social status, and generosity of the nuns and their families; providing saints, the Virgin Mary, and other important female figures as exemplars for the nuns; and increasing the nuns' devotion to Christ through representations of the Passion scenes were all significant aspects of the paintings. However, I argued that facilitating virtual pilgrimages to Rome and especially to Jerusalem was the most important function of the basilica cycle.

Virtual pilgrimage in convents seems to have been a fairly common devotional practice, at least in Northern Europe. If I were to continue to pursue the topic of the basilica cycle and the practice of spiritual pilgrimage, I think it would be interesting to compare the practices of the sisters of St. Katherine's and the function of the paintings to those of other convents like the Bickenkloster in Villingen, where there is evidence for the practice of virtual pilgrimage. I also think this study could be expanded to include a discussion of each panel and how it relates to the larger whole of the basilica cycle and to the themes of spiritual pilgrimage and the Passion. If I were to continue working on the paintings I would focus specifically on how the entire basilica cycle functioned to facilitate virtual pilgrimages and relate this to other devotional practices in the convent of St. Katherine's.

## APPENDIX A

Appendix A provides the reader with a succinct description of each painting in the basilica cycle. I have organized the paintings by the order in which they were hung in the chapter house. Each painting is broken down into its separate panels beginning with the panel in the upper left and ended with the panel in the lower right. Information about the artist, date, dimensions, and patron is also included.

### ***Basilica of San Pietro, 1501***

**Hans Burgkmair the Elder**

**Commissioned by Anna Riedler**

**Oil on spruce panel**

**377.2cm (w) x 258.6cm (h)**

- Upper Left Panel: The apostle James the Greater sleeps while Christ prays in the Garden of Gethsemane
- Upper Center Panel: Christ prays in the Garden of Gethsemane while the apostles Peter and John the Evangelist sleep
- Upper Right Panel: Judas leads a group of Roman soldiers at arrest Christ who is praying in the Garden of Gethsemane
- Lower Left Panel: A depiction of the Virgin and Child and a group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers that includes Saint Catherine of Alexandra, Saint Margaret the Virgin, Saint Barbara, Saint Pantaleon, Saint Vitus (?), Saint Eustace, and Saint Agathius (or Acacius)
- Lower Center Panel: A depiction of Saint Peter as the first pope enthroned before his basilica
- Lower Right Panel: A depiction of a group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers that includes Saint Erasmus, Pope Saint Sixtus II, Saint Nicholas, Saint Leonard of Noblac, Saint George, Saint Giles, and Saint Christopher who carries the Christ Child on his shoulder

***Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano, 1502***

**Monogrammist L.F.**

**Commissioned by Helena Rephonin**

**Oil on spruce panel**

**379.6cm x 258.0cm**

- Upper Left Panel: Saint Helen in Jerusalem inquiring where the True Cross is to be found
- Upper Center Panel: The betrayal and arrest of Christ; Saint Peter cuts off the ear of the high priest's servant
- Upper Right Panel: Three crosses are found and the True Cross is revealed to Saint Helen when a corpse is raised from the dead
- Lower Left Panel: Cyriacus, the Bishop of Jerusalem, presents the nails (3) of the True Cross to Saint Helen
- Lower Center Panel: Pilgrims are depicted entering the churches of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura and San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura; the figures of Saints Lawrence and Sebastian are depicted outside of their basilicas; the martyrdom of Saint Stephen
- Lower Right Panel: Saint Helen presents a piece of the True Cross to her son the Emperor Constantine

***Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, 1502***

**Hans Burgkmair the Elder**

**Commissioned by Barbara Riedler**

**Oil on fir panel**

**383.9cm x 218.2cm**

- Upper Left Panel: The calling of Saint John the Evangelist
- Upper Center Panel: The scourging of Christ
- Upper Right Panel: The attempted martyrdom of Saint John the Evangelist
- Lower Far Left Panel: Saint John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos writing the Book of Revelation
- Lower Left Panel: Saint John the Evangelist raising Drusiana

- Lower Center Panel: The miraculous death of Saint John the Evangelist inside his basilica; pilgrims are depicted on either side of the basilica, visiting San Giovanni in Laterano and climbing the Scala Sancta on their knees
- Lower Right Panel: Saint John the Evangelist turns sticks and stones into gold and gems
- Lower Far Right Panel: Saint John the Evangelist blessing the poisoned cup

***Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura, 1504***

**Hans Holbein the Elder**

**Commissioned by Veronica Welser**

**Oil on fir**

**308.3cm x 217.8cm**

- Left Panel: A depiction of multiple scenes from the life of Saint Paul including his conversion on the road to Damascus, his blindness, which lasted three days, his baptism, and imprisonment
- Upper Center Panel: The mocking of Christ and crowning with the Crown of Thorns
- Lower Center Panel: A depiction of multiple episodes from the life of Saint Paul including the shipwreck, preaching in his basilica, returning Plautilla's veil, his martyrdom, and returning to Rome with Saint Peter as martyrs wearing Crowns of Victory
- Right Panel: A depiction of multiple scenes from the life of Saint Paul including Saint Paul lowered over the city walls to escape death, the rediscovery of his head, and the reunification of his head with his body

***Basilica of Santa Croce, 1504***

**Hans Burgkmair the Elder**

**Commissioned by Veronica Welser**

**Oil on spruce**

**339.8cm x 238.2cm**

- Left Panel: A depiction of scenes from the life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins
- Upper Center Panel: The Crucifixion

- Lower Center Panel: Pilgrims visit the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme; a group of pilgrims is led by a tour guide; a pilgrim rests against the building; and pilgrim seeks lodging from a landlady and landlord
- Right Panel: A depiction of scenes from the life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins

***Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, 1499***

**Hans Holbein the Elder**

**Commissioned by Dorothea Rehlinger**

**Oil on fir**

**336.4cm x 234.6cm**

- Upper Left Panel: Three angels celebrate by singing and playing instruments
- Upper Center Panel: Christ resurrected and depicted as one of the Trinity, crowning his mother, the Virgin Mary, as the Queen of Heaven against a starry background
- Upper Right Panel: Three angels celebrate by singing and playing instruments
- Lower Left Panel: A nativity scene with Mary, Joseph, and the Christ Child; in the background three angels announce the good news to shepherds
- Lower Center Panel: A pilgrim prays at an altar in the interior of the basilica of Santa Marie Maggiore
- Lower Right Panel: A depiction of the martyrdom of Saint Dorothy; a donor portrait of the nun Dorothea Rehlinger is included behind the figure of the executioner

## APPENDIX B

Appendix B provides the reader with a list of every panel that illustrates the four themes that run throughout the basilica cycle. The list is broken down by theme (hagiographical narrative, piety and patronage of the individual nuns, pilgrimage, and Christological narrative), then by painting, and then by specific panel. This appendix is intended to help readers understand how the themes are manifested in the paintings and to show that multiple themes are often present in a single panel.

### **Hagiographical Narrative:**

#### ***Basilica of San Pietro***

- Lower Left Panel: A depiction of the Virgin and Child and a group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers that includes Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Saint Margaret the Virgin, Saint Barbara, Saint Pantaleon, Saint Vitus (?), Saint Eustace, and Saint Agathius (or Acacius) – Lower Left Panel
- Lower Right Panel: A depiction of a group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers that includes Saint Erasmus, Pope Saint Sixtus II, Saint Nicholas, Saint Leonard of Noblac, Saint George, Saint Giles, and Saint Christopher who carries the Christ Child on his shoulder

#### ***Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano***

- Upper Left Panel: Saint Helen in Jerusalem inquiring where the True Cross is to be found
- Upper Right Panel: Three crosses are found and the True Cross is revealed to Saint Helen when a corpse is raised from the dead
- Lower Left Panel: Cyriacus, the Bishop of Jerusalem, presents the nails (3) of the True Cross to Saint Helen
- Lower Center Panel: The martyrdom of Saint Stephen
- Lower Right Panel: Saint Helen presents a piece of the True Cross to her son the Emperor Constantine

### ***Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano***

- Upper Left Panel: The calling of Saint John the Evangelist
- Upper Right Panel: The attempted martyrdom of Saint John the Evangelist
- Lower Far Left Panel: Saint John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos writing the Book of Revelation
- Lower Left Panel: Saint John the Evangelist raising Drusiana
- Lower Center Panel: The miraculous death of Saint John the Evangelist inside his basilica
- Lower Right Panel: Saint John the Evangelist turns sticks and stones into gold and gems
- Lower Far Right Panel: Saint John the Evangelist blessing the poisoned cup

### ***Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura***

- Left Panel: A depiction of scenes from the life of Saint Paul including his conversion on the road to Damascus, his blindness, which lasted three days, his baptism, and imprisonment
- Lower Center Panel: A depiction of episodes from the life of Saint Paul including the shipwreck, preaching in his basilica, returning Plautilla's veil, his martyrdom, and returning to Rome with Saint Peter as martyrs wearing Crowns of Victory
- Right Panel: A depiction of scenes from the life of Saint Paul including Saint Paul lowered over the city walls to escape death, the rediscovery of his head, and the reunification of his head with his body

### ***Basilica of Santa Croce***

- Left Panel: A depiction of scenes from the life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins
- Right Panel: A depiction of scenes from the life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins

### ***Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore***

- Lower Right Panel: A depiction of the martyrdom of Saint Dorothy

### **Piety and Patronage of the Individual Nuns:**

#### ***Basilica of San Pietro***

- Lower Left Panel: Depiction of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Saint Barbara, Saint Margaret, and the Virgin and Child

#### ***Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano***

- Upper and Lower Left and Right Panels: Saint Helen was the patron saint and namesake of the donor Helena Rephonin
- Lower Center Panel: The Steidlin coat-of-arms is depicted in the lower left-hand corner in front of Saint Lawrence
- Lower Center Panel: The Fugger coat-of-arms is depicted in the lower right-hand corner in front of the figure of Saint Sebastian

#### ***Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano***

- Lower Far Left Panel: The Virgin and Child appear to Saint John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos while he is writing the Book of Revelation
- Lower Left Panel: Drusiana serves as an exemplar for the sisters of St. Katherine's
- Lower Center Panel: The statue of Saint Barbara references the donor Barbara Riedler

#### ***Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura***

- Lower Center Panel: Thecla, a female follower of Saint Paul listens to him preach, and serves as an exemplar for the nuns
- Lower Center Panel: Plautilla, another female follower of Saint Paul, serves as an exemplar for the nuns
- Right Panel, Extant Fragment: Inclusion of a donor portrait of the prioress Veronica Welser

### ***Basilica of Santa Croce***

- Left and Right Panels: Ursula was the given name of Veronica Welser, therefore, Saint Ursula was her patron saint and namesake
- Center Panel: Veronica icon badges refers to the professed name of the painting's donor, Veronica Welser
- Right Panel: The Welser coat-of-arms is depicted in the lower right-hand corner

### ***Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore***

- Upper Center Panel: The Virgin Mary crowned as the Queen of Heaven by the Trinity
- Lower Center Panel: Gilded statues of Mary Magdalene, the Virgin and child, and Saint Barbara flank the entryway into Santa Maria Maggiore
- Lower Right Panel: Inclusion of a donor portrait of the nun Dorothea Rehlinger
- Lower Right Panel: The Rehlinger coat-of-arms is depicted in the right-hand corner behind the figure of Dorothea Rehlinger
- Lower Right Panel: Saint Dorothy was the patron saint and namesake of the donor Dorothea Rehlinger

## **Pilgrimage:**

### ***Basilica of San Pietro***

- Upper Center Panel: Christ prays in the Garden of Gethsemane while the apostles Peter and John the Evangelist sleep (Stations of the Cross)
- Lower Center Panel: A depiction of Saint Peter as the first pope enthroned before his basilica

### ***Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano***

- Upper Center Panel: The betrayal and arrest of Christ; Saint Peter cuts off the ear of the high priest's servant (Stations of the Cross)

- Lower Center Panel: Pilgrims are depicted entering the churches of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura and San Sebastiano Fuori le Mura

***Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano***

- Upper Center Panel: The scourging of Christ (Stations of the Cross)
- Lower Center Panel: Pilgrims visit the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, pilgrims climb the Scala Sancta on their knees, and an amputee pilgrim begs

***Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura***

- Upper Center Panel: The mocking of Christ and crowning with the Crown of Thorns (Stations of the Cross)
- Lower Center Panel: Depiction of San Paolo Fuori le Mura

***Basilica of Santa Croce***

- Upper Center Panel: The Crucifixion (Stations of the Cross)
- Lower Center Panel: Pilgrims visit Santa Croce in Gerusalemme; a group of pilgrims is led by a tour guide; a pilgrim rests against the building; and a pilgrim seeks lodging from a landlady and landlord

***Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore***

- Lower Center Panel: A pilgrim prays at an altar in the interior of Santa Marie Maggiore

**Passion Scenes:**

***Basilica of San Pietro***

- Upper Left Panel: The apostle James the Greater sleeps while Christ prays in the Garden of Gethsemane
- Upper Center Panel: Christ prays in the Garden of Gethsemane while the apostles Peter and John the Evangelist sleep
- Upper Right Panel: Judas leads a group of Roman soldiers at arrest Christ who is praying in the Garden of Gethsemane

***Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano***

- Upper Center Panel: The betrayal and arrest of Christ; Saint Peter cuts off the ear of the high priest's servant

***Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano***

- Upper Center Panel: The scourging of Christ

***Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura***

- Upper Center Panel: The mocking of Christ and crowning with the Crown of Thorns

***Basilica of Santa Croce***

- Upper Center Panel: The Crucifixion
- Lower Center Panel: A gilded frieze sculpture of the Crucifixion is depicted above the portal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme
- Lower Center Panel: A Crucifixion scene is depicted to the left of the pilgrim who is entering the pointed archway opening leading to the basilica's courtyard

***Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore***

- Upper Left, Center, and Right Panels: Christ resurrected and depicted as one of the Trinity, crowning his mother, the Virgin Mary, as the Queen of Heaven against a starry background while the angels celebrate
- Lower Left Panel: The sepulcher in the nativity scene foreshadows Christ's future role as the Savior of mankind, his Passion, and the Resurrection

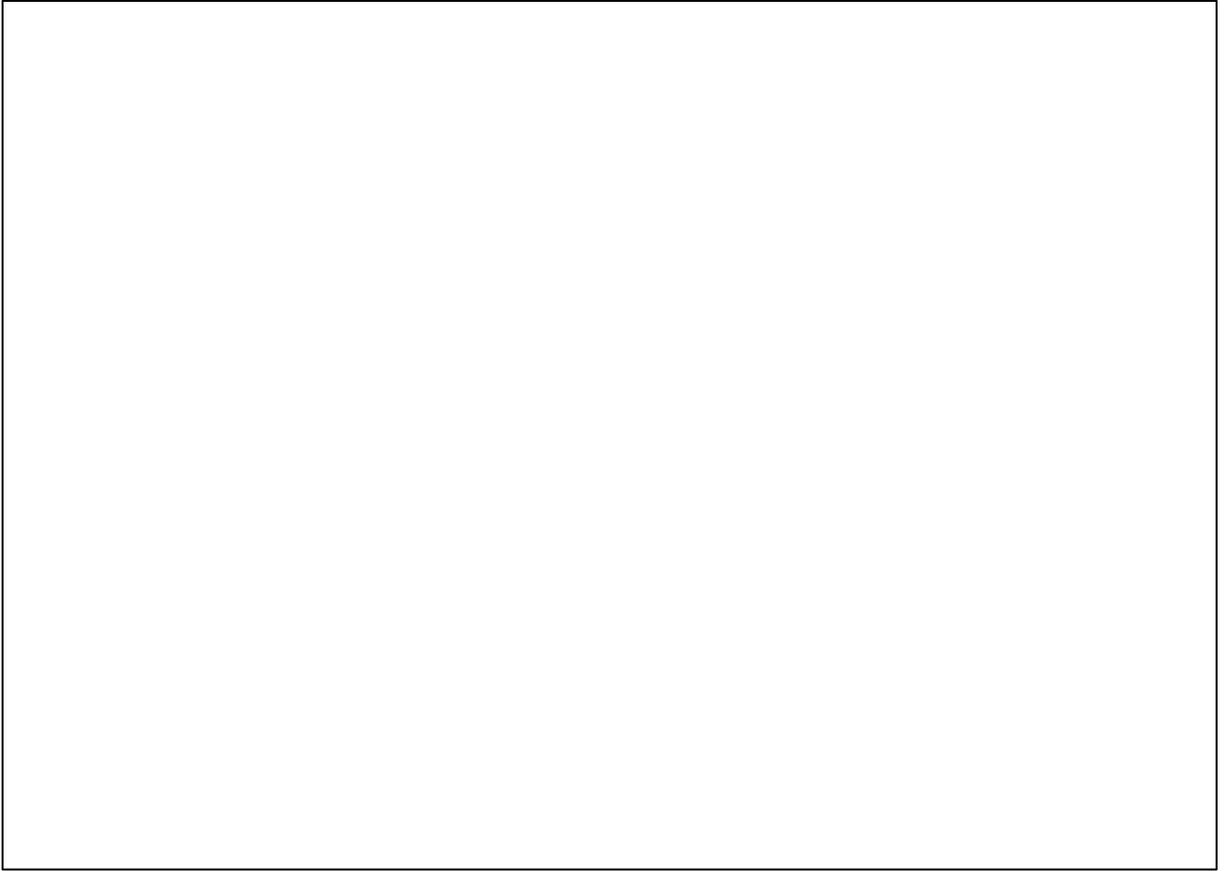


Figure 1. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of San Pietro*, 1501. Commissioned by Anna Riedler. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

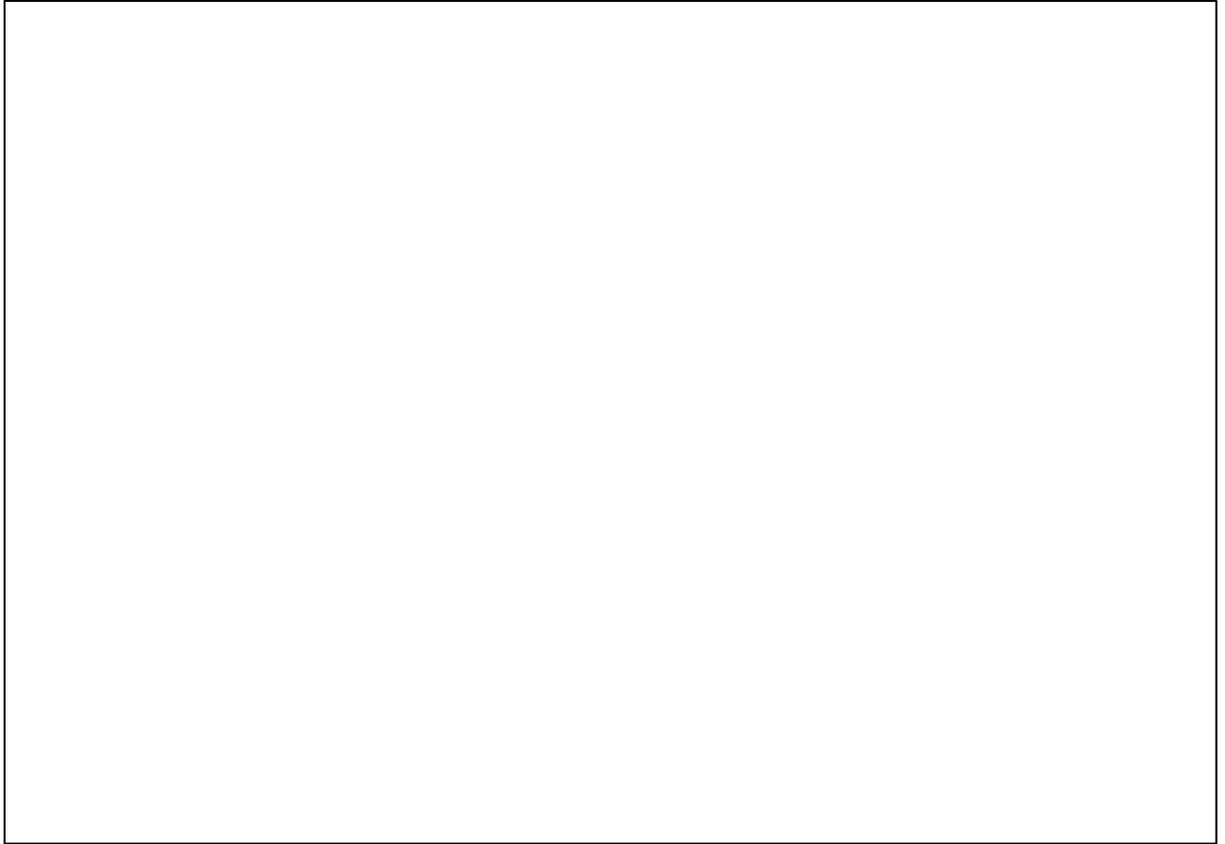


Figure 2. Monogrammist L.F., *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano*, 1502. Commissioned by Helena Rephonin. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

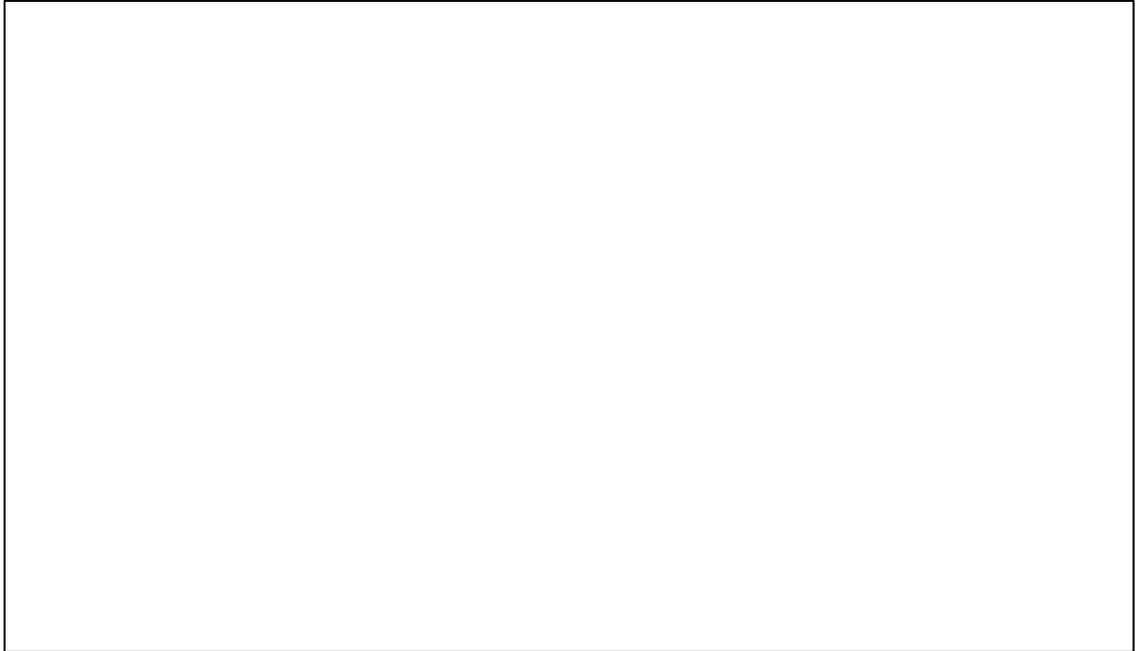


Figure 3. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano*, 1502. Commissioned by Barbara Riedler. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.



Figure 4. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, 1504. Commissioned by Veronica Welser. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

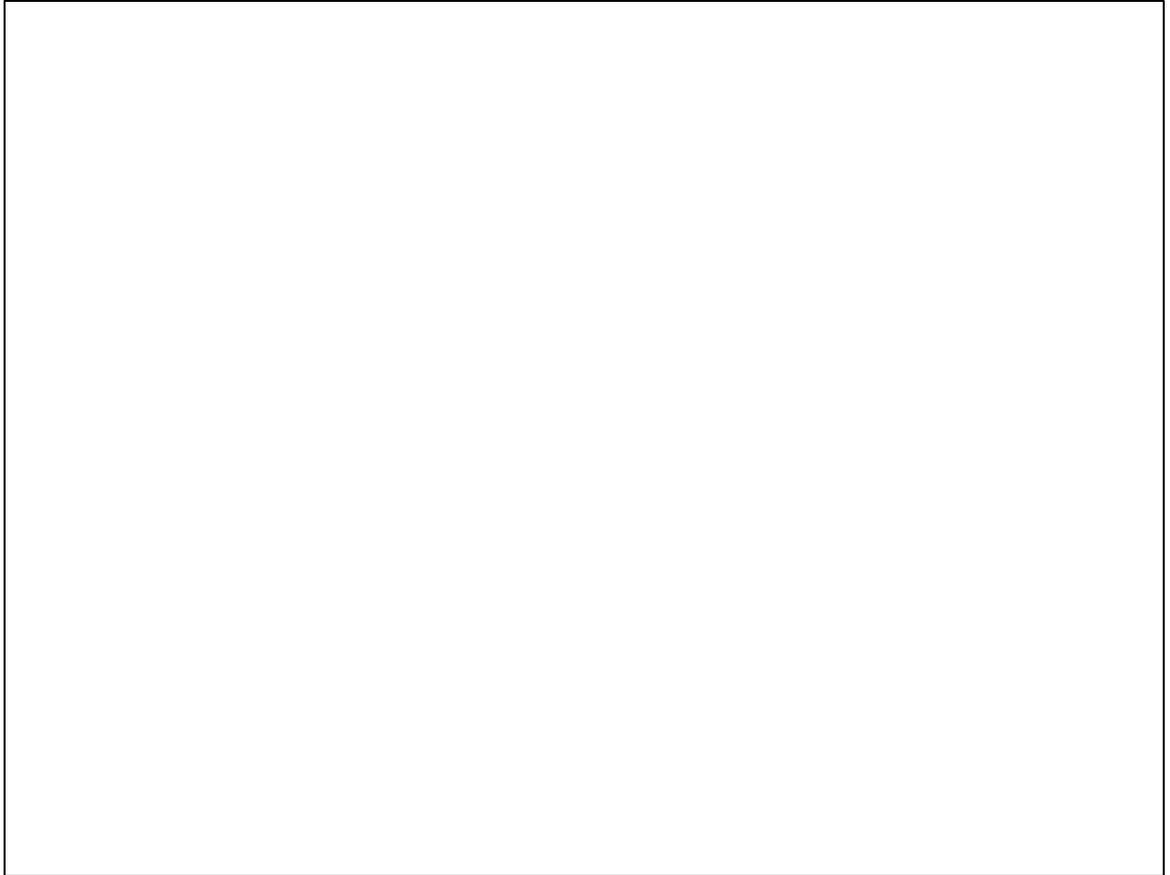


Figure 5. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Commissioned by Veronica Welser. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

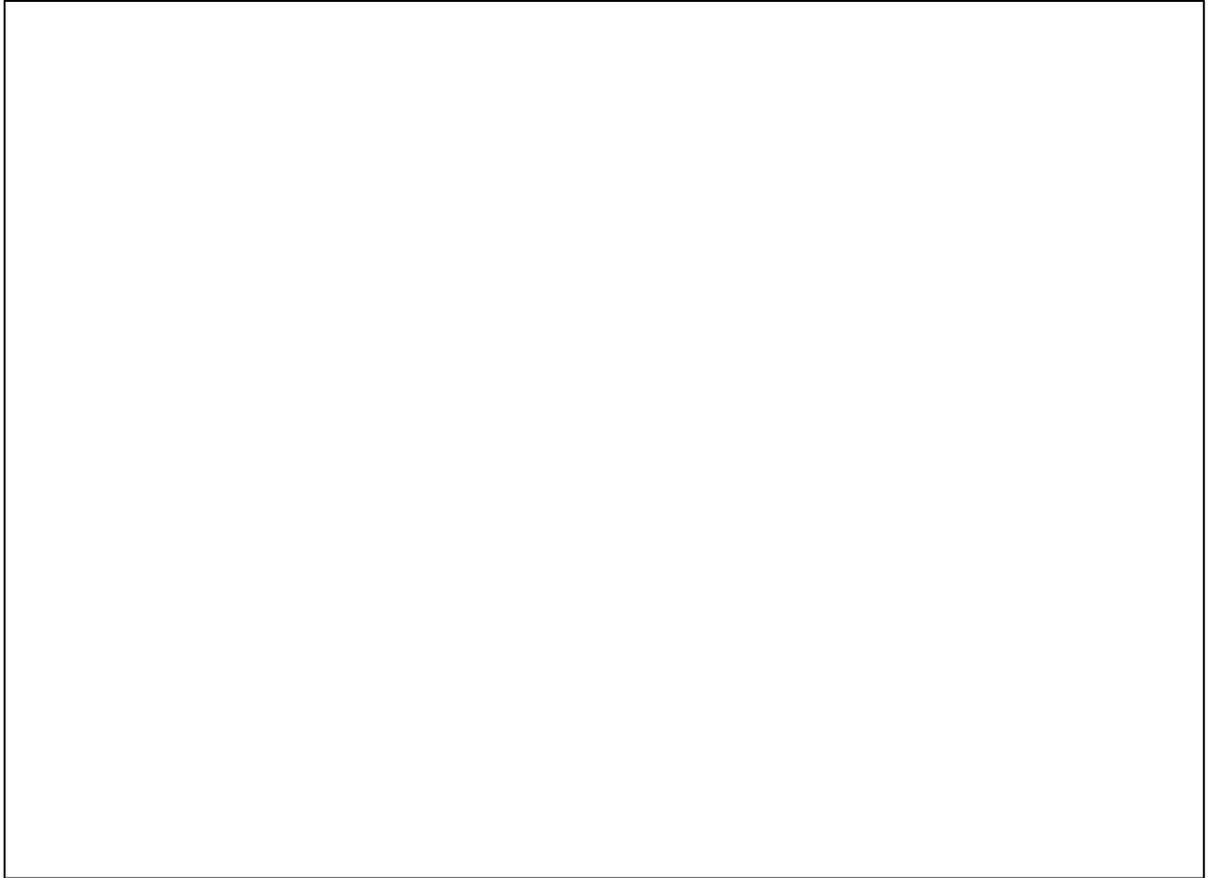


Figure 6. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore*, 1499. Commissioned by Dorothea Rehlinger. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

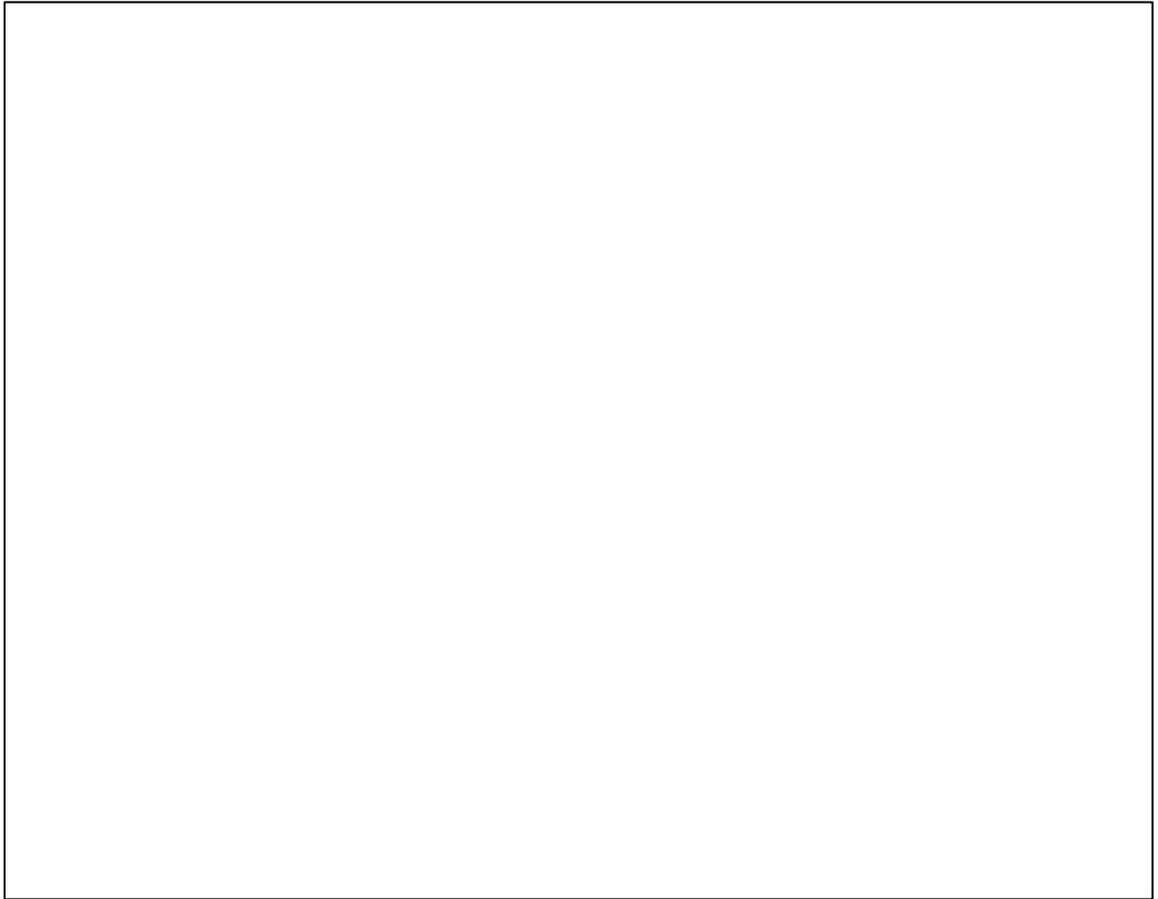


Figure 7. *Augsburger Ablasstafel*, c. 1487-90. Left: 87cm (h) x 27.5cm (w), Center: 87cm x 55.5cm, and Right: 87cm x 28cm. Maximilian Museum in Augsburg. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 19.

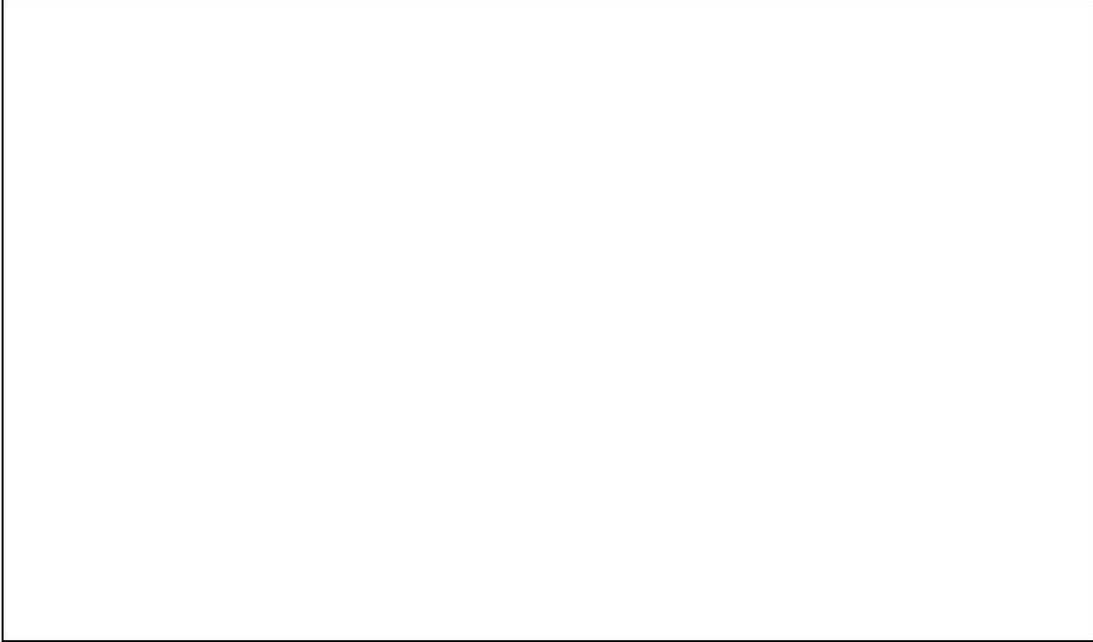


Figure 8. *Letter U*, Detail from the *Augsburger Ablassstafel*, c. 1487-90. Maximilian Museum in Augsburg. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 20.

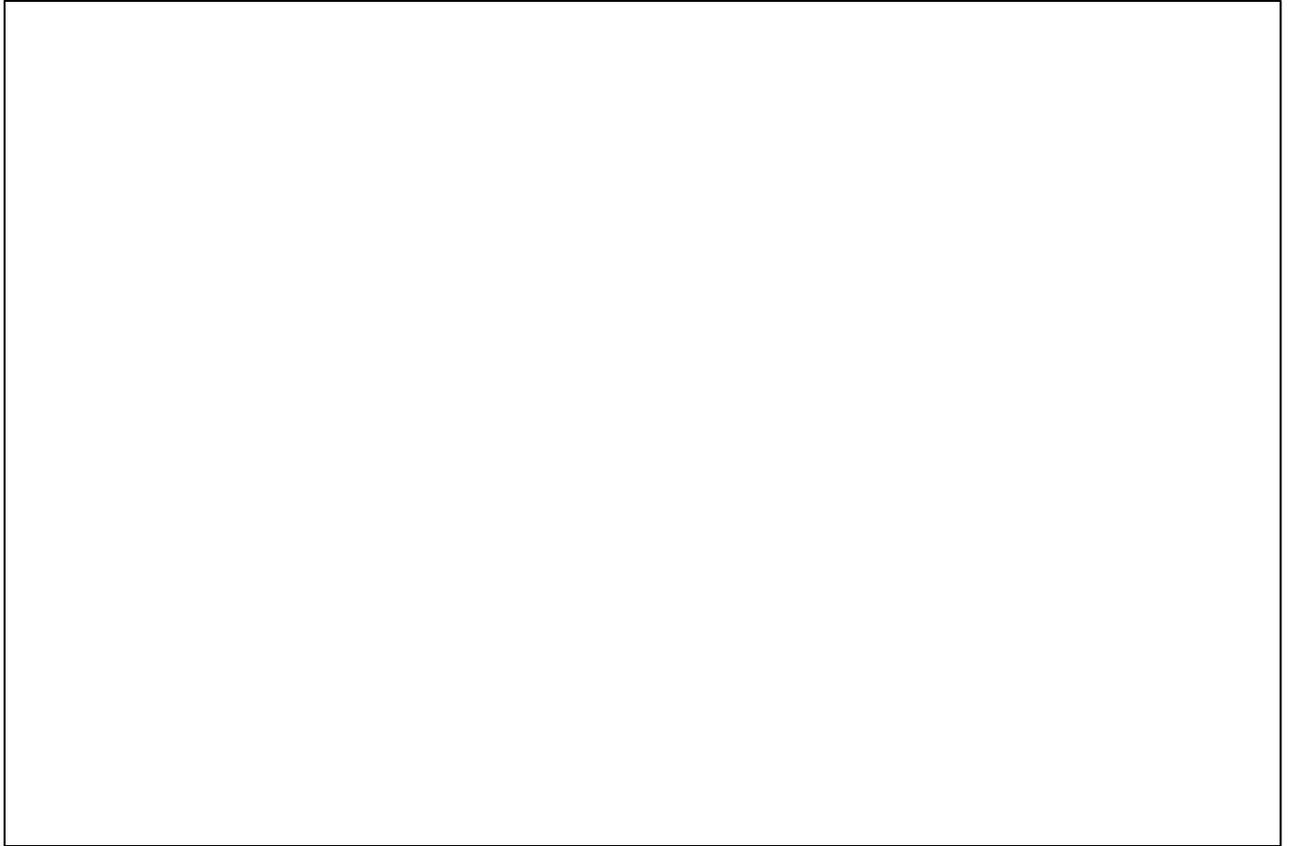


Figure 9. *Plan of St. Katherine's Convent, Augsburg, denoting the location of the chapter house.* Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 16.

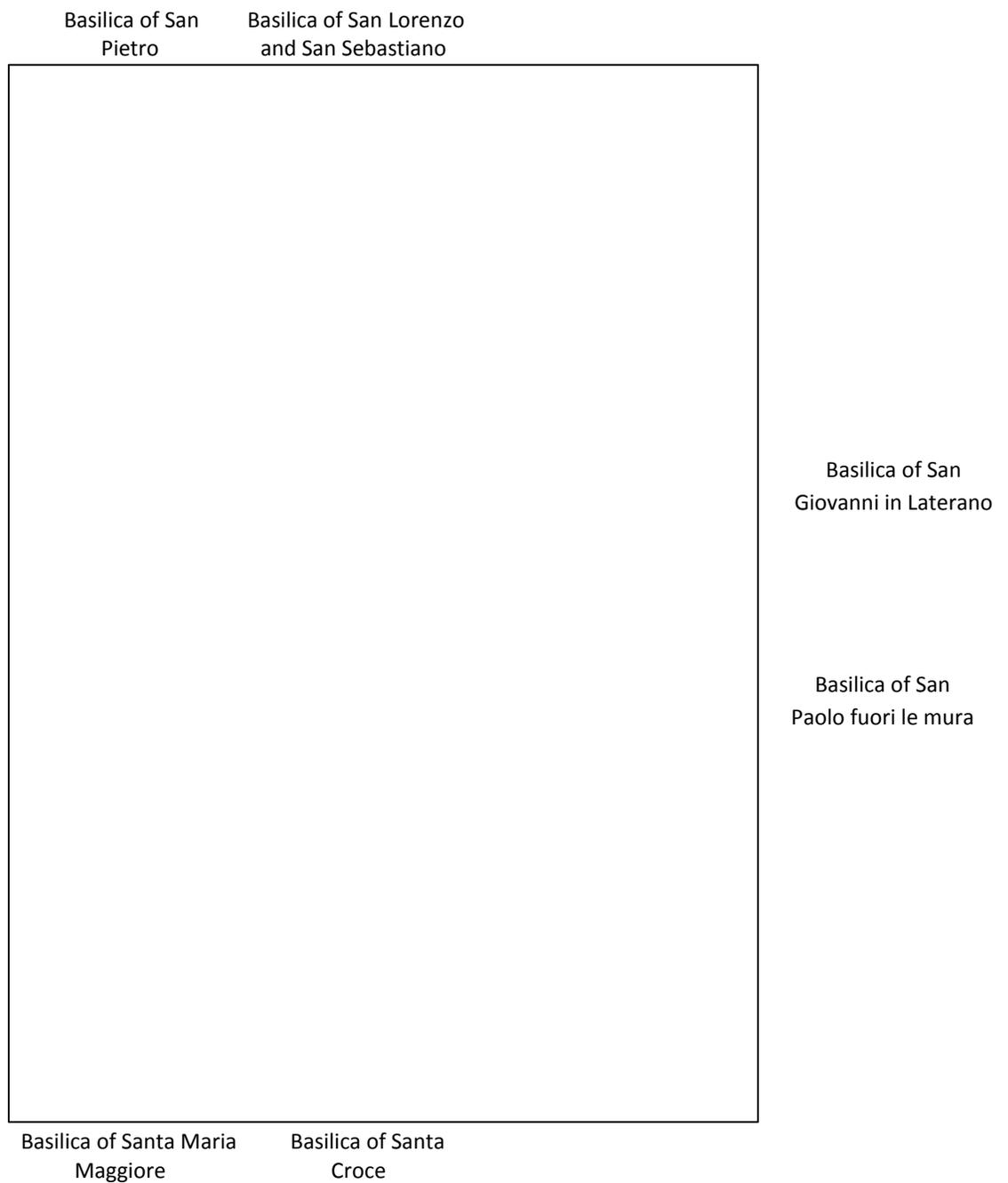


Figure 10. *Schematic showing the original placement of the paintings in the chapter house, St. Katherine's Convent, Augsburg.* Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 38.

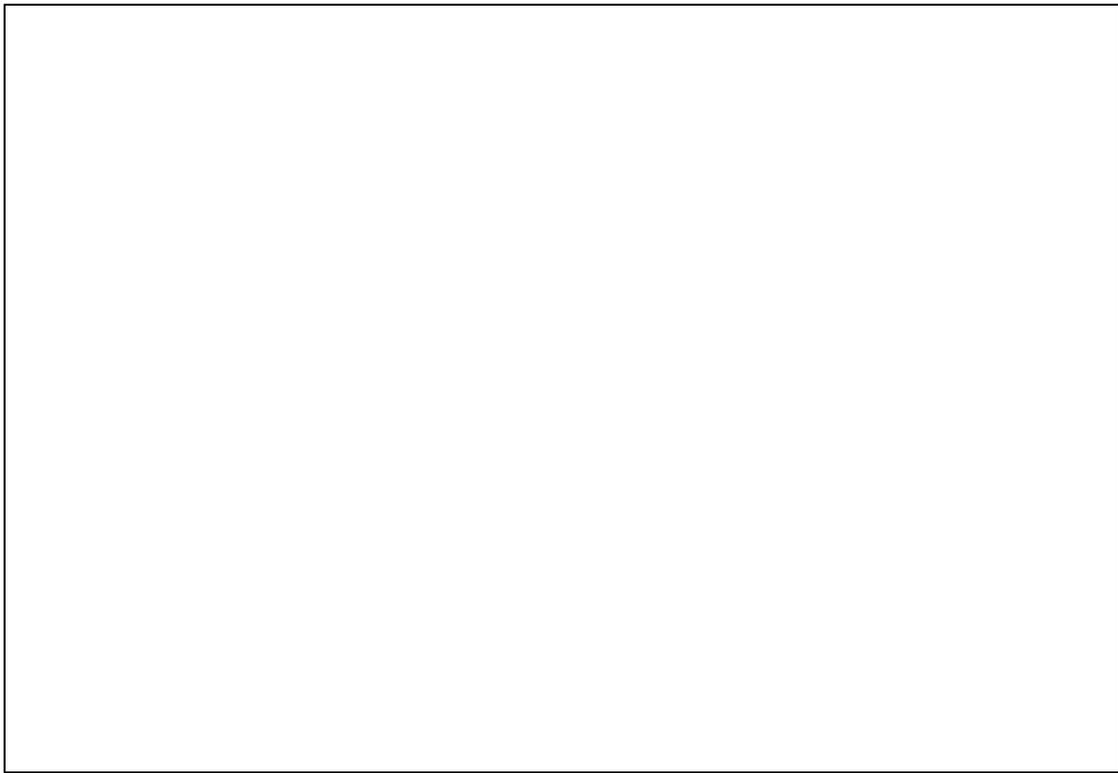


Figure 11. *Photograph depicting the original placement of the paintings in the chapter house, St. Katherine's Convent, Augsburg. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500 (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 33.*

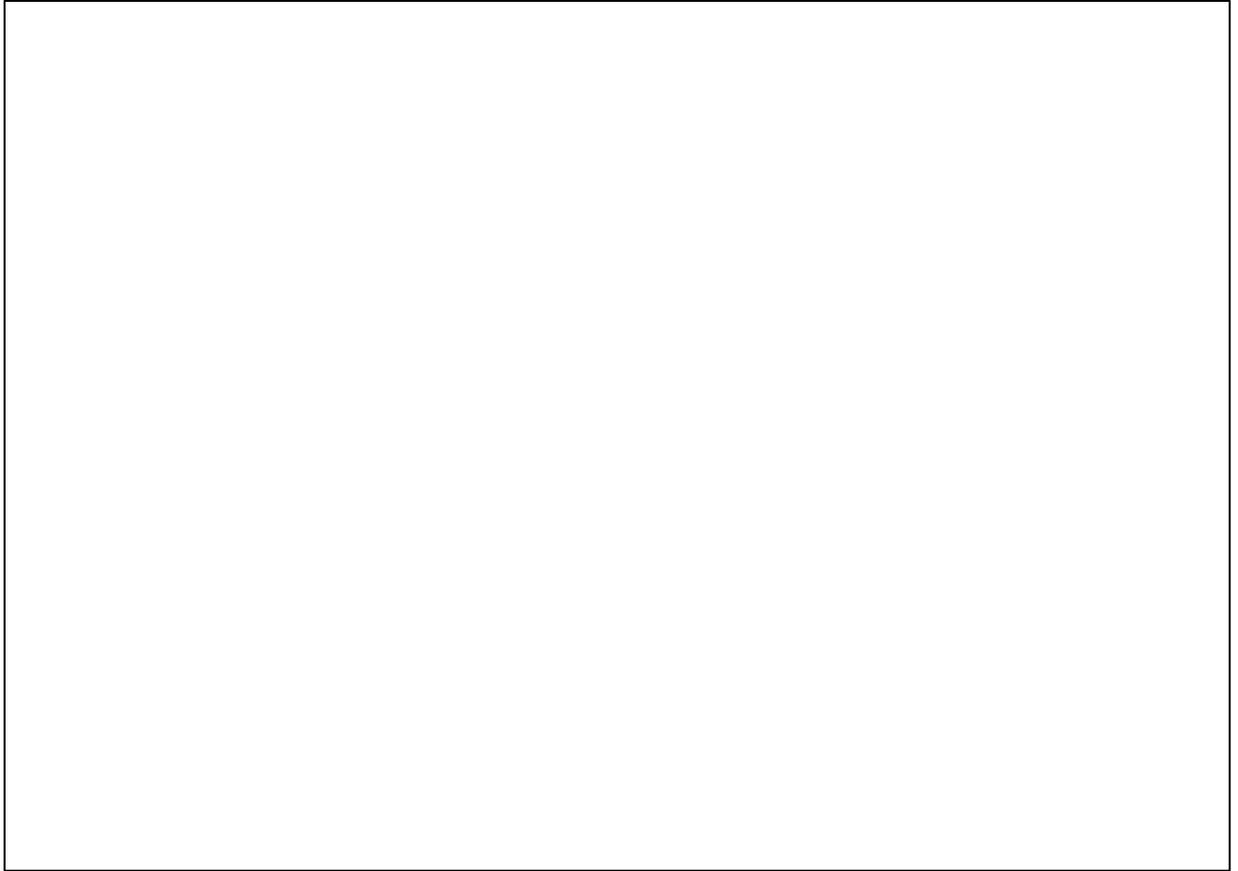


Figure 12. *Le sette chiese di Roma con le loro principali reliquie stationi et indultie*, 1650-60. From the *Roman topography and architecture* series. Published by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi. 360mm (h) x 480mm (w) [plate-mark]. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 13. Master of the Riedener Altar, *San Giovanni in Laterano and San Pietro in Vaticano*, 1470-80. Bickenkloster of Poor Clares, Villingen. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 24.



Figure 14. Master of the Riedener Altar, *San Paolo fuori le mura*, *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*, and *San Lorenzo fuori le mura*, 1470-80. Bickenkloster of Poor Clares, Villingen. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 25.

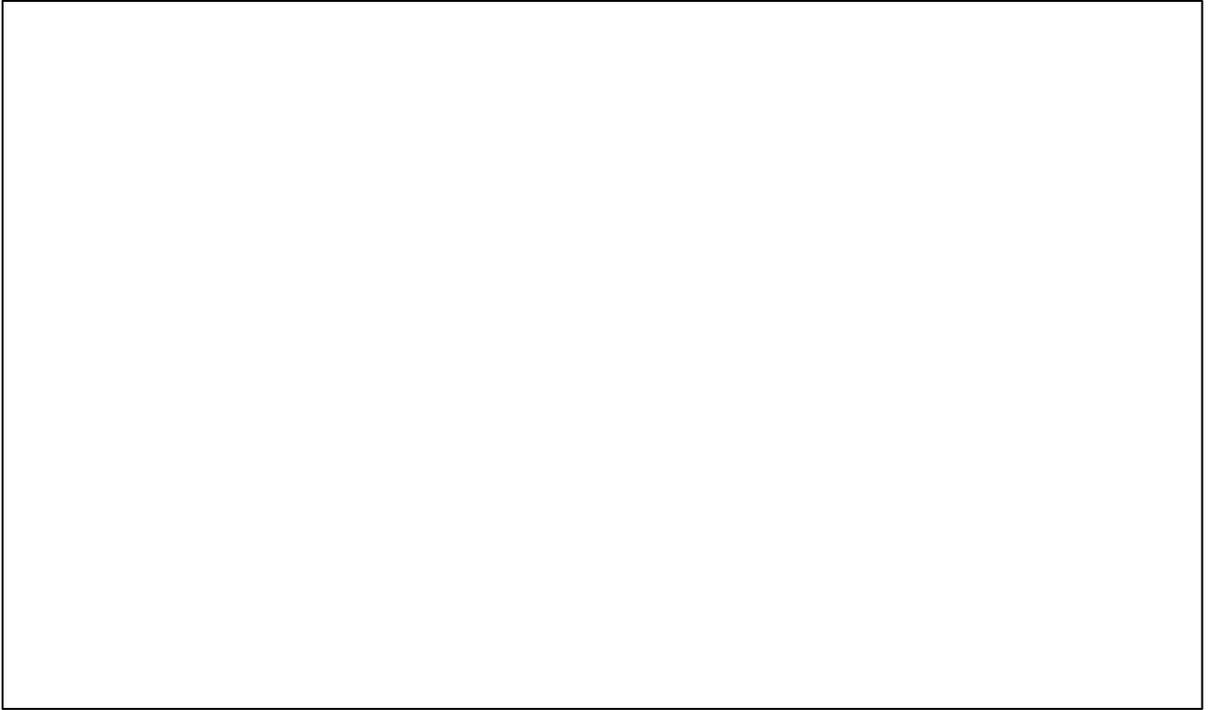


Figure 15. Master of the Riedener Altar, *Santa Maria Maggiore and San Sebastiano*, 1470-80. Bickenkloster of Poor Clares, Villingen. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), 25.

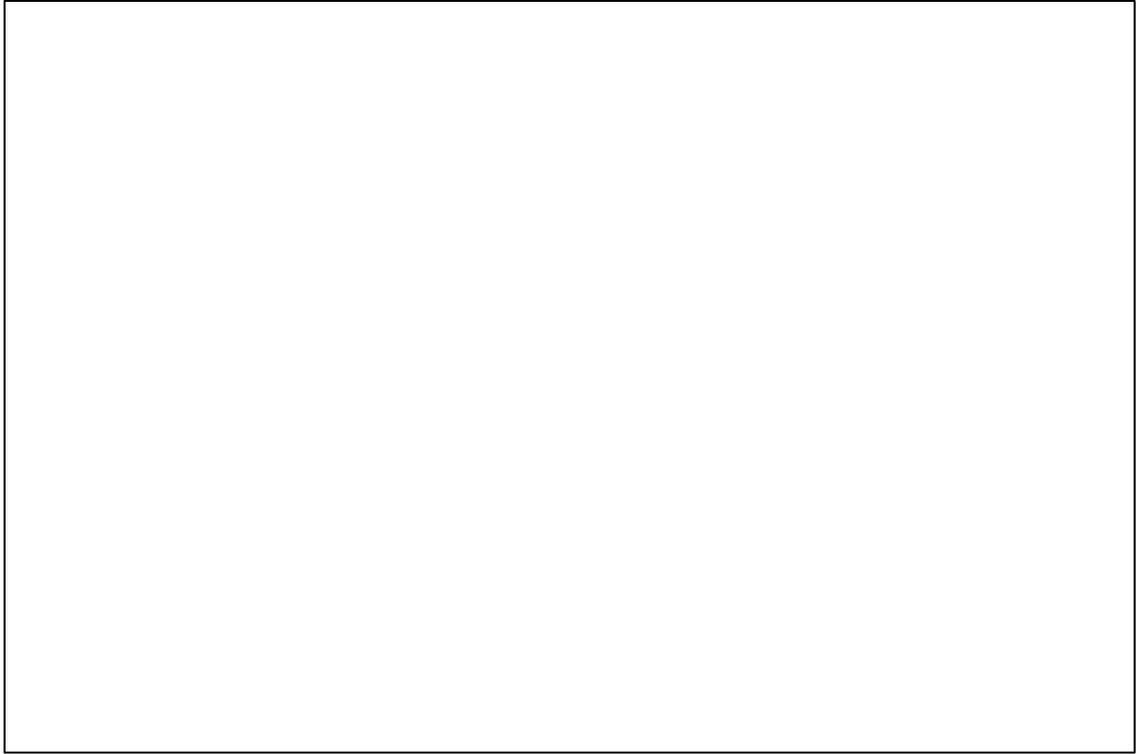


Figure 16. Fresco of the Passion: *Last Supper* and *Christ washing the Disciple's feet* (Upper); *Mocking of Christ* (Lower Right); *Scourging of Christ* (Lower Center); *Betrayal of Christ* (Lower Left), ca. 1495. Southwest Wall of the Goldsmiths' Chapel, St. Anna Carmelite Church, Augsburg. Reproduced in: ARTStor. Art Images for College Teaching.



Figure 17. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of San Pietro*, 1501. Lower Left Panel depicting the Virgin and Child and a group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

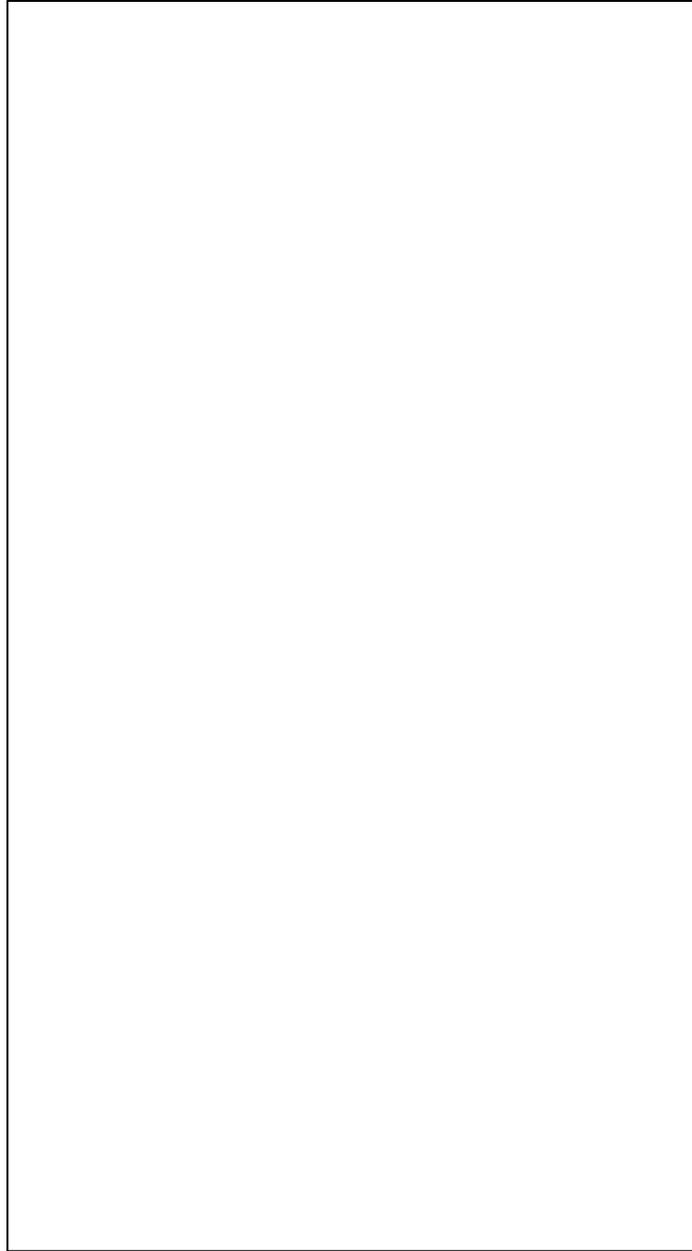


Figure 18. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano*, 1502. Lower Center Panel Detail of pilgrims and the Sancta Scala with the inscription, “·ABC / ·HANNS· / BVRGKMAIR / 1502.” Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

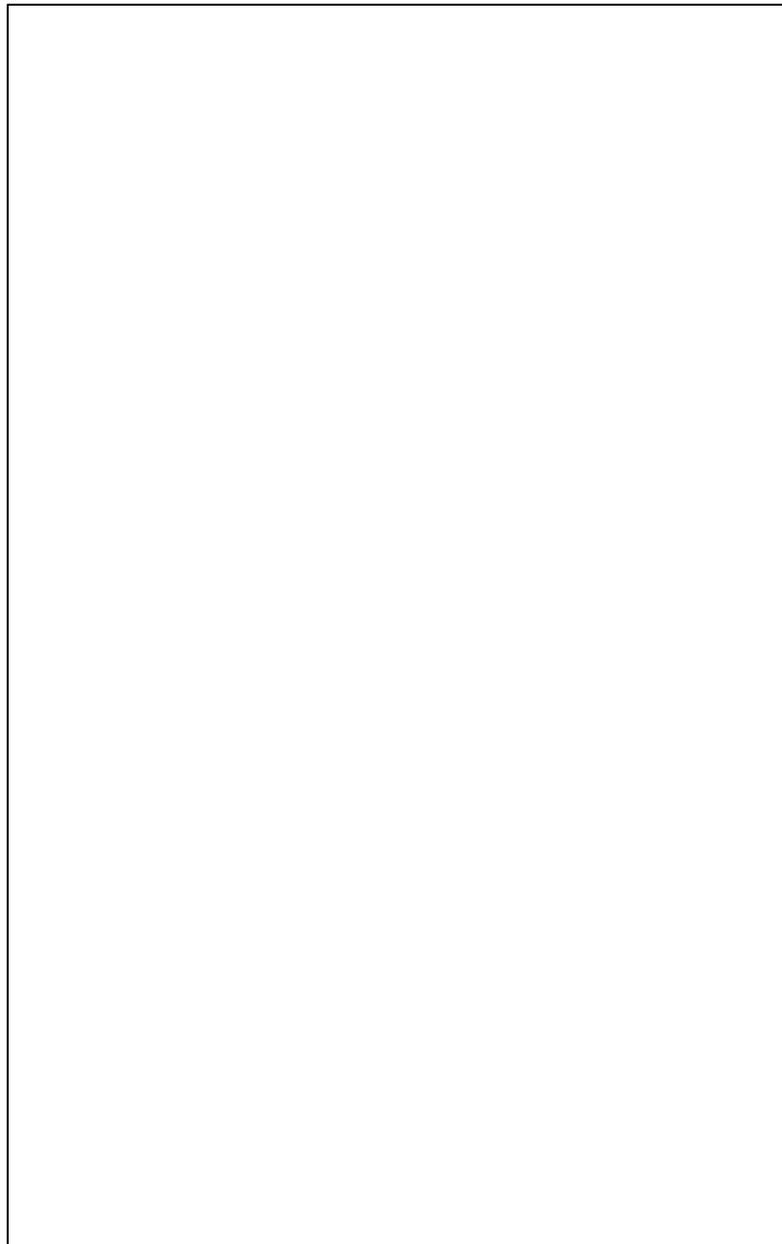


Figure 19. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, 1504. Extant Fragment from the Right Panel depicting Veronica Welser and inscribed "sancte ... mise[r]ico[r]dia[m] dei p[ro] me i p ... " Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

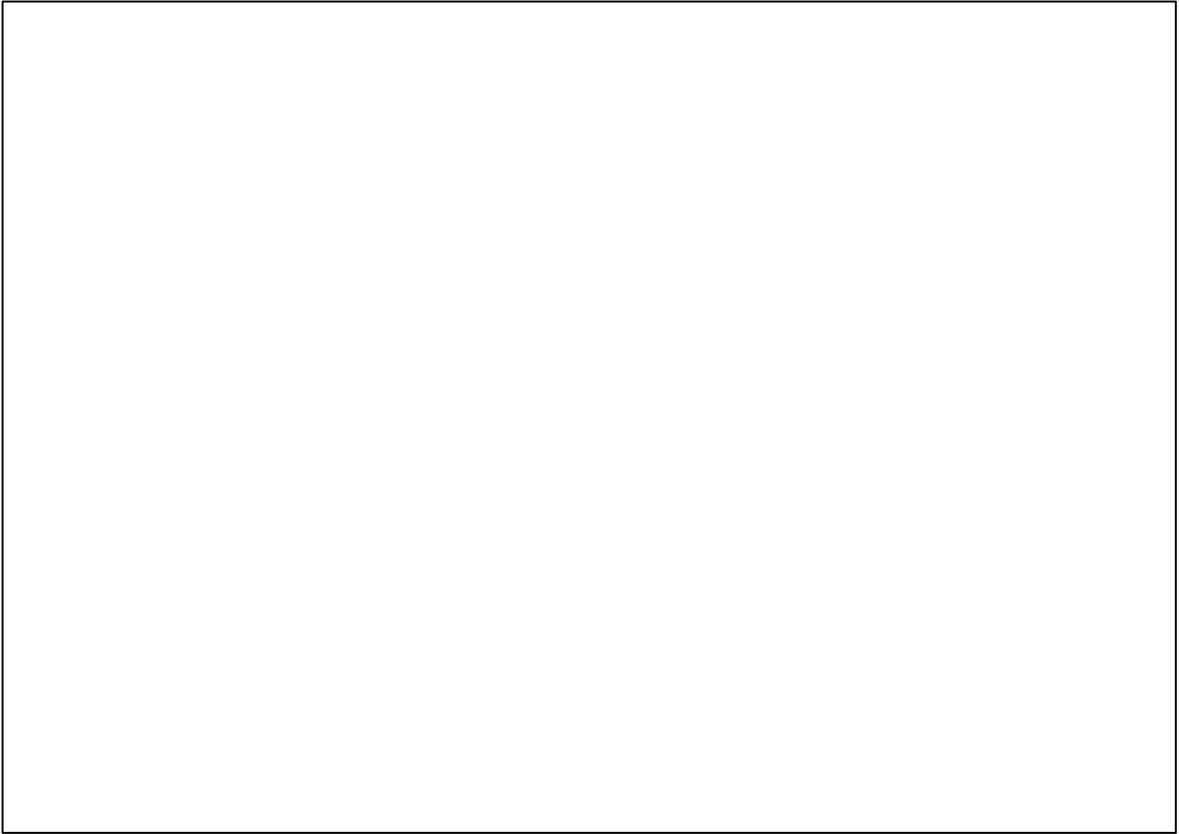


Figure 20. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, 1504. Pen-and-ink Preparatory Drawing on paper. 22.3cm x 32.2cm. Duke Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, Prints and Drawings. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

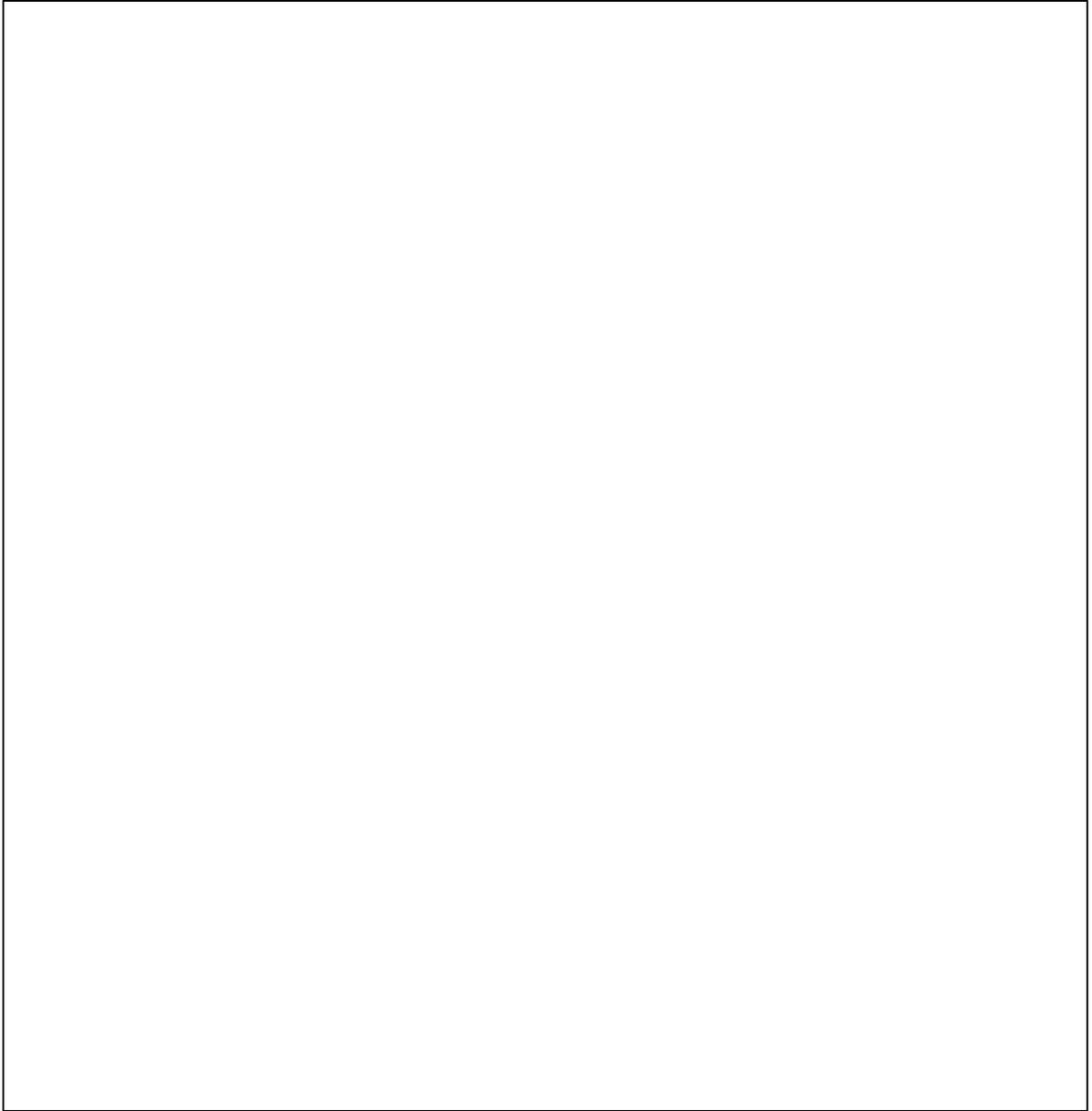


Figure 21. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore*, 1499. Lower Right Panel depicting the martyrdom of Saint Dorothy. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

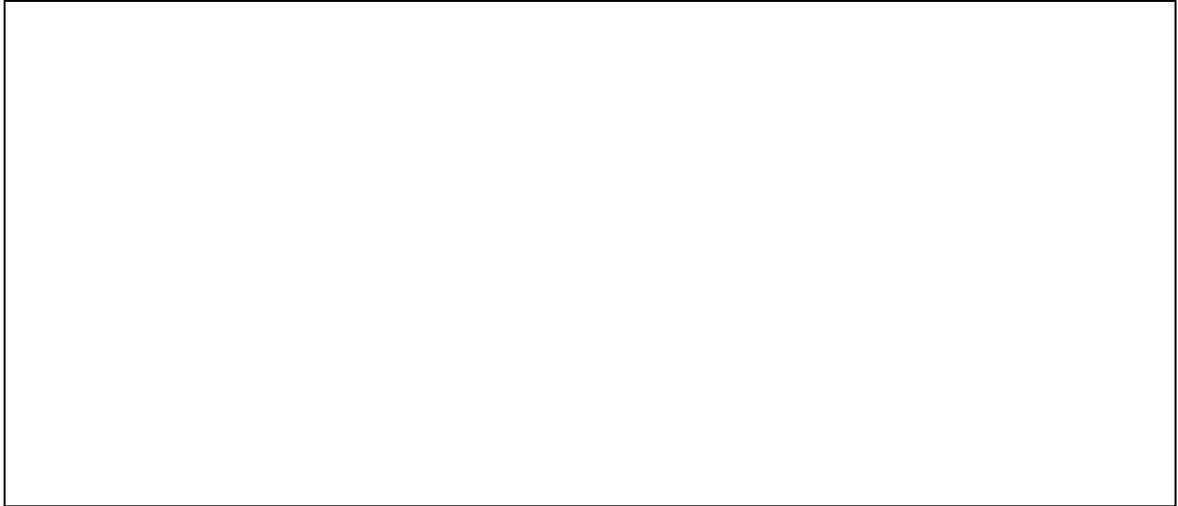


Figure 22. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore*, 1499. Lower Right Panel Detail of the Rehlinger coat of arms. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

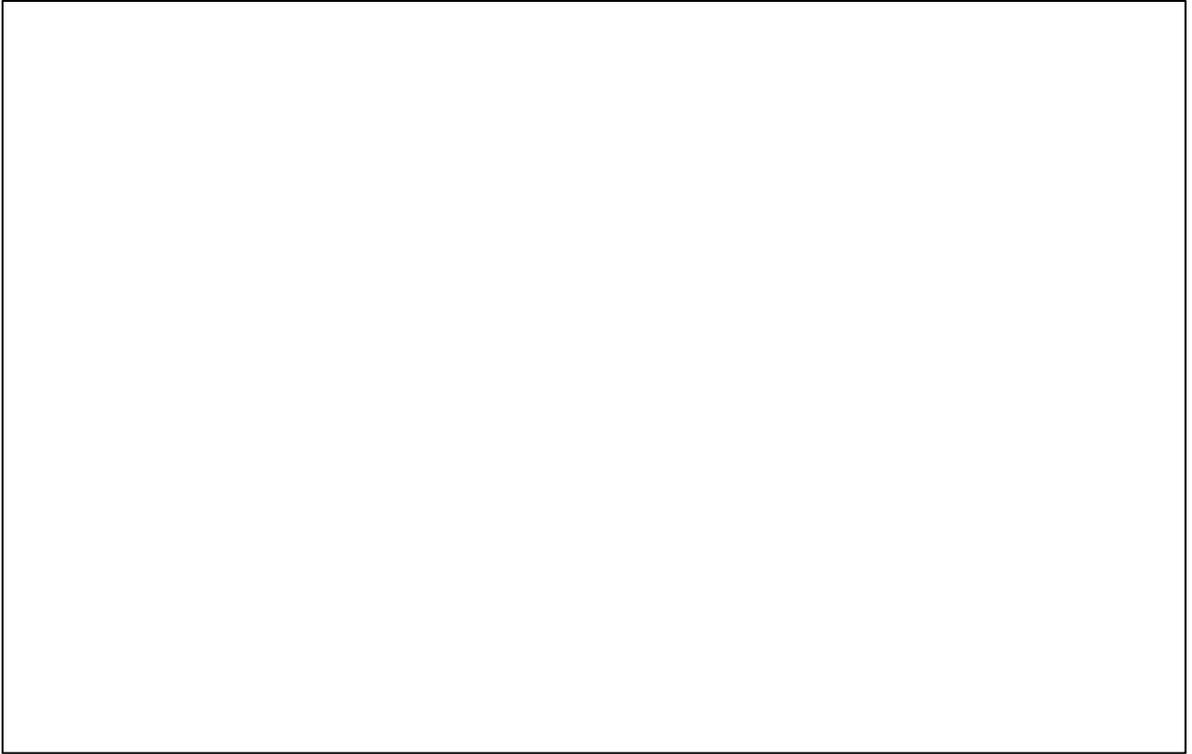


Figure 23. Hans Memling, *Passion*, c. 1470-71. Reproduced in: ARTStor. Image and original data provided by SCALA, Florence/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

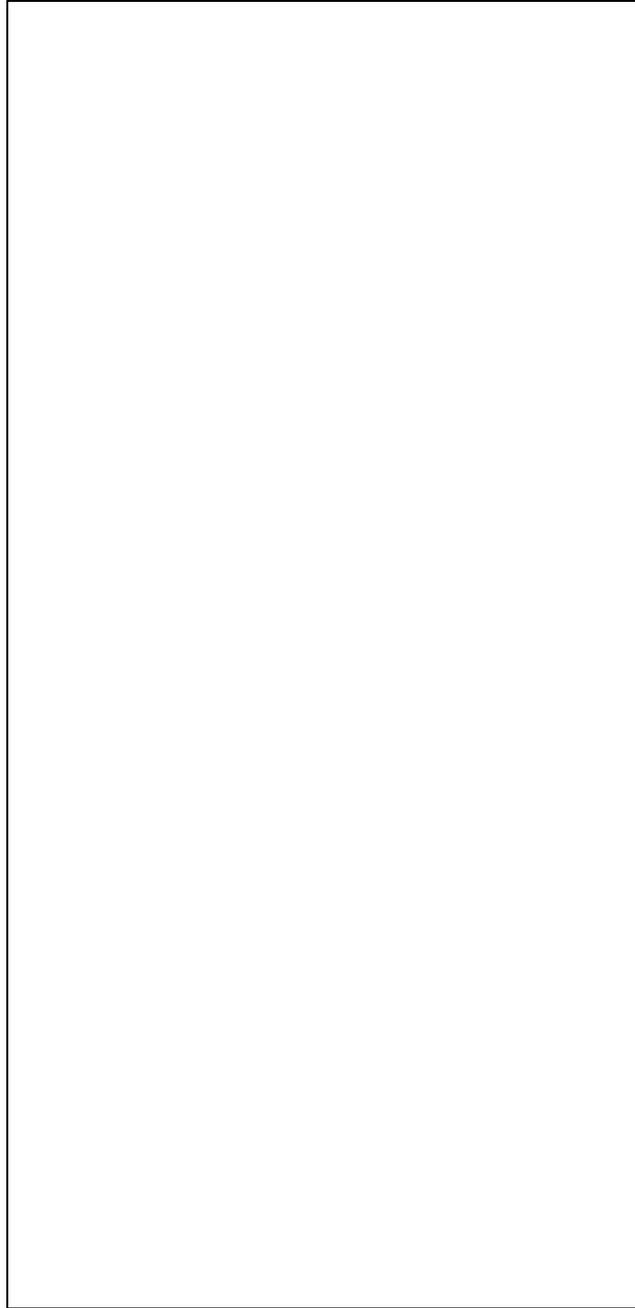


Figure 24. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, 1504. Left Panel depicting scenes from the life of Saint Paul. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg, : Wißner-Verlag 2002), CD-ROM.



Figure 25. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, 1504. Left Panel Detail of Hans Holbein the Elder with his sons Hans and Ambrosius. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

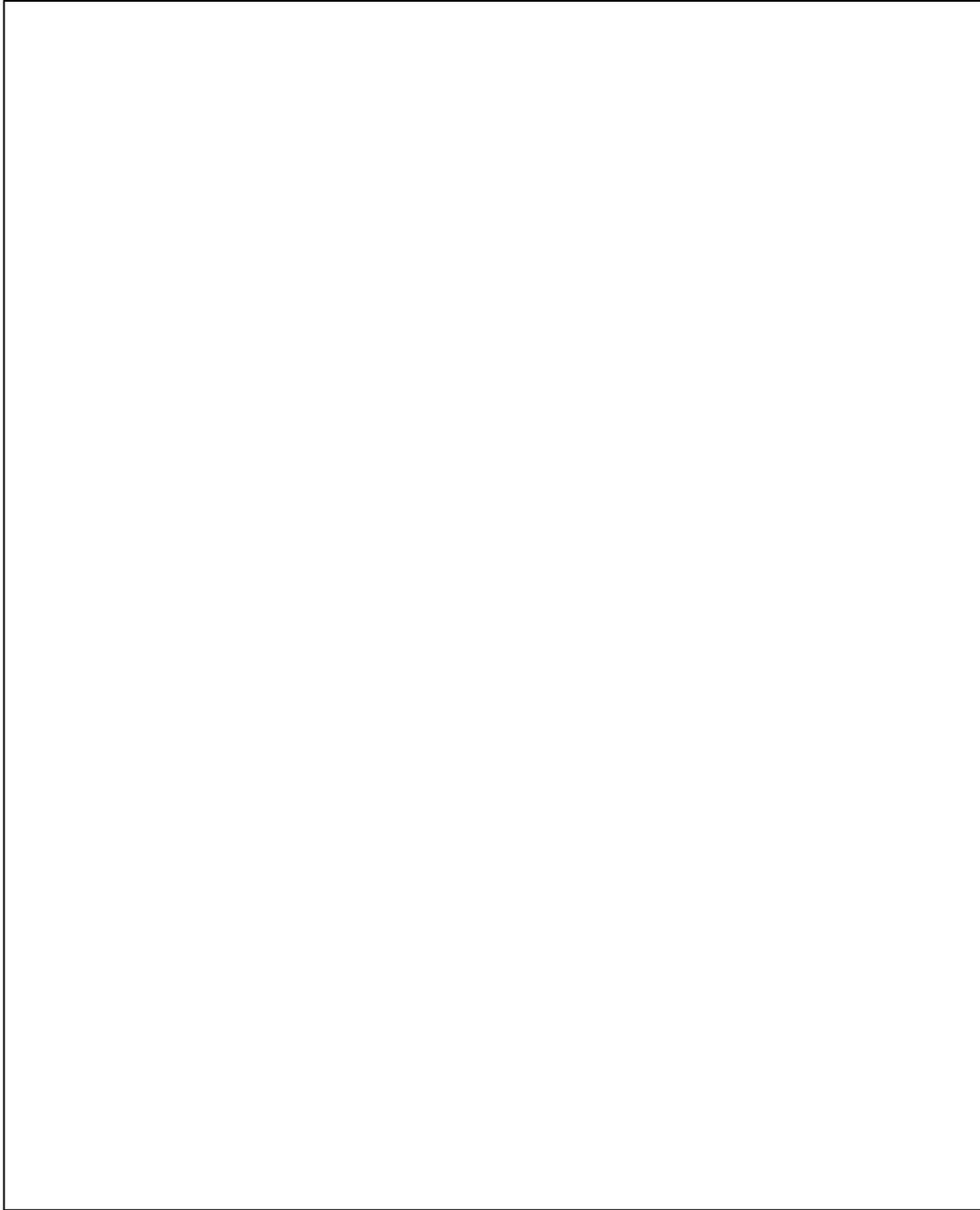


Figure 26. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, 1504. Lower Center Panel of San Paolo Fuori le Mura and scenes from the life of Saint Paul. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

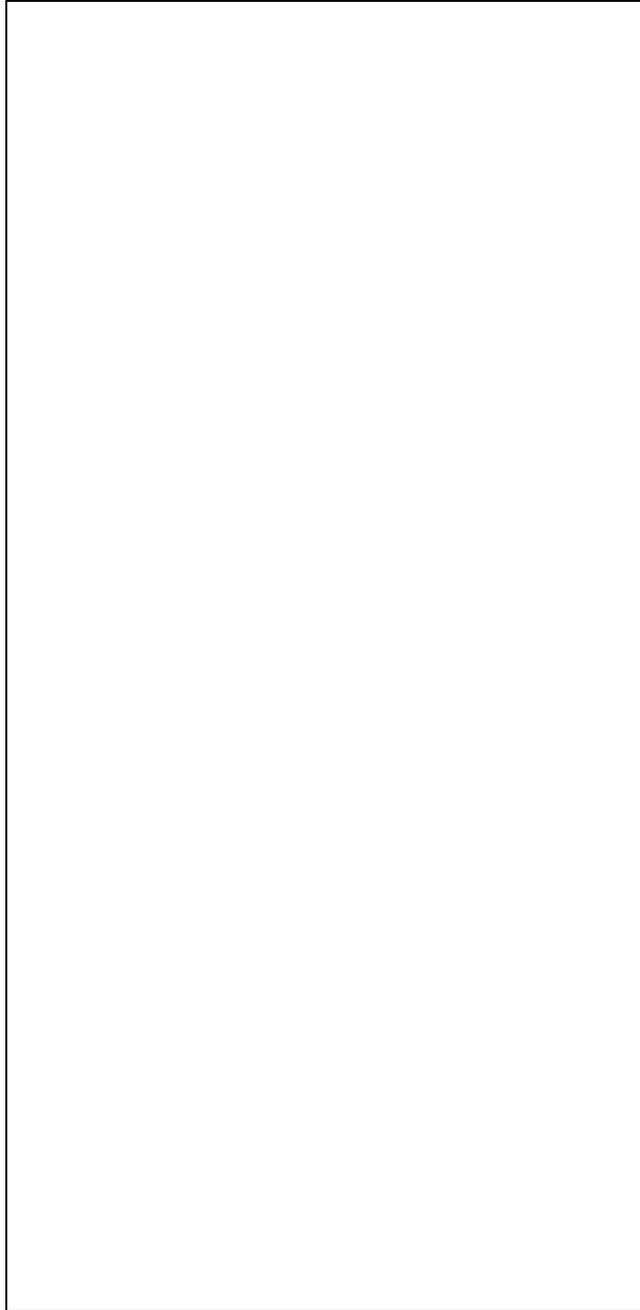


Figure 27. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura*, 1504. Right Panel depicting scenes from the life of Saint Paul. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.



Figure 28. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore*, 1499. Lower Right Panel Indian ink Preparatory Drawing. 12.9cm x 11.7cm. Basel State Art Collection, Prints and Drawings. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.



Figure 29. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano*, 1502. Lower Center Panel depicting the miraculous death of Saint John the Evangelist in his basilica. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

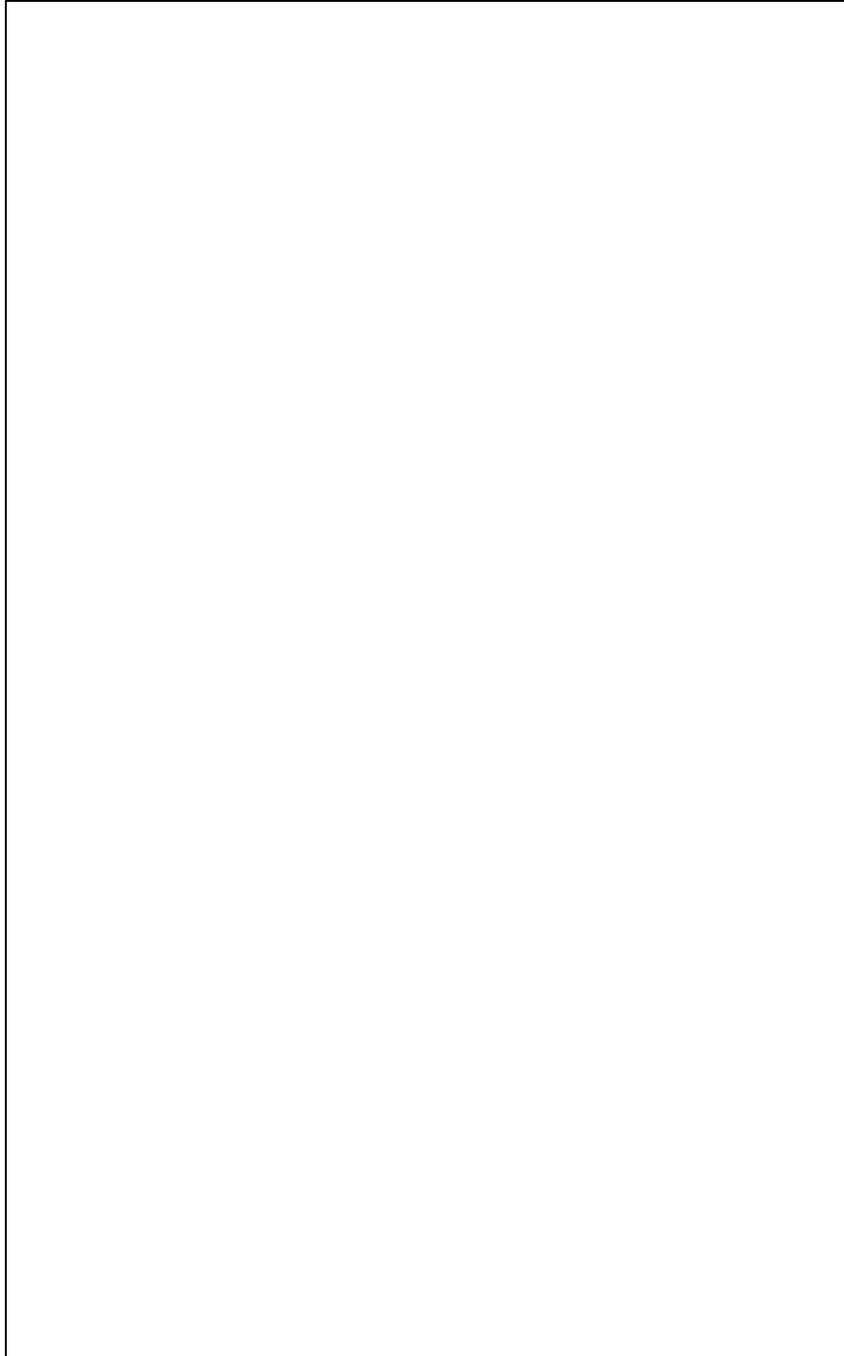


Figure 30. Monogrammist L.F., *Basilica of San Lorenzo and San Sebastiano*, 1502. Upper Center Panel depicting the betrayal of Christ. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

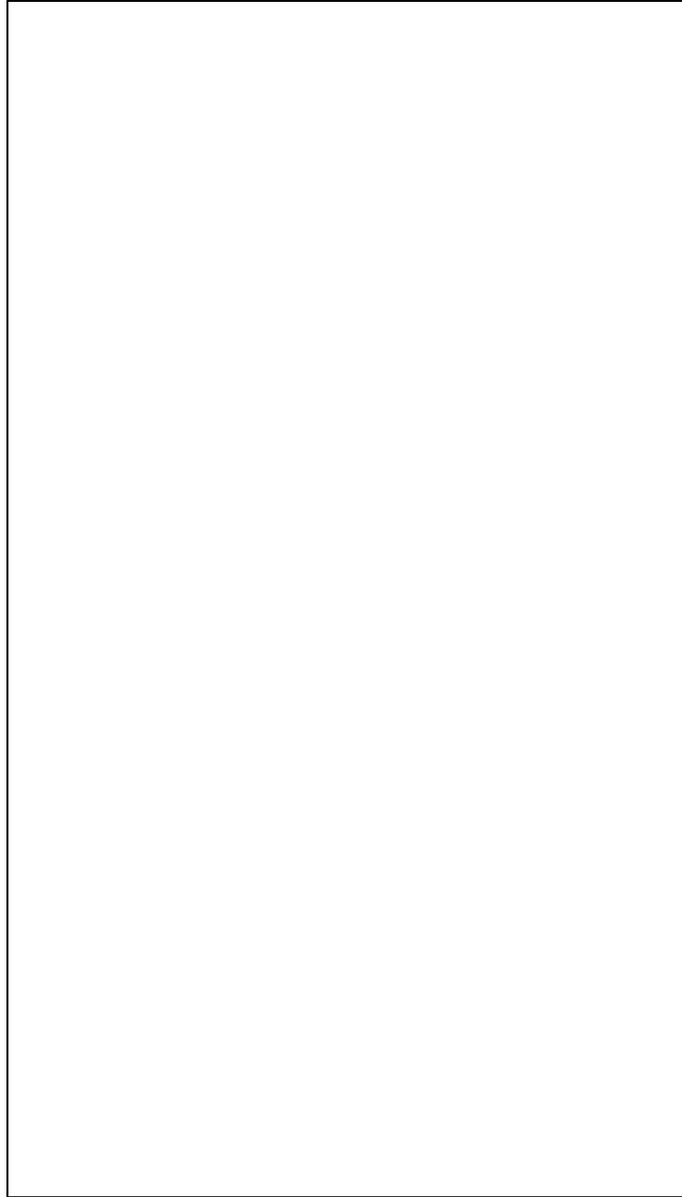


Figure 31. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Left Panel depicting scenes from the life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

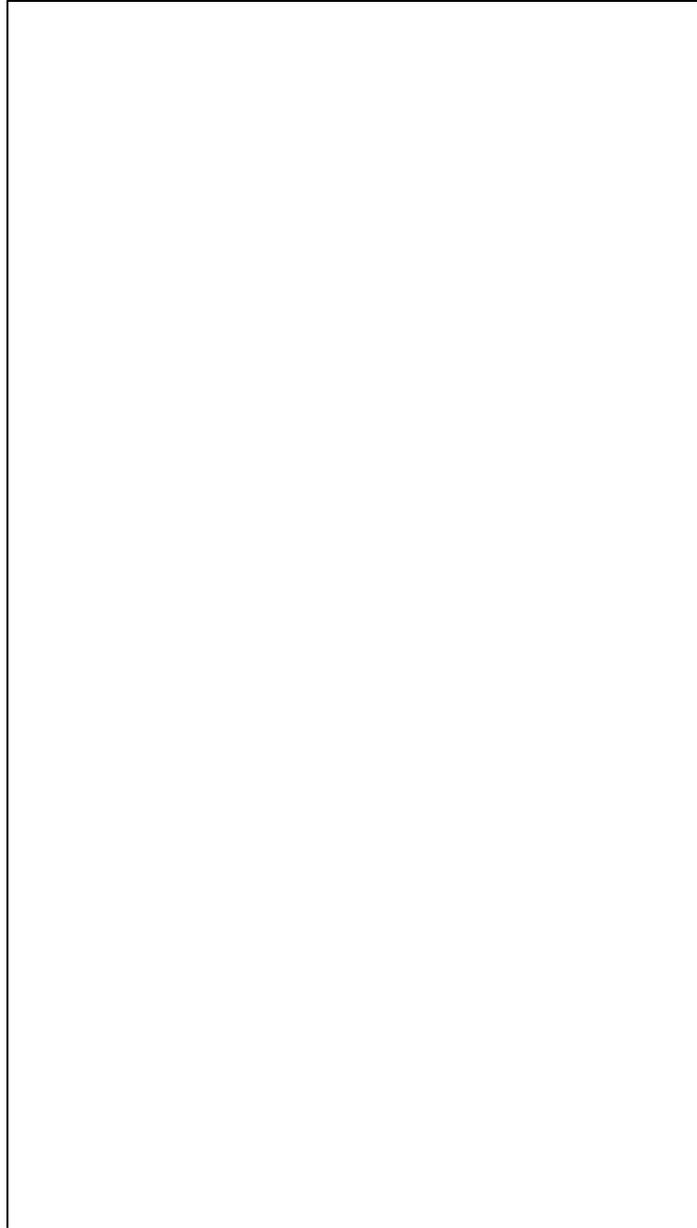


Figure 32. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Right Panel depicting scenes from the life of Saint Ursula and the 11,000 virgins. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.



Figure 33. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Right Panel Detail depicting the ship of Saint Ursula, her fiancé, Ethereus, and Pope Cyriacus. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

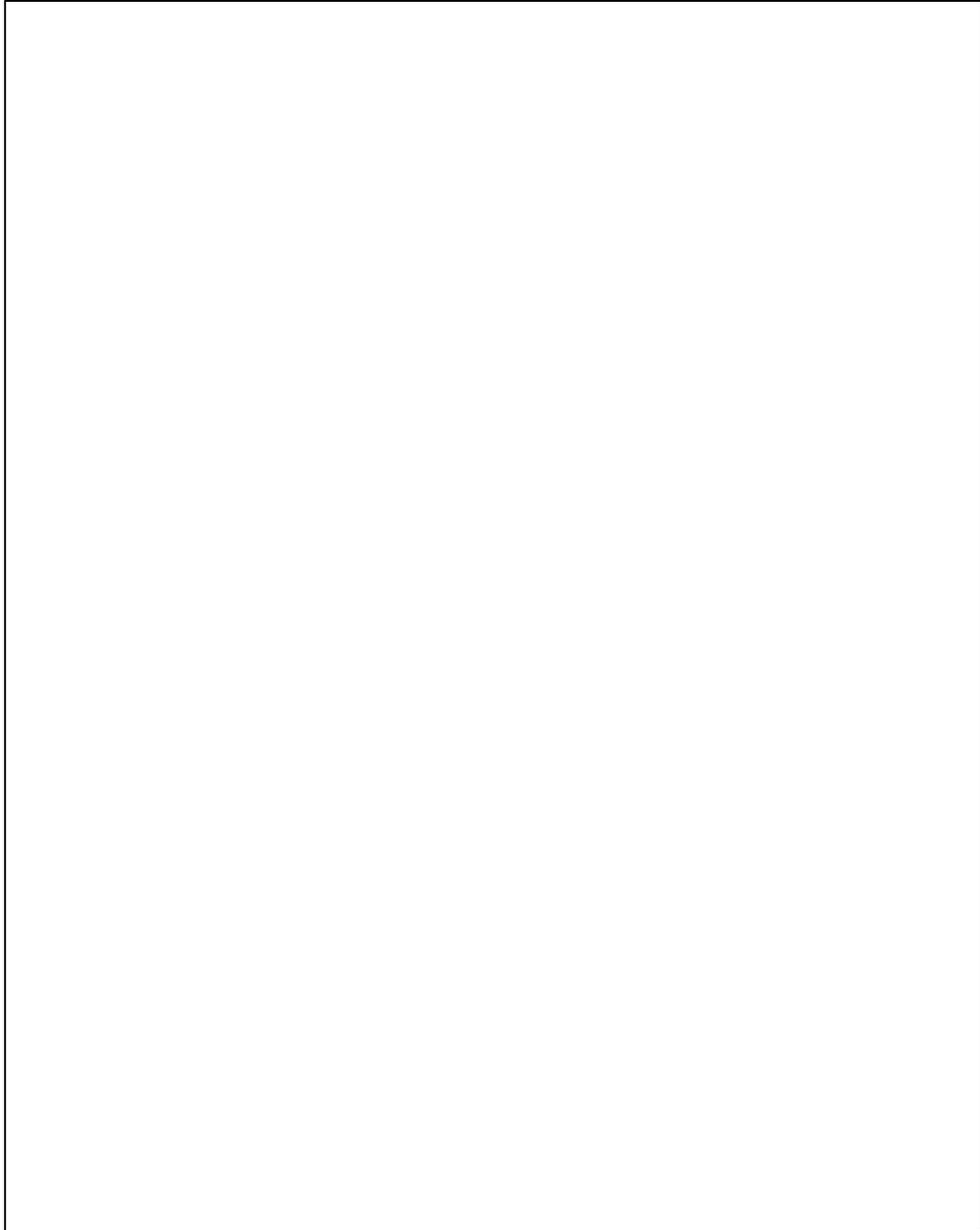


Figure 34. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore*, 1499. Upper Center Panel depicting the Virgin Mary crowned as the Queen of Heaven. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

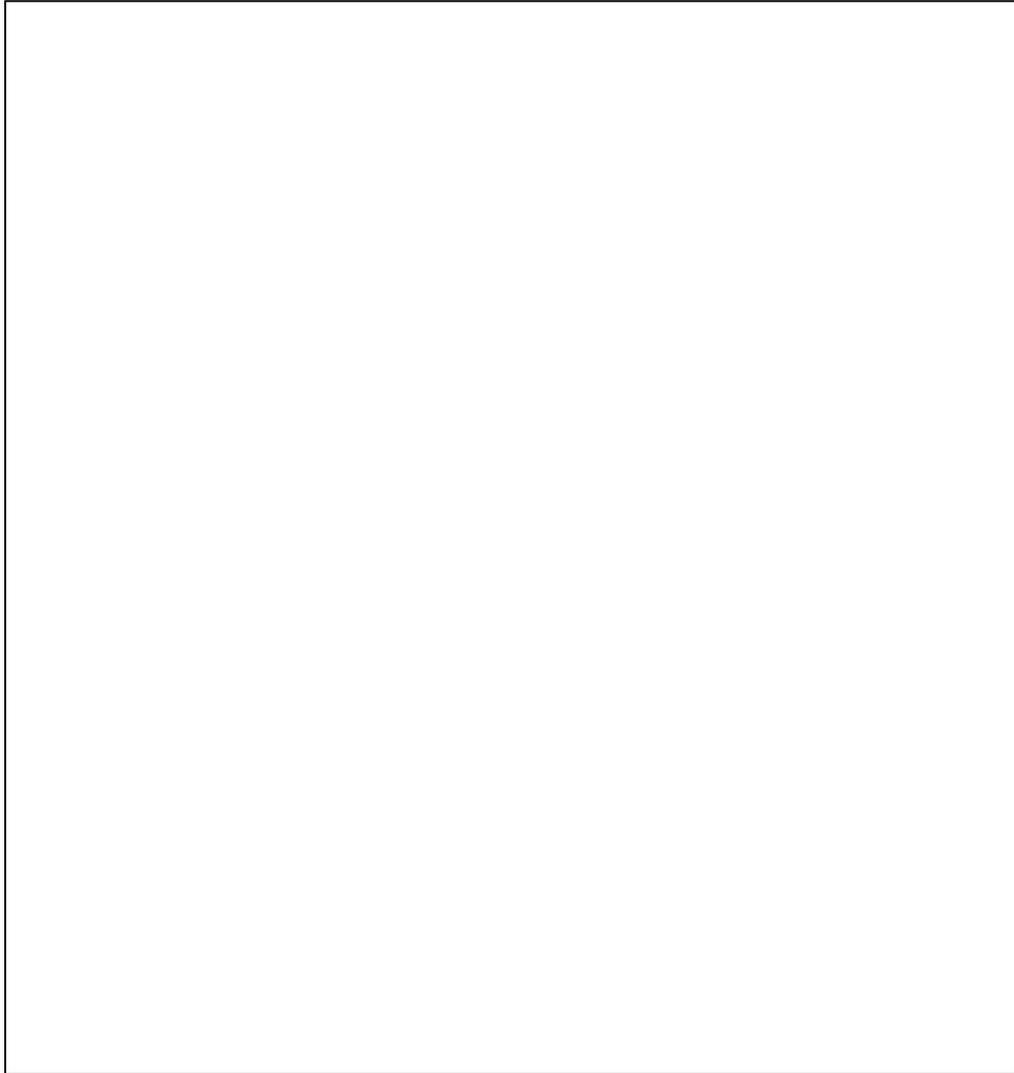


Figure 35. Hans Holbein the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore*, 1499. Lower Left Panel depicting the Nativity. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

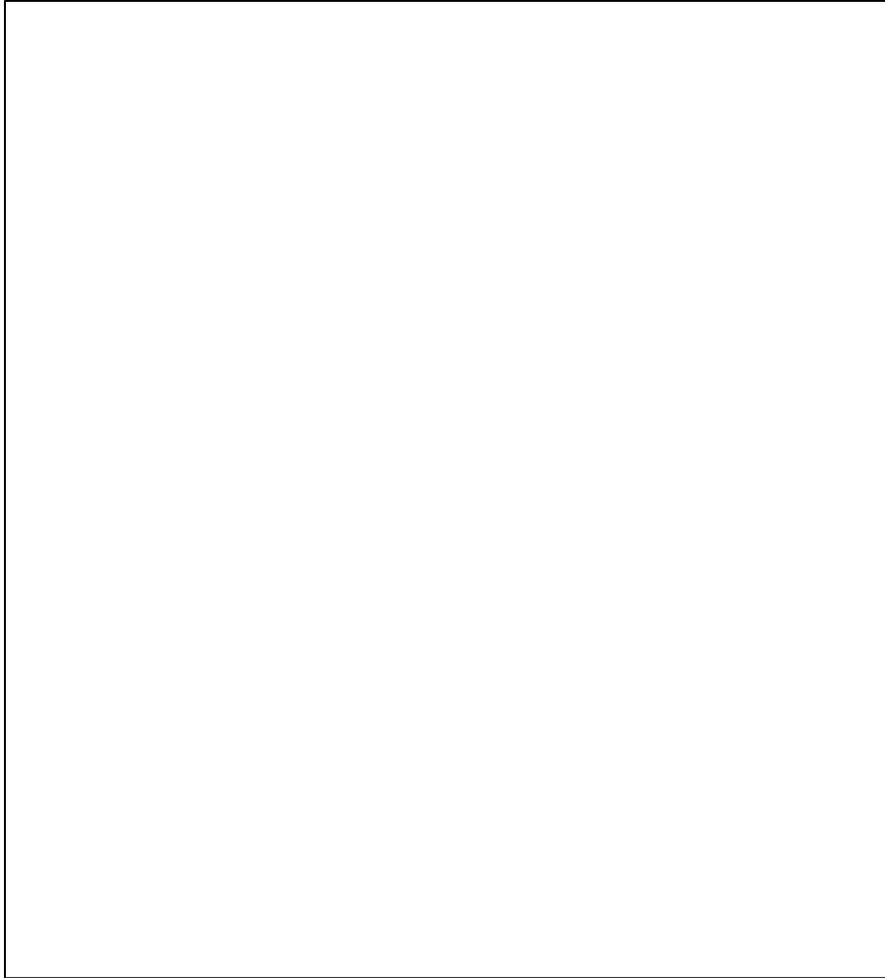


Figure 36. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano*, 1502. Far Left Panel depicting Saint John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

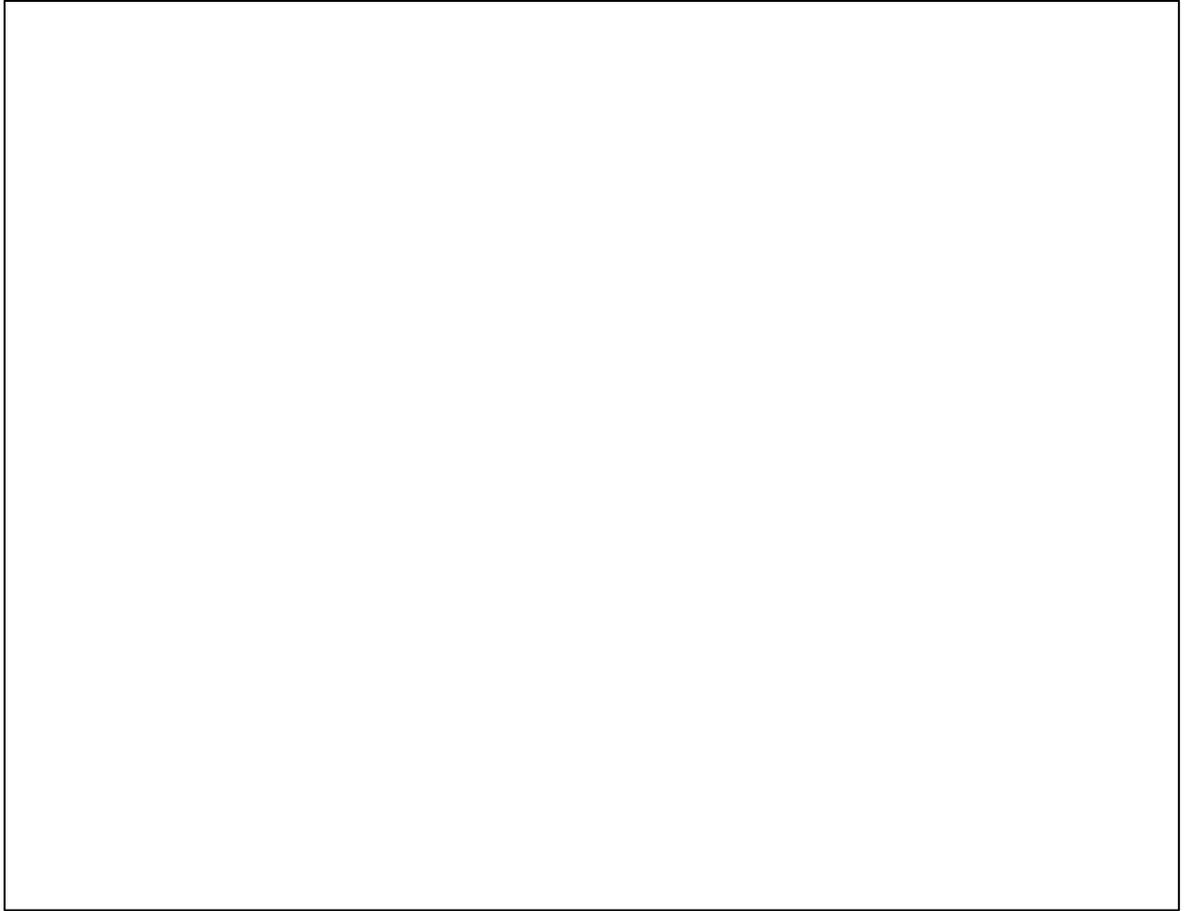


Figure 37. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Right Panel Detail depicting the Welser coat of arms. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

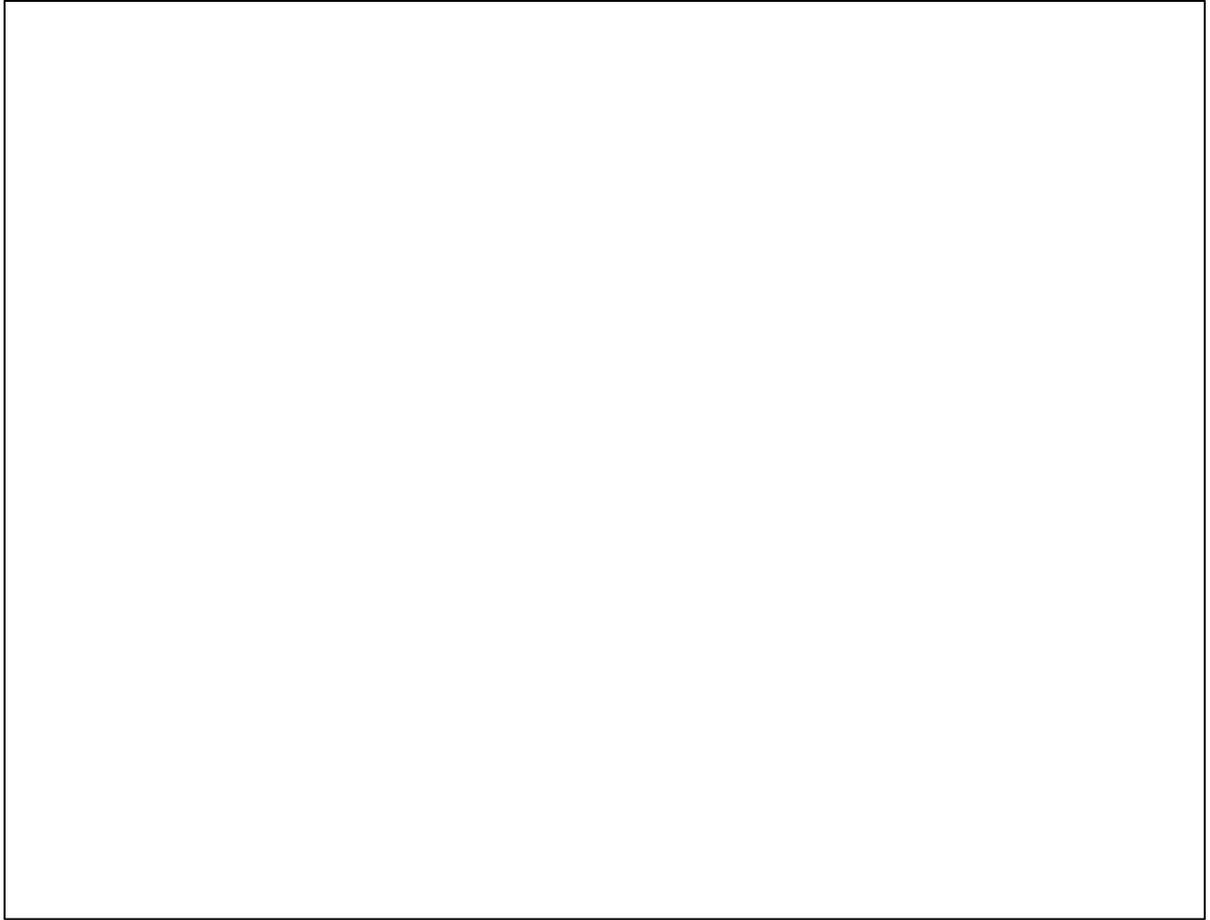


Figure 38. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Lower Center Panel depicting Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and pilgrims. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

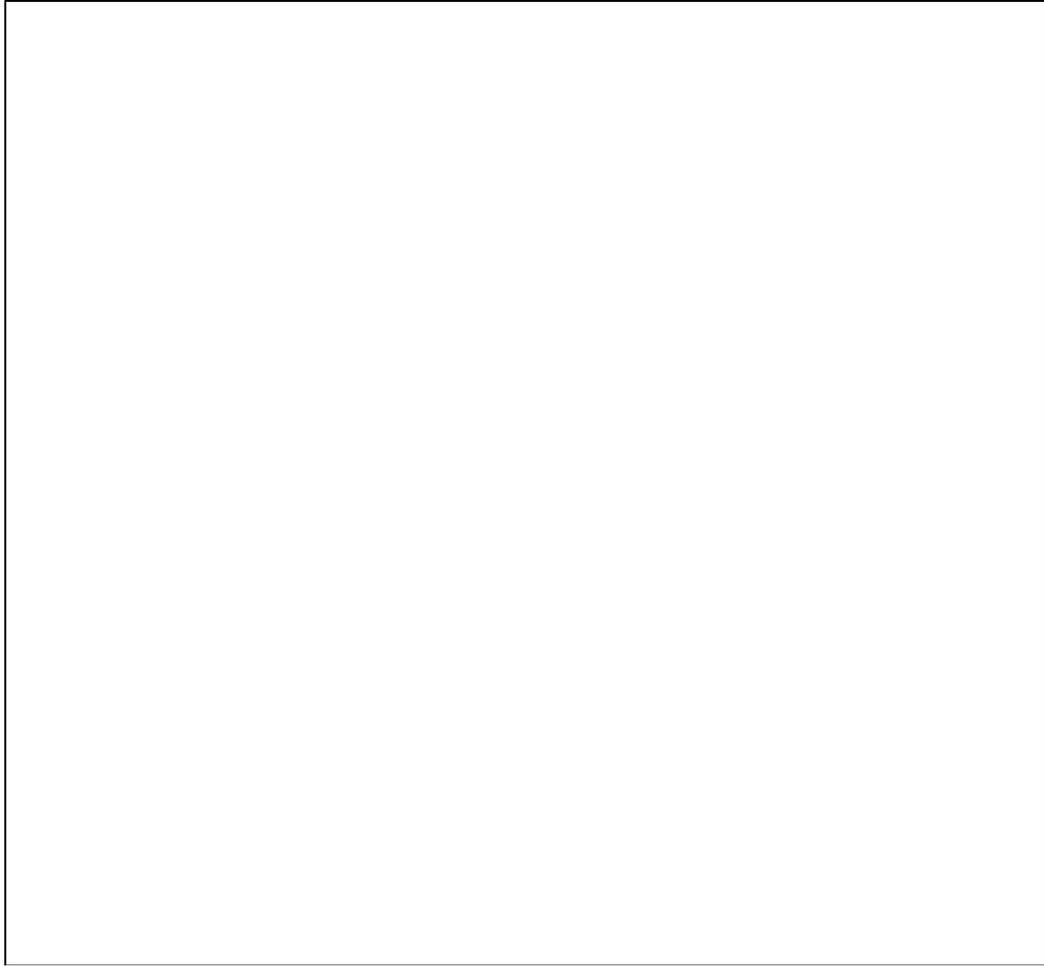


Figure 39. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Lower Center Panel Detail of gilded Crucifixion and inscription “HANNS · BVRGKMAIR · / · M[ALER] : VO[N] ·AVGSPVRG · / · ANNO 1504.” Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

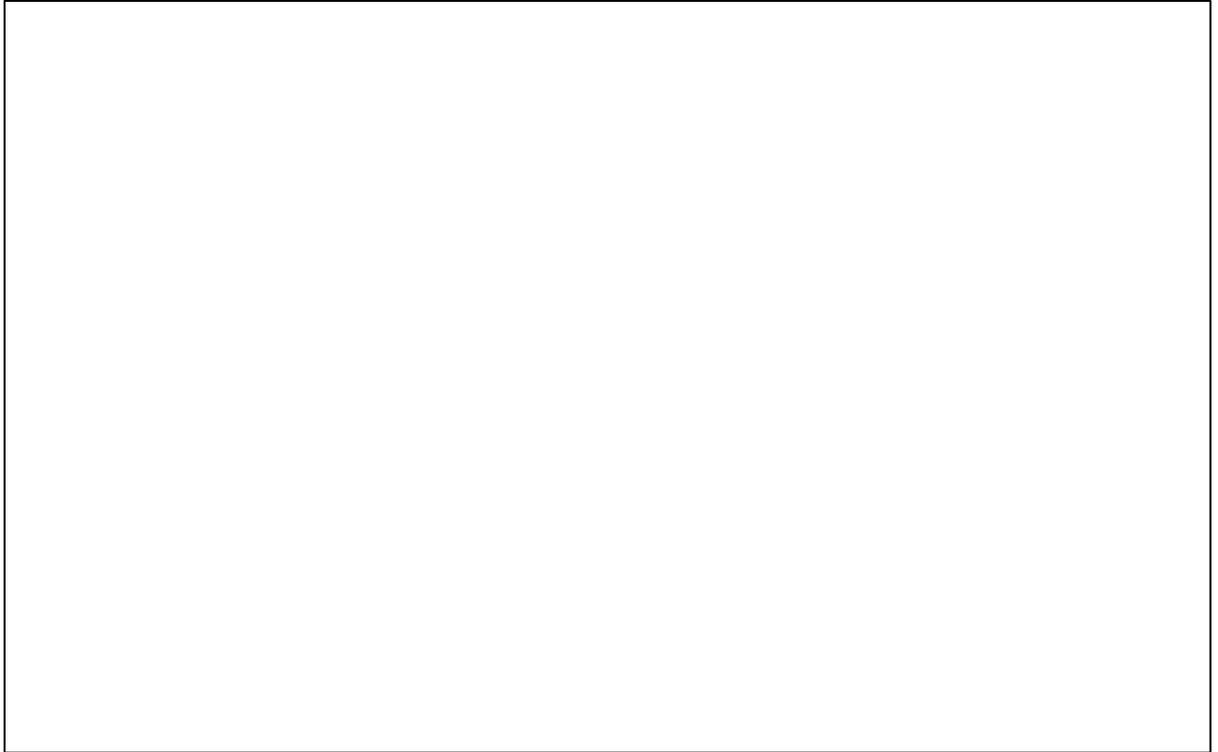


Figure 40. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Lower Center Panel  
Detail of pilgrims led by a guide. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken  
in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag,  
2002), CD-ROM.



Figure 41. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Lower Center Panel  
Detail of pilgrims with pilgrimage badges. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische  
Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-  
Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

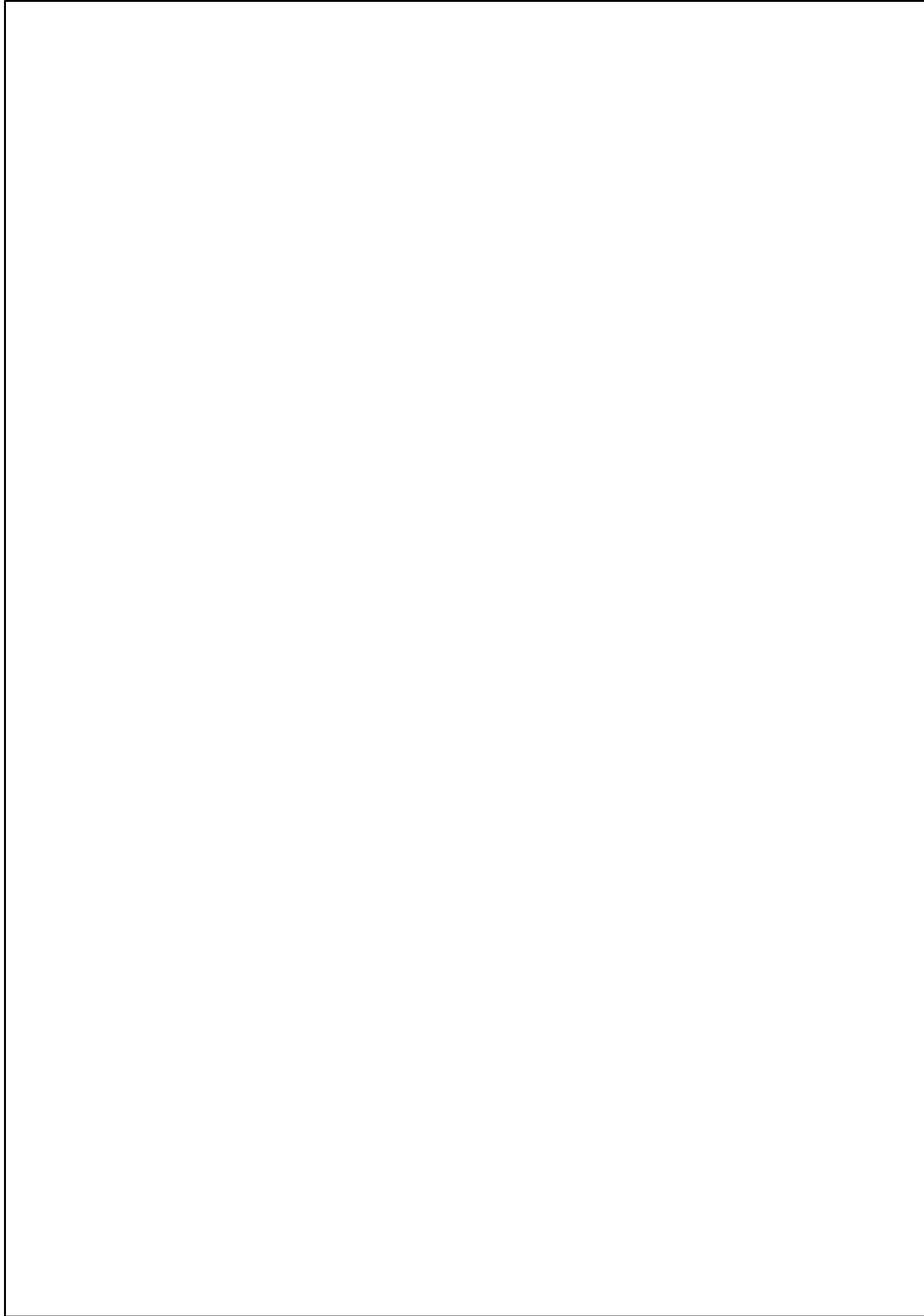


Figure 42. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Upper Center Panel depicting the Crucifixion. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

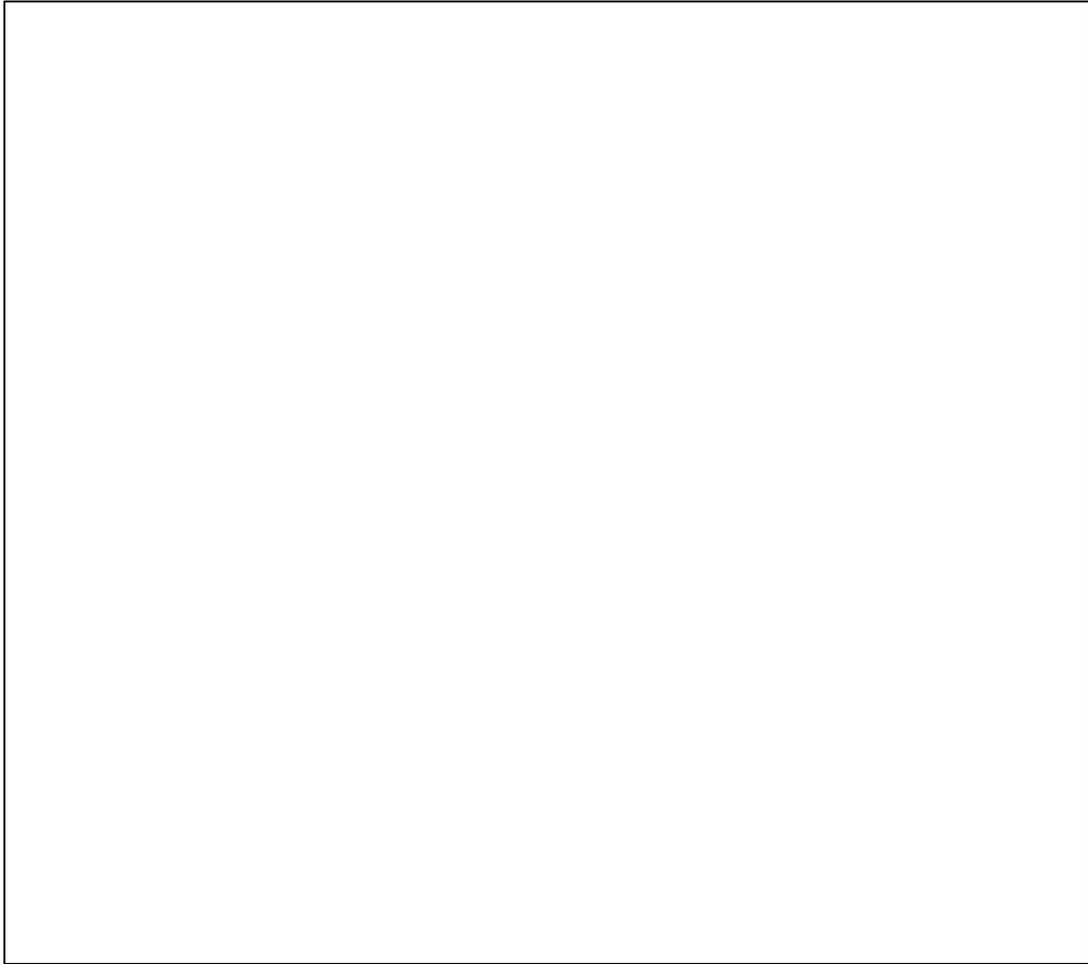


Figure 43. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Basilica of Santa Croce*, 1504. Upper Center Panel detail of Christ's face and titulus. Reproduced in: Magdalene Gärtner, *Römische Basiliken in Augsburg: Nonnenfrömmigkeit und Malerei um 1500* (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2002), CD-ROM.

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